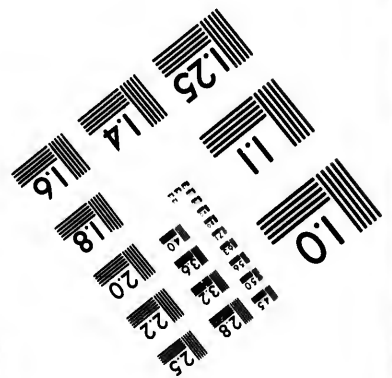
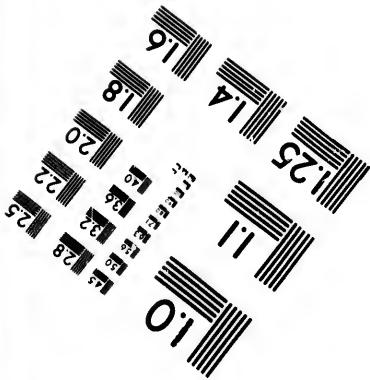
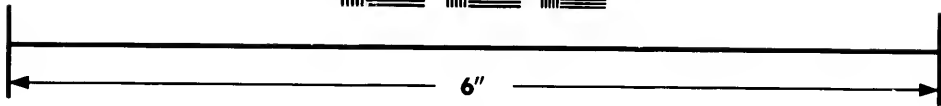
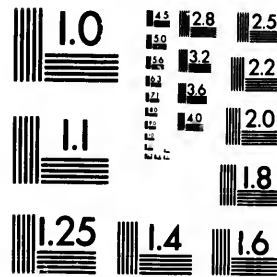


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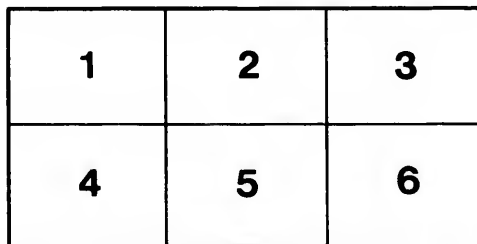
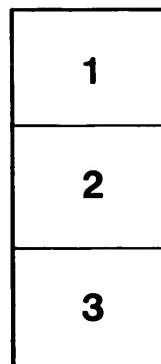
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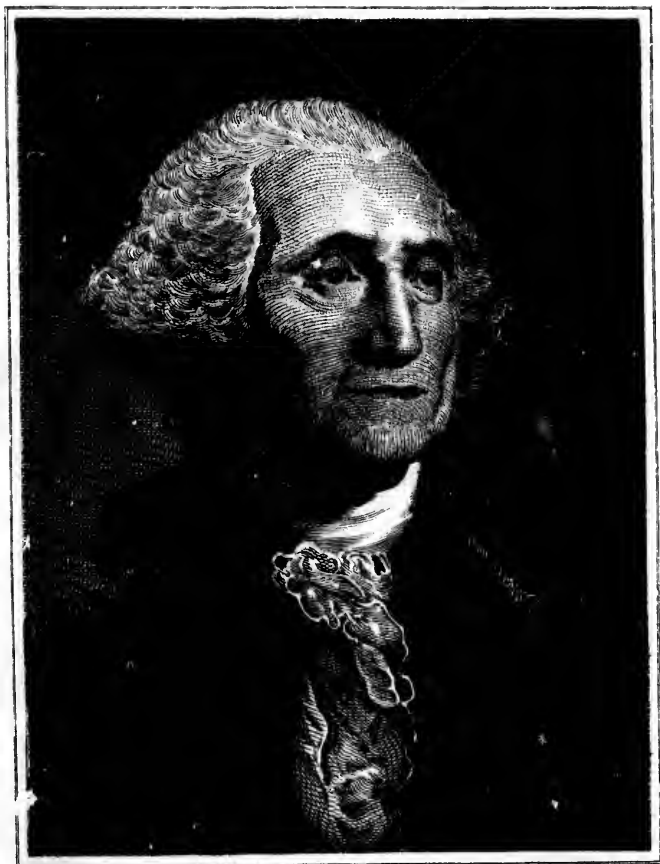
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GENERAL WASHINGTON.

*London, Published by J. Davis & Beeth.*

HISTORY  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA ;  
COMPRISING,  
*A Geographical and Statistical*  
VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES,  
AND OF THE  
BRITISH CANADIAN POSSESSIONS ;  
INCLUDING  
A GREAT VARIETY OF IMPORTANT INFORMATION  
ON THE SUBJECT OF EMIGRATING TO THAT  
COUNTRY.

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*EMBELLISHED WITH PLATES AND MAPS.*

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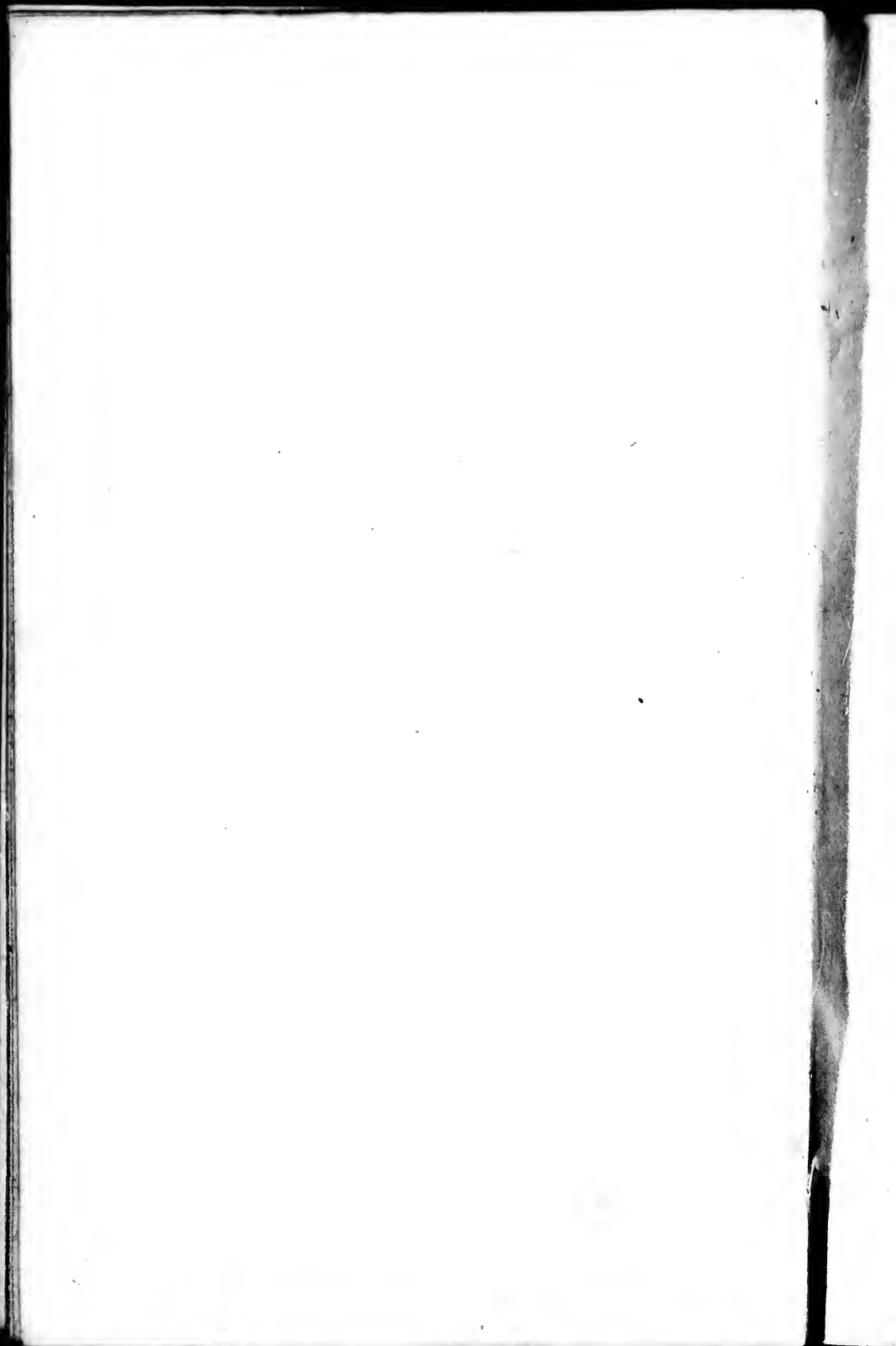
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**VOL. I.**

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## P R E F A C E.

IN presenting this work to the public, the Editor has been principally solicitous to lay before his readers important facts; he has aimed much more to inform, than to amuse; he trusts, however, that its pages will not be found void of interest, even to those who read principally for amusement. The origin and rise of a mighty empire, however distant in point of time, and however little connected with present events, cannot be contemplated without feelings powerfully awakened. But when this empire has started into life in our own times; when its concerns are intimately connected with our own destinies, and come home to every man's business and bosom, it becomes then an object of intense interest; and every individual must be anxious to be acquainted with the mighty events which have produced so singular a phenomenon in the history of the world. It is not only the philosopher and the politician that are interested in the subjects treated of in this work; the humble cottager, and the industrious artizan are equally concerned in the destinies of a New World, which Providence in its mercy seems to have prepared as an asylum from the persecutions, the privations, and the revolutionary storms which

threaten to afflict, and disturb the nations of Europe.

The Editor has entered more at large into the details of the discovery and early history of the American Continent than some readers may approve of; but, in adopting this plan, he was influenced by the conviction that the present state of America cannot be fully understood, nor the character of its people fairly appreciated, without a reference to the origin of its colonization, and some knowledge of the various steps by which it has attained its present importance.

As it was one of the main objects of the Editor to consult the wants of that class of readers who have not access to numerous writers on the same subject; he has liberally availed himself both of the researches of his predecessors, and the labors of his contemporaries. The present work aspires to no higher title than a faithful compilation, or digest, of the facts furnished by others; and if the Editor has succeeded in arranging them in a lucid order, he has fully accomplished his original purpose.

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# HISTORY

OF

## NORTH AMERICA.



**T**HE following seems the most natural order of arranging the immense mass of important matter which will be embraced in the following Work. First, a clear, but succinct narrative of the different steps by which the Continent of America was discovered, subdued, and colonized—an accurate outline of its Geographical Features—an historical detail of the interesting events, which led to the rapid population of the British Colonies, and to their subsequent separation from the Parent State—a brief but interesting sketch of the arduous contest, which terminated in the raising of these Colonies to the rank and privileges of an Independent State. This will introduce a correct delineation of the Laws, Government, and Constitution of the UNITED STATES, and a Statistical account of the different States, in reference to Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures; also descriptive traits of the Manners, Customs, and Domestic Habits, both of the native tribes, and the citizens of the UNITED STATES; This part of the Work will comprise a View of the State of Emigration to the UNITED STATES from this country, in which each State will be examined, in reference to its suitability to the different classes of emigrants, as Capitalists, Agriculturists, Manufacturers, and Artizans. To which we shall subjoin a variety of useful hints to those who may be deliberating on the propriety of *emigrating to that Country*.

There is no event in the history of the world more interesting and extraordinary than the discovery of the American Continent; which with its surrounding seas forms an entire Hemisphere: the effect which this event produced on the general state of the Old World is incalculable; and it cannot but excite won-



der and astonishment, that so considerable a portion of the Globe should have remained unknown for so many generations. The surmise that this Continent was known to the Phœnicians, and the Carthaginians, is totally unsupported by any evidence which can be considered as at all satisfactory ; and the probability is, that it was totally unknown to the ancient world.

America derives its name from Americus Vespatus, a Florentine, who preferred a groundless claim to the honor of having discovered it ; a claim which unfortunately was not disputed, until that Continent had been so long called by his name, as to render it impossible to alter it. This circumstance has deprived Columbus of the honor which was so justly his due ; of giving his name to a Continent, so vast as to be called a New World ; a species of posthumous injustice, which there is now no probability of ever redressing.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the navigation of Europe was scarcely extended beyond the limits of the Mediterranean. The mariner's compass had been invented and in common use for more than a century ; yet, with the help of this sure guide, prompted by the most ardent spirit of discovery, and encouraged by the patronage of princes, the mariners of those days rarely ventured from the sight of land. They acquired great applause by sailing along the coast of Africa, and discovering some of the neighbouring islands ; and, after pushing their researches with the greatest industry and perseverance for more than half a century, the Portuguese, who were the most fortunate and enterprising, extended their discoveries southward no farther than the equator.

The rich commodities of the East had for several ages been brought into Europe by the way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean ; and it had now become the object of the Portuguese to find a passage to India, by sailing round the southern extremity of Africa, and then taking an eastern course. This great object engaged the general attention of mankind, and drew into the Portuguese service adventurers from every maritime nation in Europe.

Among the foreigners whom the fame of the discoveries made by the Portuguese had allured into their service, was Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a subject of the republic of Genoa. Neither the time nor place of his birth are known with certainty ;

but he was descended of an honorable family, though reduced to indigence by various misfortunes. His ancestors having betaken themselves for subsistence to a sea-faring life, Columbus discovered, in his early youth, the peculiar character and talents which mark out a man for that profession. His parents, instead of thwarting this original propensity of his mind, seem to have encouraged and confirmed it, by the education which they gave him. After acquiring some knowledge of the Latin tongue, the only language in which science was taught at that time, he was instructed in geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and the art of drawing. To these he applied with such ardor and predilection, on account of their connexion with navigation, his favorite object, that he advanced with rapid proficiency in the study of them. Thus qualified, in the year 1461, he went to sea at the age of fourteen, and began his career on that element which conducted him to so much glory. His early voyages were limited principally to those places which had before been discovered, in which nothing very remarkable happened, except that in a sea-fight, off the coast of Portugal, with some Venetian coasters, the vessel on board which he served took fire, together with one of the enemy's, to which it was fast grappled; upon which he threw himself into the sea, laid hold of a floating oar, and by the support of it, and his dexterity in swimming, he reached the shore, though more than six miles distant, and thus preserved a life designed for great undertakings.

Soon after this Columbus went to Lisbon, where he married a daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, one of the captains employed by prince Henry in his early voyages, and who had discovered and planted the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira. The journals and charts of this experienced navigator, his father-in-law, fell into his hands, and he, with avidity, availed himself of the valuable information they contained. His impatience to visit the places which Perestrello had seen and described, became irresistible; and he made a voyage to Madeira, and spent several years in trading with that island, the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and all other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa.

By the experience acquired during such a variety of voyages, Columbus became one of the most skilful navigators of Europe. But his ambition did not suffer him to rest satisfied with that

praise. He aimed at something more. A project had been conceived of finding out a passage by sea to the East Indies. The accomplishment of this became a favorite object with Columbus. The Portuguese sought this route by steering towards the south, in hope of arriving at India, by turning to the east, after they had sailed round the farther extremity of Africa; which passage was afterwards effected in 1497, by Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese navigator. Columbus contemplated a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies, by sailing towards the west, across the Atlantic Ocean. The principles and arguments which induced him to adopt this opinion, then considered as chimerical, were highly rational and philosophical. The sphericity and magnitude of the earth, were at that period ascertained with some degree of accuracy. From this it was evident, that the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, formed but a small part of the terraqueous globe. It appeared likewise extremely probable, that the continent on the one side of the globe was balanced by a proportional quantity of land in the other hemisphere. These conclusions concerning the existence of another continent, drawn from the figure and structure of the globe, were confirmed by the observations and conjectures of modern navigators, and from pieces of timber artificially carved, canes of an enormous size, trees torn up by the roots, and the dead bodies of two men with singular features, which had been discovered and taken up, floating before a westerly wind, or driven on the coasts of the Azores. The force of this united evidence, arising from theoretical principles and practical observations, led Columbus to conclude, that by sailing directly towards the west, across the Atlantic Ocean, new countries, which probably formed a part of the vast continent of India, must infallibly be discovered. As early as the year 1474, he communicated his ingenious theory to Paul, a physician of Florence, eminent for his knowledge of cosmography. He warmly approved of the plan; suggested several facts in confirmation of it, and encouraged Columbus to persevere in an undertaking so laudable, and which must redound so much to the honor of his country, and the benefit of Europe.

Columbus now became impatient to bring to the test of experiment the truth of his system, and to set out upon a voyage of discovery. The first step towards this was to secure the pa-

trouge of some of the considerable powers of Europe. With this view he laid his scheme before the senate of Genoa, and, making his native and beloved country the first tender of his service, offered to sail, under the banners of the republic, in quest of new regions which he expected to discover. But they, incapable of forming just ideas of his principles, inconsiderately rejected his proposal as chimerical. He then submitted his plan to the Portuguese, who perfidiously attempted to rob him of the honor of accomplishing it, by privately sending another person to pursue the same track which he had proposed. But the pilot, who was thus basely employed to execute Columbus' plan, had neither the genius nor the fortitude of its author. Contrary winds arose; no land appeared; his courage failed; and he returned to Lisbon, execrating a plan which he had not abilities to execute. On discovering this flagrant treachery, Columbus immediately quitted the kingdom in disgust, and landed in Spain, towards the close of the year 1484. Here he resolved to propose it in person to Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. He, in the mean time, sent his brother Bartholomew to England, to propose his plan to Henry VII.

After experiencing a series of mortifying disappointments, during eight tedious years, Columbus, in deep anguish, withdrew from court, determined to repair to England as his last resource. At this juncture the affairs of Spain, which had been perplexed in consequence of a war with the Moors, took a favorable turn. Quintanilla and Santangel, two powerful, vigilant, and discerning patrons of Columbus, seized this favorable opportunity to make one more effort in behalf of their friend. They addressed themselves to Isabella, with such forcible arguments as produced the desired effect. They dispelled all Isabella's doubts and fears; she ordered Columbus, who had proceeded on his journey, to be instantly recalled; declared her resolution to employ him on his own terms; and, regretting the low state of her finances, generously offered to pledge her own jewels, in order to raise as much money as might be needed in making preparations for the voyage. Santangel, in a transport of gratitude, kissed the queen's hand; and, in order to save her from having recourse to such a mortifying expedient for procuring money, engaged to advance, immediately, the sum that was requisite.

Columbus had proceeded some leagues on his voyage to England, when the messenger from Isabella overtook him. He returned with joy mingled with some degree of fear, lest he should again be disappointed. The manner of his reception by the queen was, however, such as quickly dispelled his fears. A negotiation commenced, and was forwarded with dispatch, and an agreement was finally entered into and signed, on the 7th of April, 1492. The chief articles of it were, 1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of the ocean, constituted Columbus their high-admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents, which should be discovered by his industry; and stipulated, that he and his heirs for ever should enjoy this office, with the same power and prerogatives which belonged to the high-admiral of Castile, within the limits of his jurisdiction. 2. They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the islands and continents which he should discover; but if, for the better administration of affairs, it should be necessary to establish a separate governor in any of those countries, they authorised Columbus to name three persons, of whom they would choose one for that office; and the dignity of viceroy, with all its immunities, was likewise to be hereditary in the family of Columbus. 3. They granted to Columbus, and his heirs for ever, the tenth of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries which he should discover. 4. They declared, if any controversy or lawsuit should arise, with respect to any mercantile transaction, in the countries which shall be discovered, it should be determined by the sole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him. 5. They permitted Columbus to advance one-eighth part of what should be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries which he should discover, and intitled him, in return, to an eighth part of the profit.

Though the name of Ferdinand appears conjoined with that of Isabella in this transaction, his distrust of Columbus was so violent, that he refused to take any part of the enterprise, as king of Arragon. As the whole expence of the expedition was to be defrayed by the crown of Castile, Isabella reserved for her subjects of that kingdom an exclusive right to all the benefits which might redound from its success.

After all the efforts of Isabella and Columbus, the armament

was suitable, neither to the dignity of the power who equipped it, nor to the importance of the service to which it was destined. It consisted of three vessels; the largest, a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of *Santa Maria*. Of the second, called the *Pinta*, Martin Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis pilot. The third, named the *Niña*, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon. These two last-mentioned were light vessels, hardly superior in burden or force to large boats. This little squadron was victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, mostly sailors, together with a few adventurers, who followed the fortune of Columbus, and some gentlemen of Isabella's court, whom she appointed to accompany him. The sum employed in fitting out this squadron did not exceed £4000 sterling.

On the third of August, 1492, being Friday, Columbus set sail, in the presence of a vast crowd of spectators, who offered fervent supplications to heaven for his success, which they rather wished than expected. He steered directly for the Canary islands, and in short run thither, found his ships crazy and ill appointed, and very unfit for so long and dangerous a navigation as he had undertaken. After refitting them as well as he could, he left the Canaries on the 6th of September, and here properly commenced the voyage of discovery. He held his course due west, and immediately left the usual track of navigation, and stretched into unknown and unfrequented seas. By the 14th of September, the fleet was about 200 leagues west of the Canaries, at a greater distance from land than any Spaniard had been before that time.

Columbus early discovered, from the spirit of his followers, that he must prepare to struggle, not only with the unavoidable difficulties which might be expected from the nature of his undertaking, but with such also as were likely to arise from the ignorance and timidity of the people under his command. All the art and address he was master of was hardly sufficient to quell the mutinous disposition of his sailors, who grew the more turbulent in proportion as their distance from home increased. What most astonished Columbus, during the voyage, was the variation of the magnetic needle. He observed that it did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west.

This appearance, then one of the mysteries of nature, though now familiar, filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in the midst of a trackless ocean; nature herself seemed to be altered, and the only guide they had left was about to fail them. Columbus, with no less quickness than ingenuity, invented a reason for this appearance, which though it did not satisfy himself, seemed so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears and silenced their murmur.

On the evening of the 11th of October, Columbus was so confident, from various appearances, of being near land, that he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie to, and strict watch to be kept lest they should be driven on shore in the night. During this interval of suspense and expectation, no man shut his eyes, all kept on deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land, which had so long been the object of their wishes. A little before midnight, Columbus, from the fore-castle, discovered a light at a distance; and, shortly after, the joyful sound of *land! land!* was heard from the Pinta, which always kept a head of the other ships. At the dawn of day, an island was seen from every ship, at the distance of about two leagues north, whose verdant aspect indicated a most delightful country. The crews of all the ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation, unitedly sang *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God. They then with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence, threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, begged him to forgive their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had given him so much unnecessary disquiet; acknowledged his superior abilities, and promised obedience in future.

At sun-rising, the boats were manned and armed, and they rowed towards the island with their colors displayed, with warlike music and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast, they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the strange objects before them. Columbus was the first European who set foot in the New World which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress, and with a naked sword in his hand. His men followed, and, kneeling down, they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They next erected a crucifix, and pros-

trating themselves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to so happy an issue. They then took a solemn and formal possession of the country for the crown of Castile and Leon.

The dress of the Spaniards, their beards, their arms, the vast machines with which they traversed the ocean, the thundering roar of the cannon, accompanied with lightning and smoke, filled the natives with surprise and terror, and they began to consider them as children of the sun, who had descended to visit mortals here below. The Spaniards were hardly less amazed in their turn. The productions of the island were different from any thing they had seen in Europe. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses round their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their body was perfectly smooth. Their complexion was of a dusky copper color; their features singular rather than disagreeable, and their aspect gentle and timid. They were shy at first, through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards, and with transports of joy received from them various kinds of trinkets, in return for which they gave provisions, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value they could produce. Thus in the first interview between the inhabitants of the old and new worlds, every thing was conducted amicably, and to their mutual satisfaction.

The island on which Columbus first landed he called San Salvador. It is one of that large cluster of islands known by the name of the Lucaya or Bahama islands, and is above 3000 miles west of the Canaries. He afterwards touched at several islands in the same cluster, enquiring every where for gold, which he thought was the only object of commerce worth his attention. In steering southward, he discovered the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola, abounding in all the necessaries of life, and inhabited by a humane and hospitable people.

On his return to Spain he was overtaken by a storm, which had nearly proved fatal to his ships and their crews. At a crisis when all was given up for lost, Columbus had presence of mind enough to retire into his cabin, and to write upon parchment a short account of his voyage. This he wrapped in an oiled cloth, which he inclosed in a cake of wax, put it into a tight cask, and threw



it into the sea, in hopes that some fortunate accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world. He arrived at Palos, in Spain, whence he had sailed the year before, on the 15th of March, 1493. He was welcomed with all the acclamations which the populace are ever ready to bestow on great and glorious characters; and the court received him with marks of the greatest respect.

In September, of this year, (1493), Columbus sailed upon his second voyage to America; during the performance of which he discovered the islands of Dominica, Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Montserrat, Antigua, Porto Rico, and Jamaica; and returned to Spain in 1496.

In 1498, he sailed a third time for America; and on the first of August discovered the continent, at the mouth of the river Oronoke. He then coasted along westward, making other discoveries, for 200 leagues, to Cape Vela, from which he crossed over to Hispaniola, where he was seized by a new Spanish governor, and sent home in chains.

In 1502, Columbus made his fourth, and last, voyage to Hispaniola; thence he went over to the continent; discovered the bay of Honduras; thence sailed along shore easterly 200 leagues, to Cape Gracias à Dios, Veragua, Porto Bello, and the Gulf of Darien, searching, in vain, for a passage to the East Indies. During this voyage, he was shipwrecked on the island of Jamaica, where he suffered almost inconceivably from the cruelty of the inhabitants, the mutiny of his men, and especially from the infamous conduct of the governor of Hispaniola. He returned to Spain in 1504. On his arrival he received the fatal news of the death of his patroness, queen Isabella.

The jealous and avaricious Spaniards, not immediately receiving those golden advantages from these new discoveries which they had promised, and lost to the feelings of humanity and gratitude, suffered their esteem and admiration of Columbus to degenerate into ignoble envy. The latter part of his life was therefore made wretched by the cruel persecutions of his enemies. Queen Isabella, his friend and patroness, was no longer alive to afford him relief. He sought redress from Ferdinand, but in vain. Disgusted with the ingratitude of a monarch whom he had served with so much fidelity and success, exhausted with hardships, and broken with the infirmities which these brought upon him, Co-

lumbus ended his active and useful life at Valladolid, on the 20th of May, 1506, in the 59th year of his age. He died with a composure of mind suited to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety, becoming that supreme respect for religion which he manifested in every occurrence of his life. He was grave though courteous in his deportment, circumspect in his words and actions, irreproachable in his morals, and exemplary in all the duties of his religion.

Among other adventurers to the new world, in pursuit of gold, was Americus Vesputius, a Florentine gentleman, whom Ferdinand had appointed to draw sea-charts, and to whom he had given the title of chief pilot. This man accompanied Ojeda, an enterprising Spanish adventurer, to America; and having, with much art, and some degree of elegance, drawn up an amusing history of his voyage, he published it to the world. It circulated rapidly, and was read with admiration. In his narrative, he had insinuated that the glory of having first discovered the new world belonged to him. This was in part believed, and the country began to be called after the name of its supposed first discoverer. The unaccountable caprice of mankind has perpetuated the error; so that now, by the universal consent of all the nations, this new quarter of the globe is called America.

As any length and detail of the West India islands does not fall within the plan of this work, we shall proceed with the Spanish discoveries on the Continent of America and it is to be regretted that those who succeeded Columbus, did not imitate his forbearance, his justice, and his benignity. In the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola, better known by the name of Domingo, the cruelties of the Spaniards were so excessive, that the native population was soon destroyed; a waste of life which laid the foundation of the African slave trade.

Hitherto the Spaniards had not established themselves in any force on the Continent of America; but the report which had reached them of its riches, induced them to conclude that a firm footing there would be highly advantageous; and afford them an opportunity of carrying their system of cruelty, and plunders, on a more extensive scale. With this view, Fernando Cortez was dispatched from Cuba, with 600 men, 18 horses, and a small number of fieldpieces to subdue Mexico, the most powerful empire then existing in America, inhabited by millions of

Indians, passionately fond of war, and then headed by Montezuma, whose fame in arms had struck terror into the neighbouring nations and extended over one half the continent. No authenticated history was ever so improbable and romantic as that of this war. The empire of Mexico had subsisted for ages: its inhabitants were a polished and intelligent people. Their superiority in military affairs, and their government, founded on the sure basis of laws combined with religion, seemed to bid defiance to time itself. The capital city, of the same name, situated in the middle of a spacious lake, was the noblest specimen of American industry: it communicated with the continent by immense causeways, which were carried through the lake, and was admired for its buildings, all of stone, its squares, markets, shops, and the sumptuous palaces of Montezuma. But all the grandeur of this empire could not defend it against the Spaniards. Cortez and his followers met with but feeble opposition from the natives along the coast, who were terrified at their first appearance: the warlike animals on which the officers were mounted—the artificial thunder that issued from their hands—and the wooden castles which had wafted them over the ocean—all struck a panic into the natives, from which they did not recover until it was too late. Montezuma heard of their progress, without daring to oppose it. This sovereign commanded thirty vassals, each of whom could take the field at the head of 100,000 combatants, armed with bows and arrows; and yet he was, doubtless from motives of superstition, afraid to oppose a handful of Spaniards, whom he hoped to conciliate by a rich present of gold. This, however, only whetted the Spanish avarice, and hastened their approach. No opposition was made to their entry into the capital, where a palace was set apart for Cortez, who was treated as the master of the empire. Being suspicious, however, that this politeness covered some plot for his destruction, his palace was surrounded with artillery, the most terrible of all machines to the Americans, by which he not only secured himself from surprise, but was placed in a situation to take advantage of any circumstance that might lead to a misunderstanding with the natives.

Cortez, in order to preserve a communication by sea, had erected a fort, and left a small garrison behind him, at Vera Cruz, which he understood that the Americans in the neighbour-

hood had attacked, and that a Spaniard had been killed. On hearing this, Cortez affected to be in a violent fury, and insisted that Montezuma himself was privy to this violence, to whom he went in person, attended by a few experienced officers. The emperor pleaded innocence, to which Cortez could not be persuaded, unless he consented to return with them to their residence, which, he said, would remove all jealousy between them. To this, after some hesitation, he consented; and, though a powerful monarch, in the middle of his own palace, and surrounded by his guards, he gave himself up a prisoner, to be disposed of according to the inclination of a few adventurers. Cortez had now got into his hands an engine, by which every thing might be accomplished, for the Mexicans had a kind of superstitious veneration for their emperor. Cortez, therefore, by keeping him in his power, allowing him to enjoy every mark of royalty but his freedom, and at the same time being able to flatter all his tastes and passions, maintained an easy sovereignty over this country, by governing its prince. Did the natives, grown familiar with the Spaniards, begin to abate of their respect—Montezuma was the first to teach them more politeness. Was there a tumult, excited through their cruelty or avarice—Montezuma, from the battlements of his palace, harangued his Mexicans into submission. This farce continued some time, till on one occasion, when he was disgracing his character by justifying the enemies of his country, a stone from an unknown hand struck him on the forehead, which in a few days occasioned his death. The Mexicans, now delivered from this emperor, elected a new prince, the famous Guatimozin, who from the beginning had discovered an implacable animosity against the Spaniards. Under his conduct the unhappy Mexicans made no small efforts for independence: but all their valor, and despair itself, gave way before the Spanish artillery; and Guatimozin and the Empress were taken prisoners. By getting this prince into his hands, Cortez made a complete conquest of the country.

The Spaniards had scarcely obtained possession of Mexico, when they received intelligence of the existence of another great empire, situated to the south of the equator, that was said to abound in gold, silver, and precious stones. This was the empire of Peru, which was the only other country in America that deserved the name of a civilized kingdom. This extensive coun-

try was reduced by the endeavours. and at the expence, of three private persons; namely, Francis Pizarro, Almagro, and Lucques a priest. The two former were natives of Panama, of mean birth, and low education. Pizarro, the soul of the enterprise, could neither read nor write. They sailed over to Spain, and without difficulty obtained a grant of what they should conquer. Pizarro then set out for the conquest, with 250 foot, 60 horse, and 12 small pieces of cannon. As the Peruvians entertained the same prejudices as the Mexicans in favor of the Spaniards, and were, beside, of a character still more effeminate and unwarlike, it need not surprise us, after the conquest of Mexico, that with this inconsiderable force Pizarro should make a deep impression on the Peruvian empire, which had existed in its present form upwards of 300 years. It was founded by one Mango Capac, who, observing that the people were naturally superstitious, and had a particular veneration for the sun, pretended to be descended from that luminary, whose worship he was sent to establish, and whose authority he was entitled to bear. By this story, romantic as it was, he easily deceived this credulous people, and brought a large extent of territory under his jurisdiction. The deceit, however, he employed for the most laudable purposes: he united and civilized the till then barbarous people, bent them to laws and arts, and softened them by the institution of a benevolent religion. A race of princes succeeded Mango, called *Yncas*, who were revered by the people as the descendants of their great God the Sun. The twelfth of these was now on the throne, named Atabalipa, whose father had conquered the province of Quito, and, to secure the possession, had married the daughter of the natural prince of that country, by whom he had Atabalipa. His elder brother, Huescar, by a different mother, had claimed the succession to his father's dominions; and a civil war was kindled, which, after various turns of fortune, ended in favor of Atabalipa, who detained Huescar as a prisoner, in the tower of Cusco, the capital of the empire.

In this feeble and disjointed state was Peru when Pizarro appeared; on whose arrival prophecies were recollected, that foretold the subjection of the empire by unknown persons, whose description exactly corresponded with that of the Spaniards. Under these circumstances, Atabalita, instead of opposing them, set himself to procure their favor. Pizarro, however, whose

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temper partook of the meanness of his education, had no conception of dealing gently with those people. While he was engaged in conference with Atabalipa, his men, being previously instructed, furiously attacked the guards of that prince, and butchered some thousands of them, as they pressed forward to defend the sacred person of their monarch. Notwithstanding all their efforts, Atabalipa was seized by Pizarro, and carried to the Spanish quarters. He, however, was not long in their hands before he began to treat of his ransom; but while Pizarro was engaged in this negotiation, by which he proposed, without releasing the emperor, to get into his possession an immense quantity of gold, the arrival of Almagro caused some embarrassment in his affairs. As the friendship between these men was solely founded on the principle of avarice, when their interests interfered, it was not to be expected that any measures could be kept between them. Pizarro claimed the most considerable share of the royal ransom, because he had the chief hand in acquiring it; while Almagro insisted on being upon an equal footing. At length, however, lest the cause might suffer from any rupture between them, the latter disposition was agreed to, and the ransom was paid without delay. Although the sum exceeded their conception, yet it was by no means capable of satiating their avarice. It exceeded £1,500,000, sterling, which, considering the value of money at that time, was prodigious. After deducting one fifth for the king of Spain, and the shares of the chief commanders and officers, each private soldier shared upwards of £2000 English money. No sooner did numbers of them find themselves possessed of such fortunes, than they insisted on being disbanded, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labor in quiet, in their own country. To this Pizarro consented, sensible that avarice would still detain a number in his army, and that those who returned would induce new adventurers to pursue the same speculation. This idea was soon abundantly verified: for it was impossible to send out better recruiting officers, than those who had themselves so much profited by the field; new soldiers constantly arrived, and the Spanish armies never wanted reinforcements.

This immense ransom was no sooner deposited at the Spanish head-quarters, than the release of the king was demanded; but with this Pizarro refused to comply, framing several excuses fo

his farther detention, though his real motive was to discover, if any farther treasure would be offered. Atabalipa, perceiving his treacherous intentions, boldly remonstrated against them; and Pizarro, finding ultimately that no farther advantage was to be acquired by keeping him longer a prisoner, began to treat him in a rude and haughty manner, but ill suited to a person of his exalted birth and usual mode of life. This caused him to remonstrate, and at length threaten, which so exasperated Pizarro, that (notwithstanding all the favors that this unhappy prince had shown him) he called a council of officers, who unjustly tried him according to the laws of Spain; and he was found guilty of idolatry, of having a plurality of wives, and other circumstances equally in themselves frivolous and impertinent, but for which this monster of barbarity caused him to be burnt alive!!! After his death, a number of competitors appeared for the throne. The principal nobility set up the brother of Huescar; Pizarro favored a son of Atabalipa; while two of the principal generals endeavoured to establish themselves, through the assistance of the army. These oppositions, though in their consequences exceedingly sanguinary, were in the beginning rather favorable to the Spaniards: but the inhabitants, becoming accustomed to scenes of blood and slaughter, began to rise from the lethargy into which for ages they had been sunk, and boldly attacked the Spaniards, whom they recognized as the authors of all their calamities, and slew a considerable number of them. Having once established throughout the country an idea that their invaders were not invulnerable, thousands flocked to the standard of Rolla, their famous general, who made head against them with partial success. Pizarro at length found it advisable to conclude a truce with the inhabitants, who, being tired of the contest, readily assented, provided the Spanish general indicated the sincerity of his designs by retiring to the coast. This he immediately did, and a peace was concluded. During this interval Pizarro did not remain inactive, but employed himself and his troops in founding the city of Lima, which he strongly fortified, and thus obtained a firm establishment in the country, to which he might always retire in case of any reverse of fortune.

As soon as a favorable opportunity offered, he renewed the war, and, after many difficulties, made himself master of Cus-

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eo, the capital, and subsequently of the greatest part of the country. But no sooner were the Spaniards in complete possession, than Pizarro and Almagro began to differ about the division of the country. At length, however, a reconciliation was brought about, through the dexterity of Pizarro, who, in giving up to his rival the southern provinces of the empire, persuaded him that still farther to the southward there existed a kingdom no way inferior in riches to that of Peru, the conquest of which would, doubtless, add greatly to his fame and fortune. This incentive Pizarro well knew was exactly suited to his disposition; for, anxious of conquering a kingdom for himself, Almagro collected a body of troops, and penetrated with great difficulty and danger into Chili, losing many of his soldiers as he passed over a branch of the Andes mountains, which are covered with perpetual snow. After surmounting these obstacles, he reduced a considerable part of the country; but was recalled from his victorious career by the revolt of the Peruvians, who had now become too well acquainted with the art of war, not to take advantage of the division of the Spanish troops. They made an effort to regain their capital, in which, Pizarro being indisposed, they would have been successful, if Almagro had not suddenly returned, to secure the grand object of their former labors. He raised the siege, with infinite slaughter of the assailants; but, having obtained possession, was unwilling to give it up to Pizarro.

This dispute occasioned a long and sanguinary struggle between them, in which the turns of fortune were various, and the resentment fierce on both sides, because the fate of the vanquished was certain death. This was the lot of Almagro, who, in an advanced age, fell a victim to the security of his rival. During the course of this war, many Peruvians served in the Spanish armies, and learned, from the practice of christians, to butcher one another. The majority of the people, however, at length opened their eyes to their real situation, and took a very remarkable resolution. They saw the ferocity of the Europeans, their unextinguishable resentment and avarice; and they conjectured that these passions would never permit their contests to subside. "Let us retire," said they, "from among them, let us fly to our mountains; they will speedily destroy one another, and then we may return in peace to our former habitations."



This resolution was instantly put in practice; the Peruvians dispersed, and left the Spaniards in their capital. Had the force on each side been exactly equal, this singular policy of the natives of Peru might have been attended with success. But the victory of Pizarro put an end to Almagro's life, and the hopes of the Peruvians, who have since ceased to be a distinct people.

Pizarro, notwithstanding he was now sole master of one of the richest empires in the world, was still urged by his boundless ambition to undertake new enterprises. The southern countries of America, into which he had some time before dispatched Almagro, offered the richest conquest. Towards this quarter, the mountains of Potosi, composed of entire silver, had been discovered, the mere shell of which only now remains. He therefore followed the track of Almagro into Chili, and reduced another part of that country. At length, meeting with repeated success, and having no superior to control, no rival to keep him within bounds, he began to give loose reins to the natural ferocity of his temper, and behaved with the basest tyranny and cruelty against all who had not concurred in his designs. This conduct raised a conspiracy against him, to which he fell a sacrifice in his own palace, in the city of Lima. The partisans of old Almagro now declared his son, of the same name, their viceroy; but the greater part of the nation, though extremely well satisfied with the fate of Pizarro, did not concur with this declaration. They waited the orders of the Emperor Charles V., then king of Spain, who sent over Vacca di Castro to be their governor. This man, by his integrity and wisdom, was admirably calculated to heal the wounds of the colony, and to place every thing on the most advantageous footing, both for it and for the mother-country. By his prudent management, the mines of La Plata and Potosi, which were formerly private plunder, became an object of public utility to the court of Spain; the parties were silenced or crushed; young Almagro, who would hearken to no terms of accommodation, was put to death; and a tranquillity, since the arrival of the Spaniards unknown, was restored. But unfortunately, Castro was not sufficiently skilled in gaining the favor of the Spanish ministry, by bribes or promises, which they always expect from the governor of so rich a country. By their advice a council was sent over to control Castro, and the colony was again

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unsettled. The party spirit, but just extinguished, again broke out; and Gonzalo, the brother of Pizarro, put himself at the head of his brother's partisans, to whose standard several malcontents immediately flocked. Gonzalo, who only paid a nominal submission to the Spanish monarch, went so far as to behead a governor whom he sent over to curb him. He also gained the confidence of the admiral of the Spanish fleet, by whose means he proposed to hinder the landing of any troops from Europe. But in this he was disappointed; for the court of Spain, now become sensible of its mistake in not sending to America men of character and virtue, dispatched, with unlimited powers, Peter de la Gasca, a gentleman of mild and insinuating behaviour, and possessing at the same time a love of justice, greatness of soul, and disinterested spirit. Though it was not without some difficulty that he effected a landing, yet, when that was accomplished, all those who had not joined in Pizarro's revolt, flocked to his standard; many of his friends, charmed with the behaviour of Gasca, forsook their old connexions; the admiral was gained over to return to his duty; and to Pizarro himself a full indemnity was offered, provided he would return to the allegiance of the Spanish crown. But he was inclined to run every hazard, rather than submit; and, with those of his partisans that continued to adhere to his interest, he determined to hazard a battle, in which he was defeated and taken prisoner. By his execution, which followed soon after, a permanent tranquillity was diffused throughout the whole country, which suffered no material interruption till within these few years, when the troubles in the mother-country have enabled the inhabitants, in a great measure, to throw off the Spanish yoke.

**NORTH AMERICA** was discovered in the reign of Henry VII. a period when the arts and sciences had made very considerable progress in Europe. Many of the first adventurers were men of genius and learning, and were careful to preserve authentic records of such of their proceedings as would be interesting to posterity.

In 1502, Sebastian Cabot fell in with Newfoundland; and, on his return, he carried three of the natives of that island to Henry VII. In the spring of 1513, John Ponce sailed from Porto Rico northerly, and discovered the continent in 30°8' north latitude. He landed in April, a season when the country round

was covered with verdure, and in full bloom. This circumstance induced him to call the country *Florida*, which, for many years was the common name for North and South America. In 1516, Sir Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert explored the coast as far as Brazil in South America. This vast extent of country, the coast whereof was thus explored, remained unclaimed and unsettled by any European power (except by the Spaniards in South America) for almost a century from the time of its discovery.

It was not till the year 1524 that France attempted discoveries on the American coast. Stimulated by his enterprising neighbours, Francis I., who possessed a great and active mind, sent John Verrazano, a Florentine, to America, for the purpose of making discoveries. He traversed the coast from latitude  $28^{\circ}$  to  $50^{\circ}$  north. In a second voyage, some time after, he was lost. The next year Stephen Gomez, the first Spaniard who came upon the American coast for discovery, sailed from Groyon in Spain, to Cuba and Florida, thence northward to Cape Razo, in latitude 46 degrees north, in search of a north-west passage to the East Indies,

In the spring of 1534, by the direction of Francis I., a fleet was fitted out at St. Malo's, in France, with a design to make discoveries in America. The command of this fleet was given to James Cartier. He arrived at Newfoundland in May of this year. Thence he sailed northerly; and, on the day of the festival of St. Lawrence, he found himself in about latitude  $48^{\circ} 30'$  north, in the midst of a broad gulf, which he named St. Lawrence. He gave the same name to the river which empties into it. In this voyage he sailed as far north as latitude  $51^{\circ}$ , expecting in vain to find a passage to China. The next year he sailed up the river St. Lawrence, 300 leagues, to the great and swift *Fall*. He called the country *New France*; built a fort, in which he spent the winter, and returned in the following spring to France.

In 1542, Francis la Roche, lord of Robewell, was sent to Canada, by the French king, with three ships and 200 men, women, and children. They wintered there in a fort which they had built, and returned in the spring. About the year 1550, a large number of adventurers sailed for Canada, but were never after heard of. In 1598, the king of France commissioned the

marquis de la Roche to conquer Canada, and other countries not possessed by any christian prince. We do not learn, however, that la Roche ever attempted to execute his commission, or that any farther attempts were made to settle in Canada during this century. On the 12th of May, 1539, Ferdinand de Soto, with 900 men, besides seamen, sailed from Cuba, having for his object the conquest of Florida. On the 30th of May he arrived at Spirito Santo, from whence he travelled northward 450 leagues from the sea. Here he discovered a river a quarter of a mile wide and nineteen fathoms deep, on the bank of which he died and was buried, May, 1542, aged forty-two years. Alverdo, his successor, built seven brigantines, and the year following embarked upon the river. In seventeen days he proceeded down the river 400 leagues, where he judged it to be fifteen leagues wide. From the largeness of the river at that place of his embarkation, he concluded its source must have been at least 400 leagues above, so that the whole length of the river, in his opinion, must have been more than 800 leagues. As he passed down the river, he found it opened by two mouths into the gulf of Mexico. These circumstances lead us to conclude, that this river, so early discovered, was the one which we now call the *Mississippi*. On the 6th of January, 1549, king Henry VII. granted a pension for life to Sebastian Cabot, in consideration of the important services he had rendered to the kingdom by his discoveries in America.

The admiral of France, Chatillon, early in the year 1562, sent out a fleet under the command of John Ribalt. He arrived at Cape Francis, on the coast of Florida, near which, on the first of May, he discovered and entered a river which he called *May* river. It is more than probable that river is the same which we now call *St. Mary's*, which forms a part of the southern boundary of the United States. As he coasted northward, he discovered eight other rivers, one of which he called *Port Royal*, and sailed up it several leagues. On one of the rivers he built a fort, and called it *Charles*, in which he left a colony under the direction of captain Albert. The severity of Albert's measures excited a mutiny, in which, to the ruin of the colony, he was slain. Two years after, Chatillon sent René Laudonier, with three ships, to Florida. In June he arrived at the river May, on which he built a fort, and, in honor to his king, Charles IX., he called it *Carolina*.

In August, this year, captain Ribalt arrived at Florida the second time, with a fleet of seven vessels to recruit the colony, which, two years before, he had left under the direction of the unfortunate captain Albert. The September following, Pedro Melandes, with six Spanish ships, pursued Ribalt up the river on which he had settled, and, overpowering him with numbers, cruelly massacred him and his whole company. Melandes, having in his way taken possession of the country, built three forts, and left them garrisoned with 1200 soldiers. Laudonier, and his colony on May river, receiving information of the fate of Ribalt, took the alarm, and escaped to France.

A fleet of three ships was sent from France to Florida, in 1567, under the command of Dominique de Gourges. The object of this expedition was to dispossess the Spaniards of that part of Florida which they had cruelly and unjustifiably seized three years before. He arrived on the coast of Florida in April, 1568, and soon after made a successful attack upon the forts. The recent cruelty of Melandes and his company, excited revenge in the breast of Gourges, and roused the unjustifiable principle of retaliation. He took the forts; put most of the Spaniards to the sword; and, having burned and demolished all their fortresses, returned to France. During the fifty years next after this event, the French enterprised no settlements in America. In 1576, captain Frobisher was sent to find out a north-west passage to the East Indies. The first land which he made on the coast was a cape, which, in honor to the queen, he called *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*. In coasting northerly he discovered the straits which bear his name. He prosecuted his search for a passage into the western ocean, till he was prevented by the ice, and then returned to England. In 1579, Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained a patent from queen Elizabeth, for lands not yet possessed by any christian prince, provided he would take possession within six years. With this encouragement he sailed for America, and on the first of August, 1583, anchored in Conception Bay. Afterwards he discovered and took possession of St. John's harbour, and the country south. In pursuing his discoveries, he lost one of his ships on the shoals of Sabion; and, on his return home, a storm overtook him, in which he was unfortunately lost, and the intended settlement was prevented.

As this is the first charter to a colony, granted by the Crown of England, the articles in it merit particular attention, as they unfold the ideas of that age, with respect to the nature of such settlements. Elizabeth authorises him to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands, unoccupied by any christian prince or people. She vests in him, his heirs and assigns for ever, the full right of property in the soil of those countries whereof he shall take possession. She permits such of her subjects, as were willing to accompany Gilbert in his voyage, to go and settle in the countries which he shall plant. She empowers him, his heirs and assigns, to dispose of whatever portion of those lands he shall judge meet to persons settled there, in fee-simple, according to the laws of England. She ordains, that all the lands granted to Gilbert shall hold of the Crown of England by homage, on payment of the fifth part of the gold or silver ore found there. She confers upon him, his heirs, and assigns, the complete jurisdictions and royalties, as well marine as other, within the said lands and seas thereunto adjoining; and as their common safety and interest would render good government necessary in their new settlements, she gave Gilbert, his heirs and assigns, full power to convict, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, by their good discretion and policy, as well in causes capital or criminal as civil, both marine and other, all persons who shall from time to time settle within the said countries, according to such statutes, laws, and ordinances as shall be by him, his heirs and assigns, devised and established for their better government. She declared, that all who settled there should have and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens and natives of England, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. And finally, she prohibited all persons from attempting to settle within two hundred leagues of any place which Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or his associates, shall have occupied, during the space of six years.

With these extraordinary powers, suited to the high notions of authority and prerogative prevalent in England during the sixteenth century, but very repugnant to more recent ideas with respect to the rights of freemen, who voluntarily unite to form a colony, Gilbert began to collect associates, and to prepare for embarkation. His own character, and the zealous efforts of his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, who, even in his early youth,

displayed those splendid talents, and that undaunted spirit, which create admiration and confidence, soon procured him a sufficient number of followers. But his success was not suited either to the sanguine hopes of his countrymen, or to the expence of his preparations. Two expeditions, both of which he conducted in person, ended disastrously. In the last, he himself perished, without having effected his intended settlement on the continent of America, or performing any thing more worthy of notice, than the empty formality of taking possession of the island of Newfoundland, in the name of his sovereign. The dissensions among his officers; the licentious and ungovernable spirit of his crew; his total ignorance of the countries which he purposed to occupy; his misfortune in approaching the continent too far towards the north, where the inhospitable coast of Cape Breton did not invite them to settle; the shipwreck of his largest vessel; and above all, the scanty provision which the funds of a private man could make of what was requisite for establishing a new colony, were the true causes to which the failure of the enterprise must be imputed, not to any deficiency of abilities or resolution in its leader.

But the miscarriage of a scheme, in which Gilbert had wasted his fortune, did not discourage Raleigh. He adopted all his brother's ideas; and applying to the Queen, in whose favor he stood high at that time, he procured a patent, with jurisdiction and prerogatives as ample as had been granted unto Gilbert. Sir Walter Raleigh, no less eager to execute than to undertake the scheme, instantly dispatched two small vessels, under the command of Amadas and Barlow, two officers of trust, to visit the countries which he intended to settle, and to acquire some previous knowledge of their coasts, their soil, and productions. In order to avoid Gilbert's error, in holding too far north, they took their course by the Canaries and the West India islands, approached the North American Continent by the Gulf of Florida. Unfortunately their chief researches were made in that part of the country now known by the name of North Carolina, the province in America most destitute of commodious harbours. They touched first at an island, which they call Wokocon (probably Ocaoke), situated on the inlet into Pamplioe Sound, and then at Raonoke, near the mouth of Albemarle Sound. In both, they had some intercourse with the natives, whom they

found to be savages, with all the characteristic qualities of uncivilized life, bravery, aversion to labor, hospitality, a propensity to admire, and a willingness to exchange their rude productions for English commodities, especially for iron, or any of the useful metals of which they were destitute. After spending a few weeks in this traffic, and in visiting some parts of the adjacent continent, Amadas and Barlow returned to England with two of the natives, and gave such splendid descriptions of the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, and the mildness of the climate, that Elizabeth, delighted with the idea of occupying a territory, superior, so far, to the barren regions towards the north hitherto visited by her subjects, bestowed on it the name of Virginia; as a memorial that this happy discovery had been made under a virgin Queen.

Their report encouraged Raleigh to hasten his preparations for taking possession of such an inviting property. He fitted out a squadron of seven small ships, under the command of Sir Richard Greenville, a man of honorable birth, and of courage so undaunted as to be conspicuous even in that gallant age. But the spirit of that predatory war which the English carried on against Spain, mingled with this scheme of settlement; and on this account, as well as from unacquaintance with a more direct and shorter course to North America, Greenville sailed by the West India islands. He spent some time in cruising among these, and in taking prizes; so that it was towards the close of June before he arrived on the coast of North America. He touched at both the islands where Amadas and Barlow had landed, and made some excursions into different parts of the continent round Pamlicoë and Albemarle Sounds. But as, unfortunately, he did not advance far enough towards the North, to discover the noble Bay of Chesapeak, he established the colony which he left on the island of Raonoke, an incommodious station, without any safe harbour, and almost uninhabited.

This colony consisted only of one hundred and eighty persons, under the command of Captain Lane, assisted by some men of note, the most distinguished of whom was Hariot, an eminent mathematician. Their chief employment, during a residence of nine months, was to obtain a more extensive knowledge of the country; and their researches were carried on with greater spirit, and reached farther than could have been expect-



ed from a colony so feeble, and in a station so disadvantageous. But from the same impatience of indigent adventurers to acquire sudden wealth, which gave a wrong direction to the industry of the Spaniards in their settlements, the greater part of the English seem to have considered nothing as worthy of attention but mines of gold and silver. These they sought for, wherever they came; these they enquired after with unwearied eagerness. The savages soon discovered the favorite objects which allured them, and artfully amused them with so many tales concerning pearl fisheries, and rich mines of various metals, that Lane and his companions wasted their time and activity in the chimerical pursuit of these, instead of laboring to raise provisions for their own subsistence. On discovering the deceit of the Indians, they were so much exasperated, that from expostulations and reproaches, they proceeded to open hostility. The supplies of provisions which they had been accustomed to receive from the natives were of course withdrawn. Through their own negligence, no other precaution had been taken for their support. Raleigh, having engaged in a scheme too expensive for his narrow funds, had not been able to send them that recruit of stores with which Greenville had promised to furnish them early in the spring. The colony, reduced then to the utmost distress, and on the point of perishing with famine, was preparing to disperse into different districts of the country in quest of food, when Sir Francis Drake appeared with his fleet, returning from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. A scheme which he formed, of furnishing Lane and his associates with such supplies as might enable them to remain with comfort in their station, was disappointed by a sudden storm, in which a small vessel that he destined for their service was dashed to pieces; and as he could not supply them with another, at their joint request, as they were worn out with fatigue and famine, he carried them home to England.

Such was the inauspicious beginning of the English settlements in the New World; and after exciting high expectations, this first attempt produced no effect but that of affording a more complete knowledge of the country; as it enabled Harriot, a man of science and observation, to describe its soil, climate, productions, and the manners of its inhabitants, with a degree of accuracy which merits no inconsiderable praise, when compared

with the childish and marvellous tales published by several of the early visitants of the New World. There is another consequence of this abortive colony important enough to entitle it to a place in history. Lane and his associates, by their constant intercourse with the Indians, had acquired a relish for their favorite enjoyment of smoking tobacco; to the use of which, the credulity of that people not only ascribed a thousand imaginary virtues, but their superstition considered the plant itself as a gracious gift of the gods, for the solace of human kind, and the most acceptable offering which man can present to heaven. They brought with them a specimen of this new commodity to England, and taught their countrymen the method of using it; which Raleigh, and some young men of fashion, fondly adopted. From imitation of them, from love of novelty, and from the favorable opinion of its salutary qualities entertained by several physicians, the practice spread among the English. The Spaniards and Portuguese had, previous to this, introduced it in other parts of Europe. This habit of taking tobacco gradually extended from the extremities of the north to those of the south, and in one form or other seems to be equally grateful to the inhabitants of every climate; and by a singular caprice of the human species, no less inexplicable than unexampled, (so bewitching is the acquired taste for a weed of no manifest utility, and at first not only unpleasant, but nauseous,) that it has become almost as universal as the demands of those appetites originally implanted in our nature. Smoking was the first mode of taking tobacco in England; and we learn from the comic writers towards the close of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, that this was deemed one of the accomplishments of a man of fashion and spirit.

A few days after Drake departed from Roanoke, a small bark, dispatched by Raleigh with a supply of stores for the colony, landed at the place where the English had settled; but on finding it deserted by their countrymen, they returned to England. The bark was hardly gone, when Sir Richard Greenville appeared with three ships. After searching in vain for the colony which he had planted, without being able to learn what had befallen it, he left fifteen of his crew to keep possession of the island. This handful of men was soon overpowered and cut in pieces by the savages.

In the following year, 1587, Raleigh, who was neither discouraged nor wearied out by the ill success which had hitherto attended all his efforts to make a settlement in America, fitted out three ships, under the command of Captain John White, and, as some authors say, directed the colony to be removed to the waters of the Chesapeak, which bay had been discovered by Lane in the preceding year. Instructed by the calamities already experienced, more efficacious means for preserving and continuing the colony than had heretofore been used, were now adopted. The number of men was greater; some women accompanied them; and their supply of provisions was more abundant. Mr. White was appointed their governor, and twelve assistants were assigned him as a council. A charter was granted them, incorporating them by the name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia.

Thus prepared for a permanent settlement, they arrived in the latter end of July at Roanoke, where they received the melancholy intelligence of the loss of their countrymen who had been left there by Sir Richard Greenville. They determined, however, to remain at the same place; and immediately began to repair the houses, and to make the necessary preparations for their accommodation and comfort. They endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the natives, one of whom, who had accompanied Amadas and Barlow to England, and who had distinguished himself by his unshaken attachment to the English, was christened and styled Lord of *Dassa Monpeake*, an Indian nation in the neighbourhood.

About the same time was added to the colony the first child of English parentage ever born in America. She was the daughter of *Ananias Dare*, and, in token of the place of her birth, was named Virginia.

On viewing the country, and their own actual situation, the colonists found themselves destitute of many things deemed essential to the preservation and comfortable subsistence of a new settlement, in a country covered with forests, and inhabited only by a few scattered tribes of savages. With one voice they deputed their governor to solicit those specific aids which their situation particularly and essentially required. On his arrival in England, he found the whole nation alarmed at the formidable preparations made by Philip II. of Spain for their invasion, and

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Raleigh, Greenville, and the other patrons of the colony, particularly and ardently engaged in those measures of defence which the public danger called for, and rendered indispen- sible. Raleigh, however, mingled with his exertions to defend his native country, some attention to the situation of the colony he had planted. Early in the year 1588, he found leisure to fit out for its relief, at Biddeford, a small fleet, the command of which was given to Sir Richard Greenville; but the apprehensions from the Spanish armament, proudly and confidently styled by their monarch the Invincible Armada, still increasing, the ships of force prepared by Raleigh were detained in port, by order of the queen, for the defence of their own country, and Sir Richard Greenville was specially and personally commanded not to depart out of Cornwall, where his services under Sir Walter Raleigh, who was mustering and training the forces as lieutenant of the county, were deemed necessary. On the 22nd of April, White put to sea with two small barks; but these vessels being unfortunately more desirous of making prizes than of relieving their distressed countrymen, were beaten by a superior force, and totally disabled from prosecuting their voyage.

Soon after this, in March 1589, the attention of Raleigh being directed to other more splendid objects, he assigned his patent to Sir Thomas Smith, and a company of merchants in London.

It was not till the year after this transfer, 1590, that any other effort was made for the relief of the colony. Three ships fitted out by the company, and having Mr. White on board, sailed in March from Plymouth; but having cruelly and criminally wasted their time in plundering the Spaniards in the West Indies, they did not reach Hatteras till the month of August. They fired a gun to give notice of their arrival, and sent some men on shore at the place where the colony had been left three years before; but no sign of their countrymen could be found. In attempting the next day to go to the Roanoke, one of the boats, in passing a bar, was half filled with water, another overset, and six men were drowned. Two other boats, however, were some time afterwards fitted out with nineteen men to search the island on which the colony had been left. At the departure of Mr. White they had contemplated removing about fifty miles up into the main; and it had been agreed that,

if they left their then position, they would carve the name of the place to which they should remove, on some tree, door, or post, with the addition of a cross over it, as a signal of distress, if they should be really distressed at the time of changing their situation. After considerable search, the word CROATAN was found carved, in fair capital letters, on one of the chief posts, but unaccompanied by the sign of distress which had been agreed on.

Croatan was the name of an Indian town on the north side of Cape *Look Out*, and for that place the fleet weighed anchor the next day. Meeting with a storm, and several accidents which discouraged them from proceeding on the voyage, they determined to give over further search for the present, and to return to the West Indies.

The company made no other attempt to find this lost colony; nor has the time, or the manner of their perishing, ever been discovered.

If any subsequent voyages were made by the English to North America, they were for the mere purposes of traffic, and were entirely unimportant in their consequences, until the year 1602, when one was undertaken by Bartholomew Gosnald, which contributed greatly to revive in the nation the hitherto unsuccessful, and then dormant, spirit of colonizing in the new world.

He sailed from Falmouth in a small bark with thirty-two men, and avoiding the usual, but circuitous course by the West Indies, steered as nearly west as the winds would permit, and reached the American continent on the 11th of May in nearly forty-three degrees of north latitude. Here some Indians in a shallop, with a mast and sails (supposed to have been obtained from Biscayan fishermen), came fearlessly on board them.

Finding no good harbour at this place, Gosnald put to sea again, and stood to the southward. The next morning he descried a promontory which he called Cape Cod, and holding his course along the coast as it stretched to the south-west, he touched at two islands, the first of which he named Martha's Vineyard, and the second Elizabeth's Island. Having passed some time at these places, examining the country, and trading with the natives, he returned to England.

This voyage, which was completed in less than four months, was attended with important consequences. Gosnald had found a healthy climate, a rich soil, good harbours, and a route which

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greatly shortened the distance to the continent of North America. He had seen many of the fruits known and prized in Europe, blooming in the woods; and he had planted European grain, which he found to grow rapidly. Encouraged by these experiments, and delighted with the country he had visited, he quickly formed the resolution of transporting thither a colony, and of uniting with himself, in the execution of this design, others who might be enabled to support it. So unfortunate, however, had been former attempts of this sort, that men of wealth and rank, although the report of Gosnald made considerable impression on them, were slow in giving full faith to his representations, and in entering completely into his plans. One vessel was fitted out by the merchants of Bristol, and another by the Earl of Southampton, and Lord Arundel of Warder, in order to learn whether Gosnald's account of the country was to be considered as a just representation of its state, or as the exaggerated description of a person fond of magnifying his own discoveries. Both returned with a full confirmation of his veracity, and with the addition of so many new circumstances in favor of the country, acquired by a more extensive view of it, as greatly increased the desire of planting it. The merchants of London, too, fitted out a vessel, which is supposed to have entered the Bay of Chesapeake, but to have returned without having penetrated into and explored the country.

The English Historians say, that Richard Hackluyt, prebendary of Westminster, a man of distinguished learning and intelligence, contributed more than any other, by his able and judicious exertions, to form an association sufficiently extensive, influential, and wealthy, to execute the so often renewed, and so often disappointed, project of establishing colonies in America.

At length such an association was formed; and a petition was presented to James I., who on the death of queen Elizabeth, had succeeded to the crown of England, praying the sanction of the royal authority to the execution of the plan they proposed. Greatly pleased with it, he commended, and immediately acceded to the wishes of its projectors.

On the 10th of April 1606, letters patent were issued, under the great seal of England, to the petitioners Sir Thomas Gates and his associates, granting to them those territories in America

lying on the sea coast, between the thirty-fourth, and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and which either belonged to that monarch, or were not then possessed by any other christian prince or people; and also the islands adjacent thereto, or within one hundred miles thereof. They were divided, at their own desire, into two several companies; one, consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of the city of London, and elsewhere, was called the first colony, and was required to settle between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of latitude; the other, consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and elsewhere, was named the second colony, and was ordered to settle between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude:—yet so that the colony last formed, should not be planted within one hundred miles of the prior establishment.

The adventurers were empowered to transport thither so many English subjects as should be willing to accompany them, with provisions and arms, and without paying customs for seven years. The colonists and their children were at all times to enjoy the same liberties, within any other dominions of the crown of England, as if they had remained, or were born within the realm.

For their better government, there was established, for each of the projected settlements, a council consisting of thirteen, to be appointed and removed by the royal instructions, who were empowered to govern the colonies according to such laws as should be given under the sign manual and privy seal of England. Two other boards were formed in England, which were, in like manner, to consist of thirteen persons to be appointed by the king, and who were invested with the superior direction of the affairs of the colonies.

The adventurers were allowed to search for and open mines of gold, silver, and copper, yielding one-fifth of the two former metals, and one-fifteenths of the latter, to the king; and to make a coin which should be current as well among the colonists as the natives.

The president and council, within the colonies, were authorised to repel those who should, without their authority, attempt to settle or trade within their jurisdiction, and to seize and de-

tain their persons and effects, till they should pay a duty of two and one-half per centum ad valorem, if subjects; but of five per centum, if aliens.

These taxes were to be applied, for twenty-one years, to the use of the adventurers, and afterwards to be paid into the royal exchequer.

While the council for the patentees were employed in making preparations to secure the benefits of their grant, James was no less assiduously engaged in the new, and to his vanity the flattering task of framing a code of laws for the government of the colonies about to be planted. Having at length prepared it, the code was issued under the sign manual and privy seal of England on the 20th of November, 1606. He invested, by these regulations, the general superintendence of the colonies in a council in England, "composed of a few persons of consideration and talents." He ordered that the word and service of God should be preached and used according to the rites and doctrines of the church of England. Both the legislative and executive powers, within the colonies, were vested in the presidents and councils. To their legislative power, however, was annexed a proviso, that their ordinances should not touch any man's life or member, should only continue in force till made void by the king or his council in England for Virginia, and should be, in substance, consonant to the laws of England. He also enjoined them to permit none to withdraw the people from their allegiance to himself and his successors, and to cause all persons so offending to be apprehended and imprisoned till reformation; or, in cases highly offensive, to be sent to England to receive punishment. And no person should be permitted to remain in the colony without taking the oath of obedience. Tumults, mutiny, and rebellion; murder and incest, were to be punished with death; and for these offences the criminal was to be tried by a jury. Inferior crimes were to be punished in a summary way, at the discretion of the president and council. Lands were to be holden within the colony as the same estates were enjoyed in England. Kindness towards the heathen was enjoined; and a power reserved to the king and his successors to ordain further laws, so that they were consonant to the jurisprudence of England.

Under this charter and these laws, which manifest, at the same time, a total disregard to all political liberty, and a total



ignorance of the real advantages which may be drawn from colonies by a parent state ; which vest the higher powers of legislation in persons residing out of the country, unchosen by the people, and unaffected by the laws they make, while commerce remains unconfined ; the patentees proceeded to execute the arduous, and almost untried task, of peopling a strange, distant, and uncultivated land, covered with woods and marshes, and inhabited only by a few savages, easily irritated ; and, when irritated, more fierce than the beasts they hunted.

Although several men of rank and fortune were concerned in the companies which had been formed in England for colonising America, their funds appear to have been very limited, and their first efforts were certainly extremely feeble.

The first expedition of the southern colony consisted of one vessel of a hundred tons, and two barks, with a hundred and five men destined to remain in the country.

The command of this small embarkation was given to Captain Newport, who sailed therewith from the Thames the 19th of December, 1606. At the same time that his instructions were received, three packets, sealed with the seal of the council, were delivered, one to Captain Newport, a second to Captain Bartholomew Gosnald, and a third to Captain John Radcliffe, containing the names of the council for the colony. These packets were accompanied with instructions directing that they should be opened within twenty-four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, and not before ; and that the names of his majesty's council should then be proclaimed. The council were then to proceed to the choice of a president, who should have two votes. To this singular and unaccountable concealment have been, in a great degree, attributed the dissensions which distracted the colonists on their passage, and which afterwards considerably impeded the progress of their infant settlement.

Newport, whose place of destination was Roanoke, took the circuitous route by the West India Islands, and had a long passage of four months. The reckoning had been out for three days, without perceiving land, and serious propositions were made for returning to England, when they were overtaken by a storm which fortunately drove them to the mouth of the Chesapeake.

On the 26th of April, 1607, they descried Cape Henry, and soon afterwards Cape Charles. Impatient to land, a party of about thirty men went on shore at Cape Henry; but they were immediately attacked by the natives, who considered them as enemies, and in the skirmish which ensued several were wounded on both sides.

The first employment of the colonists was to explore the adjacent country, with the appearance of which they were greatly delighted, and to select a spot on which their settlement should be made. They proceeded up a large beautiful river called by the natives Powhatan, and to which they gave the name of James, on a peninsula on the north side of which they unanimously agreed to make the first establishment of their infant colony. This place, as well as the river, they named after their king, and called it James-town.

Here they debarked on the 13th of May, and the sealed packets delivered to them in England being opened, Mr. Wingfield was, by the council, elected their president; but under frivolous and unjustifiable prettexts, they excluded from his seat among them John Smith, whose courage and talents seemed to have excited their envy, and who on the passage had been imprisoned on the improbable and unsupported charge of intending to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia.

The colonists soon found themselves embroiled with the Indians, who attacked them suddenly while at work, but were frightened by the fire from the ship, and in some short time a temporary accommodation with them was effected.

Although Newport was named of the council, he was ordered to return with the vessels to England, and the time of his departure approached. The accusers of Smith affecting a degree of humanity which they did not feel, proposed that he should return with Newport, instead of being prosecuted in Virginia; but with the pride of conscious innocence, he demanded his trial, and being honorably acquitted, took his seat in the council.

About the 15th of June, 1607, Newport sailed for England, leaving behind him one of the barks, and about a hundred persons, the only English then on the continent of America.

Thus about one hundred and ten years after this continent had been discovered by Cabot, and twenty-two years after a co-

lony had been conducted to Roanoke by Sir Richard Greenville, the English possessions in America, designed soon to become a mighty empire, were limited to a peninsula of a few thousand acres of land held by a small body of men, who with difficulty maintained themselves against the paltry tribes which surrounded them, and looked, in a great measure, to the other side of the Atlantic for the bread on which they were to subsist.

The stock of provisions for the colony had been very improvidently laid in. It was entirely inadequate to their wants, and in addition to this original error, it had sustained great damage, in the holds of the vessels, during their long passage. On the departure of Newport (during whose stay they managed to partake of the superfluity of the sailors) they were reduced to the necessity of subsisting on the distributions from the public stores. These were at the same time scanty and unwholesome. They did not amount to more per man than a pint of worm-eaten wheat and barley, boiled in a common kettle. This wretched food increased the malignity of the diseases generated by a hot, and, at the same time, (the country being entirely uncleared and undrained) a damp climate among men exposed from their situation to all its rigors. Before the month of September, fifty of the company, and among them Bartholomew Gosnold, who had planned the expedition and so much contributed towards its being carried on, were buried. This scene of their distress was heightened by internal dissension. The president was charged with having embezzled the best stores of the colony, and with feasting at his private table with beef, bread, and aqua vitæ, then deemed luxuries of the highest order, while famine and death devoured his fellow adventurers. No crime could in the public opinion have been more atrocious. In addition to this, he was detected in an attempt to escape from them and their calamities, in the bark which had been left by Newport. The general indignation could be no longer restrained. He was deposed and Radcliffe chosen to succeed him.

Misfortune is not unfrequently the parent of moderation and reflection; and this state of misery produced a system of conduct towards the neighbouring Indians, which for a moment disarmed their resentments, and induced them to bring in such supplies as the country in that season afforded; and thereby to preserve the remnant of the colony. It produced another effect,

not less important. Their sense of imminent and common danger called forth and compelled submission to those talents which were fitted to the exigency, and best calculated to extricate them from the difficulties with which they were surrounded. Captain Smith, who had been imprisoned and expelled from the council by the envy of those who felt and hated his superiority; who, after evincing his innocence, had with difficulty been admitted to the station assigned him; preserved his health unimpaired, his spirits unbroken, and his judgment unclouded amidst this general misery and dejection. In him, by common consent, all actual authority was placed, and he, by his own example, soon gave energy and efficiency to others, in the execution of his commands.

He immediately erected at James-town such rude fortifications as were necessary to resist the sudden attacks of the savages; and with great labor, in which he always took the lead himself, completed the construction of such dwellings, as, by sheltering the people from the weather, contributed to restore and preserve their health, while his own accommodation gave place to that of all others. In the season of gathering corn, which with the Indians is the season of plenty, putting himself at the head of small parties, he penetrated into the country, and by presents and caresses to those who were well disposed, and attacking with open force, and defeating those who were hostile, he obtained for his countrymen the most abundant supplies.

The hope was now indulged of preserving the colony in quiet and plenty, until supplies could be received from England with the ships which were expected in the spring. This hope was in a considerable degree defeated, by an event which threatened at first the most disastrous consequences. In an attempt to explore the head of Chicahominy river, Smith was discovered and attacked by a numerous body of Indians, and in endeavouring to make his escape, after a most gallant defence, his attention being directed to the enemy, whom he still fought in retreating, he sunk up to his neck in a swamp, and was obliged to surrender. Still retaining his presence of mind, he showed them a mariner's compass, at which, especially at the playing of the needle, and the impossibility of touching it, although they saw it so distinctly, they were greatly astonished; and he amused them with so

many surprising stories of its qualities, as to inspire them with a degree of veneration, which prevented their executing their first design of killing him on the spot. They conducted him in triumph through several towns to the palace of Powhatan, the most potent king in that part of the country. There he was sentenced to be put to death, by laying his head upon a stone, and beating out his brains with clubs. He was led to the place of execution, and his head bowed down for the purpose of death, when Pocahontas, the king's darling daughter, then about thirteen years of age, whose entreaties for his life had been ineffectual, rushed between him and his executioner, and folding his head in her arms and laying hers upon it, arrested the fatal blow. Her father was then prevailed on to spare his life, and after a great many savage ceremonies, he was sent back to James-town.

On his arrival thither, having been absent seven weeks, he found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, most of whom seemed determined to abandon a country which appeared to them so unfavorable to human life. He was just in time to prevent the execution of this design. Alternately employing persuasion, threats, and even violence, he at length, with much hazard to himself, induced the majority to relinquish the intention they had formed, and then turning the guns of the fort on the bark, on board which were the most determined, compelled her to remain or sink, in the river.

By a judicious regulation of their intercourse with the Indians, among whom Smith was now in high repute, he preserved plenty in the colony until the arrival of two vessels, which had been dispatched from England under the command of Captain Newport, with a supply of provisions, of instruments of husbandry, and with a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty persons, consisting of many gentlemen, a few laborers, and several refiners, and goldsmiths, and jewellers.

The joy of the colony on receiving this accession of force and supply of provisions was extreme. But the influence of Smith disappeared with the danger which had produced it; and an improvident relaxation of discipline, productive of the most pernicious consequences, succeeded to it. Among the unwise practices which they tolerated, an indiscriminate traffic with the natives was permitted, in the course of which some obtained for

their commodities much better bargains than others, which inspired those who had been most hardly dealt by, and who thought themselves cheated, with resentment against the English generally, and a consequent thirst for revenge.

About this time was found, washed down by a small stream of water at the back of James-town, a glittering earth, which by the colonists was mistaken for gold dust. All that raging thirst for gold, which accompanied the first Europeans who visited the American continent, seemed re-excited by this incident. Mr. Stith, in his History of Virginia, describing the phrenzy of the moment, says, "There was no thought, no discourse, no hope, and no work, but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold. And notwithstanding Captain Smith's warm and judicious representations, how absurd it was to neglect other things of immediate use and necessity, to load such a drunken ship with gilded dust; yet was he overruled, and her returns made in a parcel of glittering dirt which is to be found in various parts of the country, and which they very sanguinely concluded to be gold dust."

The two vessels returned, one in the spring, the other the 2nd of June, 1608, laden one with their dust, and the other with cedar. This is the first remittance ever made from America by an English colony.

The effects of this fatal delusion were such as might have been foreseen, and were soon felt. The colony began to suffer the same distress from scarcity of food, which had before brought it to the brink of ruin.

The researches of the English settlers had not yet extended beyond the countries adjacent to James-river. Smith had formed the bold design of exploring the great Bay of Chesapeak, examining the mighty rivers which empty into it, opening an intercourse with the nations inhabiting that territory, and acquiring a knowledge of the state of their cultivation and population. This hardy enterprise he undertook, accompanied by Doctor Russel, in an open boat of about three tons burden, and with a crew of thirteen men. On the 2nd of June, he fell down the river in company with the last of Newport's two vessels, and parting with her at the capes, began his survey at Cape Charles. He examined, with immense fatigue and danger, every river, inlet, and bay on both sides the Chesapeak, as far as the mouth of

Rappahannock, from whence, their provisions being exhausted, he returned to James-town. He reached that place on the 21st of July, and found the colony in the utmost confusion and disorder. Those who had arrived last with Newport were all sick; a general scarcity prevailed; and a universal discontent with the president, whom they charged with riotously consuming the stores, and unnecessarily fatiguing the people with building a house of pleasure for himself in the woods. The seasonable arrival of Smith prevented their fury from breaking out in acts of personal violence.\*

They contented themselves with deposing their president, and Smith was urged, but refused, to succeed him.

Having in three days made arrangements for obtaining regular supplies, and for the government of the colony, his firm friend, Mr. Scrivener, was appointed vice-president, and on the 14th of July he again set out with twelve men to complete his researches into the countries on the Chesapeake.

From this voyage he returned on the 7th of September. He had advanced as far as the river Susquehanah, and visited all the countries on both shores of the bay. He entered most of the large creeks, and sailed up many of the great rivers to their falls. He made accurate observations on the extensive territories through which he passed, and on the various tribes inhabiting them, with whom he alternately fought, negotiated, and traded. In the various situations in which he found himself, he always displayed judgment, courage, and that presence of mind which is so essential to the character of a commander, and he never failed finally to inspire the savages he encountered, with the most exalted opinion of himself and his nation. When we consider that he sailed above three thousand miles in an open boat; when we contemplate the dangers and the hardships he encountered, and the fortitude, courage, and patience with which he met them; when we reflect on the useful and important additions which he made to the stock of knowledge respecting America, then possessed by his countrymen; we shall not hesitate to say that few voyages of discovery, undertaken at any time, reflect more honor on those engaged in them, than this does on Captain Smith. "So full and exact," says Mr. Robinson, "are

\* This error might very possibly be occasioned by the Indians representing the great lakes to the west as seas.

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his accounts of that large portion of the American continent comprehended in the two provinces of Virginia and Maryland,\* that after the progress of information and research for a century and a half, his map exhibits no inaccurate view of both countries, and is the original on which all subsequent delineations and descriptions have been formed."

It may not be entirely unworthy of remark that, about the bottom of the bay, Smith met with a party of Indians from the St. Lawrence coming to war with those of that neighbourhood, and that he found, among Indians on the Susquehanah, hatchets obtained originally from the French in Canada.

On the 10th of September, immediately after his return from this expedition, Smith was chosen president by the council, and, yielding to the general wish, he accepted the office. Soon after, Newport arrived with an additional supply of inhabitants, among whom were the two first females who had adventured into the present colony, but he came without provisions.

The disinterested, judicious, and vigorous administration of the president, however, supplied their wants and restrained the turbulent. Encouraged by his example, and coerced by his authority, a spirit of industry and subordination appeared to be created in the colony, which was the parent of plenty and of peace.

To increase their funds, as well as the influence and reputation of the company, a new charter was petitioned for, which, on the 23rd of May, 1609, was granted them. Some of the first nobility and gentry of the country, most of the companies of London, with a numerous body of merchants and tradesmen ; were now added to the former adventurers ; and they were all incorporated by the name of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia." To them were now granted, in absolute property, the lands extending from Cape or Point Comfort, along the sea coast, two hundred miles to the northward, and from the same point, along the sea coast, two hundred miles to the southward, and up into the land throughout from sea to sea west and north-west ; and also all the islands lying within one hundred miles of

\* This must be understood as applying to the very extensive parts of those states which border on the bay, and on the rivers emptying into it below their falls.



the coast of both seas of the precinct aforesaid; to be holden of the manor of East Greenwich in free and common soccage, and paying in lieu of all services one fifth of the gold and silver that should be found. The corporation was authorised to convey, under its common seal, particular portions of these lands to subjects or denizens, on such conditions as might promote the intentions of the grant. The powers of the president and council in Virginia were abrogated, and a new council in England was established and ordained in the charter, with power to the company to fill all vacancies therein by election. This council was empowered to appoint and remove all officers for the colony, and to make all ordinances for its government, provided they be not contrary to the laws of England; and to rule and correct the colonists according to such ordinances. Licence was given to transport to Virginia all persons willing to go thither, and to export merchandise free from customs for seven years. There was also granted for twenty-one years, freedom from all subsidies in Virginia, and from all impositions on importations and exportations to or from any of the king's dominions, "except only the five pounds in the hundred due for customs." The colonists were declared to be entitled to the rights of natural subjects. The governor was empowered to establish martial law in case of rebellion or mutiny, and to prevent the superstitions of the church of Rome from taking root in the plantation, it was declared that none should pass into Virginia but such as shall have first taken the oath of supremacy.

The company being thus enlarged, was now enabled to take more efficient measures than heretofore, for the settlement of the country. They soon fitted out nine ships, with five hundred emigrants, and such supplies as were deemed necessary for them. Lord Delaware was constituted governor and captain-general for life, and several other high sounding and useless offices were created. The direction of the expedition was again given to Newport, and to him and Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, powers were severally granted to supersede the existing administration, and to govern the colony until the arrival of Lord Delaware. With singular indiscretion, the council omitted to establish precedence among these gentlemen, and being totally unable to settle this important point between themselves, they agreed to embark on board the same vessel, and to be com-

panions during the voyage. They were parted from the rest of the fleet in a storm, and driven on Bermudas, having on board one hundred and fifty men, a considerable portion of the provisions destined for the colony, and the new commission and instructions of the council.

The residue of the squadron arrived safely in Virginia. "A great part of this new company," says Mr. Stith, "consisted of nursery sparks, packed off by their friends, to escape worse destinies at home; and the rest were chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes and libertines, footmen and such others, as were much fitter to spoil and ruin a commonwealth, than to help to raise or maintain one. This lewd company, therefore, were led by their seditious captains into many mischiefs and extravagancies. They assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the government, and it sometimes devolved on one, and sometimes on another. To-day the old commission must rule; to-morrow the new; and next day neither; so that all was anarchy and distraction."

The decision of Smith was suspended but for a short time. He soon determined that his own authority was not legally revoked until the arrival of the new commission, and therefore resolved to continue its exercise. Incapable of holding the reins of government but with a firm, and steady hand, he exhibited, on this emergency, that vigor and good sense, which he always displayed most eminently when he most needed them. He boldly imprisoned the chief promoters of the sedition, and thereby restored, for a time, regularity and obedience. Having effected this, he, for the double purpose of extending the settlements of the colony, and of preventing the mischiefs to be apprehended from so many turbulent spirits collected in James-town, detached one hundred persons to the falls of James-river, under the conduct of West, and the same number to Nansemond, under the command of Martin. These settlements were conducted with so little judgment, that they soon converted all the neighbouring Indians into enemies, had several parties cut off, and found themselves in absolute need of the support and direction of Smith. They were readily supplied till a melancholy accident deprived the colony of the aid of a man, whose talents had more than once rescued it from that desperate condition into which folly and vice had plunged it. Returning from a visit to the detach-

ment stationed at the falls of James-river, his powder-bag, while he was sleeping in the boat, took fire, and in the explosion he was so severely wounded, as to be confined to his bed, and thereby rendered absolutely incapable of performing the active duties which his station so indispensably required. Being thus wounded, and unable to obtain the aid of a surgeon in the colony, he determined to return to England, for which place he embarked about the beginning of October.

At his departure the colony consisted of about five hundred inhabitants. They were furnished with three ships, seven boats, commodities ready for trade, ten weeks provision in the public stores, six mares and a horse, a large stock of hogs and poultry, with some sheep and goats, utensils for agriculture, nets for fishing, one hundred trained and expert soldiers well acquainted with the Indians, their language and habitations, twenty-four pieces of ordnance, and three hundred muskets, with a sufficient quantity of other arms and ammunition.

The present fair prospects of the colony were soon blasted by those scenes of folly and crime, of riot and insubordination, which ensued.

Various pretenders immediately advanced their claims to the supreme command. The choice, however, fell upon Captain Percy, who derived much consideration from the virtues of his heart, as well as from his illustrious family; but his talents, at no time suited to the storms of his new and difficult situation, were rendered still less competent to the task, by a long course of ill health, which had determined him to return to England, from which he was with difficulty dissuaded. Being generally confined by sickness to his bed, he was incapable of maintaining his authority, and a total confusion with its accustomed baneful consequences ensued.

The Indians, understanding that the man whose conduct and vigor they had so often experienced and so much dreaded, no longer governed the colonists, attacked them on all sides. Captains West and Martin having lost their boats and nearly half their men, were driven from the falls of James-river and Nansmond, unto James-town. The stock of provisions was lavishly wasted, and a famine, the most dreadful with which they had ever been afflicted, raged among them. After devouring the skins of their horses, and the Indians they had killed, the survi-

vors fed on those of their companions, who had sunk under such accumulated calamities. The recollection of these tremendous sufferings was long retained, and for many years this period was distinguished and remembered by the name of the STARVING TIME.

In six months the colony was by these distresses reduced to sixty persons of all ages and sexes, who were so feeble and dejected that they could not have survived ten days longer. In this calamitous state they were relieved by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, who arrived from Bermudas the 24th of May, 1610.

It was immediately determined to abandon the country, and for this purpose the wretched remnant of the colony embarked on board the vessels just arrived from Bermudas, and set sail for England. "None dropped a tear," says Mr. Chalmer, "because none had enjoyed one day of happiness."

Fortunately they met in the river Lord Delaware with three ships and a recruit of new settlers and provisions from England, who prevailed upon them to return, and on the 10th of June resettled them at James-town.

By his mildness of temper, his assiduity to business, and a judicious exercise of authority, this nobleman restored order and contentment to the colony, and again impressed the Indians with respect for the English name. Unfortunately a complication of diseases soon obliged him to resign his government, which, on the 28th of March, 1611, he placed once more in the hands of Mr. Percy, and sailed himself for Nevis in the West Indies; leaving in the colony about two hundred persons in possession of the blessings of health, plenty and peace.

On the 10th of May, Sir Thomas Dale, who had been appointed to the government, arrived with a fresh supply of men and provisions, and found the colony relapsing into its former state of idleness and penury. It required all the authority of the new governor to maintain public order, and to compel the idle and dissolute to labor. Some conspiracies having been detected, he proclaimed martial law, and instantly executed it by punishing the most guilty. These severities which, in the ordinary state of society, would not and ought not to have been submitted to, were then deemed necessary, and are spoken of as having probably saved the settlement.

In the beginning of August, Sir Thomas Gates, who had been appointed to succeed Sir Thomas Dale, arrived with six ships and a considerable supply of men and provisions. The colony being now greatly strengthened, began to extend itself up James-river, and several new settlements were made.

The extravagant accounts given of the beauty and fertility of Bermudas, by those who had been cast away on that island, having reached England, created in the company a desire of obtaining it as a place from which Virginia might be supplied with provisions. Application was therefore made to the crown for a new patent which should comprehend this island, and, in March, 1612, a new charter was issued, granting to the treasurer and company all the islands situated in the ocean within three hundred leagues of the coast of Virginia. By this charter former grants and immunities were confirmed, but the corporation was essentially new modeled. It was ordained that four general courts of the adventurers should be holden annually, for the determination of affairs of importance; and weekly meetings were appointed, for the transaction of common business: and to promote the effectual settlement of the plantation, which had already cost such considerable sums, licence was given to open lotteries in any part of England.

These lotteries, which were the first ever drawn in England, (and it is to be lamented that they were not the last,) brought twenty-nine thousand pounds into the treasury of the company, they were complained of by the commons in parliament, and therefore discontinued by proclamation.

About this time, a change took place in the interior arrangements of the colony, which greatly ameliorated its condition, and gave to the colonists very general satisfaction.

Heretofore no separate property in lands had been acquired, and no individual labored for himself. The lands had been held in common, cleared in common, cultivated in common, and their produce carried into a common granary, from which it was distributed to all. This system, which might in some degree be justified by the peculiarities of their situation, was chiefly occasioned by the unwise injunction contained in the royal instructions, which directed the colonists, for five years, to trade together in one common stock. Its effect was such as ought to have been foreseen. Industry itself, deprived of its due reward, ex-

clusive property in the produce of its toil, felt no sufficient stimulus to exertion; and each individual believing that his efforts could add but little to the general fund, and that he must be fed, although idle, sought to withdraw himself as much as possible from the labors assigned him. It was computed that less work was accomplished in a week, than might have been performed in a day, had each individual labored on his own account. To remove this cause of perpetual scarcity, Sir Thomas Dale divided a considerable portion of the land into lots of three acres, and granted one of these to each individual in full property. Although they were still required to devote a large portion of their labor to the public, yet a sudden change was made in the appearance and habits of the colony. Industry, having from this moment the certain prospect of recompence, advanced with rapid strides, and the colonists were no longer in fear of wanting bread, either for themselves, or for the emigrants who came annually from England.

Early in the year 1611, Sir Thomas Gates returned to England, leaving the government again with Sir Thomas Dale. He planned, and, in the course of that summer, executed under Captain Argal, an enterprise of which no immediate notice was taken, but which was afterwards recollected with no inconsiderable degree of indignation.

The French who had directed their course to the more northern parts of our continent, had been among the first adventurers to North America. Their voyages of discovery are of a very early date, and their attempts at a settlement were among the first which were made. So early as the year 1535, Jacques Quartier wintered in Canada, made an alliance with some tribes of savages, built a fort, and took possession of the country. In 1540, Francis I. appointed the Sieur de Roberval, lieutenant-general of Newfoundland and Canada, with power to conduct French families thither, and to make settlements. In the autumn of the same year Jacques Quartier was appointed captain-general of five vessels destined for an expedition to the new world. They arrived in 1541, at Cape Breton, where the emigrants fortified themselves, and made their first establishment. The fort built by that adventurer is considered by the French as having been erected with an intent to hold the country; but his object is contended, by the English, to have been rather disco-

very than settlement. The civil contentions which soon afterwards desolated France diverted the attention of the government from America, to objects of deeper concern; yet a permanent settlement was made in Canada in the year 1604, and the foundation of Quebec was laid in the year 1608. In November, 1603, Henry IV. appointed De Mont, lieutenant-general of that part of the territory which he claimed lying in North America, the 40th and 46th degrees of latitude, then called Acadie, with power to colonise and to rule it; and he soon afterwards granted to that gentleman and his associates an exclusive right to the commerce of peltry in Acadie in America, and the gulf of St. Lawrence. A settlement was accordingly, in the subsequent year, founded on that coast near the river St. Croix; and, in 1605, was built Port Royal, on a more northern part of the Bay of Fundy.

The colony receiving but little support from France was feeble and unprosperous, but retained quiet possession of the country. Against this colony, in a time of profound peace, the expedition of Argal was directed.

He found it totally unprepared for defence; the inhabitants, who had assiduously and successfully cultivated the friendship of the Indians, being restrained by no fear of hostility from them, were scattered abroad in the woods, engaged in their several pursuits; and a ship and a bark just arrived from France laden with articles necessary for the use of the colony, were surprised in port, and their cargoes taken to James-town. Argal left no garrison to keep possession of the place, and after his departure, the French, who had only dispersed themselves among the Indians during the continuance of danger, immediately resumed their former station.

The pretext for this predatory expedition was, that the French, by settling in Acadie, had invaded the rights of the English acquired by the first discovery of the continent.

On his return to James-town, Argal paid a visit to New York, then in possession of the Dutch. He claimed the country as having been first discovered in 1609 by Captain Hudson, who was an Englishman, and the benefit of whose discoveries, he alledged, could not be transferred from his nation. He demanded possession; and the Dutch governor, whose force consisted merely, of a few traders, being unable to resist, "peace-

ably submitted both himself and his colony to the king of England, and the governor of Virginia under him," and consented to pay a tribute. Argal then continued his voyage to Jamestown. But another governor afterwards arriving from Amsterdam with better means of asserting the title of his countrymen, the payment of the tribute was refused, and the place put in a situation to be defended.

The advantages resulting to the colony from the portion of labor which each individual had been permitted to apply to his private account having soon become apparent, the system of working in common to fill the public stores seems to have been totally abandoned. Originally every emigrant was, by the rules of the company, entitled to one hundred acres of land for himself, and as much for every person he should import into the country; but these rules had never been carried into effect. The quantity was now reduced to fifty acres, which were actually laid off, and delivered to the person having title to them, who was permitted to exercise over them, in such manner as was agreeable to himself, all the rights of ownership.

About the same time tobacco was first cultivated in Virginia. This plant, although detested by the king, who used all his influence to prevent its use, and even wrote a pamphlet against it, which he styled a counter-blast; although discountenanced by the leading members of parliament, and even by the company, who issued edicts against its cultivation; although on a first experiment extremely unpleasant to the taste, and disagreeable in its effects; surmounted all opposition, and has, by an unaccountable caprice, been brought into general use, and become one of the most considerable staples of America.

In the spring of the year 1616, Sir Thomas Dale sailed for England, having placed the government in the hands of Mr. George Yeardly, his deputy, who, after a very lax administration of one year, was succeeded in May, 1617, by Captain Argal, who had been appointed deputy governor by the company.

He was a man of considerable talents and great energy of mind, but selfish, haughty, and tyrannical. He provided with ability for the wants of the colony, and remedied with skill and attention many abuses which had been permitted to creep in among them; but he is charged with having availed himself improperly of the advantages of his situation for the acquisition of



private wealth, and with having exercised over the people of Virginia his high authority, in a manner to the last degree odious and despotic. Martial law was continued during a season of peace; and a Mr. Brewster, who was tried under his arbitrary system for contemptuous words spoken of the governor, was sentenced to suffer death. A respite of execution was with difficulty obtained, and on an appeal to the treasurer and council in England, the sentence was reversed.

While martial law was, according to Stith, the common law of the land, the deputy governor seems to have been the sole legislator. His edicts mark the severity of his rule, but some of them evince an attention to the public safety. He ordered that merchandises should be sold at an advance of twenty-five per centum, and tobacco taken in payment at the rate of three shillings per pound, under the penalty of three years servitude to the company; that no person should traffic privately with the Indians, or teach them the use of fire-arms under the pain of death; that no person should hunt deer or hogs without the governor's leave; that no man should shoot unless in his own necessary defence, until a new supply of ammunition arrived, on pain of a year's personal service; that none should go on board the ships at James-town without the governor's leave; that every person should go to church on sundays and holidays, under the penalty of slavery during the following week for the first offence, during a month for the second, and during a year and a day for the third. The rigor of this administration necessarily excited much discontent, and the complaints of the Virginians at length made their way to the company. Lord Delaware being now dead, Mr. Yeardly was appointed captain-general, with instructions to examine with attention the wrongs of the colonists, and to redress them.

The new governor arrived in April, 1619, and soon after, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants, declared his determination to convoke a colonial assembly.

This is an important æra in the history of Virginia. Heretofore all legislative authority had been exercised, either by the corporation in England, or by their officers in this country. The people, either personally or by their representatives, had no voice in the government of themselves; and their most important concerns were decided on by persons often unacquainted

with their situation, and always possessing interests different from theirs. They now felicitated themselves on having really the privileges of Englishmen, and on possessing substantially the benefits of the English constitution.

This first assembly met at James-town on the 19th of June. The colony was not then divided into counties; and the members were elected by the different boroughs, amounting at that time to seven. From this circumstance the popular branch of the assembly received the appellation of the House of Burgesses, which it retained until all connection with England was dissolved.

The assembly, composed of the governor, the council, and burgesses, met together in one apartment, and there debated all matters thought conducive to the general welfare. The laws then enacted, which it is believed are no longer extant, were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company, and were said to have been "judiciously formed."

The emigrations from England continued to be very considerable, and were made at great expence to the company, but as yet few females had crossed the Atlantic. Men without wives could not contemplate Virginia as a place of permanent residence, and proposed, after amassing some wealth, to return to their native land. To put an end to a mode of thinking in its effects ruinous to the colony, it was proposed to send out one hundred maids, as wives for the colonists. Ninety girls, young and uncorrupt, were transported in the beginning of the year 1620, and sixty more in the subsequent year. They were immediately disposed of to the young planters. The price of a wife was estimated first at one hundred, and afterwards at one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, then selling at three shillings per pound, and a debt so contracted was made of greater dignity than any other.

The education of children was likewise attended to, and several steps were taken towards founding the college, afterwards completely established by William and Mary. About the same time the company received orders from the king to transport to Virginia a hundred idle and dissolute persons, then in custody of the knight marshal. These men dispersed through the colony, became a useful and acceptable addition of laborers, and were the first convicts transported to America.

In 1622, the cup of prosperity, of which the colonists now began to taste, was dashed from their lips by an event which shook to its foundation and nearly destroyed the colony. In 1618, Powhatan, the most powerful of the Indian kings in Virginia, who, after the marriage of his daughter Pocahontas to Mr. Rolfe, had remained faithful to the English, departed this life, and was succeeded, not only in his own dominions, but in his influence over all the neighbouring tribes, by Opechancanough, a bold and cunning chief, as remarkable for his jealousy and hate for the new settlers, as for his qualifications to execute the revenge his resentments dictated. He renewed however the stipulation of Powhatan, and for a considerable time the general peace remained undisturbed. The colonists, unsuspecting of danger, neither attended to the Indians, nor their machinations. Engaged in the cultivation of their soil, all their views seemed directed to that single object; and their military exercises and all useful precautions were laid aside; while the Indians being often employed as hunters, were furnished with fire arms and taught to use them. They were admitted at all times, freely, into the habitations of the English, as harmless visitants; were fed at their tables, and lodged in their chambers. During this state of free and friendly intercourse, was formed, with cold and unrelenting deliberation, the plan of a general massacre, which should involve man, woman and child, in indiscriminate slaughter. The tribes in the neighbourhood of the English except those on the eastern shore, who were not trusted with the plan, were successively gained over; and notwithstanding the perpetual intercourse kept up between them and the white people, the most impenetrable secrecy was observed. So deep and dark was their dissimulation, that they were accustomed to borrow boats from the English to cross the river, in order to concert and mature their execrable designs.

The 22nd of March was designated as the day on which all the English settlements were to be at the same instant attacked. The better to disguise their intentions, and to ensure success, they brought in the preceding evening, deer, turkies, and fish, as presents; and even on the morning of the massacre came freely among them, behaving in their usual friendly manner, until the very instant which had been appointed to commence the scene of carnage they had prepared. The fatal hour having ar-

rived, they fell at once on every settlement, murdered without distinction of age or sex; and so sudden were they in executing their plan, that few perceived the weapons, or the approach of the blow which terminated their existence. Thus in one hour, and almost in the same instant, fell three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children, most of them by their own plantation tools and utensils.

The massacre would have been much more complete, had not information been given the preceding night to a Mr. Pace, by an Indian domesticated in his house, where he had been treated as a son, and who being pressed to murder him, disclosed to him the plot. He immediately carried the intelligence to James-town, and the alarm was given to some of the nearest settlements, which were thereby saved: at some other places too, where the circumstances of the attack enabled the English to seize their arms, the assailants were repulsed.

To this horrible massacre succeeded a vindictive and exterminating war, in which were successfully practised upon the Indians, the wiles of which they had set so bloody an example. During this disastrous period, many public works were abandoned; the college institution was deserted, the settlements were reduced from eighty to eight, and famine superadded to the accumulated distresses of the colony, its afflicting scourge.

As soon as intelligence of these calamitous events reached England, a contribution of the adventurers for the relief of the sufferers was ordered; arms from the Tower were delivered to the treasurer and company; and several vessels were immediately dispatched with those articles, which might best alleviate such complicated distress.

In June, 1632, Charles I. granted to Lord Baltimore for ever, "that region bounded by a line drawn from Watkin's point of Chesapeak Bay, to the ocean on the east; thence to that part of the estuary of Delaware on the north, which lieth under the 40th degree, where New England is terminated; thence in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the meridian of the fountain of the Potowmac; thence following its course, by the further bank of its confluence" The territory thus granted was denominated Maryland, and was separated entirely from Virginia. The proprietor was empowered, with the assent of the freemen, or their delegates, whom he was required to assemble

for that purpose, to make all laws for the government of the new colony not inconsistent with the laws of England. Privileges, in other respects analagous to those given to other colonies, were comprised in this charter; and it is remarkable, that it contains no clause for obliging the proprietary to submit the laws which might be enacted to the king for his approbation or dissent; nor any reservation of the right of the crown to interfere in the government of the province.

This is the first example of the dismemberment of a colony and the creation of a new one within its limits, by the mere act of the crown.

The first emigration consisted of about one hundred gentlemen, with their adherents, chiefly Roman Catholics, who sailed from England under Calvert, the brother of the proprietor, in November, 1632, and, early in the following year, landed in Maryland, near the confluence of the Potowmac. Their immediate effort was to conciliate the good will of the aborigines, from whom they purchased their town, which Calvert settled, and called it St. Mary's. This measure was as wise as it was just. By obtaining the peaceful possession of a considerable piece of ground already prepared for cultivation, the Marylanders were enabled, immediately to raise their food; and from this cause, as well as from their neighbourhood to Virginia, which now afforded in abundance the necessaries of life, they were never afflicted with famine and its concomitant diseases, and thus escaped those calamities which had nearly suffocated in the cradle the infant colonies of Virginia and New England.

Against the grant to Lord Baltimore, the planters of Virginia presented a petition, which was heard before the privy council in July, 1633, when it was decided, that that nobleman should retain his patent, and the petitioners their remedy at law. To this remedy they never thought proper to resort. To prevent further differences, however, free and mutual commerce was permitted to exist between the colonies; and they were each enjoined to receive no fugitives from the other; to do no act which might bring on a war with the natives; and, on all occasions, to assist each other as became fellow-subjects of the same state.

In February, 1634-5, was convened the first assembly of Maryland. Like those of other colonies, it appeared to have been composed of the whole body of freemen. Their acts were, most

probably, not approved by the proprietor, who transmitted in turn, for their consideration, a code of laws prepared by himself. This code was laid before an assembly summoned to meet in January, 1637-8, which rejected it without hesitation, and immediately prepared a body of regulations adapted to their own situation.

Heretofore, as in the other colonies at their commencement, the whole body of freemen constituted the legislature. But several causes had contributed greatly to increase their numbers. The Roman Catholics who fled from the persecutions then experienced in England, sought an asylum in Maryland, and they also received into their bosoms those who were banished by the policy of their sister colonies. While the puritans of New England were employed in coercing conformity to their particular tenets, Virginia retaliated on them by passing severe laws affecting puritans, which induced persons of that persuasion to take refuge in Maryland, where all were permitted to pursue, unmolested, the form of worship dictated by conscience.

An increase of population, and extended settlements, produced their certain consequence. The exercise of the sovereign power by the people themselves, became intolerably burthensome, and the third assembly, which was convened in 1639, passed an act "for establishing the house of assembly." This act declared that those who should be elected in pursuance of writs issued, should be called burgesses, and should supply the place of freemen who chose them, in the same manner as the representatives in the parliament of England, and with those called by special writ, together with the governor and secretary, should constitute the general assembly; but the two branches of the legislature were to sit in the same chamber. In 1650, this regulation was changed; an act was then passed, declaring, that those who are called by special writ should form the upper house; that those who are chosen by the hundreds should form the lower house; and that bills which should be assented to by both branches of the legislature, and by the governor, should be deemed the laws of the province.

The most perfect harmony subsisted between the proprietary and the people; and Maryland, attentive to its own affairs, remained, without any other interruption than one Indian war, which terminated in the submission of the natives, in a state of

increasing prosperity until the civil war broke out in England. The government, like that of Virginia, was attached to the royal cause; but Clayborne, who took part with the parliament, found means to intrigue among the people, and to raise an insurrection in the province. Calvert the governor, was obliged to fly to Virginia for protection, and the insurgents seized the reins of government. It was not until August in the subsequent year (1641), that the revolt was suppressed and tranquility restored. An act of general pardon and oblivion was passed, from the benefits of which only a few leading characters were excepted; but this, like most other insurrections, produced additional burthens on the people, which did not so soon pass away.

The repose of Maryland was soon disturbed by the superintending care of parliament. In September, 1651, commissioners were appointed "for reducing and governing the colonies within the Bay of Chesapeak." Among them was Clayborne, the evil genius of the colony. As the proprietary had acknowledged and submitted to the authority of parliament, he was permitted to retain his station and govern as formerly, although in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England. It was however impossible that he could long retain the quiet possession of actual authority. The distractions of England having found their way into Maryland, divided the colonists; and the commissioners supported, with their countenance, the faction opposed to the established government.

The contentions, generated by such a state of things, at length broke out into civil war, which terminated in the defeat of the governor and the Roman Catholics. A new assembly was now convened, which being entirely under the influence of the victorious party, passed an act declaring, that none who professed the popish religion, could be protected in the province by the laws; that such as professed faith in God by Jesus Christ, although dissenting from the doctrine and discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from the exercise of their religion; provided such liberty was not extended to popery, or prelacy, or to such as, under the profession of Christ, practised licentiousness. Other laws in the same spirit were enacted; and a persecution commenced against the Quakers, as well as those guilty of popery and prelacy. A scene of revolutionary turbulence ensued, in the course of which the upper house was resolv-

ed to be useless, which continued until the restoration, when Philip Calvert was appointed governor by Lord Baltimore, and the ancient order of things was restored. Notwithstanding the commotions which had agitated the colony for a few years past, it had greatly flourished, and at the restoration, its population was estimated at twelve thousand souls.

We have seen with what slow and difficult steps the first, or southern colony, although supported by individuals of great wealth and influence in the nation, advanced to a firm, and secure establishment. The company for founding the second, or northern colony, to which it will be recollected a charter was at the same time granted, and which was composed of gentlemen residing in Plymouth, and other parts of the west of England, was less wealthy, and possessed fewer resources for the establishment of distant and expensive settlements, than the first company which resided in the capital. Their efforts were consequently more feeble, and less successful, than those which were made in the south.

The first vessel fitted out by the company in 1606, was captured and confiscated by the Spaniards, who, at that time, asserted, a right to exclude the ships of all other nations from navigating the American seas. Not discouraged by this misfortune, two other vessels, under the command of Raleigh and Gilbert, having on board about one hundred persons designed to form the proposed settlements, were dispatched the following year, and arriving safely on the American coast in autumn, took possession of a piece of ground near the river Sagahadoc, where they built Fort St. George. Their sufferings in that severe climate during the following winter were immense. Many of the company, among whom were Gilbert their admiral, and George Popham their president, sunk under the diseases with which they were attacked, and in the spring the vessel which brought them supplies, brought them also information that their principal patron, Sir John Popham, chief justice of England, was dead. Discouraged by their own losses and sufferings, and by the death of a person on whose active exertions, more than those of any other, they relied for assistance, it was determined to abandon the country, and they embarked on board the vessel then returning to England. The frightful pictures given of the coast, and of the climate, deterred the company for the present from further



attempts to make a settlement, and their enterprises were limited to voyages made for the purposes of taking fish, and of trading with the natives for their furs. One of these was made in 1614, by Captain Smith, so remarkable in the history of Virginia. He explored with great accuracy that part of the coast which stretches from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and having delineated it in a map, he presented it, with the descriptions dictated by a mind which, however sound, was enthusiastic and sanguine, to Charles, Prince of Wales, who was so pleased with the country, that it was denominated New England, which name it has ever since retained.

The languishing company of Plymouth could not be stimulated to engage in further schemes of colonisation, the advantages of which were distant and uncertain, while the expence was immediate and inevitable. To accident, and to a stronger motive than even interest, a motive found to be among the most powerful which can influence the human mind, is New England indebted for its first settlement.

An obscure sect, which had acquired the appellation of Brownists from the name of its founder, and which had rendered itself peculiarly obnoxious by the democracy of its tenets respecting church government, had been driven by persecution to take refuge at Leyden, in Holland, where its members formed a distinct society, under the care of their pastor, Mr. John Robinson. There they resided several years in safe obscurity. This situation at length became irksome to them. Without persecution to give importance to the particular points which separated them from their other christian brethren, they made no converts; and their children were drawn from them by intermarriages in Dutch families, and by engaging in the Dutch service. They saw before them with extreme apprehension the prospect of losing their separate identity, and becoming entirely Dutch. In the extinction of their church they dreaded too the loss of those high attainments in spiritual knowledge which they deemed so favorable to truth. The laxity of exterior manners too, which prevailed among their neighbours, so contrary to the strict sanctity of the Brownists, added its influence to the more powerful considerations which have been stated, and produced the determination of removing in a body to America.

In 1618, they applied to the London company for a grant of

lands, and, to promote the success of their application by impressing the certainty of their emigration, they say, "That they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. That they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole. That it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again." The only privilege on which they insisted, was a licence under the great seal to practise and profess religion in that mode which, under the impulse of conscience, they had adopted. This reasonable and modest request was refused. James had already established the church of England in Virginia, and although he promised to connive at their nonconformity, and not to molest them while they demeaned themselves peaceably, yet he positively refused to give them that explicit and solemn pledge of security which they required. This, for a short time, suspended their removal; but the cause of their discontent in Holland continuing, they at length determined to trust to the verbal declarations of the king, and immediately negotiated with the Virginia company for a tract of land within the limits of their patent.

In September, 1620, they sailed from England, with only one hundred and twenty men, in a single ship. Their destination was Hudson's River, but the pilot on board being a Dutchman, is said to have been bribed by his countrymen, who were themselves desirous of occupying that territory, to carry them so far to the north, that the first land they made was Cape Cod. They soon perceived that they were not only beyond their own limits, but beyond those of the company from which they derived their title; but it was now the month of November, and too late in the season for men unacquainted with the country, and afflicted with disease, again to put to sea in search of a new habitation. After exploring the coast, they chose for their station a convenient position, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth. On the 11th of November, before they landed, a solemn covenant was signed by the heads of families, and freemen, in which, after reciting that they had undertaken to plant a colony for the glory of God, and for the honor of their king and country; and professing their loyalty to their sovereign lord

King James; they combined themselves into a body politic, for the purpose of making equal laws for the general good.

Having thus by common consent formed a compact, the obligation of which all admitted, they proceeded to the choice of a governor for one year, and to enable him the better to discharge the important trust confided to him, they gave him one assistant. In 1624, three others were added, and the number was afterwards increased to seven. The supreme power resided in the whole body of the male inhabitants, and during the infancy of the colony was exercised by them. They assembled together, occasionally, to determine on all subjects of a public concern, nor was it until the year 1639, that they established a house of representatives. They adopted, as a common rule of action, the laws of England; adding occasionally, municipal regulations, in cases to which the laws they had adopted, either did not completely apply, or did not, in their opinion, furnish the most perfect rule of conduct. Some of the changes in their penal code strongly mark their character and circumstances. While on forgery (which in large commercial societies is pursued with so much rigor,) was inflicted only a moderate fine; fornication was punished with whipping, and adultery with death.

The season of the year in which the colonists landed was extremely unfavorable to the establishment of a new settlement. The winter, which was much more severe than they expected, had already set in, and they were but very badly supplied with the means of obtaining comfort, or even subsistence. Before the return of spring, about fifty of their small company perished with maladies, increased by the hardships to which they were exposed, the scarcity of food, and the almost total privation of those comforts to which they had been accustomed, and which are so necessary to support the human frame struggling with disease. The survivors, as the season moderated, had new difficulties to encounter. They were compelled, instead of attending uninterruptedly to the means of providing for their future wants, to take up arms to defend themselves against the neighbouring savages. Fortunately for the colonists, the natives had been so wasted the preceding year by pestilence, that they were easily subdued, and compelled to accept a peace, which was offered them on equitable terms. Nothing could have supported the English under these accumulated distresses, but the hope of bet-

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ter times, and that high gratification which is derived from the complete enjoyment of the rights of conscience, and the full exercise of all the powers of self-government. They received occasional, but scanty supplies from their friends in England, and continued with a patient and persevering spirit to struggle against the difficulties which surrounded them. They remained in peace, and were alike exempt from the notice or oppressions of government. Yet their soil being uninviting, and the pernicious policy of a community of goods and of labor, so unfavorable to population, being for some few years adhered to, they increased more slowly than any other of the colonies, and in the year 1630, amounted only to three hundred souls. Until this period they possessed no other title to their lands, than is afforded by occupancy. In that year they obtained a grant of property from the New Plymouth company, but were never incorporated as a body politic by royal charter. Having derived no powers from the parliament or king, and being totally disregarded by the Plymouth company, they appear to have remained a mere voluntary association, yielding obedience to laws, and to magistrates, formed and chosen by themselves. In this situation they continued undisturbed and almost unknown, more tolerant and more moderate than their neighbours, until their union with a younger, and more powerful sister, who with a frame more hardy and robust, advanced with strides unusually rapid to a state of maturity.

The original company of Plymouth, having done nothing effectual towards settling the territory which had been granted to them, and being interfered with by individuals in their trade and fisheries, applied to James, for a new, and more enlarged patent. After much solicitation, he, on the 3rd of November, 1620, granted that territory, which lies between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude to the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, and several others, in absolute property, and incorporated them under the name of "The Council established at Plymouth, for planting and governing that country, called New England;" with jurisdiction and powers similar to those which had before been conferred on the companies of South and North Virginia, and especially that of excluding all other persons whatever from trading within their boundaries, and fishing in the neighbouring seas. This improvident grant, which excited the

indignation of the people of England, then deeply interested in the fur trade and fisheries, soon engaged the attention and received the censure of parliament. The patentees were compelled to relinquish their odious monopoly, and, being thus deprived of the funds on which they had relied to enable them to encounter the expence of supporting new settlements, they abandoned entirely the design of attempting them. New England might have remained long unoccupied, had not the same causes which occasioned the emigration of the Brownists, still continued to operate. The persecutions to which the puritans were exposed, increased their zeal and their numbers. Despairing of obtaining at home a relaxation of those rigorous penal statutes under which they had so long smarted, they began to look elsewhere for that toleration which was denied them in their native land. Understanding that their brethren in New Plymouth were permitted to worship their Creator according to the dictates of conscience, their attention was directed towards the same coast, and several small emigrations were made at different times to Massachussetts-Bay, so termed from the name of the sachem who was sovereign of the country; and grants of land were made to the emigrants, the conditions of which having probably never been complied with, they were afterwards totally disregarded.

Mr. White, a nonconformist minister at Dorchester, who had prevented some few of his countrymen settled around the Bay of Massachussetts from returning to England, by his assurance of procuring them relief and assistance, formed by great exertions an association of several gentlemen who had imbibed puritanical opinions, for the purpose of conducting thither a colony, and rendering it an asylum for the persecuted of his own persuasion. In prosecution of these views a treaty was concluded with the council of Plymouth, for the purchase of part of New England; and that corporation, in March, 1627, conveyed to Sir Henry Rosewell and others, all that part of New England lying three miles to the south of Charles-river, and three miles north of Merrimack-river, and extending from the Atlantic to the South Sea. A small number of planters and servants were soon afterwards dispatched under Endicot, a deep enthusiast, who, in September, 1628, laid the foundation of Salem, the first permanent town of Massachussetts.

The purchasers soon perceived their total inability to accom-

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plish the settlement of the extensive regions they had acquired, without the aid of more opulent partners. These were soon found in the capital; but they insisted that a new charter should be obtained from the crown, in which their names should be inserted, confirming the grant of the council of Plymouth, and conferring on them the powers of government.

To these requisitions the proprietors without hesitation acceded, and Charles was applied to, for a patent conforming to them, which issued on the 4th of March, 1628.

This charter incorporated the grantees by the name of "The Governor and Company of Massachussetts-Bay in New England."

The patent being obtained, the governor and council began with ardor to give effect to the views of the grantees. A fresh embarkation was determined on, to support the expences of which, it was resolved, that every person subscribing fifty pounds should be entitled to two hundred acres of land as the first dividend. Five vessels were procured, which sailed from the Isle of Wight in May, 1629, carrying about two hundred persons, with such articles as were proper for making a new settlement. In June, they reached Salem, where they found Endicot, to whom they brought the confirmation of his commission as governor. The colony now consisted of three hundred persons, of whom one hundred removed to Charles-town, and the remainder continued at Salem.

Religion having stimulated them to emigrate from their native land, constituted the first object of their care in the country they had adopted. Being zealous puritans, they concurred in the institution of a church, in which was established that form of policy, which was believed best to agree with the divine will as revealed in the scriptures, and which has since been denominated independent. A confession of faith was drawn up, to which the majority signified their assent; and an association was then formed, in which they covenant with the Lord and with each other, to walk together in all his ways as he should be pleased to reveal himself to them. Pastors and other ecclesiastical officers were chosen, who were installed into their sacred offices, by the imposition of the hands of the brethren.

A church being thus formed, several were received as members, who gave an account of their faith and hope as christians;

and those only were admitted into the communion, whose morals and religious tenets were approved by the elders. From the form of public worship which was instituted, they discarded the liturgy as well as all ceremonies deemed useless, and reduced it to the standard of Calvinistic simplicity.

Pleased with the work of their hands, and believing themselves to be perfect, they could not tolerate a different opinion in others. Just escaped from persecution, they demonstrated that it was not the principle, but its application which they condemned, and became persecutors themselves. Some few of their number, attached to the ritual of the church of England, were dissatisfied with its total abolition, and withdrawing from communion with the church, met apart to worship God in the manner they deemed most proper. At the head of this small party were two of the first patentees and of the council. These were called before the governor, who being of opinion that their non-conformity and conversation tended to sedition, sent them to England. Deprived of their leaders, the opposition ceased.

The ensuing winter brought with it the calamities which had been uniformly sustained by the first emigrants into a wilderness, where the cold was extreme, and the privations almost universal. In the course of it, nearly half their number perished, "lamenting that they did not live to see the rising and glories of the faithful." The fortitude however of the survivors was not shaken, nor were their brethren in England deterred from joining them. Religion supported the colonists under all their difficulties; and the then intolerant spirit of English hierarchy, at the head of which was placed the rigid Laud, exacting a strict conformity to its ceremonies, diminished, in the view of the puritans in England, the dangers and the sufferings to be encountered in America, and disposed them to forego every other human enjoyment, for the consoling privilege of worshipping the Supreme Being according to their own opinions. Many persons of fortune had determined to seek, in the new world, that liberty of conscience which was denied them in the old; but foreseeing the misrule inseparable from the residence of the legislative power in England, they demanded, as a previous condition to their emigration, that the power of government should be transferred to New England, and be exercised in the colony. The company had already incurred expences for which they saw no prospect of

a speedy retribution, and although they doubted the legality of the measure, were well disposed to obtain such important aid by embracing it. A general court was therefore convened, by whom it was unanimously resolved "that the patent should be transferred, and the government of the corporation removed from London to Massachusetts-Bay." It was also agreed that the members of the corporation remaining in England, should retain a share in the trading stock and profits for the term of seven years.

Having effected this important revolution in their system of government, such great exertions for emigration were made, that early in the following year, fifteen hundred persons, among whom were several of family and fortune, embarked on board seventeen vessels at an expence of upwards of twenty thousand pounds, and arrived at Salem in July. Dissatisfied with this situation, they explored the country in quest of better stations, and settling in many places around the bay, they laid the foundations of several towns, and among others of Boston.

The difficulty of obtaining subsistence, the difference of their food from that to which they had been accustomed, the extreme cold of winter, against which they had not sufficient means of protection, were still severely felt by the colonists, and still continued to carry many of them to the grave; but that enthusiasm, which had impelled them to emigrate, preserved all its force, and they met, with a firm unshaken spirit, the calamities which assailed them. Our admiration of their fortitude and of their principles sustains, however, no inconsiderable diminution, from observing the severity with which they denied to others, that civil and religious liberty which through so many dangers and hardships they sought, with such laudable zeal, for themselves. At a meeting of their general court early in the year 1631, it was decreed that none should be admitted as freemen, or permitted to vote at elections, or be capable of being chosen as magistrates, or of serving as jurymen, but such as had been received in the church as members. Thus did men who had braved every hardship for freedom of conscience deprive, without reluctance, of the choicest rights of humanity, all those who dissented from the opinion of the majority on any article of faith, or point of church discipline.

The numerous complaints of the severities exercised by the



government of Massachusetts, which were made by persons expelled for nonconformity in matters of religion, and by many dissatisfied by other means, added to the immense emigration of persons noted for their enthusiasm, and for their hostility to the existing system in England, seems at length to have made some impression on Charles ; and on the 21st of February 1633, an order was made by the king in council to stop the ships at that time ready to sail, freighted with passengers and provisions for New England. This order, however, seems never to have been strictly executed, as the emigrations still continued without any sensible diminution.

Hitherto the legislature had been composed of the whole body of the freemen. Under this system, so favorable to the views of the few who possess popular influence, the real power of the state had been chiefly engrossed by the governor and assistants, aided by the clergy. The emigrations, however, had already been very considerable, and the settlements, in consequence of the depopulation of the surrounding country by the small-pox, which, sweeping off whole tribes, left a great extent of vacant lands, had become so extensive, that it was found extremely inconvenient, if not impracticable, longer to preserve a principle which their charter enjoined. In the succeeding year, 1634, therefore, as it were by common consent, the people elected delegates, who met the governor and council, and constituted the general court. This important and necessary improvement in their system, rendered familiar and probably suggested by the practice in the mother country of delegating legislative power to representatives, although not authorised by their charter, remained unaltered so long as that charter was permitted to exist.

The colony of Massachusetts, having being settled by men whose political as well as religious opinions were strongly tinged with the spirit of republicanism, had been conducted, from its commencement, very much on the plan of an independent society. It at length attracted the particular notice of the jealous administration in England, and in April a commission for "the regulation and government of the plantations" was issued to the great officers of state, and to some of the nobility, in which was granted absolute power to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to others, "to make laws and constitutions concerning their state public, or the utility of individuals." The con-

missioners were authorised to support the clergy, by assigning them "tithes, oblations, and other profits, according to their discretion; to inflict punishment on those who should violate their ordinances; to remove governors of plantations, and to appoint others; and to constitute tribunals, and courts of justice, ecclesiastical and civil, with such authority and form as they should think proper;" but their laws were not to take effect until they had received the royal assent, and been proclaimed in the colonies. The commissioners were also constituted a committee to hear complaints against a colony, its governor, or other officers, with power to remove the offender for punishment to England. They were further directed to cause the revocation of such letters patent, granted for the establishment of colonies, as should, upon enquiry, be found to have been unduly obtained, or to contain a grant of liberties hurtful to the prerogative royal.

From their first settlement at Salem, the colony of Massachusetts had cultivated the friendship of their neighbours of New Plymouth. The bonds of mutual amity were now rendered more strict, not only by some threatening appearances of a hostile disposition among the natives, but from another circumstance which excited, in both colonies, considerable alarm.

The voyages of discovery, and for settlements, made by the English and French to the coast of North America, had been nearly cotemporaneous, and of consequence they set up conflicting claims to the territory. In 1603, Henry IV. of France granted to De Mont a commission, as lieutenant-general over that part of America which lies between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude, with powers to colonise and to rule it; and in 1606, king James granted to the two Virginia companies, all that territory which lies between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude; in consequence of which Captain Argal, in 1614, attacked, and, for the moment, dispersed the settlements made by the French on the Bay of Fundy. In 1620, James granted to the Plymouth company, all that territory which lies between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude; and in 1621, he, as king of Scotland, granted to Sir William Alexander, under the title of Nova Scotia, with the consent of the Plymouth company, the country bounded on the north, and east, and south, by the ri-

ver St. Lawrence and the ocean, and on the west by the river St. Croix. Under these different grants, actual settlements had been made by the French as far south and west as St. Croix, and by the English as far north and east as Penobscot. During the war with France, which broke out in the reign of Charles I., that monarch granted a commission to Captain Kirk for the conquest of the countries in America occupied by the French, and under that commission Canada and Acadie were subdued; but, by the treaty concluded at St. Germain's those places were restored to France, generally, without describing their limits; and Fort Royal, Quebec, and Cape Breton, were severally surrendered by name. In 1632, a party of French from Acadie, whether with or without authority from government seems not to have been ascertained, committed a robbery on a trading house established in 1627 by the people of New Plymouth at Penobscot; with the intelligence of this fact, information was also brought that Cardinal Richlieu had ordered some companies to that station, and that more were expected the next year, with priests, jesuits, and other formidable accompaniments, for a permanent settlement. It was immediately determined to complete a fort which had been commenced at Boston, and to build some other for the defence of that part of the country where encroachment from the French was most dreaded. Notwithstanding this robbery, the company still retained possession of the fort, and continued to carry on their trade with the Indians until the year 1635, when they were dispossessed by a military force detached by Rosillon, commander of a French fort at La Have, in Acadie, who, at the same time, wrote to the governor of the colony, stating that he had orders to displace all the English as far as Pemaquid. The government of New Plymouth was not disposed to submit quietly to this invasion of territory, and hired, for an expedition undertaken for the recovery of the fort at Penobscot, an English ship of war, under the command of Captain Girling, to which they joined an auxiliary force of a bark, and twenty men belonging to the colony. They stipulated to pay him two hundred pounds on his dislodging the French from the place; but, having notice of the armament coming against them, they prepared for its reception by fortifying and strengthening the fort; in consequence of which Girling, after expending his ammunition, and finding himself too weak to at-

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tempt to carry the works by assault, sent the bark, accompanied with two of the people of Plymouth, to solicit the aid of Massachusetts. The court agreed to assist their neighbours with a hundred men, and to bear the expence of the expedition by private subscription among their own body; but provisions were so scarce, that a sufficient supply, even for this small corps, could not be immediately obtained. In consequence of this circumstance, the expedition was abandoned for the present; Girling returned, and the French retained possession of the station until 1654. The apprehensions entertained of these formidable neighbours contributed, in no small degree, to cement the union between Massachusetts and Plymouth.

Two persons, who afterwards made a distinguished figure in English annals, arrived in 1635, at Boston. One was Hugh Peters, the coadjutor, and chaplain of Oliver Cromwell; the other Mr. Henry Vane, the son of Sir Henry Vane, who was at that time a privy counsellor of great credit with the king. So forcible was the influence of the political, and perhaps religious opinions then maintained by the puritans on the mind of this young gentleman, that he appeared ready to sacrifice, for their gratification, all the enjoyments which awaited him, and all his high expectations in his native land. His mortified exterior, his grave and solemn deportment, although not more than twenty-five years of age, his reputation for piety and wisdom, his strong professions of attachment to liberty, and to the public interest, added to his attention to some of the leading members in the church, won rapidly the affections of the people, and the year after his arrival he was, with general approbation, chosen their governor. His administration commenced with more external pomp than had been usual, or would seem to be congenial with the plain and simple manners of the people he governed. When going to court, or church, he was always preceded by two sergeants, who walked with their halberts; yet his popularity sustained no diminution, until the part he took in the religious controversies of the country detached from him many of its most judicious and influential inhabitants.

Independent of the meetings for public worship on every Sunday; of the stated lecture in Boston, on every Thursday; and of occasional lectures in other towns; there were frequent private meetings of the brethren of the churches for religious exer-

cises. Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman of deep enthusiasm, and of considerable eloquence, who had been much flattered by the attentions of the governor, and of Mr. Cotton, one of the most influential of the clergy, and whose husband was among the most respected men in the country, dissatisfied with the exclusion of her sex from the private meetings of the brethren, instituted a meeting of the sisters also, in which she repeated the sermons of the preceding Sunday, accompanied with such remarks and expositions as she deemed pertinent. These meetings were attended by a large number of the most respectable of her sex; her lectures were much spoken of, and, for a time, very generally approved. At length she drew a marked distinction between the ministers and members of churches through the country. A small number she designated as being under a covenant of grace; the others as being under a covenant of works. Contending for the necessity of the former, she maintained that sanctity of life is no evidence of justification, or of favor with God; and that the Holy Ghost dwells personally in such as are justified. The whole colony was divided into two parties, equally positive on these abstruse points, whose resentments against each other threatened the most serious calamities. Mr. Vane espoused, with zeal, the wildest doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson, and Mr. Cotton decidedly favored them. The lieutenant-governor, Mr. Winthrop, and the majority of the churches, were of the opposite party. Many conferences were held; days of fasting and humiliation were appointed; a general synod was called; and, after the most violent dissensions, Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions were condemned as erroneous, and she herself banished. Many of her disciples followed her. Vane, in disgust, quitted America.

Charles had long resolved to take the government of New England entirely into his own hands. In pursuance of this determination, he had, in 1635, issued the commission already mentioned, for the regulation and government of the plantations. In 1637, he issued a proclamation, directing that none should be transported thither who had not the special licence of the government, and that this should be granted only to those who had taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and had conformed to the discipline of the church of England. This order, however, from its real difficulty, could not be completely

executed; and the emigrations, which were entirely of nonconformists, still continued. So high in estimation, among those who were disgusted with the ceremonials so rigidly exacted in England, was the simple frame of church policy established in Massachusetts, that crowds surmounted every difficulty, to seek an asylum in this New Jerusalem. Among them were found persons of the first political influence and mental attainments of their country. Pym, Hampden, Hazlerig, and Cromwell, with many others who, afterwards, performed a conspicuous part in that revolution, which brought the head of Charles to the block, are said to have been actually on board a vessel prepared to sail for New England, and to have been stopped by the special orders of the privy council.

The commission for the regulation and government of the plantations conceiving the administration of the colony to have been in violation of its charter, a writ of *quo warranto* was issued, and judgment was given, that the liberties of Massachusetts shall be seized into the hands which conferred them, because they had been improperly exercised. This judgment was probably not final, and none of the corporation in New England were served with the process. The privy council, however, ordered the governor and company to send their patent to England to be delivered up. This order the general court answered in September, 1638, by a petition to the commissioners, in which they say, "We dare not question your lordships' proceedings in requiring our patent to be sent unto you; we only desire to open our griefs, and if in any thing we have offended his majesty or your lordships, we humbly prostrate ourselves at the footstool of supreme authority; we are sincerely ready to yield all due obedience to both; we are not conscious that we have offended in any thing, as our government is according to law: we pray that we may be heard before condemnation, and that we may be suffered to live in the wilderness." Fortunately for the colonists, the attention of Charles and of his commissioners began now to be too much occupied with affairs at home, to enable them to carry into complete execution, a system aimed at the subversion of every thing dear to the American heart.

To the religious dissensions which distracted Massachusetts, and to the rigor with which conformity was exacted, is, in a great measure to be attributed the first settlement of the other

colonies of New England. So early as the year 1634, Roger Williams, a very popular preacher at Salem, who had refused to hold communion with the church of Boston, because its members refused to make a public declaration of their repentance for having held communion with the church of England during their residence in that country, was charged with many exceptionable tenets. Among several which were condemned, and which mark his wild enthusiasm, we are surprised to find one in total opposition, not only to the spirit of the times, but to the severity of his other doctrines. He maintained, that to punish a man for any matter of conscience is persecution; and that even papists and arminians are entitled to freedom of conscience in worship, provided only the peace of civil society be secured. The divines of Massachussetts opposed this doctrine, by contending that they did not persecute men for conscience, but corrected them for sinning against conscience; and so they did not persecute, but punish heretics. This unintelligible sophism having no effect upon Williams, he was for this, and for his other heresies, banished by the magistrates from their jurisdiction, as a disturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth.

Many of his disciples followed him into exile, and travelling south until they passed the line of Massachussetts, they purchased a tract of land of the Mariaghansetts, then a powerful tribe of Indians, where, in 1635, they made a settlement, to which they gave the name of Providence. Having fixed the place of their future residence, they entered into a voluntary association, and framed a government composed of the whole body of freemen, for the preservation of peace, and the making of such laws as their situation might require. They created a church after the manner of Massachussetts, by collecting a religious society; but as one of the causes of their migration had been the tenet, that all were entitled to freedom of conscience in worship, the most entire toleration in matters of religion was established. These new settlers cultivated with assiduity the good will of the aborigines, and, at Providence, Williams long retained his authority, employing himself continually in acts of kindness, affording relief to the distressed, and an asylum to the persecuted.

It was not long after the banishment of Williams, that the

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controversy between those who maintained "the covenant of works," and those who maintained "the covenant of grace," divided and distracted Massachusetts. This controversy having been decided in 1637 against the antinomians, or those who supported the covenant of grace, and Mrs. Hutchinson, the leader of that sect, being banished, she, with many of her disciples, followed the steps of Williams, and, arriving in his neighbourhood, purchased a tract of land from the same tribe, where they founded Rhode Island. Imitating the conduct of their neighbours, they founded a similar association for the establishment of civil government, and adopting the same principles of toleration, they afforded protection to all who resorted thither. In consequence of this conduct, the island soon became so populous as to send out colonists to the adjacent shores.

Connecticut too is a colony of Massachusetts. So early as the year 1634, several persons, among whom was Mr. Hooker, one of the favorite ministers of the church, who was only inferior in influence to Mr. Cotton, applied to the general court of Massachusetts, for permission to go in quest of new adventures in a better land. That body was divided, and permission was not at that time obtained. It being then the received opinion, that the inhabitants were all mutually bound to each other by the oath of a freeman, as well as the original compact, so as not to be at liberty to separate without the consent of the whole, this emigration was for the present suspended. The general court, however, did not long withhold its assent. The country having been explored, and a place chosen on the west side of the great river Connecticut, a commission was granted to the petitioners, to remove wherever they chose; but on the condition of their still continuing under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Some few huts had been erected the preceding year, in which a small number of emigrants had wintered, and the fall succeeding the permit to settle the country, about sixty persons traversed the wilderness in families, and encountered immense distress. In 1636, about one hundred persons, led by Pyncheon, Hooker, and Haynes, followed the first emigrants, and founded the towns of Hartford, Springfield, and Wetherfield.

There were some difficulties attending the title of the settlers. The Dutch, at Manhadoes, or New York, claimed a right to the river, which they asserted themselves to have first discover-



ed, and to which they had given the name of Fresh River. In addition to this hostile title, Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brooke, with some others, contemplating, at one time, a retreat in the new world from the despotism with which England was threatened, had made choice of Connecticut-river for that purpose; and had built a fort at its mouth, which they had named Saybrooke.\* The emigrants from Massachusetts, however, kept possession; and proceeded to clear and cultivate the country. They purchased the rights of Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brooke, and their partners; and the Dutch being too feeble to go to war, gradually receded from Connecticut-river. Disclaiming the authority of Massachusetts, the emigrants entered into a voluntary association for the establishment of a government for themselves, which, in its frame, was like those adopted in the first instance throughout New England. The most material point of variance between their constitution and that of Massachusetts was, that they did not deprive of the right of freemen those who were not members of the church.†

These new establishments gave great and just alarm to the Piquods, a very powerful tribe of Indians, situated on the south of the Massachusetts. They clearly foresaw their own ruin in this extension of the English settlements; and the disposition excited by this apprehension soon displayed itself in private murders, and various other acts of hostility. With a policy suggested by a strong sense of danger, they sought a reconciliation with the Narragansetts, their ancient enemies and rivals in power. They requested these people to forget their long cherished animosities, and to co-operate cordially with them against a common enemy, whose continuing encroachments threatened

\* Mr. Trumbull states this fort to have been erected by Mr. Winthrop, who was dispatched for the purpose by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, and others, the grantees from the Plymouth Company, and who fortunately took possession of the mouth of Connecticut-river just in time to prevent its being seized by the Dutch, who had detached a vessel from Manhadoes for that purpose.

† All the powers of government, for nearly three years, seem to have been in the magistrates, of whom two were appointed in each town. These gave all orders, and directed all the affairs of the plantation. The freemen appear to have had no voice in making the laws, or in any part of the government, except in some instances of general and uncommon concern. In these instances, committees were sent from the several towns. During this term, it seems that juries were not employed in any case.

to overwhelm both with one common destruction. They marked to them the rapid progress of the English settlements, and urged, with great reason, that although a present friendship subsisted between them and the new comers, yet all in their turn must be dispossessed of their country, and they could hope, from that friendship, no other good than the wretched privilege of being last devoured.

These judicious representations of the Piquods could not efface from the bosom of the Narraghansetts that deep rooted enmity which neighbours not accustomed to consider themselves as possessing one common interest, and not bound together by ligaments of sufficient strength to prevent reciprocal acts of hostility, so often feel for each other. Dreading still less the power of a foreign nation than that of men with whom they had been in the habit of contending, they not only refused to join the Piquods, but communicated their proposition to the government of Massachusetts, with which they formed an alliance against that tribe. Open war being now resolved on by both parties, Captain Underhill was sent to the relief of Fort Saybrooke, which had been besieged by the enemy; and the three colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, agreed to march with united forces the next year into the country of the Piquods, in order to effect their utter destruction. Connecticut being most exposed to the enemy, the troops of that colony were first in motion. Those of Massachusetts were detained by the controversy concerning the covenant of works and of grace, which had insinuated itself into all the transactions of that colony. Their little army, when collected, in 1637, found itself divided by this metaphysical point, and the stronger party believing that the blessing of God could not be expected to crown with success the arms of such unhallowed men, as they deemed their opponents in faith on this question, refused to march until their small band was purified, by introducing, in place of the unclean, others whose tenets were unexceptionable.

In the mean time the troops of Connecticut being joined by a body of friendly Indians, and reinforced by a small detachment from Saybrooke, determined to march against the enemy. The Piquods had taken two positions, which they had surrounded with pallisadoes, and resolved to defend. In one of them was Sassacus himself, their chief sachem, and the other was on a

rising ground, surrounded by the head of Mystic-river. Against the fort commanded by Sassicus the first attack was intended to be made; but some of the troops becoming lame, and all very much fatigued with the march, the original plan was changed, and it was determined to attack Fort Mystic, which was eight miles nearer than that commanded by Sassacus. By an Indian they obtained the information that the enemy, deceived by the movement of their vessels from Saybrooke to Narraghansetts, believed the expedition to have been abandoned, and were celebrating in perfect security, on a large quantity of bass they had taken, the supposed evacuation of their country. About day-break, while in deep and secure sleep, they were approached by the English, and the surprise would have been complete, had they not been alarmed by the barking of a dog. The war-whoop was immediately raised, and they flew, undismayed, to such arms as they possessed. The English rushed on to the attack; and while some of them fired on the Indians through the palisades, others forced their way through the works, and set fire to their wigwams, which were covered with reeds. The confusion soon became universal, and almost the whole party were either killed or taken.

Soon after this action, the troops from Massachussetts arrived, and it was resolved to pursue their victory. Several skirmishes took place, which terminated unfavorably for the Piquods; and in a short time, another total defeat was given them, which put an end to the war. A few only of this once powerful nation survived, who, abandoning their country to the English, dispersed themselves among the neighbouring tribes, and were incorporated with them.

This first essay in arms of the New England colonists was conducted with vigor and ability, and impressed on the aborigines a high opinion of their courage and military superiority; but their victory was sullied with cruelties, which cannot be recollected without mingled regret and censure.

Immediately after the termination of this war, New Haven was settled.

A small emigration, conducted from England by Eaton and Davenport, arrived at Boston in June. Unwilling to remain under a government where power and influence were already in the hands of others, they refused to continue within the jurisdiction

of Massachusetts; and notwithstanding the opposition and threats at Manhadoes, settled themselves at a place on Connecticut river, which they named New Haven. Their institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, were in the same spirit with those of their elder sister Massachusetts.

The colony was now in a very flourishing condition. It is computed that from its first settlement there had arrived at Massachusetts twenty-one thousand two hundred persons. Although its inhabitants, who had emigrated in search of civil and religious liberty, devoted a great part of their attention to those abstruse points of theology which so much employed the casuists of that day, yet they were by no means unmindful of those solid acquisitions which were so necessary for their comfort while they sojourned in this sublunary world. Sober, industrious, and economical, they labored indefatigably in opening and improving the country they occupied, and were unremitting in their efforts to furnish themselves with those supplies which are to be drawn from the bosom of the earth. Of these they soon raised a surplus, for which fresh emigrants offered a ready and a profitable market; and their foreign trade in lumber, a business at first accessory to the clearing of their lands, furnished them, in addition to their fish and fur, with the means of making remittances to England for those manufactures which they found it advantageous to import from that country. Their fisheries had become so important as to attract the attention of government. For their encouragement, a law was this year passed, exempting property employed in catching, curing, or transporting fish, from all duties and taxes; and the fishermen and shipbuilders from militia duty. By the same law, too, all persons were restrained from using cod or bass fish for manure.

In reviewing the means by which most of the early settlements in the New World have been made, it is impossible not to feel indignation, at the injustice and abhorrence, at the cruelties which were so generally exercised towards the original occupiers of this new discovered country; atrocities which have entailed a disgrace on Europe, and a reproach on the name of christians, which the revolutions of centuries have not been sufficient to efface: but in the settlement of Pennsylvania to which the attention of the reader is now to be directed; very different,

and far more grateful feelings will be called into exercise, and he will trace with unmingled satisfaction the steps by which this most important province was settled and colonized: steps unpoluted by injustice, and unstained with blood.

William Penn the celebrated Quaker had advanced large sums of money from time to time for the good of the naval service, and his pay had been also in arrears. For these two claims, including the interest upon the money due, government were in debt to him no less a sum than sixteen thousand pounds. William Penn was desirous therefore of closing the account. He was however not anxious for the money. He wished, on the other hand, to take land in America in lieu of it, and therefore petitioned Charles the Second, that letters patent might be granted him for the same. The tract he solicited was to lie north of Maryland. It was to be bounded on the east by the Delaware-river. It was to be limited on the west as Maryland was, and it was to extend northward as far as it was plantable.

The king having read it, sent it to the Privy Council; and the Privy Council, after considering its contents, returned it to the Lords Committee of Trade and Plantations. Great opposition was made to it in both places, and for no other reason than because William Penn was a Quaker. Several meetings took place, in which the objections of the Duke of York (by his agent Sir John Werden) as proprietor of a large tract of land in the neighbourhood of that which was the object of the Petition, and those of Lord Baltimore as proprietor of Maryland, were fully heard and debated. The advice too of the Chief Justice North and the Attorney-General Sir William Jones was taken on the subject of the grant. The matter at length ended in favor of William Penn; and he was by charter, dated at Westminster the fourth of March 1681, and signed by writ of the Privy Seal, made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of all that tract of land which he had solicited and marked out, and invested with the power of ruling and governing the same.

This charter consisted of twenty-three sections. In these the extent and boundaries of the new province were specified, and the free use of all ports, bays, rivers, and waters there, and of their produce, and of all islands, mountains, soils, and mines there, and of their produce, were wholly granted and given up

to him. He was made absolute proprietary of the said territory, which was to be held in free and common socage by fealty, paying two beaver skins annually and one-fifth of all the gold and silver discovered to the king, and the said territory was to be called Pennsylvania after his own name. He had the power of making laws with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the territory assembled for the raising of money for public uses; of appointing judges and other officers; and of pardoning and reprieving, except in the cases of wilful murder and high treason. In these cases reprieve was to be granted only till the pleasure of the king was known, who also reserved to himself the right of hearing appeals. He had the power also in new and sudden circumstances, where the free men could not be suddenly and conveniently assembled, of making ordinances, which, however, were to be agreeable to reason and not repugnant to the laws of England, or to be extended in any sort to bind, change or take away the right or interest of persons for, or in, their lives, members, freeholds, goods, and chattels; and all property as well as felonies were to be regulated by the laws of England, until the said laws should be altered by himself, or assign, and the freemen of the said province. Duplicates of all laws made there were to be transmitted to the Privy Council within five years after they were passed; and if within six months after having been so transmitted such laws were not pronounced void by the said Council, they were to be considered as having been approved of and to be valid. Permission was given to English subjects to transport themselves to, and to settle in, Pennsylvania, to load and freight in English ports and transport all merchandise from thence to the said province, and to transport the fruits and produce of the said province to England on paying the accustomed duties. He had the power of dividing the province into towns, hundreds, and counties; of erecting and incorporating towns into boroughs, and boroughs into cities; of erecting manors, holding courts baron, and of having and holding view of frankpledge; of selling or alienating any part or parts of the said province, in which case the purchasers were to hold by his grant; of constituting fairs and markets; and of making ports, harbours, and quays, at which ports, harbours, and quays, and at which only, vessels were to be laden and unladen. All officers, however,

appointed by the farmers or commissioners of the king's customs were to have free admission thereto. He had the power of assessing, with the advice of the freemen assembled, custom on goods to be laden and unladen, and of enjoying the same, saving however to the king such impositions as were and should be appointed by act of parliament. He was to appoint from time to time an agent to reside in or near London, to answer for any misdemeanor on his part against the laws of trade and navigation; and, in case of such misdemeanor, he was to make good the damage occasioned thereby within one year; in failure of which, the king was to seize the government of the said province and to retain it until the said damage was made good. He was not to maintain correspondence with any king or power at war with England, nor to make war against any king or power in amity with the same. In case of incursion by neighbouring barbarous nations, or by pirates or robbers, he had power to levy, muster, and train to arms all men in the said province, and to act as their Captain-General, and to make war upon and pursue the same. The king was never to impose any tax or custom upon the inhabitants of it, either upon their lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, or upon any merchandise to be laden or unladen within it, unless by the consent of himself, or the chief governor appointed by him, or by the assembly, or by act of parliament in England. This declaration was to be deemed by all the judges in all the courts of law to be a lawful discharge or payment, and acquittance; and no officer was to attempt any thing contrary to the premises, but to aid him, his heirs, servants, agents and others in the full use and enjoyment of the charter. If any of the inhabitants to the number of twenty should signify their desire to the bishop of London to have a preacher sent to them, such preacher should be allowed to reside and perform his functions without any denial or molestation whatever. If any doubt should arise concerning the meaning of any expression in the charter, the interpretation of it was to be construed in a manner the most favorable to him and his heirs.

It may be proper to give here an anecdote of William Penn, as it relates to the above charter. On the day that it was signed he wrote to several of his friends to inform them of it, and among others to R. Turner, one of the persons mentioned to

have been admitted as a partner in the purchase of East New Jersey. He says in this letter, that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, his country was on that day confirmed to him under the Great Seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania, a name which the king gave it in honor of his father. It was his own intention to have had it called New Wales; but the under secretary who was a Welchman, opposed it. He then suggested Sylvania on account of its woods, but they would still add Penn to it. He offered the under secretary twenty guineas to give up his prejudices, and to consent to change the name; for he feared lest it should be looked upon as vanity in him, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was, to his father, whom he often mentioned with great praise. Finding that all would not do, he went to the king himself to get the name of Penn struck out, or another substituted; but the king said it was passed, and that he would take the naming of it upon himself.

The charter having been signed, the king gave it his further authority by a declaration, dated April the second, to all persons designing to become planters and inhabitants of Pennsylvania. This declaration pointed out to them the boundaries of the new province, and enjoined them to yield all obedience to the proprietor, his heirs, and his or their deputies, according to the powers granted by the said charter.

The first thing William Penn did, after obtaining the charter, was to draw up "some account of the province of Pennsylvania in America, lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn." To this account he annexed a copy of the royal charter, and also the terms on which he intended to part with the land. It appears from these terms, that any person wishing to become a planter might then buy a hundred acres of land for forty shillings, but a quit-rent of one shilling was to be reserved to the proprietor for every hundred acres for ever. Thus, if a person had bought one thousand acres, he would have had twenty pounds to pay for them, and ten shillings per annum quit-rent. The reason of the latter sort of payment was this, namely, that whereas William Penn held of the king by a small annual rent, others were obliged to hold of him in the same manner, having no security or good title to their purchases



but by such a mode of tenure. It appears also, that renters were to pay one shilling an acre yearly not exceeding two hundred acres, and servants were to have fifty acres when the time of their servitude expired, whether men or women, that quantity of land being allowed their masters for such purpose.

He drew up next "certain conditions or concessions to be agreed upon by William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and those who may become adventurers and purchasers in the same province." These conditions related to the building, forming, and settling of towns, roads, and lands, and to the treatment of the natives, and other subjects. They consisted of twenty articles. Among other things it was stipulated in these, that no purchaser of ten thousand acres or more should have above a thousand acres lying together, unless in three years he planted a family upon every thousand of the same.—That every man should be bound to plant or man so much as should be surveyed and set out to him within three years after such survey, or else a new comer should be settled thereon, who should pay him his survey-money, and he himself should go up higher for his share.—That in clearing the ground care should be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, especially to preserve oaks and mulberries for silk and shipping.—In behalf of the Indians it was stipulated, that, as it had been usual with planters to overreach them in various ways, whatever was sold to them in consideration of their furs should be sold in the public market-place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad: if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good; that the said native Indians might neither be abused nor provoked.—That no man should by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong any Indian, but he should incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter; and if any Indian should abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, that the said planter should not be his own judge upon the said Indian, but that he should make his complaint to the governor of the province, or his deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who should to the utmost of his power take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction should be made to the said injured planter.—And that all differences between planters and Indians should be ended by twelve men, that is, by

six planters and six Indians, that so they might live friendly together, as much as in them lay, preventing all occasions of heart-burnings and mischief.—These stipulations in favor of the poor natives will for ever immortalize the name of William Penn; for, soaring above the prejudices and customs of his time, by which navigators and adventurers thought it right to consider the inhabitants of the lands they discovered as their lawful prey, or as mere animals of the brute creation, whom they might treat, use, and take advantage of, at their pleasure, he regarded them as creatures endued with reason, as men of the like feelings and passions with himself, as brethren by nature, and as persons, therefore, to whom the great duties of humanity and justice were to be extended, and who, in proportion to their ignorance, were the more entitled to protection and care.

These conditions having been made known to the public, many purchasers came forward both in London and Liverpool, and particularly in Bristol. Among those in the latter city J. Claypole, N. More, P. Forde, W. Sharloe, E. Pierce, J. Simcock, T. Bracy, E. Brooks and others formed a company, which they called "The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania." They purchased twenty thousand acres of land in trust for the said company, published articles of trade, and prepared for embarking in many branches of the same. Other persons purchased also, and among these a great number of Quakers from Wales.

It was necessary, before any of the purchasers embarked, that they should know something of the political constitution under which they were to live in the New Land, as well as that it should be such as they approved. William Penn accordingly drew up a rough sketch, to be submitted to their opinion, of that great frame of government which he himself wished to become the future and permanent one of the province. It consisted of twenty-four articles. These were preceded by what he called his first or great fundamental, by which he gave them that liberty of conscience which the laws of their own country denied them, and in behalf of which he had both written and suffered so frequently himself. "In reverence," says he, "to God, the father of light and spirits, the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith and worship, I do, for me and

mine, declare and establish for the first fundamental of the government of my province, that every person that doth and shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the free profession of his or her faith and exercise of worship towards God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God. And so long as every person useth not this christian liberty to licentiousness or the destruction of others, that is to say, to speak loosely and profanely, or contemptuously of God, Christ, the Holy Scriptures, or Religion, or commit any moral evil or injury against others in their conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid christian liberty by the civil magistrate."

The conditions and frame of government having been mutually signed, three ships full of passengers set sail for Pennsylvania; two from London, and one from Bristol. It appeared that the John and Sarah from London, Henry Smith, master, arrived first; and the Bristol Factor, Roger Drew, master, the next. The last vessel arrived at the place where Chester now stands. Here the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore; and here, the river being frozen up that night, they remained all the winter. The other London ship, the Amity, Richard Dimon, master, was blown off with her passengers to the West Indies, and did not arrive at the province till the spring of the next year.

In one of these ships went Colonel William Markham. He was a relation of William Penn, and was to be his secretary when he himself should arrive. He was attended by several commissioners, whose object was to confer with the Indians respecting their lands, and to endeavour to make with them a league of eternal peace. With this view they were enjoined in a solemn manner to treat them with all possible candour, justice, and humanity. They were the bearers also of a letter to them, which William Penn wrote with his own hand, and of which the following is a copy:

"There is a great God, and Power, which hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you, and I, and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in the world.

"This great God has written the law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do

good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein: but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another, but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you. This I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood; which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

“I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and to the people, and receive the presents and tokens, which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and of my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

“I am your loving friend,

WILLIAM PENN.”

By the constitution framed by William Penn, the government was placed in the governor and freemen of the province, out of whom were to be formed two bodies; namely, a Provincial Council, and a General Assembly.

William Penn, having published the constitution as now concisely explained, thought it of great importance, in order to pre-

vent all future claim, or even pretence of claim by the Duke of York or his heirs upon the province, to obtain from His Royal Highness a deed of release for the same, which was accordingly made out.

This deed was signed by His Royal Highness on the 21st of August, 1682, and was sealed and delivered in the presence of John Werden and George Man.

Besides the above, he obtained of His Royal Highness the Duke of York his right, title, and interest in another tract of land, of respectable extent, which lay contiguous to Pennsylvania. This was at that time inhabited by Dutch and Swedes. The Dutch had long before made war upon and conquered the Swedes; and the English had afterwards conquered both, and had annexed the country they occupied to that which belonged to His Royal Highness, and placed it under his government of New York. This tract then, which was known afterwards by the name of The Territories, was presented to William Penn. It was made over to him, his heirs and assigns, by two deeds of feoffment, dated the 24th of August, 1682, in which the boundaries were duly specified, and particularly those between the said Territories and Maryland.

William Penn sailed soon after to his new government. One of his first movements was to Upland, in order to call the first General Assembly. This was a memorable event, and to be distinguished by some marked circumstance. He determined therefore to change the name of the place. Turning round to his friend Pearson, one of his own Society, who had accompanied him in the ship *Welcome*, he said, "Providence has brought us here safe. Thou hast been the companion of my perils. What wilt thou that I should call this place?" Pearson said, "Chester, in remembrance of the city from whence he came." William Penn replied, that it should be called Chester; and that, when he divided the land into counties, he would call one of them by the same name also.

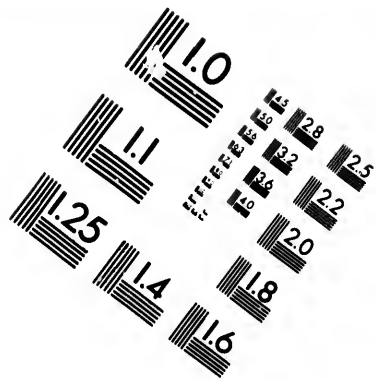
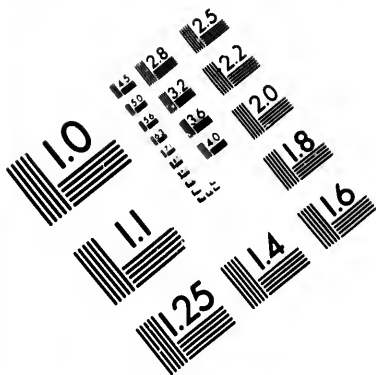
At length the Assembly met. It consisted of an equal number for the Province and for the Territories of all such Freemen as chose to attend, according to the sixteenth article of the Frame of Government. It chose for its Speaker, Nicholas Moore, President of the "Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania," be-

fore spoken of, and then proceeded to business, which occupied three days.

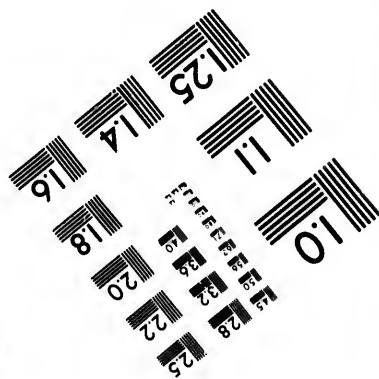
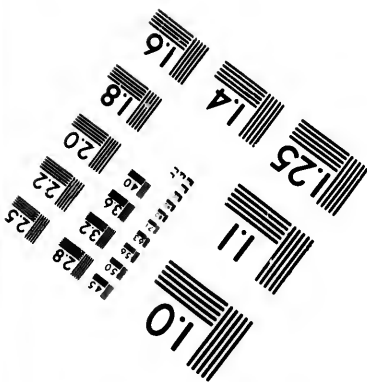
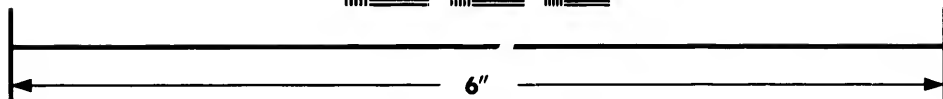
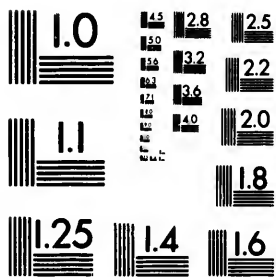
Among the Laws the following are worthy of notice. All persons who confessed the one almighty and eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the World, and who held themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in society, were in no ways to be molested for their religious persuasion and practice, nor to be compelled at any time to frequent any religious place or ministry whatever. All Treasurers, however, Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace; and all whatsoever in the service of the government, and all members elected to serve in Provincial Council and General Assembly, and all electors, were to be such as professed faith in Jesus Christ, and as had not been convicted of ill fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation, and who were one-and-twenty years of age. All children of the age of twelve were to be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end that none might be idle in the province; but that the poor might work to live, and the rich, if they became poor, might not want. Servants were not to be kept longer than the time of servitude agreed upon, and were to be put in fit equipage at the expiration of it. All pleadings, processes, and records in Courts of Law were to be as short as possible. All fees of Law were to be moderate, and to be hung up on tables in the Courts. All persons wrongfully imprisoned or prosecuted were to have double damages against the informer or prosecutor. All fines were to be moderate. With respect to the criminal part of these Laws, one new principle was introduced into it. William Penn was of opinion, that though the deterring of others from offences must continue to be the great and indeed only end of punishment, yet, in a community professing itself christian, the reformation of the offender was to be inseparably connected with it. Hence he made but two capital offences; namely, murder, and treason against the state: and hence also all prisons were to be considered as workshops, where the offenders might be industriously, soberly, and morally employed.

After the adjournment, William Penn prepared for a visit to Maryland. On his first arrival at Newcastle he had dispatched two messengers to the Lord Baltimore "to ask his health, to offer kind neighbourhood, and to agree upon a time of meeting, the better to establish it." By this time the messengers had re-





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turned, from whom it appeared that the Lord Baltimore would be glad to see him. On receiving this information he set out for West River, and at the appointed time reached the place of meeting, where he was very kindly received, not only by his host, but by the principal inhabitants of the province. There the two governors endeavoured to fix the boundaries between their respective provinces; but the winter season being expected, and there being no appearance of speedily determining the matter, after two days spent upon it, they appointed to meet again in the spring. William Penn accordingly departed. Lord Baltimore had the politeness to accompany him several miles, till he came to the house of one William Richardson, where he took his leave of him. And here it may be observed, that the nobleman just mentioned, whose name was Charles, was the son and heir of Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, who had obtained the original grant of Maryland, and who, being a catholic, had peopled it with those of his own persuasion. Cecilius, however, though he himself and they who emigrated with him were of this description, had the liberality to allow liberty of conscience to all who came to settle in his province; so that though William Penn is justly entitled to the praise of posterity for having erected a colony composed of different denominations of christians, where the laws respecting liberty both civil and religious were equally extended to all, and where no particular sect was permitted to arrogate to itself peculiar advantages, yet he had not the honor, as we see, (however the project with him might have been original,) of being the first to realise it.

The time now arrived when William Penn was to confirm his great Treaty with the Indians. His religious principles, which led him to the practice of the most scrupulous morality, did not permit him to look upon the king's patent, or legal possession according to the laws of England, as sufficient to establish his right to the country, without purchasing it by fair and open bargain of the natives, to whom only it properly belonged. He had therefore instructed commissioners, as I mentioned before, who had arrived in America before him, to buy it of the latter, and to make with them at the same time a Treaty of eternal Friendship. This the commissioners had done; and this was the time when, by mutual agreement between him and the Indian Chiefs, it was to be publicly ratified. He proceeded therefore, accom-

panied by his friends, consisting of men, women, and young persons of both sexes, to Coaquannoc, the Indian name for the place where Philadelphia now stands. On his arrival there he found the Sachems and their tribes assembling. They were seen in the woods as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful both on account of their number and their arms. The Quakers are reported to have been but a handful in comparison, and these without any weapon.

It is much to be regretted, when we have accounts of minor Treaties between William Penn and the Indians, that in no historian I can find an account of this, though so many mention it, and though all concur in considering it as the most glorious of any in the annals of the world. There are, however, relations in Indian speeches, and traditions in Quaker families descended from those who were present on the occasion, from which we may learn something concerning it. It appears that, though the parties were to assemble at Coaquannoc, the Treaty was made a little higher up, at Shaekamaxon. Upon this Kensington now stands, the houses of which may be considered as the suburbs of Philadelphia. There was at Shaekamaxon an elm tree of prodigious size. To this the leaders on both sides repaired, approaching each other under its widely-spreading branches. William Penn appeared in his usual clothes. He had no crown sceptre, mace, sword, halbert, or any insignia of eminence. He was distinguished only by wearing a sky-blue sash\* round his waist, which was made of silk net-work, and which was of no larger apparent dimensions than an officer's military sash, and much like it except in color. On his right hand was Colonel Markham, his relation and secretary, and on his left, his friend Pearson before mentioned; after whom followed a train of Quakers. Before him were carried various articles of merchandise, which, when they came near the Sachems, were spread upon the ground. He held a roll of parchment, containing the Confirmation of the Treaty of Purchase and Amity, in his hand. One of the Sachems, who was the Chief of them, then put upon his own head a kind of chaplet, in which appeared a small horn. This, as among the primitive eastern nations and according to scripture language, was an emblem of kingly power; and when-

\* This sash is now in the possession of Thomas Kett, Esq., of Seething-hall, near Norwich.

ever the chief, who had a right to wear it, put it on, it was understood that the place was made sacred, and the persons of all present inviolable. Upon putting on this horn the Indians threw down their bows and arrows, and seated themselves round their chiefs in the form of a half-moon upon the ground. The chief Sachem then announced to William Penn, by means of an interpreter, that the Nations were ready to hear him.

Having been thus called upon, he began. The Great Spirit, he said, who made him and them, who ruled the heaven and the earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to use hostile weapons against their fellow creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood and love. After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and by means of the same interpreter conveyed to them, article by article, the Conditions of the Purchase, and the Words of the Compact then made for their eternal Union. Among other things, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits even in the territory they had alienated, for it was to be common to them and the English. They were to have the same liberty to do all things therein relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families, which the English had. If any disputes should arise between the two, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English and half Indians. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents besides from the merchandise which had been spread before them. Having done this, he laid the roll of parchment on the ground, observing again, that the ground should be common to both people. He then added, that he would not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call them Children or Brothers only; for often Parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and Brothers sometimes would differ: neither would he compare the friendship between them to a Chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should consider them as the

same flesh and blood with the christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts. He then took up the parchment, and presented it to the Sachem who wore the horn in the chaplet, and desired him and the other Sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained himself with them to repeat it.

That William Penn must have done and said a great deal more on this interesting occasion than has now been represented, there can be no doubt. What I have advanced may be depended upon; but I am not warranted in going further. It is also to be regretted, that the speeches of the Indians on this memorable day have not come down to us. It is only known, that they solemnly pledged themselves, according to their country manner, to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the Sun and Moon should endure.—Thus ended this famous Treaty, of which more has been said in the way of praise than of any other ever transmitted to posterity. "This," says Voltaire, "was the only Treaty between those people and the christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken."—"William Penn thought it right," says the Abbé Raynal, "to obtain an additional right by a fair and open purchase from the aborigines; and thus he signalized his arrival by an act of equity which made his person and principles equally beloved.—Here it is the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, melancholy, and horror, which the whole of it, but particularly that of the European settlements in America, inspires."—Noble, in his Continuation of Granger, says, "he occupied his domains by actual bargain and sale with the Indians. This fact does him infinite honor, as no blood was shed, and the Christian and the Barbarian met as brothers. Penn has thus taught us to respect the lives and properties of the most unenlightened nations."—"Being now returned," says Robert Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, "from Maryland to Coaquannoc, he purchased lands of the Indians, whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness.—It was at this time when he first entered personally into that friendship with them, which ever afterwards continued between them, and which for the space of more than seventy years was never interrupted, or so long as the Quakers retained

power in the government.—His conduct in general to these people was so engaging, his justice in particular so conspicuous, and the counsel and advice which he gave them were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and the sense thereof made such deep impressions on their understandings, that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced while they continue a people\*.”

Having now fairly purchased the land of the natives, he ordered a regular survey of it. This was performed by Thomas Holme, who had come out as Surveyor-General of the province. During the survey he pitched upon Coaquannoc as the most noble and commodious place for his new city. It was situated between the rivers Skuykill and Delaware, and therefore bounded by them on two sides, and on a third by their confluence.

William Penn having determined upon the site, and afterwards upon the plan of the city, he instructed Thomas Holme to make a map of it, in which the streets were to be laid out as they were to be afterwards built. There were to be two large streets, the one fronting the Delaware on the east, and the other the Skuykill on the west, of a mile in length. A third, to be called High-Street, of one hundred feet broad, was to run directly through the middle of the city so as to communicate with the streets now mentioned at right angles; that is, it was to run through the middle from river to river, or from east to west. A fourth of the same breadth, to be called Broad-Street, was to run through the middle also, but to intersect High-Street at right angles, or to run from north to south. Eight streets, fifty feet wide, were to be built parallel to High-Street, that is, from river to river; and twenty, of the like width, parallel to Broad-Street, that is, to cross the former from side to side. The streets running from east to west were to be named according to their numerical order, such as First, Second, and Third-Street,

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\* The great elm tree, under which this Treaty was made, became celebrated from this day. When in the American war the British General Sincoe was quartered at Kensington, he so respected it, that when his soldiers were cutting down every tree for fire-wood, he placed a centinel under it, that not a branch of it might be touched. It was blown down a few years ago, when its trunk was split into wood, and cups and other articles were made of it, to keep as memorials of it. As to the roll of parchment containing the Treaty, it was shown by the Mingoës, Shawanese, and other Indians, to Governor Keith, at a Conference, in 1722.

and those from north to south according to the woods of the country, such as Vine, Spruce, Pine, Sassafras, Cedar, and others. There was to be, however, a square of ten acres in the middle of the city, each corner of which was to be reserved for public offices. There was to be also in each quarter of it a square of eight acres, to be used by the citizens in like manner as Moorfields in London. The city having been thus planned, he gave it a name, which he had long reserved for it, namely, Philadelphia, in token of that principle of brotherly love, upon which he had come to these parts; which he had shown to Dutch, Swedes, Indians, and others alike; and which he wished might for ever characterize his new dominions.

Scarcely was this plan determined upon, when, late as the season was, some of the settlers began to build, and this with such rapidity, being assisted by the Swedes, that several houses were erected in this year. He himself was employed in the mean while with Thomas Holme in finishing the survey of his grants and purchases; the result of which was, that he divided the Province and Territories, each into three counties. The Province contained those of Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester; the first so named from the city, which was then building; the second from Buckinghamshire in England, which was the land of his ancestors; and the third from the promise before mentioned which he had made to his friend Pearson. The Territories contained those of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex; the latter of which he so named out of respect to his wife's family, Sussex in England having been the county of their nativity for generations.

After this, a number of vessels arrived in the Delaware from Somersetshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Wales, and Ireland. Out of the twenty-three which sailed from thence, not one was lost. They brought with them altogether more than two thousand persons. These were mostly Quakers, who had bought allotments, and had come to occupy them. They had left their country, as we learn from "The Planter's Speech to his Neighbours" published at this time, "that they might lead a life quiet and peaceable, free from the vexations they had experienced, and during which they might worship the great Creator in their own way.

When the vessels arrived, the Swedes very kindly volunteered

their services in unloading them; and as they arrived not all at once, but in succession, the goods were more speedily brought on shore, and the passengers more easily accommodated and disposed of. The latter, as they were landed, distributed themselves through the country, some going one way and some another, some settling within the territories, others within the province, according as their lots or as their friends and expectations lay. Their number being altogether great, they appeared, when thus distributed, to occupy a large portion of land. There were people apparently all the way, though thinly scattered, from the Falls of Trenton to Chester. Taking in the Dutch and Swedes, and those who had gone out with Colonel Markham and William Penn, and the new comers just mentioned, and including men, women, and children, their total number did not fall short of six thousand persons; so that William Penn may be said to have raised a colony at once in his new domains.

Many of those who had arrived being of a sober cast, and having property, had brought out with them houses in frame, tools, implements, and furniture, and also food and raiment sufficient to last them for some time after their arrival. All such experienced the benefit of their prudence. Others were not so well provided; but coming some weeks before the winter began, they were enabled to get through it with more comfort than could have been expected, as it related to their habitations. They used the short opportunity they had in cutting down wood, and working it, and putting it together, so as to construct temporary huts. William Penn furnished them with a general plan for these. They were to be rather better than thirty feet long, and eighteen wide. There was to be a partition in the middle, so that each was to be divided into two equal parts. When the shell was up, it was to be covered and defended on the outside by clapboards. It was to be lined also in the inside by the same. The intervening space between the external covering and inside lining was to be filled with earth, to keep out the cold and frost. The ground floor was to be made of clay, and the upper or loft of wood. The latter was to be divided or not, according to the wants of the family. As to the roof, it was to be of clapboard also. Others arrived too late in the season to be able to raise themselves habitations. These suffered more or

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less from the severity of the winter. Some of them were kindly taken in by the Swedes and others; but the rest were obliged to betake themselves to the bank of the river, where the city was building. This standing high, and being dry, they dug large holes in it, and in these they lived. These dwelling-places went by the name of the Caves from this period.

With respect to provisions, they fared better, all of them, than might have been expected in a country which all around, except just upon the shore, was an entire wilderness. Yet in this situation they met with occasional support. The wild pigeons flew about in such numbers, that the air was sometimes darkened by them; and, flying low, they were sometimes knocked down in great numbers by those who had no other means of taking them. The supply from these was sometimes so great, that they could not consume them while fresh: they therefore salted the overplus. The Indians also were remarkably kind to them. They hunted for them frequently, doing their utmost to feed them. They considered them all as the children of Onas\*; and, looking upon him ever since the Great Treaty as their own father also, they treated them as brothers.

Soon after the new year had begun, an infant was born of the family of Key. His mother had been brought-to-bed in her habitation in one of the Caves. He was the first-born child of English parents in the colony. This being a new event, the governor recorded it by making him a present of a lot of land. Key lived afterwards to a great age, but he never lost the name of first-born to the day of his death.

The time being now at hand, as specified in the writs which had been issued, for the organization of the legislative bodies, those who had been chosen by the freeholders began to move, some from their temporary huts and others from their houses, to the place of meeting. It appears that only twelve persons had been returned out of each of the six counties, three of these for the council and nine for the assembly. Thus the council consisted only of eighteen and the assembly of fifty-four, making together seventy-two. It will be proper to observe here, that, after the division of the land into counties, the Province still continued to be called the Province, but the Territories usually went by the name of the "Three lower counties of the Delaware."

\* Onas was the name for Penn in the Indian language.

We have not a perfect list of those who composed the first council. Sixteen, however, of their names have been preserved. Among these were Colonel Markham, the governor's relation and secretary; Thomas Holme, his surveyor-general of the colony; and Laey Cook, the Swede before mentioned, who had been deputed by his countrymen to congratulate the governor on his arrival, and to acquaint him, after the first assembly at Chester, that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had.

The freeholders, when they returned the members of the first assembly, were sensible that, according to the letter of the constitution, they had returned a far less number to the legislative bodies than they ought, having elected only seventy-two persons in all, whereas the council itself should have consisted of that number. It was impossible however, in the then state of things, that they could have done otherwise. They gave therefore their reasons in writing on the sheriff's returns for the deficiency; and they added that, though the number was less than the law required, they considered those who had been elected as possessing the power of all the freemen, both of the province and territories. They petitioned the governor also, before the members met in their official capacities, that this their non-compliance with the constitution to its full extent might not deprive them of the benefit of their charter. To this he replied, "that they might amend, alter, or add, for the public good; and that he was ready to settle such foundations with them, as might be for their happiness, according to the powers vested in him."

These preliminaries having been adjusted, he met his council on the tenth of March.

On the twelfth he met the assembly. This latter body chose for its speaker Thomas Wynnec, and then proceeded to business. At this and subsequent sittings till the twentieth much work was gone through. Several bills were framed and passed. Outlines also were agreed upon for the amendment of the old charter. A seal also was established for each county. To Philadelphia was given an anchor, to Bucks a tree and vine, to Chester a plough, to Newcastle a cassia, to Kent three ears of Indian corn, and to Sussex a wheat-sheaf.

At a council held on the twentieth, the speaker and two

members of the assembly attending with certain bills which had been sent to them, the governor and council desired a conference with the whole house and freemen about the charter. They attended accordingly. He then asked them explicitly, whether they chose to have the old or new charter. They unanimously requested a new one, with such amendments as had already been agreed upon. Upon this he made a short speech to them, in which he signified his assent to their request; distinguishing, however, between their duty and his own willingness to oblige them, and hoping that both would be found consistent with each other and reconcilable on the present occasion.

On the twenty-first the assembly sent Griffith Jones and Thomas Fitzwater to thank him for his speech, and to signify their grateful acceptance of his offer. After this a committee of each house was appointed to draw up a new charter.

At a council held on the thirteenth, the governor having read, approved, signed, and sealed the charter, which the committees had drawn up, presented it in due form to James Harrison, Thomas Wynne, and another member, who attended in behalf of the assembly and freemen. These, on receiving it, returned the old one into his hands with the hearty thanks of the whole house. By this charter the provincial council was to consist of eighteen persons, three from each county, and the assembly of thirty-six, men of most note for virtue, wisdom, and ability; by whom, with the governor, all laws were to be made, officers chosen, and public affairs transacted, in the manner expressed therein. All the laws, however, were still to be prepared by the governor and council, and the number of assembly-men were to be increased at their pleasure. This was the last business transacted at this session, which had continued twenty-two days.

The legislative assembly being over, and the members returned to their habitations, William Penn directed his attention to his new city. By this time Philadelphia had begun to rise out of the ground. The first house finished there was built by George Guest. The owner of it used it as a tavern, a good speculation under existing circumstances, and called it the Blue Anchor. Soon after many small houses were erected. Larger and more commodious followed, and this so rapidly, that inclu-

ding ordinary and good houses, not less than a hundred were found in their proper stations by the end of the present year. William Penn, indeed, seems to have had a mind capable of directing its energies usefully to every department of a new colony, whether in that of agriculture, building, government, or religion. His plan for the city of Philadelphia has been considered as the work of a provident and great architect; and to that sleepless spirit of vigilance, that spirit which he possessed in the highest degree, of constantly overlooking and forwarding whatever he had begun, it was to be ascribed that so great a progress had been made in the buildings in so short a time. Dean Prideaux, in his connexion of the history of the old and new Testament, gives a plan or model of the city of ancient Babylon, after which he speaks thus: "much according to this model hath William Penn, the Quaker, laid out the ground for his city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania; and were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest and best city in all America, and not much behind any other in the whole world."

The settlers too had by this time made a visible improvement in some of their allotments. Portions of these had not only in many instances been cleared, but put into cultivation. Most of those who arrived in the first ships had been enabled, in consequence of the openness of the winter for a longer period than usual, to put their winter corn into the ground. Others had since sown here and there patches of barley. A letter written by Richard Towusend, who went out with William Penn, is extant, from which we may collect something as to the way in which they went on, as well as to their subsequent gradual progress.

"After our arrival," says he, "we found it a wilderness. The chief inhabitants were Indians, and some Swedes, who received us in a friendly manner; and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner, in that provisions were found for us by the Swedes and Indians at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts that were inhabited before.

"After some time I set up a mill on Chester Creek, which I brought ready framed from London, which served for grinding of corn and sawing of boards, and was of great use to us. Besides, with Joshua Tittery, I made a net, and caught great

quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about a shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel.

“And as our worthy proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought us in abundance of venison. As in other countries the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

“After our arrival there came in about twenty families from High and Low Germany of religious good people, who settled about six miles from Philadelphia, and called the place German Town; about the time when German Town was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land, which I had bought of the proprietor in England, about a mile from thence, where I set up a house and corn-mill, which was very useful to the country for several miles round; but there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles. I remember one man had a bull so gentle, that he used to bring his corn on him instead of a horse.”

We cannot perhaps better close our account of the early settlements in Pennsylvania, than by submitting the following account of this province as given by its venerable founder.

“1. The country itself, its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, are not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich; also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and in some places a fast fat earth, like that of our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers; God in his wisdom having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided; the back lands being generally three to one richer than those that lie by navigable rivers. We have much of another soil, and that is a black hazel mould upon a stony or rocky bottom.

2. The air is sweet and clear, and the heavens serene, like the south parts of France rarely overcast; and as the woods come by numbers of people to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

“3. The waters are generally good ; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, which operate in the same manner with those of Barnet and North Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

“4. For the seasons of the year, having by God’s goodness now lived over the coldest and hottest that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

“First of the fall, for then I came in. I found it from the twenty-fourth of October to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December to the beginning of the month called March we had sharp frosty weather ; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England, but a sky as clear as in the summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing, and hungry ; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of this cold is given from the great lakes, which are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was mild, scarce any ice at all, while this for a few days froze up our great river Delaware. From that month to the month called June we enjoyed a sweet spring ; no gusts, but gentle showers and a fine sky. Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence to this present month, August, which endeth the summer, commonly speaking, we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind that ruleth the summer season is the south-west ; but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the north-western seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs, or vapours foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away ; the one is followed by the other ; a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants, the multitude of trees yet standing being liable to retain mists and vapors, and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

“The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chesnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white

and black; Spanish chesnut, and swamp, the most durable of all; of all which there is plenty for the use of man.

“The fruits I find in the woods are the white and black mulberry, chesnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape now ripe, called by ignorance the fox-grape, because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates, is in itself an extraordinary grape; and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontiniae, as it is not much unlike it in taste, ruddiness set aside; which, in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of muscadel, and a little black grape, like the cluster grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other,—but, they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful vinerous, to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shows some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches very good, and in great quantities, not an Indian plantation without them,—but whether naturally here at first I know not. However, one may have them by bushels for little. They make a pleasaut drink, and I think not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine as any European countries of the same latitude do yield.

“6. The artificial produce of the country, is wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

“7. Of living creatures, fish, fowl, and the beasts of the good, here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some, for profit only: for food as well as profit the elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits,

squirrels; and some eat young bear and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great, pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons, and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose white and grey; brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curloc, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel, nor so good have I ever eaten in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cats-head, sheeps-head, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers trout, some say salmon above the falls. Of shell-fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs, and muscles; some oysters six inches long, and one sort of cockles as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and which are natural to these parts, are the wild cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, mink, musk-rat; and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work; which hath the appearance of considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

“8. We have no want of horses, and some are very good, and shapely enough. Two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes, with horses and pipe staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle and some sheep. The people plough mostly with oxen.

“9. There are divers plants, which not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, and cuts, that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient; and for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle, the other I know not what to call, but they are most fragrant.

“10. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers for color, greatness, figure, and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods. I have sent a few to a person of quality this year for a trial.”

The present seems the most proper place, for giving some account of the original occupiers of the New World; or, as they are familiarly called, the Indians. The enquiry to which we shall be led will include the following particulars; 1. The bodily constitution of the native Americans in those regions now under



review; 2. The qualities of their minds; 3. Their domestic state; 4. Their political state and institutions; 5. Their system of war, and public security; 6. The arts with which they were acquainted; and 7. Their religious ideas and institutions; and such customs as are not reducible to any of the above heads.

1. The bodily constitution of the Americans. The first appearance of the inhabitants of the new world, filled the discoverers with such astonishment, that they were apt to imagine them a race of men different from those of the other hemisphere. Their complexion is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling the color of copper. The hair of their heads is always black, long, coarse, and uncurled. They have no beard, and every part of their body is perfectly smooth. Their persons are of a full size, extremely straight and well proportioned. Their features are regular, though often distorted by absurd endeavours to improve the beauty of their natural form, or to render their aspect more dreadful to their enemies.

The native Americans were more remarkable for agility than strength. They were not only averse to toil, but almost incapable of it; and when roused by force from their native indolence, and compelled to work, they sunk under tasks which the people of the other continent would have performed with ease.

The beardless countenance and smooth skin of the American has been considered as indicating a defect of vigor. This peculiarity, by which the inhabitants of the new world are distinguished from the people of all other nations, cannot be attributed, as some travellers have supposed, to their mode of subsistence. For though the food of many Americans be extremely insipid, as they are altogether unacquainted with the use of salt, rude tribes in other parts of the earth have subsisted on aliments equally simple, without this mark of degradation, or any apparent symptom of a diminution in their vigor.

As the external form of the Americans leads us to suspect that there is some natural debility in their frame, the smallness of their appetite for food has been mentioned by many authors as a confirmation of this suspicion. Though it must be confessed that this affords only a feeble corroboration of this supposition, as this defect of appetite may be fairly attributed to their indolent and inactive mode of life, rather than to any thing peculiar in the physical structure of their bodies, it has been ob-

served, that in those districts where the people of America are obliged to exert any unusual effort of activity in order to procure subsistence, or wherever they are employed in severe labor, their appetite is not inferior to that of other men, and, in some places, it has struck observers as remarkably voracious.

Notwithstanding the feeble make of the Americans, hardly any of them are deformed, or mutilated, or defective in any of their senses. All travellers have been struck with this circumstance, and have celebrated the uniform symmetry and perfection of their external figure. Some authors search for the cause of this appearance in their physical condition. As the parents are not exhausted or over-fatigued with hard labor, they suppose that their children are born vigorous and sound. They imagine, that, in the liberty of savage life, the human body, naked and unconfined from its earliest age, preserves its natural form; and that all its limbs and members acquire a juster proportion, than when fettered with artificial restraints, which stint its growth, and distort its shape. Something, without doubt, may be ascribed to the operation of these causes; but the true reasons of this apparent advantage, which is common to all savage nations, lie deeper, and are closely interwoven with the nature and genius of that state. The infancy of man is so long and so helpless, that it is extremely difficult to rear children among rude nations. Their means of subsistence are not only scanty, but precarious. Such as live by hunting must range over extensive countries, and shift often from place to place. The care of children, as well as every other laborious task, is devolved upon the women. The distresses and hardships of the savage life, which are often such as can hardly be supported by persons in full vigor, must be fatal to those of more tender age. Afraid of undertaking a task so laborious, and of such long duration, as that of rearing their offspring, the women, in some parts of America, procure frequent abortions by the use of certain herbs, and extinguish the first sparks of that life which they are unable to cherish. Sensible that only stout and well-formed children have force of constitution to struggle through such an hard infancy, other nations abandon or destroy such of their progeny as appear feeble or defective, as unworthy of attention. Even when they endeavour to rear all their children without distinction, so great a proportion of the whole number perishes under the rigorous treatment

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which must be their lot in the savage state, that few of those who labored under any original frailty attain the age of manhood.

There is less variety in the human form throughout the new world, than in the ancient continent. When Columbus and the other discoverers first visited the different countries of America which lie within the torrid zone, they naturally expected to find people of the same complexion with those in the corresponding regions of the other hemisphere. To their amazement, however, they discovered that America contained no negroes; and the cause of this singular appearance became as much the object of curiosity, as the fact itself was of wonder. In what part or membrane of the body that humor resides which tinges the complexion of the negro with a deep black, it is the business of anatomists to enquire and describe. The powerful operation of heat appears manifestly to be the cause which produces this striking variety in the human species. All Europe, a great part in Asia, and the temperate countries of Africa, are inhabited by men of a white complexion. All the torrid zone in Africa, some of the warmer regions adjacent to it, and several countries in Asia, are filled with people of a deep black color. If we survey the nations of our continent, making our progress from cold and temperate countries towards those parts which are exposed to the influence of vehement and unremitting heat, we shall find, that the extreme whiteness of their skin soon begins to diminish; that its color deepens gradually as we advance; and after passing through all the successive gradations of shade, terminates in an uniform unvarying black. But in America, where the agency of heat is checked and abated by various causes, which I have already explained, the climate seems to be destitute of that force which produces such wonderful effects on the human frame. The color of the natives of the torrid zone, in America, is hardly of a deeper hue than that of the people in the more temperate parts of their continent. Accurate observers, who had an opportunity of viewing the Americans in very different climates, and in provinces far removed from each other, have been struck with the amazing similarity of their figure and aspect.

There are, however, some varieties which deserve notice; the first of these is situated in the isthmus of Darien, near the centre of America. Lionel Wafer, a traveller possessed of more

curiosity and intelligence than we should have expected to find in an associate of buccaniers, discovered there a race of men, few in number, but of a singular make. They are of low stature, according to his description, of a feeble frame, incapable of enduring fatigue. Their color is a dead milk white; not resembling that of fair people among Europeans, but without any tincture of a blush or sanguine complexion. Their skin is covered with a fine hairy down of a chalky white; the hair of their heads, their eye-brows, and eye-lashes, are of the same hue. Their eyes are of a singular form, and so weak, that they can hardly bear the light of the sun; but they see clearly by moon-light, and are most active and gay in the night. No race similar to this has been discovered in any other part of America. Cortes, indeed, found some persons exactly resembling the white people of Darien, among the rare and monstrous animals which Montezuma had collected. But as the power of the Mexican empire extended to the provinces bordering on the isthmus of Darien, they were probably brought thence. Singular as the appearance of those people may be, they cannot be considered as constituting a distinct species: they are a degenerated breed, not a separate class of men; and from some disease or defect of their parents, the peculiar color and debility which mark their degradation are transmitted to them. As a decisive proof of this, it has been observed, that neither the white people of Darien, nor the Albinos of Africa, propagate their race; their children are of the color and temperament peculiar to the natives of their respective countries.

The second district that is occupied by inhabitants differing in appearance from the other people of America, is situated in a high northern latitude, extending from the coast of Labrador towards the pole, as far as the country is habitable. The people scattered over those dreary regions are known to the Europeans by the name of Esquimaux. They themselves, with that idea of their own superiority which consoles the rudest and most wretched nations, assume the name of *keralit*, or *men*. They are of a middle size, and robust, with heads of a disproportioned bulk, and feet as remarkably small. Their complexion, though swarthy, by being continually exposed to the rigor of a cold climate, inclines to the European white, rather than to the copper color of America; and the men have beards, which are

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sometimes bushy and long. From these marks of distinction, as well as from one still less equivocal, the affinity of their language to that of the Greenlanders, which I have already mentioned, we may conclude, with some degree of confidence, that the Esquimaux are a race different from the rest of the Americans.

We cannot decide with equal certainty concerning the inhabitants of the third district, situated at the southern extremity of America. These are the famous Patagonians, who, during two centuries and a half, have afforded a subject of controversy to the learned, and an object of wonder to the vulgar. They are supposed to be one of the wandering tribes, which occupy that vast but least-known region of America, which extends from the river De La Plata to the Straits of Magellan. Their proper station is in that part of the interior country which lies on the banks of the river Negro; but in the hunting season they often roam as far as the straits which separate Terra del Fuego from the main land. The first accounts of this people were brought to Europe by the companions of Magellan, who described them as a gigantic race, above eight feet high, and of strength in proportion to their enormous size.

Though several persons, to whose testimony great respect is due, have visited this part of America since the time of Magellan, and have had interviews with the natives; though some have affirmed, that such as they saw were of gigantic stature; and others have formed the same conclusion from measuring their footsteps, or from viewing the skeletons of their dead; yet their accounts vary from each other in so many essential points, and are mingled with so many circumstances manifestly false or fabulous, as detract much from their credit. On the other hand, some navigators, and those among the most eminent of their order for discernment and accuracy, have asserted, that the natives of Patagonia, with whom they had intercourse, though stout and well-made, are not of such extraordinary size as to be distinguished from the rest of the human species. The existence of this gigantic race of men seems then to be one of those points in natural history, with respect to which a cautious enquirer will hesitate, and will choose to suspend his assent until more complete evidence shall decide, whether he ought to admit a fact, seemingly inconsistent with what reason and experience have

discovered concerning the structure and condition of man, in all the various situations in which he has been observed.

In the simplicity of the savage state, when man is not oppressed with labor, or enervated by luxury, or disquieted with care, we are apt to imagine that his life will flow on, almost untroubled by disease or suffering, until his days be terminated in extreme old age, by the gradual decays of nature. We find, accordingly among the Americans, as well as among other rude people, persons whose decrepid and shrivelled form seems to indicate an extraordinary length of life. But as most of them are unacquainted with the art of numbering, and all of them as forgetful of what is past, as they are improvident of what is to come, it is impossible to ascertain their age with any degree of precision. It is evident that the period of their longevity must vary considerably, according to the diversity of climates, and their different modes of subsistence. They seem, however, to be every where exempt from many of the distempers which afflict polished nations.

But whatever be the situation in which man is placed, he is beset with physical evils; and his diseases in the savage state, though fewer in number, are, like those of the animals whom he nearly resembles in his mode of life, more violent and more fatal. If luxury engenders and nourishes distempers of one species, the rigor and distresses of savage life bring on those of another. As men, in this state, are wonderfully improvident, and their means of subsistence precarious, they often pass from extreme want to exuberant plenty, according to the vicissitudes of fortune in the chase, or in consequence of the various degrees of abundance with which the earth affords to them its productions, in different seasons. Their inconsiderate gluttony in the one situation, and their severe abstinence in the other, are equally pernicious.

One dreadful malady, the severest scourge with which, in this life, offended heaven chastens the indulgence of criminal desire, seems to have been peculiar to the Americans. By communicating it to their conquerors, they have not only amply avenged their own wrongs, but by adding this calamity to those which formerly embittered human life, they have, perhaps, more than counterbalanced all the benefits which Europe has derived from the discovery of the New World.

II. After considering what appears to be peculiar in the bodily constitution of the Americans, our attention is naturally turned towards the powers and qualities of their minds.

The thoughts and attention of a savage are confined within the small circle of objects immediately conducive to his preservation or enjoyment. Every thing beyond that escapes his observation, or is perfectly indifferent to him. Like a mere animal, what is before his eyes interests and affects him; what is out of sight, or at a distance, makes little impression. There are several people in America whose limited understandings seem not to be capable of forming an arrangement for futurity; neither their solicitude nor their foresight extend so far. They follow blindly the impulse of the appetite which they feel, but are entirely regardless of distant consequences, and even of those removed in the least degree from immediate apprehension. While they highly prize such things as serve for present use, or minister to present enjoyment, they set no value upon those which are not the object of some immediate want. When, on the approach of the evening, a Caribbee feels himself disposed to go to rest, no consideration will tempt him to sell his hammock. But, in the morning, when he is sallying out to the business or pastime of the day, he will part with it for the slightest toy that catches his fancy. At the close of winter, while the impression of what he has suffered from the rigor of the climate is fresh in the mind of the North American, he sets himself with vigor to prepare materials for erecting a comfortable hut to protect him against the inclemency of the succeeding season; but as soon as the weather becomes mild, he forgets what is past, abandons his work, and never thinks of it more, until the return of cold compels him, when too late, to resume it.

Among civilized nations, arithmetic, or the art of numbering, is deemed an essential and elementary science, and in our continent, the invention and use of it reaches back to a period so remote as is beyond the knowledge of history. But among savages, who have no property to estimate, no hoarded treasures to count, no variety of objects or multiplicity of ideas to enumerate, arithmetic is a superfluous and useful art. Accordingly, among some tribes of America it seems to be quite unknown. There are many who cannot reckon farther than three; and have no denomination to distinguish any number above it. Se-

veral can proceed as far as ten, others to twenty. When they would convey an idea of any number beyond these, they point to the hair of their head, intimating that it is equal to them, or with wonder declare it to be so great that it cannot be reckoned.

The North American tribes and the natives of Chili, who inhabit the temperate regions in the two great districts of America, are people of cultivated and enlarged understandings, when viewed in comparison with some of those seated in the islands, or on the banks of the Maragnon and Orinoco. Their occupations are more various, their system of policy, as well as of war, more complex, their arts more numerous. But, even among them, the intellectual powers are extremely limited in their operations, and unless when turned directly to those objects which interest a savage, are held in no estimation. Both the North Americans and Chilese, when not engaged in some of the functions belonging to a warrior or hunter, loiter away their time in thoughtless indolence, unacquainted with any other subject worthy of their attention, or capable of occupying their minds.

Such is their aversion to labor, that neither the hope of future good, nor the apprehension of future evil, can surmount it. They appear equally indifferent to both, discovering little solicitude, and taking no precautions to avoid the one, or to secure the other. The cravings of hunger may rouse them; but as they devour, with little distinction, whatever will appease its instinctive demands, the exertions which these occasion are of short duration. Destitute of ardor, as well as variety of desire, they feel not the force of those powerful springs which give vigor to the movements of the mind, and urge the patient hand of industry to persevere in its efforts. Man, in some parts of America, appears in a form so rude, that we can discover no effects of his activity, and the principle of understanding, which should direct it, seems hardly to be unfolded. Like the other animals, he has no fixed residence; he has erected no habitation to shelter him from the inclemency of the weather; he has taken no measures for securing certain subsistence; he neither sows nor reaps; but roams about as led in search of the plants and fruits which the earth brings forth in succession, and in quest of the game which he kills in the forests, or of the fish which he catches in the rivers.



This description, however, applies only to some tribes. Among most of the American nations, especially those seated in rigorous climates, some efforts are employed, and some previous precautions are taken, for securing subsistence. The career of regular industry is begun, and the laborious arm has made the first essays of its power. Still, however, the improvident and slothful genius of the savage state predominates. Even among those more improved tribes, labor is deemed ignominious and degrading. It is only to work of a certain kind that a man will deign to put his hand. The greater part is devolved entirely upon the women. One half of the community remains inactive, while the other is oppressed with the multitude and variety of its occupations. Thus their industry is partial, and the foresight which regulates it is no less limited. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the chief arrangement with respect to their manner of living. They depend for their subsistence, during one part of the year, on fishing; during another, on hunting; during a third, on the produce of their agriculture. Though experience has taught them to foresee the return of those various seasons, and to make some provision for the respective exigencies of each, they either want sagacity to proportion this provision to their consumption, or are so incapable of any command over their appetites, that, from their inconsiderate waste, they often feel the calamities of famine as severely as the rudest of the savage tribes. What they suffer one year does not augment their industry, or render them more provident to prevent similar distresses.

III. After viewing the bodily constitution of the Americans, and contemplating the powers of their minds, we are led in the natural order of inquiry, to consider them as united together in society: and the domestic state is the first and most simple form of human association.

As the infancy of man is more feeble and helpless than that of any other animal, and he is dependent, during a much longer period, on the care and foresight of his parents, the union between husband and wife came early to be considered, not only as a solemn, but as a permanent contract. Accordingly, in America, even among the rudest tribes, a regular union between husband and wife was universal, and the rights of marriage were understood and recognised. In those districts where subsistence

was scanty, and the difficulty of maintaining a family was great, the man confined himself to one wife. In warmer and more fertile provinces, the facility of procuring food concurred with the influence of climate in inducing the inhabitants to increase the number of their wives. In some countries, the marriage union subsisted during life; in others, the impatience of the Americans under restraint of any species, together with their natural levity and caprice, prompted them to dissolve it on very slight pretexts, and often without assigning any cause.

But in whatever light the Americans considered the obligation of this contract, either as perpetual, or only as temporary, the condition of women was equally humiliating and miserable. Whether man has been improved by the progress of arts and civilization in society, is a question which, in the wantonness of disputation, has been agitated among philosophers. That women are indebted to the refinements of polished manners, and above all, to the benign spirit of the christian religion, for a happy change in their state, is a point which can admit of no doubt. To despise and to degrade the female sex, is the characteristic of the savage state in every part of the globe. It is not, by a studied display of tenderness and attachment, that the native American endeavours to gain the heart of the woman whom he wishes to marry. Marriage itself, instead of being an union of affection and interests between equals, becomes, among them, the unnatural conjunction of a master with his slave. It is the observation of an author, whose opinions are deservedly of great weight, that wherever wives are purchased, their condition is extremely depressed. They become the property and the slaves of those who buy them. In whatever part of the globe this custom prevails, the observation holds. In countries where refinement has made some progress, women, when purchased, are excluded from society, shut up in sequestered apartments, and kept under the vigilant guard of their masters. In ruder nations, they are degraded to the meanest functions. Among many people of America, the marriage contract is properly a purchase.

A wife, among most tribes, is no better than a beast of burden, destined to every office of labor and fatigue. While the men loiter out the day in sloth, or spend it in amusement, the women are condemned to incessant toil. Tasks are imposed upon them without pity, and services are received without com-

plaisance or gratitude. Every circumstance reminds women of this mortifying inferiority. They must approach their lords with reverence; they must regard them as more exalted beings, and are not permitted to eat in their presence. There are districts in America where this dominion is so grievous, and so sensibly felt, that some women, in a wild emotion of maternal tenderness, have destroyed their female children in their infancy, in order to deliver them from that intolerable bondage to which they knew they were doomed.

It is owing, perhaps, in some measure, to this state of depression, that women in rude nations are far from being prolific. The vigor of their constitution is exhausted by excessive fatigue, and the wants and distresses of savage life are so numerous, as to force them to take various precautions in order to prevent too rapid an increase of their progeny. Among wandering tribes, or such as depend chiefly upon hunting for subsistence, the mother cannot attempt to rear a second child, until the first has attained such a degree of vigor as to be in some measure independent of her care. From this motive, it is the universal practice of the American women to suckle their children during several years; and as they seldom marry early, the period of their fertility is over, before they can finish the long but necessary attendance upon two or three children. Among some of the least polished tribes, whose industry and foresight do not extend so far as to make any regular provision for their own subsistence, it is a maxim not to burden themselves with rearing more than two children; and no such numerous families, as are frequent in civilized societies, are to be found among men in the savage state. When twins are born one of them commonly is abandoned, because the mother is not equal to the task of rearing both. When a mother dies while she is nursing a child, all hope of preserving its life fails, and it is buried together with her in the same grave. As the parents are frequently exposed to want by their own improvident indolence, the difficulty of sustaining their children becomes so great, that it is not uncommon to abandon or destroy them. Thus their experience of the difficulty of training up an infant to maturity amidst the hardships of savage life, often stifles the voice of nature among the Americans, and suppresses the strong emotions of parental tenderness.

But, though necessity compels the inhabitants of America

thus to set bounds to the increase of their families, they are not deficient in affection and attachment to their offspring. They feel the power of this instinct in its full force; and as long as their progeny continue feeble and helpless, no people exceed them in tenderness and care. But in rude nations, the dependence of children upon their parents is of shorter continuance than in polished societies. When men must be trained to the various functions of civil life by previous discipline and education, when the knowledge of abstruse sciences must be taught, and dexterity in intrinsic arts must be acquired, before a young man is prepared to begin his career of action, the attentive feelings of a parent are not confined to the years of infancy, but extend to what is more remote, the establishment of his child in the world. Even then, his solicitude does not terminate. His protection may still be requisite, and his wisdom and experience still prove useful guides. Thus a permanent connexion is formed; parental tenderness is exercised, and filial respect returned, throughout the whole course of life. But in the simplicity of the savage state, the affection of parents, like the instinctive fondness of animals, ceases almost entirely as soon as their offspring attain maturity. Little instruction fits them for that mode of life to which they are destined. The parents, as if their duty were accomplished, when they have conducted their children through the helpless years of infancy, leave them afterwards at entire liberty. Even in their tender age, they seldom advise or admonish, they never chide or chastise them. They suffer them to be absolute masters of their own actions. In an American hut, a father, a mother, and their posterity, live together like persons assembled by accident, without seeming to feel the obligation of the duties mutually arising from this connexion. As filial love is not cherished by the continuance of attention or good offices, the recollection of benefits received in early infancy is too faint to excite it. Conscious of their own liberty, and impatient of restraint, the youth of America are accustomed to act as if they were totally independent. Their parents are not objects of greater regard than other persons. They treat them always with neglect, and often with such harshness and insolence, as to fill those who have been witnesses of their conduct with horror. Thus the ideas which seem to be natural to man in his savage state, as they result ne-

cessarily from his circumstances and condition in that period of his progress, affect the two capital relations in domestic life. They render the union between husband and wife unequal; they shorten the duration, and weaken the force of the connexion, between parents and children.

IV. From the domestic state of the Americans the transition to the consideration of their civil government and political institutions is natural. In every enquiry concerning the operations of men when united together in society, the first object of attention should be their mode of subsistence.

All the people of America now under review, subsist chiefly by hunting and fishing. On the extensive plains of South America, man appears in one of the rudest states in which he has been ever observed, or perhaps can exist. Several tribes depend entirely on the bounty of nature for subsistence. They discover no solicitude, they employ little foresight, they scarcely exert any industry, to secure what is necessary for their support. The *Topayers* of Brasil, the *Guaxeros* of Tierra Firmé, the *Cai-guas*, the *Moxos*, and several other people of Paraguay, are unacquainted with every species of cultivation. They neither sow nor plant. Even the culture of the manioc, of which cascada bread is made, is an art too intricate for their ingenuity, or too fatiguing to their indolence. The roots which the earth produces spontaneously, the fruits, the berries, and the seeds, which they gather in the woods, together with lizards and other reptiles, which multiply amazingly with the heat of the climate, in a fat soil moistened by frequent rains, supply them with food during some part of the year. At other times they subsist by fishing; and nature seems to have indulged the laziness of the South American tribes, by the liberality with which she ministers, in this way, to their wants. The vast rivers of that region in America abound with an infinite variety of the most delicate fish. The lakes and marshes formed by the annual overflowing of the waters, are filled with all the different species, where they remain shut up, as in natural reservoirs, for the use of the inhabitants. They swarm in such shoals, that in some places they are caught without art or industry.

None but tribes contiguous to great rivers can sustain themselves in this manner. The greater part of the American nations, dispersed over the forests with which their country is co-

vered, do not procure subsistence with the same facility. For although these forests, especially in the southern continent of America, are stored plentifully with game, considerable efforts of activity and ingenuity are requisite in pursuit of it. Necessity incited the natives to the one, and taught them the other. Hunting became their principal occupation; and as it called forth strenuous exertions of courage, of force, and of invention, it was deemed no less honorable than necessary. This occupation was peculiar to the men; they were trained to it from their earliest youth. A bold and dexterous hunter ranked next in fame to the distinguished warrior, and an alliance with the former is often courted in preference to one with the latter. Hardly any device, which the ingenuity of man has discovered for ensnaring or destroying wild animals, was unknown to the Americans. While engaged in this favorite exercise, they shake off the indolence peculiar to their nature, the latent powers and vigor of their minds are roused, and they become active, persevering, and indefatigable. Their sagacity in finding their prey, and their address in killing it, are equal. Their reason and their senses being constantly directed towards this one object, the former displays such fertility of invention, and the latter acquire such a degree of acuteness; as appear almost incredible. They discern the footsteps of a wild beast, which escape every other eye, and can follow them with certainty through the pathless forest. If they attack their game openly, their arrow seldom errs from the mark; if they endeavour to circumvent it by art, it is almost impossible to avoid their toils. Among several tribes, their young men were not permitted to marry, until they had given such proofs of their skill in hunting as put it beyond doubt that they were capable of providing for a family. Their ingenuity always on the stretch, and sharpened by emulation, as well as necessity, has struck out many inventions, which greatly facilitate success in the chace. The most singular of these is the discovery of a poison in which they dip the arrows employed in hunting. The slightest wound with those envenomed shafts is mortal. If they only pierce the skin, the blood fixes and congeals in a moment, and the strongest animal falls motionless to the ground. Nor does this poison, notwithstanding its violence and subtlety, infect the flesh of the animal which it kills; that may be eaten with perfect safety,

and retains its native relish and qualities. All the nations situated upon the banks of the Maragnon and Orinoco are acquainted with this composition, the chief ingredient in which is the juice extracted from the root of the *curare*, a species of withe. In other parts of America, they employ the juice of the *mancheville*, for the same purpose, and it operates with no less fatal activity. To people possessed of those secrets, the bow is a more destructive weapon than the musket, and, in their skilful hands, does great execution among the birds and beasts which abound in the forests of America.

Hardly any region of the earth furnishes man spontaneously with what his wants require. In the mildest climates, and most fertile soils, his own industry and foresight must be exerted, in some degree, to secure a regular supply of food. Their experience of this surmounts the abhorrence of labor natural to savage nations, and compels them to have recourse to culture, as subsidiary to hunting. In particular situations, some small tribes may subsist by fishing, independent of any production of the earth raised by their own industry. But, throughout all America, we scarcely meet with any nation of hunters which does not practise some species of cultivation.

The agriculture of the Americans, however, is neither extensive nor laborious. As game and fish are their principal food, all they aim at by cultivation, is to supply any occasional defect of these. In the southern continent of America, the natives confined their industry to rearing a few plants, which in a rich soil and warm climate, were easily trained to maturity. The chief of these is *maize*, well known in Europe by the name of Turkey or Indian wheat, a grain extremely prolific, of simple culture, agreeable to the taste, and affording a strong, hearty nourishment. The second is the *manioc*, which grows to the size of a large shrub, or small tree, and produces roots somewhat resembling parsnips. After carefully squeezing out the juice, these roots are grated down to a fine powder, and formed into thin cakes, called *cassada* bread, which, though insipid to the taste, proves no contemptible food. The third is the *plantain*, which, though it rises to the height of a tree, is of such quick growth, that in less than a year it rewards the industry of the cultivator with its fruit. This, when roasted, supplies the place of bread, and is both palatable and nourishing. The fourth is the *potatoe*,

whose culture and qualities are too well known to need any description. The fifth is *pimento*, a small tree, yielding a strong aromatic spice. The Americans, who, like other inhabitants of warm climates, delight in whatever is hot and of poignant flavor, deem this seasoning a necessary of life, and mingle it copiously with every kind of food they take.

Such are the various productions which were the chief object of culture among the hunting tribes on the continent of America, and with a moderate exertion of active and provident industry, these might have yielded a full supply to the wants of a numerous people. But men, accustomed to the free and vagrant life of hunters, are incapable of regular application to labor, and consider agriculture as a secondary and inferior occupation. Accordingly, the provision for subsistence, arising from cultivation, was so limited and scanty among the Americans, that, upon any accidental failure of their usual success in hunting, they were often reduced to extreme distress.

Two circumstances, common to all the savage nations of America, concurred with those already mentioned, not only in rendering their agriculture imperfect, but in circumscribing their power in all their operations. They had no tame animals; and they were unacquainted with the useful metals.

In other parts of the globe, man, in his rudest state appears as lord of the creation, giving law to various tribes of animals, which he has tamed and reduced to subjection. The Tartar follows his prey on the horse which he has reared, or tends his numerous herds, which furnish him both with food and clothing; the Arab has rendered the camel docile, and avails himself of its persevering strength; the Laplander has formed the rein-deer to be subservient to his will; and even the people of Kamschatka have trained their dogs to labor. This command over the inferior creatures is one of the noblest prerogatives of man, and among the greatest efforts of his wisdom and power. Without this, his dominion is incomplete. He is a monarch, who has no subjects; a master, without servants, and must perform every operation by the strength of his own arm.

This, perhaps, is the most prominent distinction between the inhabitants of the ancient and new worlds, and a high pre-eminence of civilized men above such as continue rude. The greatest operations of man in changing and improving the face of na-



ture, as well as his most considerable efforts in cultivating the earth, are accomplished by means of the aid which he receives from the animals whom he has tamed and employs in labor. It is by their strength that he subdues the stubborn soil, and converts the desert or marsh into a fruitful field. But man, in his civilized state, is so accustomed to the service of the domestic animals, that he seldom reflects upon the vast benefits which he derives from it. If we were to suppose him, even when most improved, to be deprived of their useful ministry, his empire over nature must in some measure cease, and he would remain a feeble animal, at a loss how to subsist, and incapable of attempting such arduous undertakings as their assistance enables him to execute with ease.

It is a doubtful point, whether the dominion of man over the animal creation, or his acquiring the use of metals, has contributed most to extend his power. The era of this important discovery is unknown, and in our hemisphere very remote. It is only by tradition, or by digging up some rude instruments of our forefathers, that we learn that mankind were originally unacquainted with the use of metals, and endeavoured to supply the want of them by employing flints, shells, bones, and other hard substances, for the same purposes which metals serve among polished nations. Nature completes the formation of some metals. Gold, silver, and copper, are found in their perfect state in the clefts of rocks, in the sides of mountains, or the channels of rivers. These were accordingly the metals first known, and first applied to use. But iron, the most serviceable of all, and to which man is most indebted, is never discovered in its perfect form; its gross and stubborn ore must feel twice the force of fire, and go through two laborious processes, before it becomes fit for use. Man was long acquainted with the other metals, before he acquired the art of fabricating iron, or attained such ingenuity as to perfect an invention, to which he is indebted for those instruments wherewith he subdues the earth, and commands all its inhabitants. But in this, as well as in many other respects, the inferiority of the Americans was conspicuous. All the savage tribes scattered over the continent and islands, were totally unacquainted with the metals which their soil produces in great abundance, if we except some trifling quantity of gold, which they picked up in the torrents that descended from their

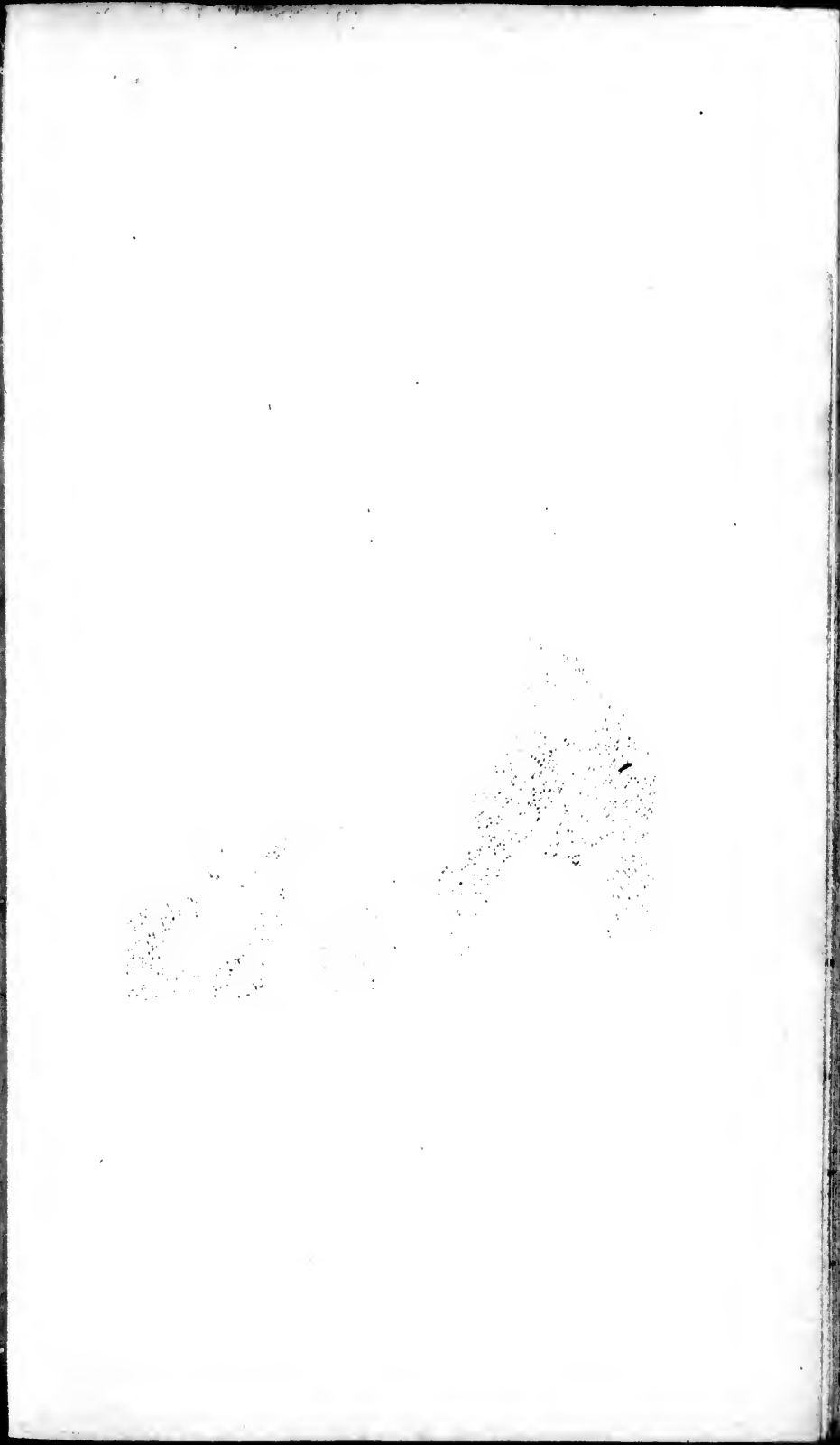
mountains, and formed into ornaments. Their devices to supply this want of the serviceable metals, were, extremely rude and awkward. The most simple operation was to them an undertaking of immense difficulty and labor. To fell a tree with no other instruments than hatchets of stone, was employment for a month. To form a canoe into shape, and to hollow it, consumed years; and it frequently began to rot before they were able to finish it. Their operations in agriculture were equally slow and defective. In a country covered with woods of the hardest timber, the clearing of a small field destined for culture required the united efforts of a tribe, and was a work of much time and great toil. This was the business of the men, and their indolence was satisfied with performing it in a very slovenly manner. The labor of cultivation was left to the women, who, after digging, or rather stirring the field, with wooden mattocks, and stakes hardened in the fire, sowed or planted it; but they were more indebted for the increase to the fertility of the soil, than to their own rude industry.

From this description of the mode of subsisting among the rude American tribes, the form and genius of their political institutions may be deduced, and we are enabled to trace various circumstances of distinction between them and more civilized nations.

1. They were divided into small independent communities. While hunting is the chief source of subsistence, a vast extent of territory is requisite for supporting a small number of people. In proportion as men multiply and unite, the wild animals, on which they depend for food, diminish, or fly at a greater distance from the haunts of their enemy. The increase of a society in this state is limited by its own nature, and the members of it must either disperse, like the game which they pursue, or fall upon some better method of procuring food than by hunting. Beasts of prey are by nature solitary and unsocial; they go not forth to the chase in herds, but delight in those recesses of the forest where they can roam and destroy undisturbed. A nation of hunters resembles them both in occupation and in genius. They cannot form into large communities, because it would be impossible to find subsistence; and they must drive to a distance every rival who may encroach on those domains, which they consider as their own. This was the state of all the American

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*S. Topham Sculp*

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, H. A. H. D.

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tribes; the numbers in each were inconsiderable, though scattered over countries of great extent; they were far removed from one another, and engaged in perpetual hostilities or rivalry.

In the provinces which border on the Orinoco, one may travel several hundred miles in different directions, without finding a single hut, or observing the footsteps of a human creature. In North America, where the climate is more rigorous, and the soil less fertile, the desolation is still greater. There, journeys of some hundred leagues have been made through uninhabited plains and forests. As long as hunting continues to be the chief employment of man, to which he trusts for subsistence, he can hardly be said to have occupied the earth.

2. Nations which depend upon hunting are in a great measure strangers to the idea of property. As the animals on which the hunter feeds are not bred under his inspection, nor nourished by his care, he can claim no right to them, while they run wild in the forest. Where game is so plentiful that it may be caught with little trouble, men never dream of appropriating what is of small value, or of easy acquisition. Where it is so rare, that the labor or danger of the chase requires the united efforts of a tribe, or village, what is killed is a common stock, belonging equally to all who, by their skill or their courage, have contributed to the success of the excursion.

Even agriculture has not introduced among them a complete idea of property. As the men hunt, the women labor together, and after they have shared the toils of the seed-time, they enjoy the harvest in common. Among some tribes, the increase of their cultivated lands is deposited in a public granary, and divided among them at stated times, according to their wants. Among others, though they lay up separate stores, they do not acquire such an exclusive right of property, that they can enjoy superfluity, while those around them suffer want. Thus the distinctions arising from the inequality of possessions are unknown. The terms rich or poor enter not into their language, and being strangers to property, they are unacquainted with what is the great object of laws and policy, as well as the chief motive which induced mankind to establish the various arrangements of regular government.

3. Men in this state retain a high sense of equality and inde-

pendence. Wherever the idea of property is not established, there can be no distinction among men, but what arises from personal qualities. These can be conspicuous only on such occasions as call them forth into exertion. In times of danger, or in affairs of intricacy, the wisdom and experience of age are consulted, and prescribe the measures which ought to be pursued. When a tribe of savages takes the field against the enemies of their country, the warrior of most approved courage leads the youth to the combat. If they go forth in a body to the chase, the most expert and adventurous hunter is foremost, and directs their motions. But during seasons of tranquillity and inaction, when there is no occasion to display those talents, all pre-eminence ceases. Every circumstance indicates, that all the members of the community are on a level. They are clothed in the same simple garb; they feed on the same plain fare; their houses and furniture are exactly similar; no distinction can arise from the inequality of possessions; whatever forms dependance on one part, or constitutes superiority on the other, is unknown; all are freemen, all feel themselves to be such, and assert, with firmness, the rights which belong to that condition. This sentiment of independence is imprinted so deeply in their nature, that no change of condition can eradicate it, and bend their minds to servitude. Accustomed to be absolute masters of their own conduct, they disdain to execute the orders of another; and having never known control, they will not submit to correction. Many of the Americans, when they found that they were treated as slaves by the Spaniards, died of grief; many destroyed themselves in despair.

4. Among people in this state, government can assume little authority, and the sense of civil subordination must remain very imperfect. Where the right of separate and exclusive possession is not introduced, the great object of law and jurisdiction does not exist. When the members of a tribe are called into the field, either to invade the territories of their enemies, or to repel their attacks, when they are engaged together in the toil and dangers of the chase, they then perceive that they are part of a political body. They are conscious of their own connexion with the companions in conjunction with whom they act; and they follow and reverence such as excel in conduct and valor. But, during the intervals between such common efforts, they

scem scarcely to feel the ties of political union. No visible form of government is established. The names of *magistrate* and *subject* are not in use. Every one seems to enjoy his natural independence almost entire. The right of revenge is left in private hands. If violence is committed, or blood is shed, the community does not assume the power either of inflicting or of moderating the punishment. It belongs to the family and friends of the person injured or slain to avenge the wrong, or to accept of the reparation offered by the aggressor. If the elders interpose, it is to advise, not to decide, and it is seldom their counsels are listened to; for as it is deemed pusillanimous to suffer an offender to escape with impunity, resentment is implacable and everlasting. The object of government among the American Indians is rather foreign than domestic. They do not aim at maintaining interior order and police by public regulations, or the exertions of any permanent authority, but labor to preserve such union among the members of their tribe, that they may watch the motions of their enemies, and act against them with concert and vigor.

Imperfect as these institutions may appear, several tribes were not so far advanced in their political progress. Among all those petty nations which trusted for subsistence entirely to fishing and hunting, without any species of cultivation, the union was so incomplete, and their sense of mutual dependance so feeble, that hardly any appearance of government or order can be discerned in their proceedings. Their wants are few, their objects of pursuit simple; they form into separate tribes, and act together, from instinct, habit, or conveniency, rather than from any formal concert and association. To this class belong the Californians, several of the small nations in the extensive country of Paraguay, some of the people on the banks of the Orinoco, and on the river St. Magdalene, in the new kingdom of Granada.

In the new world, as well as in other parts of the globe, cold or temperate countries appear to be the favorite seat of freedom and independence. There the mind, like the body, is firm and vigorous. There men, conscious of their own dignity, and capable of the greatest efforts in asserting it, aspire to independence, and their stubborn spirits stoop with reluctance to the yoke of servitude.

If we proceed from north to south, along the continent of

America, we shall find the power of those vested with authority gradually increasing, and the spirit of the people becoming more tame and passive. In Florida, the authority of the sachems, caziques, or chiefs, was not only permanent, but hereditary. They were distinguished by peculiar ornaments, they enjoyed prerogatives of various kinds, and were treated by their subjects with that reverence which people accustomed to subjection pay to a master. Among the Natchez, a powerful tribe now extinct, formerly situated on the banks of the Mississippi, a difference of rank took place, with which the northern tribes were altogether unacquainted. Some families were reputed noble, and enjoyed hereditary dignity. The body of the people was considered as vile, and formed only for subjection. This distinction was marked by appellations which intimated the high elevation of the one state, and the ignominious depression of the other. The former were called *Respectable*; the latter *Stinkards*. The great chief, in whom the supreme authority was vested, is reputed to be a being of superior nature, the brother of the sun, the sole object of their worship. They approach this great chief with religious veneration, and honor him as the representative of their deity. His will is a law, to which all submit with implicit obedience. The lives of his subjects are so absolutely at his disposal, that if any one has incurred his displeasure, the offender comes with profound humility, and offers him his head. Nor does the dominion of the chiefs end with their lives; their principal officers, their favorite wives, together with many domestics of inferior rank, are sacrificed at their tombs, that they may be attended in the next world by the same persons who served them in this; and such is the reverence in which they are held, that those victims welcome death with exultation, deeming it a recompence of their fidelity, and a mark of distinction, to be selected to accompany their deceased master. Thus a perfect despotism, with its full train of superstition, arrogance, and cruelty, is established among the Natchez, and by a singular fatality, that people has tasted of the worst calamities incident to polished nations, though they themselves are not far advanced beyond the tribes around them in civility and improvement. In Hispaniola, Cuba, and the larger islands, their caziques or chiefs, possessed extensive power. The dignity was transmitted by hereditary right from father to son. Its honors and prerogatives were consider-



able. Their subjects paid great respect to the caziques, and executed their orders without hesitation or reserve. They were distinguished by peculiar ornaments, and in order to preserve or augment the veneration of the people, they had the address to call in the aid of superstition to uphold their authority. They delivered their mandates as the oracles of heaven, and pretended to possess the power of regulating the seasons, and of dispensing rain or sunshine, according as their subjects stood in need of them.

For, even among nations in this state, the spirit of subjects could not have been rendered so obsequious, or the power of rulers so unbounded, without the intervention of superstition. By its fatal influence, the human mind in every stage of its progress, is depressed, and its native vigor and independence subdued. The only radical cure of this great evil, is, the general diffusion of just and honorable ideas of the Supreme Being, promulgated by the christian religion.

Superstition, which, in the rudest period of society, is either altogether unknown, or wastes its force in childish unmeaning practices, had acquired such an ascendant over those people of America, who had made some little progress towards refinement, that it became the chief instrument of bending their minds to an untimely servitude, and subjected them, in the beginning of their political career, to a despotism hardly less rigorous than that which awaits nations in the last stage of their corruption and decline.

V. After examining the political institutions of the rude nations in America, the next object of attention is their art of war, or their provision for public security and defence. The small tribes dispersed over America are not only independent and unconnected, but engaged in perpetual hostilities with one another. Though mostly strangers to the idea of separate property vested in any individual, the rudest of the American nations are well acquainted with the rights of each community to its own domains. This right they hold to be perfect and exclusive, entitling the possessor to oppose the encroachment of neighbouring tribes. As it is of the utmost consequence to prevent them from destroying or disturbing the game in their hunting-grounds, they guard this national property with a jealous attention. But as their territories are extensive, and the boundaries of them not

exactly ascertained, innumerable subjects of dispute arise, which seldom terminate without bloodshed. Even in this simple and primitive state of society, interest is a source of discord, and often prompts savage tribes to take arms in order to repel or punish such as encroach on the forests or plains to which they trust for subsistence.

But these unrelenting wars originate still more frequently from the desire of avenging an injury, and when the right of redressing his own wrongs is left in the hands of every individual, injuries are felt with exquisite sensibility, and vengeance exercised with unrelenting rancor. No time can obliterate the memory of an offence, and it is seldom that it can be expiated but by the blood of the offender. In carrying on their public wars, savage nations are influenced by the same ideas, and animated with the same spirit, as in prosecuting private vengeance. In small communities, every man is touched with the injury or affront offered to the body of which he is a member, as if it were a personal attack upon his own honor or safety. The desire of vengeance is the first, and almost the only principle, which the Indian instils into the minds of his children. This grows up with him as he advances in life; and as his attention is directed to few objects, it acquires a degree of force unknown among men, whose passions are dissipated and weakened by the variety of their occupations and pursuits. The desire of vengeance, which takes possession of the heart of savages, resembles the instinctive rage of an animal, rather than the passion of a man. It turns, with undiscerned fury, even against inanimate objects. If hurt accidentally by a stone, they often seize it in a transport of anger, and endeavour to wreak their vengeance upon it. If struck with an arrow in a battle, they will tear it from the wound, break and bite it with their teeth, and dash it to the ground. With respect to their enemies, the rage of vengeance knows no bounds. When under the dominion of this passion, man becomes the most cruel of all animals. He never pities, nor forgives, nor spares.

A single warrior, prompted by caprice or revenge, will take the field alone, and march several hundred miles to surprise and cut off a straggling enemy. The exploits of a noted warrior, in such solitary excursions, often form the chief part in the history of an American campaign; and their enemies connive at

such irregular sallies, as they tend to cherish a martial spirit, and accustom their people to enterprise and danger. But when a war is national, and undertaken by public authority, the deliberations are formal and slow. The elders assemble, they deliver their opinion in solemn speeches, they weigh with maturity the nature of the enterprise, and balance its beneficial or disadvantageous consequences with no inconsiderable portion of political discernment or sagacity. Their priests and soothsayers are consulted, and sometimes they ask the advice even of their women. If the determination be for war, they prepare for it with much ceremony. A leader offers to conduct the expedition, and is accepted. But no man is constrained to follow him; the resolution of the community to commence hostilities, imposes no obligation upon any member to take part in the war. Each individual is still master of his own conduct, and his engagement in the service is perfectly voluntary.

The maxims by which they regulate their military operations, though extremely different from those which take place among more civilized and populous nations, are well suited to their own political state, and the nature of the country in which they act. They never take the field in numerous bodies, as it would require a greater effort of foresight and industry than is usual among savages, to provide for their subsistence, during a march of some hundred miles, through dreary forests, or during a long voyage upon their lakes and rivers. Their armies are not encumbered with baggage or military stores. Each warrior, besides his arms, carries a mat and a small bag of pounded maize, and with these is completely equipped for any service. While at a distance from the enemy's frontier, they disperse through the woods, and support themselves with the game which they kill, or the fish which they catch. As they approach nearer to the territories of the nation which they intend to attack, they collect their troops, and advance with greater caution. Even in their hottest and most active wars, they proceed wholly by stratagem and ambuscade. They place not their glory in attacking their enemies with open force. To surprise and destroy is the greatest merit of a commander, and the highest pride of his followers. War and hunting are their only occupations, and they conduct both with the same spirit and the same arts. They follow the track of their enemies through the forest. They en-

deavour to discover their haunts, they lurk in some thicket near to these, and, with the patience of a sportsman lying in wait for game, will continue in their station day after day, until they can rush upon their prey when most secure, and least able to resist them. If they meet no straggling party of the enemy, they advance towards their villages, but with such solicitude to conceal their own approach, that they often creep on their hands and feet through the woods, and paint their skins of the same color with the withered leaves, in order to avoid detection. If so fortunate as to remain unobserved, they set on fire the enemy's huts in the dead of night, and massacre the inhabitants, as they fly naked and defenceless from the flames. If they hope to effect a retreat without being pursued, they carry off some prisoners, whom they reserve for a more dreadful fate. But if, notwithstanding all their address and precautions, they find that their motions are discovered, that the enemy has taken the alarm, and is prepared to oppose them, they usually deem it most prudent to retire. They regard it as extreme folly to meet an enemy who is on his guard, upon equal terms, or to give battle in an open field. The most distinguished success is a disgrace to a leader if it has been purchased with any considerable loss of his followers; and they never boast of a victory, if stained with the blood of their own countrymen. To fall in battle instead of being reckoned an honorable death, is a misfortune which subjects the memory of a warrior to the imputation of rashness or imprudence.

But though vigilance and attention are the qualities chiefly requisite, where the object of war is to deceive and to surprise; and though the Americans, when acting singly, display an amazing degree of address in concealing their own motions, and discovering those of an enemy, yet it is remarkable, that, when they take the field in parties, they can seldom be brought to observe the precautions most essential to their own security. Such is the difficulty of accustoming savages to subordination, or to act in concert, such is their impatience under restraint, and such their caprice and presumption, that it is rarely they can be brought to conform themselves to the counsels and directions of their leaders. They never station sentinels around the place where they rest at night; and after marching some hundred miles to surprise an enemy, are often surprised themselves,

and cut off, while sunk in as profound sleep as if they were not within reach of danger.

If, notwithstanding this negligence and security, which often frustrate their most artful schemes, they catch the enemy unprepared, they rush upon them with the utmost ferocity, and tearing off the scalps of all those who fall victims to their rage, they carry home those strange trophies in triumph. These they preserve as monuments, not only of their own prowess, but of the vengeance which their arm has inflicted upon the people who were objects of public resentment. They are still more solicitous to seize prisoners. During their retreat, if they hope to effect it unmolested, the prisoners are commonly exempt from any insult, and treated with some degree of humanity, though guarded with the most strict attention.

But after this temporary suspension, the rage of the conquerors rekindles with new fury. As soon as they approach their own frontier, some of their number are dispatched to inform their countrymen with respect to the success of the expedition. Then the prisoners begin to feel the wretchedness of their condition. The women of the village, together with the youth who have not attained to the age of bearing arms, assemble, and forming themselves into two lines, through which the prisoners must pass, beat and bruise them with sticks or stones in a cruel manner. After this first gratification of their rage against their enemies, follow lamentations for the loss of such of their own countrymen as have fallen in the service, accompanied with words and actions which seem to express the utmost anguish and grief. But in a moment, upon a signal given, their tears cease; they pass with a sudden unaccountable transition, from the depths of sorrow to transports of joy; and begin to celebrate their victory with all the wild exultation of a barbarous triumph. The fate of the prisoners remains still undecided. The old men deliberate concerning it. Some are destined to be tortured to death, in order to satiate the revenge of the conquerors; some to replace the members which the community has lost in that or former wars. They who are reserved for this milder fate, are led to the huts of those whose friends have been killed. The women meet them at the door, and if they receive them, their sufferings are at an end. They are adopted into the family, and according to their phrase, are

seated upon the mat of the deceased. They assume his name, they hold the same rank, and are treated thenceforward with all the tenderness due to a father, a brother, a husband, or a friend. But if either from caprice, or an unrelenting desire of revenge, the women of any family refuse to accept of the prisoner who is offered to them, his doom is fixed. No power can then save him from torture and death.

While their lot is in suspense, the prisoners themselves appear altogether unconcerned about what may befall them. They talk, they eat, they sleep, as if they were perfectly at ease, and no danger impending. When the fatal sentence is intimated to them, they receive it with an unaltered countenance, raise their death song, and prepare to suffer like men. Their conquerors assemble as to a solemn festival, resolved to put the fortitude of the captive to the utmost proof. A scene ensues, the bare description of which is enough to chill the heart with horror, wherever men have been accustomed, by milder institutions, to respect their species, and to melt into tenderness at the sight of human sufferings. The prisoners are tied naked to a stake, but so as to be at liberty to move round it. All who are present, men, women, and children, rush upon them like furies. Every species of torture is applied that the rancour of revenge can invent. Some burn their limbs with red-hot irons, some mangle their bodies with knives, others tear their flesh from their bones, pluck out their nails by the roots, and rend and twist their sinews. They vie with one another in refinements of torture. Nothing sets bounds to their rage but the dread of abridging the duration of their vengeance, by hastening the death of the sufferers; and such is their cruel ingenuity in tormenting, that by avoiding industriously to hurt any vital part, they often prolong this scene of anguish for several days. In spite of all that they suffer, the victims continue to chant their death-song with a firm voice; they boast of their own exploits; they insult their tormentors for their want of skill in avenging their friends and relations; they warn them of the vengeance which awaits them on account of what they are now doing, and excite their ferocity by the most provoking reproaches and threats. To display undaunted fortitude in such dreadful situations is the noblest triumph of a warrior. To avoid the trial by a voluntary death, or to shrink under it, is deemed infamous

and cowardly. If any one betrays symptoms of timidity, his tormentors often dispatch him at once with contempt, as unworthy of being treated like a man. Animated with those ideas, they endure, without a groan, what it seems almost impossible that human nature should sustain. They appear to be not only insensible of pain, but to court it. 'Forbear,' said an aged chief of the Iroquois, when his insults had provoked one of his tormentors to wound him with a knife, 'forbear these stabs of your knife, and rather let me die by fire, that those dogs, your allies, from beyond the sea, may learn by my example to suffer like men.' This magnanimity, of which there are frequent instances among the American warriors, instead of exciting admiration, or calling forth sympathy, exasperates the fierce spirits of their torturers to fresh acts of cruelty. Weary at length of contending with men whose constancy of mind they cannot vanquish, some chief in a rage puts a period to their sufferings, by dispatching them with his dagger or club.

This barbarous scene is often succeeded by one no less shocking. As it is impossible to appease the fell spirit of revenge which rages in the heart of a savage, this frequently prompts the Americans to devour those unhappy persons who have been the victims of their cruelty. In the ancient world, tradition has preserved the memory of barbarous nations of cannibals, who fed on human flesh. But in every part of the New World there were people to whom this custom was familiar. It prevailed in the southern continent, in several of the islands, and in various districts of North America. Even in those parts, where circumstances, with which we are unacquainted, had in a great measure abolished this practice, it seems formerly to have been so well known, that it is incorporated into the idiom of their language. Among the Iroquois, the phrase by which they express their resolution of making war against an enemy is, 'Let us go and eat that nation.' If they solicit the aid of a neighbouring tribe, they invite it to 'eat broth made of the flesh of their enemies.' Nor was the practice peculiar to rude unpolished tribes; the principle from which it took rise is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Americans, that it subsisted in Mexico, one of the civilized empires in the New World, and relics of it may be discovered among the more mild inhabitants of Peru. It was not scarcity of food, as some au-

thors imagine, and the important cravings of hunger, which forced the Americans to those horrid repasts on their fellow-creatures. Human flesh was never used as common food in any country; and the various relations concerning people who reckoned it among the stated means of subsistence, flow from the credulity and mistakes of travellers. The rancour of revenge first prompted men to this barbarous action.

The people of South America gratify their revenge in a manner somewhat different, but with no less unrelenting rancour. Their prisoners, after meeting, at their first entrance, with the same rough reception as among the North Americans, are not only exempt from injury, but treated with the greatest kindness. They are feasted and caressed, and some beautiful young women are appointed to attend and solace them. It is not easy to account for this part of their conduct, unless we impute it to a refinement in cruelty. For, while they seem studious to attach the captive to life, by supplying them with every enjoyment that can render it agreeable, their doom is irrevocably fixed. On a day appointed, the victorious tribe assembles; the prisoner is brought forth with great solemnity; he views the preparations for the sacrifice with as much indifference as if he himself were not the victim, and meeting his fate with undaunted firmness, is dispatched with a single blow. The moment he falls, the women seize the body, and dress it for the feast. They besmear their children with the blood, in order to kindle in their bosoms a hatred for their enemies, which is never extinguished; and all join in feeding upon the flesh with amazing greediness and exultation. To devour the body of a slaughtered enemy, they deem the most complete and exquisite gratification of revenge. Wherever this practice prevails, captives never escape death; but they are not tortured with the same cruelty as among tribes which are less accustomed to such horrid feasts.

As the constancy of every American warrior may be put to such severe proof, the great object of military education and discipline in the New World is to form the mind to sustain it. When nations carry on war with open force, defy their enemies to the combat, and vanquish them by the superiority of their skill or courage, soldiers are trained to be active, vigorous, and enterprising. But in America, where the genius and maxims of war are extremely different, passive fortitude is the quality in



highest estimation. Accordingly, it is early the study of the Americans to acquire sentiments and habits which will enable them to behave like men, when their resolution shall be put to the proof. As the youth of other nations exercise themselves in feats of activity and force, those of America vie with one another in exhibitions of their patience under sufferings. They harden their nerves by those voluntary trials, and gradually accustom themselves to endure the sharpest pain without complaining. A boy and girl will bind their naked arms together, and place a burning coal between them, in order to try who first discovers such impatience as to shake it off. All the trials, customary in America, when a youth is admitted into the class of warriors, or when a warrior is promoted to the dignity of captain or chief, are accommodated to this idea of manliness. They are not displays of valor, but of patience; they are not exhibitions of their ability to offend, but of their capacity to suffer.

The perpetual hostilities carried on among the American tribes are productive of very fatal effects. Even in seasons of public tranquillity, their imperfect industry does not supply them with any superfluous store of provisions; but when the irruption of an enemy desolates their cultivated lands, or disturbs them in their hunting excursions, such a calamity reduces a community, naturally improvident and destitute of resources, to extreme want. All the people of the district that is invaded are frequently forced to take refuge in woods or mountains, which can afford them little subsistence, and where many of them perish. Notwithstanding their excessive caution in conducting their military operations, and the solicitude of every leader to preserve the lives of his followers, as the rude tribes in America seldom enjoy any interval of peace, the loss of men among them is considerable in proportion to the degree of population. Thus famine and the sword combine in thinning their numbers. All their communities are feeble, and nothing now remains of several nations, which were once considerable, but the name.

VI. The arts of rude nations, unacquainted with the use of metals, hardly merit any attention on their own account, but are worthy of some notice, as far as they serve to display the genius and manners of man in this stage of his progress. The

first distress a savage must feel, will arise from the manner in which his body is affected, by the heat, or cold, or moisture, of the climate under which he lives; and his first care will be to provide some covering for his own defence. In the warmer and more mild climates of America, none of the rude tribes were clothed. To most of them nature had not even suggested any idea of impropriety in being altogether uncovered. As, under a mild climate, there was little need of any defence from the injuries of the air, and their extreme indolence shunned every species of labor to which it was not urged by absolute necessity, all the inhabitants of the isles, and a considerable part of the people on the continent, remained in this state of naked simplicity. Others were satisfied with some slight covering, such as decency required. But, though naked, they were not unadorned. They dressed their hair in many different forms. They fastened bits of gold, or shells, or shining stones, in their ears, their noses, and cheeks. They stained their skins with a great variety of figures; and they spent much time, and submitted to great pain, in ornamenting their persons in this fantastic manner. Vanity, however, which finds endless occupation for ingenuity and invention, in nations where dress has become a complex and intricate art, is circumscribed within so narrow bounds, and confined to so few articles among naked savages, that they are not satisfied with those simple decorations, and have a wonderful propensity to alter the natural form of their bodies, in order to render it, (as they imagine), more perfect and beautiful. This practice was universal among the rudest of the American tribes. Their operations for that purpose begin as soon as an infant is born. By compressing the bones of the skull, while still soft and flexible, some flatten the crown of their heads; some squeeze them into the shape of a cone; others mould them as much as possible into a square figure; and they often endanger the lives of their posterity by their violent and absurd efforts to derange the plan of nature, or to improve upon her designs. But in all their attempts either to adorn or to new-model their persons, it seems to have been less the object of the Americans to please, or to appear beautiful, than to give an air of dignity and terror to their aspect. Their attention to dress had more reference to war than to gallantry. The difference in rank and estimation between the two sexes was so great, as seems to have extinguish-

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ed, in some measure, their solicitude to appear mutually amiable. The man deemed it beneath him to adorn his person, for the sake of one on whom he was accustomed to look down as a slave. It was when the warrior had in view to enter the council of his nation, or to take the field against its enemies, that he assumed his choicest ornaments, and decked his person with the nicest care. The decorations of the women were few and simple: whatever was precious or splendid was reserved for the men. In several tribes, the women were obliged to spend a considerable part of their time every day in adorning and painting their husbands, and could bestow little attention upon ornamenting themselves. Among a race of men so haughty as to despise, or so cold as to neglect them, the women naturally became careless and slovenly, and the love of finery and show, which had been deemed their favorite passion, was confined chiefly to the other sex. To deck his person was the distinction of a warrior, as well as one of his most serious occupations.

The next object to dress that will engage the attention of a savage, is to prepare some habitation which may afford him shelter by day, and a retreat at night. Whatever is connected with his ideas of personal dignity, whatever bears any reference to his military character, the savage warrior deems an object of importance. Whatever relates only to peaceable and inactive life, he views with indifference. Hence, though finically attentive to dress, he is little solicitous about the elegance or disposition of his habitation. Savage nations, far from that state of improvement, in which the mode of living is considered as a mark of distinction, and unacquainted with those wants which require a variety of accommodation, regulate the construction of their houses according to their limited ideas of necessity. Some of the American tribes were so extremely rude, and had advanced so little beyond the primeval simplicity of their nature, that they had no houses at all. During the day they take shelter from the scorching rays of the sun under thick trees; at night they form a shed with their branches and leaves. In the rainy season they retire into coves, formed by the hand of nature, or hollowed out by their own industry. Others, who have no fixed abode, and roam through the forest in quest of game, sojourn in temporary huts, which they erect with little labor, and abandon without any concern. The inhabitants of those vast plains,

which are deluged by the overflowing of rivers during the heavy rains that fall periodically between the tropics, raise houses upon piles fastened in the ground, or place them among the boughs of trees, and are thus safe amidst that wide-extended inundation which surrounds them. Such were the first essays of the rudest Americans towards providing themselves with habitations. But even among tribes which are more improved, and whose residence is become altogether fixed, the structure of their houses is extremely mean and simple. They are wretched huts, sometimes of an oblong and sometimes of a circular form, intended merely for shelter, with no view to elegance, and little attention to conveniency. The doors are so low, that it is necessary to bend, or to creep on the hands and feet, in order to enter them. They are without windows, and have a large hole in the middle of the roof, to convey out the smoke. To follow travellers in other minute circumstances of their descriptions, is not only beneath the dignity of history, but would be foreign to the object of my researches. One circumstance merits attention, as it is singular, and illustrates the character of the people. Some of their houses are so large, as to contain accommodation for fourscore or a hundred persons. These are built for the reception of different families, which dwell together under the same roof, and often around a common fire, without separate apartments, or any kind of screen or partition between the spaces which they respectively occupy. As soon as men have acquired distinct ideas of property, or when they are so much attached to their females, as to watch them with care and jealousy, families of course divide, and settle in separate houses, where they can secure and guard whatever they wish to preserve. This singular mode of habitation among several people of America, may therefore be considered not only as the effect of their imperfect notions concerning property, but as a proof of inattention and indifference towards their women. If they had not been accustomed to perfect equality, such an arrangement could not have taken place. If their sensibility had been apt to have taken alarm, they would not have tasted the virtue of their women amidst the temptations and opportunities of such a promiscuous intercourse. At the same time, the perpetual concord which reigns in habitations where so many families are crowded together, is surprising, and affords a striking evidence that they

must be people of either a very gentle, or of a very phlegmatic temper, who, in such a situation, are unacquainted with animosity, brawling, and discord.

After making some provision for his dress and habitation, a savage will perceive the necessity of preparing proper arms with which to assault or repel an enemy. Clubs made of some heavy wood, stakes hardened in the fire, lances whose heads were armed with flint, or the bones of some animal, are weapons known to the rudest nations. All these, however, were of use only in close encounter. But men wished to annoy their enemies while at a distance, and the bow and arrow is the most early invention for this purpose. This weapon is in the hands of people whose advances in improvement are extremely inconsiderable, and is familiar to the inhabitants of every quarter of the globe. It is remarkable, however, that some tribes in America were so destitute of art and ingenuity, that they had not attained to the discovery of this simple invention, and seem to have been unacquainted with the use of any missive weapon. The sling, though in its construction not more complex than the bow, and among many nations of equal antiquity, was little known to the people of North America, or the islands, but appears to have been used by a few tribes in the southern continent.

Among people who had hardly any occupation but war or hunting, the chief exertions of their intention, as well as industry, were naturally directed towards these objects. With respect to every thing else, their wants and desires were so limited, that their invention was not upon the stretch. As their food and habitations are perfectly simple, their domestic utensils are few and rude. Some of the southern tribes had discovered the art of forming vessels of earthen ware, and baking them in the sun, so as they could endure the fire. In North America, they hollowed a piece of hard wood into the form of a kettle, and filling it with water, brought it to boil, by putting red-hot stones into it. These vessels they used in preparing part of their provisions; and this may be considered as a step towards refinement and luxury; for men in their rudest state, were not acquainted with any method of dressing their victuals, but by roasting them on the fire; and, among several tribes in America, this is the only species of cookery yet known.

But the masterpiece of art among the savages of America, is

the construction of their canoes. An Esquimaux, shut up in his boat of whalebone, covered with the skins of seals, can brave that stormy ocean on which the barrenness of his country compels him to depend for the chief part of his subsistence. The people of Canada venture upon their rivers and lakes in boats made of the bark of trees, and so light that two men can carry them, wherever shallows or cataracts obstruct the navigation. In these frail vessels they undertake and accomplish long voyages.

But, in every attempt towards industry among the Americans, one striking quality in their character is conspicuous. They apply to work without ardor, carry it on with little activity, and, like children, are easily diverted from it. Even in operations which seem the most interesting, and where the most powerful motives urge them to vigorous exertions, they labor with a languid listlessness. Their work advances under their hand with such slowness, that an eye-witness compares it to the imperceptible progress of vegetation. They will spend so many years in forming a canoe, that it often begins to rot with age before they finish it. They will suffer one part of a roof to decay and perish, before they complete the other. The slightest manual operation consumes an amazing length of time, and what in polished nations would hardly be an effort of industry, is among savages an arduous undertaking.

VII. No circumstance respecting rude nations has been the object of greater curiosity than their religious tenets and rites; and none, perhaps, has been so imperfectly understood, or represented with so little fidelity.

There are two fundamental doctrines, upon which the whole system of religion, as far as it can be discovered by the light of nature, is established. The one respects the being of a God, the other the future existence of man.

The idea of creation is so familiar wherever the mind is enlarged by science, and illuminated with revelation, that we seldom reflect how profound and abstruse this idea is, or consider what progress man must have made in observation and research, before he could arrive at any knowledge of this elementary principle in religion. Accordingly, several tribes have been discovered in America, which have no idea whatever, of a Supreme Being, and no rites of religious worship. Inattentive to that magnifi-

cent spectacle of beauty and order presented to their view, unaccustomed to reflect either upon what they themselves are, or to enquire who is the author of their existence, men in their savage state, pass their days like the animals round them, without knowledge or veneration of any superior power. Some rude tribes have not in their language any name for the Deity, nor have the most accurate observers been able to discover any practice or institution which seemed to imply that they recognised his authority, or were solicitous to obtain his favor. It is however only among men in the most uncultivated state of nature, and while their intellectual faculties are so feeble and limited as hardly to elevate them above the irrational creation, that we discover this total insensibility to the impressions of any invisible power.

Among some of the American tribes, still in the infancy of improvement, we discern apprehensions of some invisible and powerful beings. These apprehensions are originally indistinct and perplexed, and seem to be suggested rather by the dread of impending evils, than to flow from gratitude for blessings received. While nature holds on her course with uniform and undisturbed regularity, men enjoy the benefits resulting from it, without enquiring concerning its cause. But every deviation from this regular course rouses and astonishes them. When they behold events to which they are not accustomed, they search for the reasons of them with eager curiosity. Their understanding is unable to penetrate into these; but imagination, a more forward and ardent faculty of the mind, decides without hesitation. It ascribes the extraordinary occurrences in nature to the influence of invisible beings, and supposes that the thunder, the hurricane, and the earthquake, are effects of their interposition. Some such confused notion of spiritual or invisible power, superintending over those natural calamities which frequently desolate the earth, and terrify its inhabitants, may be traced among many rude nations. But besides this, the disasters and dangers of savage life are so many, and men often find themselves in situations so formidable, that the mind, sensible of its own weakness, has no resource but in the guidance and protection of wisdom and power superior to what is human. Dejected with calamities which oppress him, and exposed to dangers which he cannot repel, the savage no longer relies upon himself; he feels his own

impotence, and sees no prospect of being extricated, but by the interposition of some unseen arm. Hence, in all unenlightened nations, the first rites or practices which bear any resemblance to acts of religion, have it for their object to avert evils which men suffer or dread. The *manitous* or *okkis* of the North Americans were amulets or charms, which they imagined to be of such virtue, as to preserve the persons who reposed confidence in them from every disastrous event; or they were considered as tutelary spirits, whose aid they might implore in circumstances of distress. The *cemis* of the islanders were reputed by them to be the authors of every calamity that afflicts the human race; they were represented under the most frightful forms; and religious homage was paid to them with no other view than to appease these furious deities. Even among those tribes whose religious system was more enlarged, and who had formed some conception of benevolent beings, which delighted in conferring benefits, as well as of malicious powers prone to inflict evil; superstition still appears as the offspring of fear, and all its efforts were employed to avert calamities. They were persuaded that their good deities, prompted by the beneficence of their nature, would bestow every blessing in their power, without solicitation or acknowledgment; and their chief anxiety was to soothe and deprecate the wrath of the powers whom they regarded as the enemies of mankind.

Such were the imperfect conceptions of the greater part of the Americans with respect to the interposition of invisible agents, and such almost universally, was the mean and illiberal object of their superstitions. Were we to trace back the ideas of other nations to that rude state in which history first presents them to our view, we should discover a surprising resemblance in their tenets and practices; and should be convinced, that, in similar circumstances, the faculties of the human mind hold nearly the same course in their progress, and arrive at almost the same conclusions. The impressions of fear are conspicuous in all the systems of superstition formed in this situation. The most exalted notions of men rise no higher than to a perplexed apprehension of certain beings, whose power, though supernatural, is limited as well as partial, a fact which strongly proves the necessity of a divine interposition, to reveal even the essential truths of natural religion.



The tribe of the Natchez, and the people of Bogota, had advanced beyond the other uncultivated nations of America in their ideas of religion, as well as in their political institutions; and it is no less difficult to explain the cause of this distinction than of that which we have already considered. The sun was the chief object of religious worship among the Natchez. In their temples, which were constructed with some magnificence, and decorated with various ornaments, according to their mode of architecture, they preserved a perpetual fire, as the purest emblem of their divinity. Ministers were appointed to watch and feed this sacred flame. The first function of the great chief of the nation, every morning, was an act of obeisance to the sun; and festivals returned at stated seasons, which were celebrated by the whole community with solemn but unbloody rites. This is the most refined species of superstition known in America, and perhaps, one of the most natural as well as most seducing. The sun is the apparent source of the joy, fertility, and life diffused through nature; and while the human mind, in its earlier essays towards enquiry, contemplates and admires his universal and animating energy, its admiration is apt to stop short at what is visible, without reaching to the unseen cause; and pays that adoration to the most glorious and beneficial work of God, which is due only to him who formed it. As fire is the purest and most active of the elements, and in some of its qualities and effects resembles the sun, it was not improperly chosen to be the emblem of his powerful operation. The ancient Persians, a people far superior, in every respect, to that rude tribe whose rites I am describing, founded their religious system on similar principles, and established a form of public worship less gross and exceptionable than that of any people destitute of guidance from revelation. This surprising coincidence in sentiment between two nations, in such different states of improvement, is one of the many singular and unaccountable circumstances which occur in the history of human affairs.

Among the people of Bogota, the sun and moon were likewise the chief objects of veneration. Their system of religion was more regular and complete, though less pure, than that of the Natchez. They had temples, altars, priests, sacrifices, and that long train of ceremonies, which superstition introduces wherever she has fully established her dominion over the minds

of men. But the rites of their worship were cruel and bloody. They offered human victims to their deities, and many of their practices nearly resembled the barbarous institutions of the Mexicans.

With respect to the other great doctrine of religion, concerning the future life of man, the sentiments of the Americans were more united. The human mind, even when least improved and invigorated by culture, shrinks from the thoughts of annihilation, and looks forward with hope and expectation to a state of future existence. This sentiment, resulting from a secret consciousness of its own dignity, from an instinctive longing after immortality, is universal, and may be deemed natural. Upon this are founded the most exalted hopes of man in his highest state of improvement; nor has nature withheld from him this soothing consolation, in the most early and rude period of his progress. We can trace this opinion from one extremity of America to the other; in some regions more faint and obscure, in others more perfectly developed, but no where unknown. The most uncivilized of its savage tribes do not apprehend death as the extinction of being. All entertain hopes of a future and more happy state, where they shall be for ever exempt from the calamities which embitter human life in its present condition. This future state they conceive to be a delightful country, blessed with perpetual spring, whose forests abound with game, whose rivers swarm with fish, where famine is never felt, and uninterrupted plenty shall be enjoyed without labor or toil. But as men, in forming their first imperfect ideas concerning the invisible world, suppose that there they shall continue to feel the same desires, and to be engaged in the same occupations, as in the present world; they naturally ascribe eminence and distinction, in that state, to the same qualities and talents which are here the object of their esteem. The Americans, accordingly, allotted the highest place, in their country of spirits, to the skilful hunter, to the adventurous and successful warrior, and to such as had tortured the greatest number of captives, and devoured their flesh. These notions were so prevalent, that they gave rise to an universal custom, which is at once the strongest evidence that the Americans believe in a future state, and the best illustration of what they expect there. As they imagine that departed spirits begin their career anew in the world whither they are gone, that

their friends may not enter defenceless and unprovided, they bury together with the bodies of the dead, their bow, their arrows, and other weapons used in hunting or war; they deposit in their tombs the skins or stuffs of which they make garments, Indian corn, manioc, venison, domestic utensils, and whatever is reckoned among the necessaries in their simple mode of life. In some provinces, upon the decease of a cazique or chief, a certain number of his wives, of his favorites, and of his slaves, were put to death, and interred together with him, that he might appear with the same dignity in his future station, and be waited upon by the same attendants. This persuasion is so deep rooted, that many of the deceased person's retainers offer themselves as voluntary victims, and court the privilege of accompanying their departed master as an high distinction. It has been found difficult, on some occasions, to set bounds to this enthusiasm of affectionate duty, and to reduce the train of a favorite leader to such a number as the tribes could afford to spare.

Among the Americans, as well as other uncivilized nations, many of the rites and observances which bear some resemblance to the acts of religion, have no connexion with devotion, but proceed from a fond desire of prying into futurity. Wherever superstition is so established as to form a regular system, this desire of penetrating into the secrets of futurity is connected with it. Divination becomes a religious act. Priests, as the ministers of heaven, pretend to deliver its oracles to men. They are the only soothsayers, augurs, and magicians, who profess the sacred and important art of disclosing what is hid from other eyes.

But, among rude nations, who pay no veneration to any superintending power, and who have no established rites or ministers of religion, their curiosity to discover what is future and unknown is cherished by a different principle, and derives strength from another alliance. As the diseases of men, in the savage state, are (as has been already observed) like those of the animal creation, few, but extremely violent, their impatience under what they suffer, and solicitude for the recovery of health, soon inspired them with extraordinary reverence for such as pretended to understand the nature of their maladies, and to be possessed of knowledge sufficient to preserve or deliver them from their sudden and fatal effects. These ignorant pretenders, however,

were such utter strangers to the structure of the human frame, as to be equally unacquainted with the causes of its disorders, and the manner in which they will terminate. Superstition, mingled frequently with some portion of craft, supplied what they wanted in science. They imputed the origin of diseases to supernatural influence, and prescribed or performed a variety of mysterious rites, which they gave out to be of such efficacy as to remove the most dangerous and inveterate maladies. The credulity and love of the marvellous, natural to uninformed men, favored the deception, and prepared them to be the dupes of those impostors. Among savages, their first physicians are a kind of conjurers or wizards, who boast that they know what is past, and can foretel what is to come. Incantations, sorcery, and mummeries of diverse kinds, no less strange than frivolous, are the means which they employ to expel the imaginary causes of malignity; and relying upon the efficacy of these, they predict, with confidence, what will be the fate of their deluded patients.

The native Americans did not long suppose the efficacy of conjuration to be confined to one subject. They had recourse to it in every situation of danger or distress. When the events of war were peculiarly disastrous, when they met with unforeseen disappointments in hunting, when inundations or drought threatened their crops with destruction, they called upon their conjurers to begin their incantations, in order to discover the causes of those calamities, or to foretel what would be their issue. Their confidence in this delusive art gradually increased, and manifested itself in all the occurrences of life. When involved in any difficulty, or about to enter upon any transaction of moment, every individual regularly consulted the sorcerer, and depended upon his instructions to extricate him from the former, as well as to direct his conduct in the latter. Even among the rudest tribes in America, superstition appears in this form, and divination is an art in high esteem. To discern, and to worship a superintending and beneficent power, is an evidence of the enlargement and maturity of the human understanding; a vain desire of prying into futurity, is the error of its infancy, and a proof of its weakness.

From this weakness proceeded likewise the faith of the Americans in dreams, their observation of omens, their attention

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to the chirping of birds, and the cries of animals, all which they suppose to be indications of future events; and if any one of these prognostics is deemed unfavorable, they instantly abandon the pursuit of those measures on which they are most eagerly bent.

If we would form a complete idea of the uncultivated nations of America, we must not pass unobserved some singular customs, which, though universal and characteristic, could not be reduced, with propriety, to any of the articles into which we have divided our inquiry concerning their manners.

Among the American Indians, the love of dancing is a favorite passion. As, during a great part of their time, they languish in a state of inactivity and indolence, without any occupation to rouse or interest them, they delight universally in a pastime which calls forth the active powers of their nature into exercise. The Spaniards, when they first visited America, were astonished at the fondness of the natives for dancing, and beheld with wonder a people, cold and unanimated in most of their other pursuits, kindle into life, and exert themselves with ardor, as often as this favorite amusement recurred. Among them, indeed dancing ought not to be denominated an amusement. It is a serious and important occupation, which mingles in every occurrence of public or private life. If any intercourse be necessary between two American tribes, the ambassadors of the one approach in a solemn dance, and present the calumet or emblem of peace; the sachems of the other receive it with the same ceremony. If war is denounced against an enemy, it is by a dance, expressive of the resentment which they feel, and of the vengeance which they meditate. If the wrath of their gods is to be appeased, or their beneficence to be celebrated; if they rejoice at the birth of a child, or mourn the death of a friend; they have dances appropriated to each of these situations, and suited to the different sentiments with which they are then animated. If a person is indisposed, a dance is prescribed as the most effectual means of restoring him to health; and if he himself cannot endure the fatigue of such an exercise, the physician or conjuror performs it in his name, as if the virtue of his activity could be transferred to his patient.

All their dances are imitations of some action; and though the music by which they are regulated is extremely simple and

tiresome to the ear by its dull monotony, some of their dances appear wonderfully expressive and animated. The war-dance is, perhaps, the most striking. It is the representation of a complete American campaign. The departure of the warriors from their village, their march into the enemy's country, the caution with which they encamp, the address with which they station some of their party in ambush, the manner of surprising the enemy, the noise and ferocity of the combat, the scalping of those who are slain, the seizing of prisoners, the triumphant return of the conquerors, and the torture of the victims, are successively exhibited. The performers enter with such enthusiastic ardor into their several parts; their gestures, their countenance, their voice, are so wild and so well adapted to their various situations, that Europeans can hardly believe it to be a mimic scene, or view it without emotions of fear and horror.

An immoderate love of play, especially at games of hazard, which seems to be natural to all people unaccustomed to the occupations of regular industry, is likewise universal among the Americans. The same causes which so often prompt persons in civilized life, who are at their ease, to have recourse to this pastime, render it the delight of the savage. The former are independent of labor, the latter do not feel the necessity of it; and as both are unemployed, they run with transport to whatever is interesting enough to stir and to agitate their minds. Hence the Americans, who, at other times, are so indifferent, so phlegmatic, so silent, and animated with so few desires, as soon as they engage in play, become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their clothes, their arms, are staked at the gaming-table, and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair or of hope, they will often risk their personal liberty upon a single cast.

From causes similar to those which render them fond of play, the Americans are extremely addicted to drunkenness. It seems to have been one of the first exertions of human ingenuity to discover some composition of an intoxicating quality; and there is hardly any nation so rude, or so destitute of invention, as not to have succeeded in this fatal research. The most barbarous of the American tribes have been so unfortunate as to attain this

art; and even those which are so deficient in knowledge as to be unacquainted with the method of giving an inebriating strength to liquors by fermentation, can accomplish the same end by other means. The people of the islands of North America, and of California, used for this purpose the smoke of tobacco, drawn up with a certain instrument into the nostrils, the fumes of which ascending to the brain, they felt all the transports and frenzy of intoxication. In almost every other part of the new world, the natives possessed the art of extracting an intoxicating liquor from maize or the manioc root, the same substances which are converted into bread. The operation by which they effect this, nearly resembles the common one of brewing, but with this difference, that in place of yeast, they use a nauseous infusion of a certain quantity of maize or manioc chewed by their women. The saliva excites a strong fermentation, and in a few days the liquor becomes fit for drinking. It is not disagreeable to the taste, and when swallowed in large quantities is of an intoxicating quality. This is the general beverage of the Americans, which they distinguish by various names, and for which they feel such a violent and insatiable desire, as it is not easy either to conceive or describe.

While engaged in war or in the chase, the savage is often in the most interesting situations, and all the powers of his nature are roused to the most vigorous exertions. But those animating scenes are succeeded by long intervals of repose, during which the warrior meets with nothing that he deems of sufficient dignity or importance to merit his attention. He languishes and mopes in this season of indolence. The posture of his body is an emblem of the state of his mind. In one climate, covering over the fire in his cabin; in another, stretched under the shade of some tree, he dozes away his time in sleep, or in an unthinking joyless inactivity, not far removed from it. As strong liquors awake him from this torpid state, give a brisker motion to his spirits, and enliven him more thoroughly than either dancing or gaming, his love of them is excessive. A savage, when not engaged in action, is a pensive melancholy animal; but as soon as he tastes, or has a prospect of tasting, the intoxicating draught, he becomes gay and frolicsome. Whatever be the occasion or pretext on which the Americans assemble, the meeting always terminates in a debauch. Many of their festivals have no other

object, and they welcome the return of them with transports of joy. As they are not accustomed to restrain any appetite, they set no bounds to this. The riot often continues, without intermission, several days; and whatever may be the fatal effects of their excess, they never cease from drinking as long as one drop of liquor remains. The persons of greatest eminence, the most distinguished warriors, and the chiefs most renowned for their wisdom, have no greater command of themselves than the most obscure member of the community. Their eagerness for present enjoyment renders them blind to its fatal consequences; and those very men, who, in other situations, seem to possess a force of mind more than human, are in this instance inferior to children in foresight, as well as consideration, and mere slaves of brutal appetite. When their passions, naturally strong, are heightened and inflamed by drink, they are guilty of the most enormous outrages, and the festivity seldom concludes without deeds of violence or bloodshed.

As the Europeans early found it their interest to supply them with spirituous liquors, drunkenness soon became as universal among them as among their countrymen to the south; and their women having acquired this new taste, indulge it with as little decency and moderation as the men.

It were endless to enumerate all the detached customs which have excited the wonder of travellers in America; but we cannot omit one, seemingly as singular as any that has been mentioned. When their parents and other relations become old, or labor under any distemper which their slender knowledge of the healing art cannot remove, the Americans cut short their days with a violent hand, in order to be relieved from the burden of supporting and tending them. This practice prevailed among the ruder tribes, in every part of the continent, from Hudson's Bay to the river De La Plata.

The same hardships and difficulty of procuring subsistence, which deter savages, in some cases from rearing their children, prompt them to destroy the aged and infirm. The declining state of the one is as helpless as the infancy of the other. The former are no less unable than the latter to perform the functions that belong to a warrior or hunter, or to endure those various distresses in which savages are so often involved, by their own want of foresight and industry. Their relations feel this,



and, incapable of attending to the wants or weaknesses of others, their impatience under an additional burden prompts them to extinguish that life which they find it difficult to sustain. This is not regarded as a deed of cruelty, but as an act of mercy. An American, broken with years and infirmities, conscious that he can no longer depend on the aid of those around him, places himself contentedly in the grave; and it is by the hands of his children, or nearest relations, that the thong is pulled, or the blow inflicted, which releases him for ever from the sorrows of life.

In contemplating the inhabitants of a country so widely extended as America, great attention should be paid to the diversity of climates under which they are placed. The influence of this I have pointed out with respect to several important particulars which have been the object of research; but, even where it has not been mentioned, it ought not to be overlooked. The provinces of America are of such different temperament, that this alone is sufficient to constitute a distinction between their inhabitants. In every part of the earth where man exists, the power of climate operates, with decisive influence, upon his condition and character. In those countries which approach near to the extremes of heat or cold, this influence is so conspicuous as to strike every eye. Whether we consider man merely as an animal, or as being endowed with rational powers, which fit him for activity and speculation, we shall find that he has uniformly attained the greatest perfection of which his nature is capable, in the temperate regions of the globe. There his constitution is most vigorous, his organs most acute, and his form most beautiful. There, too, he possesses a superior extent of capacity, greater fertility of imagination, more enterprising courage, and a sensibility of heart which gives birth to desires, not only ardent, but persevering. In this favorite situation he has displayed the utmost efforts of his genius, in literature, in policy, in commerce, in war, and in all the arts which improve or embellish life.

This powerful operation of climate is felt most sensibly by rude nations, and produces greater effects than in societies more improved. The talents of civilized men are continually exerted in rendering their own condition more comfortable; and by their ingenuity and inventions, they can, in a great measure, sup-

ply the defects, and guard against the inconveniencies, of any climate. But the improvident savage is affected by every circumstance peculiar to his situation. He takes no precaution either to mitigate or to improve it. Like a plant or an animal, he is formed by the climate under which he is placed, and feels the full force of its influence.

In surveying the rude nations of America, this natural distinction between the inhabitants of the temperate and torrid zones is very remarkable. They may, accordingly, be divided into two great classes. The one comprehends all the North Americans, from the river St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, together with the people of Chili, and a few small tribes towards the extremity of the southern continent. To the other belong all the inhabitants of the islands, and those settled in the various provinces which extend from the Isthmus of Darien almost to the southern confines of Brazil, along the east side of the Andes. In the former, which comprehends all the regions of the temperate zone that in America are inhabited, the human species appears manifestly to be more perfect. The natives are more robust, more active, more intelligent, and more courageous. They possess, in the most eminent degree, that force of mind and love of independence which I have pointed out as the chief virtues of man in his savage state. They have defended their liberty with persevering fortitude against the Europeans, who subdued the other rude nations of America with the greatest ease. The natives of the temperate zone are the only people in the new world who are indebted for their freedom to their own valor. The North Americans, though long encompassed by three formidable European powers, still retain part of their original possessions, and continue to exist as independent nations. The people of Chili, though early invaded, still maintain a gallant contest with the Spaniards, and have set bounds to their encroachments; whereas, in the warmer regions, men are more feeble in their frame, less vigorous in the efforts of their mind, of a gentle but dastardly spirit, more enslaved by pleasure, and more sunk in indolence. Accordingly, it is in the torrid zone that the Europeans have most completely established their dominion over America; the most fertile and desirable provinces in it are subjected to their yoke; and if several tribes there still enjoy independence, it is either because they have never been

attacked by an enemy already satiated with conquest, and possessed of larger territories than he was able to occupy, or because they have been saved from oppression by their remote and inaccessible situation.

Conspicuous as this distinction may appear between the inhabitants of those different regions, it is not, however, universal. Moral and political causes, as I have formerly observed, affect the disposition and character of individuals as well as nations, still more powerfully than the influence of climate. There are, accordingly, some tribes, in various parts of the torrid zone, possessed of courage, high spirit, and the love of independence, in a degree hardly inferior to the natives of more temperate climates. We are too little acquainted with the history of those people, to be able to trace the several circumstances in their progress and condition, to which they are indebted for this remarkable pre-eminence. The fact, nevertheless, is certain. As early as the first voyage of Columbus, he received information that several of the islands were inhabited by the Caribbees, a fierce race of men, nowise resembling their feeble and timid neighbours. In his second expedition to the new world, he found this information to be just, and was himself a witness of their intrepid valor. The same character they have maintained invariably in all subsequent contests with the people of Europe; and, even in our own times, we have seen them make a gallant stand in defence of the last territory which the rapacity of their invaders had left in their possession. Some nations in Brazil were no less eminent for vigor of mind, and bravery in war. The people of the Isthmus of Darien boldly met the Spaniards in the field, and frequently repelled those formidable invaders. Other instances might be produced. It is not attending to any single cause or principle, how powerful and extensive soever its influence may appear, that we can explain the actions, or account for the character, of men. Even the law of climate, more universal, perhaps, in its operation than any that affects the human species, cannot be applied, in judging of their conduct, without many exceptions.\*

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\* It may perhaps be interesting to subjoin to the preceding delineation of the American Aborigines from the pen of the celebrated Dr. Robertson; an account of an interesting scene relative to this singular people, which occurred in the town of Leeds, in the course of the year 1818. Six Indians of the

Seneca nation, from Buffalo Creek, on the Lake Erie, had been exhibiting in that place scenic representations of their public dances, and mode of warfare—when it occurred to some benevolent individuals, that an useful impression might be made on the minds of these “Commoners of Nature,” by holding a Council or Public Talk with them. This suggestion was carried into effect, and this friendly Council was held at the Concert-Room in that place, on Monday, the 27th of April. The following account of it is extracted from an highly respectable provincial paper—the Leeds Mercury; the accuracy of this account the writer of this note can confidently vouch for, as he was an eye-witness of this interesting spectacle.

The six Indians and their Chief dressed in their national costume, and adorned with all the ornaments which appertained to their respective rank, were placed at the head of a long table in the upper end of the room; round this table were also seated some of the more elderly of the audience, whilst the room was thronged with persons of every varying religious profession, who though differing as much in their opinions as in their outward garb, were united in one friendly and benevolent feeling towards those “Strangers from the Wilderness.” It was indeed a spectacle most singularly interesting. To behold the warriors of the least polished tribe of North America mingling in peaceful conference with the citizens of the most polished and enlightened nation; to hear them detail the tradition of their remote ancestors, explain their present manners and customs, or observe them listening with grave attention to the counsel and advice which were offered to them, was a scene equally adapted to impress the imagination, and affect the heart.

After the object of the meeting had been briefly stated, the Speech of the Indian Chief to the Quakers, as it had been translated by the Interpreter, was read by the Rev. W. Eccles, as was also the answer written by a friend, and the reply of the Chief.

These papers having been read, it was signified to the Indians that the company would be gratified by some account of their traditions, the customs of their country, and their mode of barter: after a short pause, Senunggise, the Chief Warrior rose, and with a good deal of dignity and natural eloquence addressed the meeting: The Interpreter explaining what he said, paragraph by paragraph; the following is the substance of this address:—

*INDIAN CHIEF*—Brothers, I am glad to see so large a company—I am glad to see so many of the friends of our nation the Quakers, they have been very kind to us whilst we have been in this place, and we thank them for their kindness: we are also glad to see the ministers and every other person present, and we thank them all for the attention they have shown to us. Brothers, we understand that you wish to be informed respecting our traditions and our customs, and we wish to tell you what we know about them. Brothers, we wish you to understand that we have no written histories, our old men tell us what has happened in their time, and also what their fathers have told to them; and that which they tell to us, we record in our memory and in our breast. Brothers, it is our belief that the Great Spirit made the world and all men, and we are informed by our old men that the earth when first made was covered with water, but that some dry earth adhered to the body of a turtle, and that this earth increased more and more, until at last it became large enough to contain men and animals. The Great Spirit

then made a man, and told him that he was to cultivate the ground, but the man did not do this, and when the Great Spirit came to visit him he found the man lonesome and slothful; the Great Spirit asked him why he had not watered and cultivated the ground? The man replied, that he was lonesome and cheerless, and that he had no companion. The Great Spirit then went away, but returned when the man was asleep, and took out of his side a small tender rib, which he made into a woman, and told the man that she was to be his wife. The Great Spirit then told the woman that she was to cultivate the ground, to wind the house and take care of the children, and she was to be very choice of the health of her children, and choice of her husband; the Great Spirit also told the man that he was to provide food for his family by hunting, and that he was to be choice of his wife and children and take great care of them. The Great Spirit then left the man and the woman for some time, and the man hunted and caught plenty of game, and the woman cultivated the ground and took care of children; and when the Great Spirit visited them again he found them very comfortable, and they enjoyed themselves very much, and the Great Spirit was pleased with them. Brothers, hearken—we were once a numerous people, our hunting grounds were large, and we had plenty of game; but we are now few in number, our hunting grounds are no longer sufficient to furnish game to maintain the few that remain of us. We have been advised since we came here to grow corn, to breed cattle, and to build warm houses. We think that this is good counsel, and we are determined to follow it and to cultivate the ground. Brothers, our ancient men have told us that the white people came to our country from beyond the sea, and we know that within our own memory they have greatly increased. Brothers, the Great Spirit has given much more to the white men than he has to the red men; he has given to the former plenty of corn and cattle, and warm houses, and woollen clothes; and he has also given them the Great Book; but to us his red children he has not given these things; he has not even given us the hatchet, we have only the beasts of the forest to chase, our huts are made of skins, and we are clothed only with the skins of the wild beasts. Brothers, perhaps you were not always so well off as you are now, perhaps you had not always such good houses as this, (which seems to be a new one) and your forefathers perhaps might once be in the same situation as the red people are now.

The Chief then after a short pause proceeded to explain the manners in which fire was procured before they had flints and steel. He also stated the names of the six warriors, and explained the meaning of their names with a short description of their place of abode. The Brother-in-Law of the Chief then rose, and stated the name of the Chief, who had omitted to mention his own name, because added to his warrior, it was not the custom in our nation for the person who speaks ever to name himself. The mode in which they sign their names was then explained, their signature consists of an hieroglyphic representation of the idea included in the name, for example the Chief Senunggise, (Long Horns) was represented by an animal with long horns; and the other warriors, in a similar manner. The Chief in answer to some questions put by Mr. Hardy, detailed the mode in which marriages were contracted and solemnized among them.

The Rev. D. M'Nichol, one of the preachers in the Methodist Connexion, stated that he intended to put a series of questions to the Chief, on the subject of religion. The first question was, whether it was their belief that the

Great Spirit was the Creator of them and all men. When this question was explained to them, the Chief rose, and with great animation remonstrated on the impropriety of putting a question which had already been fully answered by him. In conclusion he said, "It is our belief that the Great Spirit created all men, and every thing." The Interpreter having stated that they were averse to being questioned on the subject of religion, added, "he seems rather warm." The other questions were, in consequence, abandoned: it was thought desirable, however, to ask, what idea they had of a future state.

Ne guye-et-twassa, or Little Bear, brother-in-law to the Chief, rose and said. Brot ers, when a man dies, his body is put into the ground, where it corrupts; but the blood, and with the blood the minds of good men are taken up to the Great Spirit, where they are very comfortable and happy: but the blood of wicked men is not taken up to the Great Spirit, but remains in the grave, and perishes with the body. By good men, he explained that he meant men who hunted for their families, and loved their children, and took care of them; and who did not rob nor lie; and by wicked men the reverse of this, men who were habitually liars or cheats, and who did not care, or provide for their families. The Indians then exhibited the progress they had made in attaining the rudiments of the English Language, the knowledge of the alphabet, and in which, considering the very short time they had devoted to it, their progress was very rapid. A Bible was then given to each of the Indians by Mr. Eccles, one of the secretaries to the Leeds Auxiliary Bible Society. They appeared to be much gratified with this present, and the brother-in-law to the Chief, made a very good, and even eloquent address, expressive of their gratitude for the kindness, with which they had been treated, and of their determination to learn to read and understand the Great Book, and to recommend to their countrymen also to learn it; and to cultivate their lands, and subsist by agriculture, instead of hunting. He concluded with expressing his good wishes for the happiness and welfare of the whole auditory, with an earnestness which indicated the warmth of his own feelings. The meeting then broke up, after a continuance of nearly three hours, and every individual departed highly gratified by the singular but interesting scene which had been exhibited; and probably disposed to think better, and more kindly of this singular race of men.

HISTORY  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA.



*GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY.*

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SECTION II.

THE southern limit of this extensive continent is clearly defined by the Strait of Magellan, which separates it from the island Terra del Fuego; but its extent towards the north is not ascertained with the same precision. As no traveller or navigator has ever proceeded to its northern extremity, its extent can be computed only so far as it has been imperfectly explored. In this view it suffices to estimate the whole length of this continent from  $72^{\circ}$  north latitude, to  $54^{\circ}$  south latitude, comprising an extent of  $126^{\circ}$ , equal to 7,560 geographical, or nearly 8,800 British, miles. The greatest breadth of North America, from the eastern part of Greenland, to the western promontory of Alaska, may be computed at about 3,900, and the greatest breadth in South America, from Cape St. Roque in the east, to Cape Blanco in the west, cannot be reckoned at less than 2,850 geographical miles.

The southern division of the new continent extends, from about  $12^{\circ}$  north, to  $54^{\circ}$  south latitude; and from about  $34^{\circ} 30'$  to about  $80^{\circ}$  west longitude. Its greatest length from north to south may therefore be computed at 3,960, and its greatest breadth at 2,880 geographical miles. The same geographical obscurity attends this as the northern division of this vast conti-

ment. Many parts of the interior yet remain unexplored. This division of America is distinguished by the largest rivers and the highest mountains on the face of the globe. The principal river is that of Amazons, so called from a female tribe inured to arms, said to have been discovered on its banks by the first navigators, although the whole story has probably originated in fiction, or at least in mistake. The native term by which it is designated is the Maranon; and by this it ought to be called, rather than by the ridiculous appellation imposed by ignorance. This is distinguished by geographers as the largest river in the world; and the estimate is undoubtedly just, when breadth as well as length is considered. Its source is not yet exactly ascertained, as two large rivers, the Maranon and the Ucaial, join in composing this vast body of water. Of these, the Maranon seems to make the greatest circuit; but the Ucaial appears to be the principal stream, and its sources are more remote. The Maranon issues from the Lake of Lauricocha, near the city of Guanuco, in the parallel of  $11^{\circ}$  south. The whole length of its course, before it falls into the Atlantic, is computed at about 3,300 miles. The Apurimac, the remotest branch of the Ucaial, is represented as rising near the town of Arequipa, on the west of the lake of Titicaca, in  $16^{\circ} 30'$  south latitude. The course of the Ucaial lies through the unexplored forests of a remote region, and is consequently unknown to geography. The Maranon is better known, and has been repeatedly described. It was navigated by Condamine from near the town of Jaen, its remotest navigable extent. Proceeding north-east, it passes through the Andes at a place called Pongo, which displays a sublime and magnificent scenery: the river, which is there contracted from 500 to 50 yards in breadth, being confined within two parallel walls of almost perpendicular rock. The Apurimac also bursts through the Andes; but its passage, which must also exhibit striking scenes, yet remains unexplored. After the junction of the two great rivers, the Ucaial and Maranon, their united stream receives from the north and the south many other large rivers, which being likewise composed of a number of inferior streams, water a vast extent of country. The breadth of the Maranon at the Portuguese boundary is about a league, and it is seldom less than two miles. The depth is in many places



more than 100 fathoms; and the swell of the tide is perceptible at the distance of 600 miles from the sea.

The Rio de la Plata is, in magnitude and extent of course, the second river in South America. It is formed of the con-junct waters of the Paraguay, the Parana, the Pilcomayo, and the Urucuay, the two former of which are the principal streams. The Parana, which rises in the mountains of Brazil in latitude 19° south, appears to be the most considerable river, although the Paraguay seems little inferior. The Rio de la Plata is interspersed with numerous islands. The breadth of the æstuary is such, that land cannot be discovered on either side from a ship in the middle of the stream; and vessels ascend as high as the town of Assumption, at the distance of near 1200 miles from the sea.

The third great river of South America, is the Oronoko, which, according to La Cruz, rises in latitude 5° 10' north. Its course is exceedingly tortuous, and it receives many large rivers. One striking peculiarity is observable in regard to the Maranon, or river of Amazons, and the Oronoko. The streams issuing from the lake of Parima form three different communications between those immense rivers, and that lake may be regarded as the centre of this singular connexion. It is easy to conceive what great advantages those countries may, at some future period, derive from this remarkable inland navigation, which nature has prepared, and art may exceedingly improve.

The mountains of South America may be ranked among the grandest objects of nature. They are the loftiest on the face of the globe, and are intermixed with the most sublime and terrific volcanos. The immense chain of the Andes extends from the southern almost to the northern extremity of this continent, at the medial distance of about 100 miles from the western coast, beginning near the Strait of Magellan, and expiring on the west side of the Gulf of Darien, the whole length, allowing for the windings, being not less than 4,500 miles. The highest summits are those of Peru, near the equator: towards the north and the south, but especially the latter, their height greatly decreases. About two degrees north of the equator, it diminishes nearly one fourth: and the Andes of Peru are asserted to be near seven times as high as those of Chili. Chimborazo, the most elevated summit of the Andes, is about 100 English miles to the

south of Quito, in the northern division of Peru. Its height was computed by the French mathematicians to be 20,280 feet above the level of the sea. The next in elevation is supposed to be Cotopashi, a tremendous volcano, which is said to eject stones of eight or nine feet in diameter, to the distance of more than nine miles, a circumstance which would be absolutely incredible, were it not attested by so respectable an authority.\* The height of Cotopashi is estimated at about 18,600 feet. It is situated about twenty-five miles to the south-east of Quito. The mountain of Sanguay, the summit of which is covered with perpetual snow, is a constant volcano; and its explosions are sometimes so tremendous, as to be heard at the distance of 120 miles. Many other summits of prodigious elevation, noticed by Bouguer, Ulloa, and others, might be added to those already mentioned. It ought, however, here to be observed, that the loftiest mountains of the Andes rise from the elevated plain of Quito, which constitutes more than one-third of the computed height. Chimborazo being, as already observed, 20,280 feet above the sea, is therefore about a fourth part higher than Mont Blanc; but if its elevation be computed from the level of the plain, it is considerably lower than that celebrated mountain of the old continent. Besides the Andes, the chief of the South American mountains, there are, according to Humboldt, three remarkable ranges lying in a direction from west to east, nearly parallel to the equator, the first between  $9^{\circ}$  and  $10^{\circ}$ ; the second between  $3^{\circ}$  and  $7^{\circ}$  north latitude; and the third between  $15^{\circ}$  and  $20^{\circ}$  south. This author's account, however, is extremely confused; and of these chains, only the first and its projecting branches can be said to be sufficiently known to merit a place in geography. These northern mountains extend in different branches from the Andes eastward into the province of St. Martha. The two Sierra Nevadas of St. Martha and Merida, are supposed to be about 13,000 or 14,000 English feet above the level of the sea. Ulloa says, that the mountains of St. Martha are visible from the ocean, and perpetually covered with snow. In Terra Firma, Brazil, and some other parts of this vast continent, are several ranges of mountains, which are little known, and do not indeed appear very considerable. The whole interior of South America, comprising the vast coun-

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\* Bouguer, p. 66.

tries watered by the Rio de la Plata, the river of Amazons, the Oronoko, and all their tributary streams, is an immense plain, of which many extensive districts are annually inundated by their redundant waters.

The most considerable lake yet known on this division of the new continent, is that of Titicaca, in Peru, which is of an oval figure, and about 240 miles in circuit. There are, however, many temporary lakes of great extent, which exist only during the annual inundations of the great rivers, that deluge large tracts of country.

Most of the islands of any importance contiguous to the coast of South America, are claimed by Spain; but none of them are very considerable, and most of them are neglected. In a brief enumeration, beginning with those in the Pacific Ocean, it will suffice to mention the most considerable, and those that are the best known. The principal is that of Chiloe, in the bay of Chonos, being about 140 British miles in length, by about 30 in breadth. In the Gulf of the Holy Trinity, is the island of St. Martin, on which are some Spanish settlements of little importance. The pleasant and healthful island of Juan Fernandez appears to be uninhabited: but it is famous for being some years the solitary abode of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who was wrecked on its coast, and whose singular adventure served, in the hands of Daniel De Foe, as the basis of the celebrated romance of Robinson Crusoe. It is celebrated in the voyage of Lord Anson, who found it an excellent place of refreshment for his men when suffering extremely from the scurvy. Terra del Fuego, at the southern extremity of the South American continent, is generally considered as one island, but is in reality an assemblage of no fewer than eleven, separated by narrow straits. The rigor of the climate has already been noticed. This miserable region is entirely left to the natives, who are of a middle stature, with broad flat faces, and use for clothing the skins of seals. Fish, especially shell-fish, appears to be their only food; and they live in villages, consisting of miserable huts of a conical form. To the north-east of Terra del Fuego, and nearly opposite to the strait of Magellan, are Falkland islands, in 52° south latitude. These islands had been discovered by Sir Richard Hawkins so early as the year 1591. Being of little value, however, they were long neglected. But in

1764, Commodore Byron was sent to take possession of them in virtue of the British claim, and a small settlement was formed at a place called Port Egmont, of which the English were in 1770 dispossessed by the Spaniards; and the islands were soon after ceded to Spain.

To the south-east of Falkland islands is another island of considerable extent, discovered in 1675 by La Roche; and in 1775 named Georgia by Captain Cook. It may be described in a few words, by calling it the land of ice and snow. The shores, however, are frequented by penguins and seals; and the lark is not uncommon. Further to the south-east are other islands still more dreary, being the throne of perpetual winter. Of the few islands on the eastern coast of South America, that of Trinidad may be reckoned the chief. The next are those of Saremburg and Ferdinando Noronha. On the northern shore, the most celebrated is the French island of Cayenne.

### NORTH AMERICA.

This division which is by far the most important, is bounded on the east by the Atlantic; and on the west by the Great, or Pacific Ocean. On the south it is understood to extend to the vicinity of Panama, the province of Veragua being universally considered as part of North America.\* The northern limits have not yet been clearly ascertained; but as it is improbable that a slip of land, on the N. W. of Hudson's Bay, should extend far to the north, the limit may probably be discovered about 74° or 75°. In the mean time 72 degrees may be safely assumed; whence to the southern boundary, about N. lat. 7° 30', as marked in the map of Lacruz, there will be 64½ degrees, or 3,870 geographical miles; more than 4,500 British. The breadth from the promontory of Alaska to the extreme

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\* In the large map of South America, published at Madrid in 1775, by Don Juan de la Cruz, Cano, y Olmedilla, Geographer to His Catholic Majesty, the province of Panama extends to the Bay del Almirante, in the north, and includes the Bay of Panama, in the south, Sant Yago, in Veragua, being the first town in North America. According to the maps of Lopez there is a chain of mountains running north and south called Sierras de Canatagua, and ending in the point of Higuera; which, dividing the province of Panama and Veragua, forms a natural boundary between North and South America.

point of Labrador, or the Cape of St. Charles, will, by somewhat of a solecism, exceed the length, which last is however considered as forming part of the length of the general continent. If it should be discovered that Greenland is united to arctic lands of America, as Kamsehatka is, for instance, to Asia, both the length and breadth will be greatly increased.

The general features of North America, which cannot be brought within the descriptions of particular countries, are chiefly the vast lakes, or inland seas, and the extensive rivers which pervade this portion of the globe.

Among the inland seas of North America may be mentioned the gulfs of Mexico, California, and St. Lawrence; with Hudson's Bay, or rather Hudson's Sea,\* and what is called the strait of Davis, which is probably a sea of communication between the Atlantic and the arctic oceans. The existence of Baffin's Bay is doubtful; but there are several lakes of so great a size that they deserve to be distinguished by the name of seas, particularly Lakes Superior, Michigan, and Huron, which constitute one piece of water, about 350 miles in length; and the great Slave Lake in the north is laid down as about 220 British miles in length. In Asia, no hesitation has been shown by geographers, in applying the name of Sea to the Lake of Aral, which is about 200 miles in length; and the sea of Baikal about 350. But the latter is not above 35 miles in breadth, while the Lake Superior is more than 100.

Of all these inland seas the Gulf of Mexico is the most celebrated, as lying in a most favorable climate, and presenting at its entrance that grand Archipelago of North American islands called the West Indies. From this gulf a singular current sets towards the N. E., this current called the gulf stream passes to the banks of Newfoundland, and is supposed to proceed from the accumulation of waters by the trade wind. It is distinguished from other parts of the ocean, by the gulf weed; is eight or ten degrees warmer; never sparkles in the night; and when it arrives in cool latitudes produces thick fogs. The trade wind, or diurnal sea-breeze, is from the east, and its collateral points, with little intermission, for nine months of the year. To the

\* The Bay of Biscay and that of Bengal may perhaps authorise the received appellation; but these bays should rather be called seas or gulfs, if there were any uniformity in geographic terms.

south of the Gulf of Mexico is the Bay of Honduras, well known in the annals of English commerce. The Caribbean sea may perhaps more properly be considered as belonging to South America.

The opposite shore presents the Gulf of California, which seems an estuary of two large rivers. The jealous silence of the Spaniards concerning their American possessions affords but few materials for a proper illustration of their geography. The Gulf of St. Lawrence is the well known estuary of a river of the same name, generally frozen from December to April. This noble gulf is closed by the island of Newfoundland, and by numerous sand banks, particularly what is called the Great Bank. This celebrated fishing station is more than 400 miles in length, by about 140 in breadth; the water being from 22 to 50 fathoms, with a great swell, and frequently a thick fog. The chief fishery begins on the 10th of May, and continues till the end of September, the greatest number of cod fish, taken by a single fisherman, being 12,000, but the average is 7,000; the largest fish was four feet three inches in length, and weighed forty-six pounds. More than 500 English vessels commonly fish on the bank; and the number used sometimes to be equalled by that of the French, who had formerly a settlement in the neighbouring isle of Cape Breton.

There are also great fisheries on the banks which lie off the coasts of Nova Scotia, particularly on that called Saddle Island Bank, or rather from the French *Sable*, the Isle of Sand, which is in the shape of a bow, about eight leagues in length, with a narrow pond of sea-water in the middle, filled every tide by a narrow inlet.

Hudson Sea, may be considered as extending from the entrance of Hudson Strait, to its western extremity, that is, from lon. 65° W. to lon. 95°, or thirty degrees of longitude, which in lat. 60° will be 900 geographical miles, or about 1050 British, exceeding the Baltic in length as well as breadth. The shores are generally rocky and precipitous, and the climate almost the perpetual abode of winter, the hot weather in June being brief though violent. This sea is far from abundant in fish, but the common whale is found; and the Beluga, or white whale, is taken in considerable numbers in June, when the rivers in the south have discharged their ice. Large sturgeons are also caught

near Albany. Shell fish are extremely rare, common muscels alone being frequent. The large track of territory on the south of this sea is the property of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose chief profits are derived from furs. This sea has been repeatedly explored for a N. W. passage, perhaps as little to be expected as a passage from the Baltic into the Arctic ocean, or the Euxine. Chesterfield inlet is a singular strait stretching far to the west, but terminates in a magnificent lake of fresh water, communicating with this sea by what may be called a broad river; the adjacent land being level, rich in pasture, and abounding with deer. But it is probable that in the N. E. Hudson Sea opens into the Arctic ocean, where the perpetual ice presents a complete barrier to commercial views.

The Gulf, or Sea of Davis may be considered as part of the Sea of Hudson, and probably joins the Arctic ocean. What is called Baffin's Bay is laid down as extending from  $46^{\circ}$  W. long. to  $94^{\circ}$ , which, supposing the degree only 16 geographical miles, would yield a length of 768 geographical miles; and the breadth on the west side is represented as little inferior. As this sea is perhaps wholly imaginary, it is unnecessary to enlarge on the subject: and it shall only be observed that the west coast of Greenland has not been explored beyond lat.  $72^{\circ}$ , or Sander-son's Hope, and an old Danish settlement called Opernevig. In the midst of Baffin's Bay many maps present a large tract called James Island, which perhaps is a promontory passing from Greenland.\*

As in the general description of Asia not only the Caspian Sea, but those of Aral and Baikal have been commemorated, so the vast lakes, above mentioned, may here be considered as detached inland seas.

The Lake Superior, Michigan, and Huron, in this point of view, form one large inland sea, which might be called the Sea of Canada, or that of Huron. This expansion of water, is about 350 miles in length, and more than 100 at its greatest breadth: according to the French charts that part of this sea, which is called Lake SUPERIOR, is not less than 1500 miles in circumference. The greater part of the coast seems to consist of rocks and uneven ground, like those of the Sea of Baikal. The

\* It is rather a large isle in the north of Hudson Sea, laid down from erroneous observations.

water is pure and transparent ; and the bottom generally composed of large rocks. There are several islands, one of which called Minong is about 60 miles in length : the savages suppose that these islands are residences of the Great Spirit. More than thirty rivers fall into this lake, some of them of considerable size, but the geography is far from being perfect. The banks of a river on the N. W. abound with native copper. The chief fish are sturgeon and trout ; the latter being caught at all seasons, and said to weigh from twelve to fifty pounds. This part of the Sea of Canada opens into the Lake Huron, by the Straits of St. Mary, about 40 miles in length, and in some places only one or two miles in breadth ; with a Rapid towards the N. W. extremity, which may however be descended by canoes, and the prospects are here delightful. The storms on this large expanse of water are as dangerous as those on the ocean, the waves breaking more quick, and running nearly as high. The circumference of that part called Lake HURON is said to be about 1000 miles ; and on the northern side are some islands called Manatulan, implying the place of spirits. Another short strait leads into the third lake called MICHIGAN, also navigable for ships of any burthen. When the population of North America shall have diffused itself towards the west, these lakes may become the seats of flourishing cities, and of arts and sciences now unknown in Europe. Their latitude corresponds with that of the Black Sea, and the Gulf of Venice ; nor are the rigors of the Baltic here to be apprehended. From the descriptions it does not appear that these lakes are ever impeded with ice.\*

The Lake of Winnipeg or Winipic may also well aspire to the name of an inland sea : † but it yields considerably to the great Slave lake, or rather sea, a recent discovery, from which Mackenzie's river extends its course to the Arctic ocean. The Slave sea, according to Mr. Arrowsmith's maps, is about 200 miles in length, by 100 at its greatest breadth. The geography of this lake is rather imperfect ; and it is not improbable that

\* Mr. Morse, p. 136, says that these lakes never freeze, but the communications between them are frozen for a considerable time ; and Hudson River is impeded with ice for three months in the year. The climate however gradually becomes warmer.

† According to Mr. Mackenzie, p. lxii., this lake discharges itself into Hudson's Bay, by the river Nelson, an elongation of the Saskashawin. See Arrowsmith's map of North America, edition 1802.



other large lakes may be found in the western regions of North America, which remain unexplored.

The smaller lakes shall be briefly described in the divisions of territory to which they belong. It may here suffice to observe that there are probably above two hundred lakes of considerable size in North America; a singularity which distinguishes it from any other portion of the globe. A theorist might perhaps consider this an additional argument for the novelty of this continent, as the waters still cover so much of its surface.

In the ancient continent the rivers and mountains are usually confined within the limits of some great state, to which of course the description becomes appropriated. But in America these features are on so great a scale, that they pervade immense territories, divided among distinct nations, whence it would be difficult to assign a just arrangement. The river of Amazons, for example, pursues a long course in Spanish America, and an equal extent through the Portuguese territory, if the French do not now claim the northern shore. The river Mississippi, or rather Missouri, belongs in part to the American States and in part to Spain. Amidst this uncertainty, it seems preferable to describe the chief rivers and mountains under the general heads of North and South America.

Length of course seems universally and justly considered as the chief distinction of a river, which becomes noble as it were by the extent of its genealogy; while the great breadth and depth of a short stream issuing from a lake would deserve little attention. In this point of view the Mississippi is the most distinguished among the rivers of North America; its source having already been traced to three small lakes above lat.  $47^{\circ}$ , and it enters the sea in lat.  $29^{\circ}$ , after a comparative course of about 1400 British miles. Nay of late the sources of the Missouri (the chief stream) have been detected about 600 British miles more remote. The account of this noble river shall be transcribed from a recent system of American geography, as the author must have had several opportunities of being well informed.

“The Mississippi receives the waters of the Ohio and Illinois, and their numerous branches from the east; and of the Missouri, and other rivers, from the west.\* These mighty streams united are borne down with increasing majesty, through vast fo-

\* It is now known that the Missouri receives the Mississippi.

rests and meadows, and discharged into the Gulf of Mexico. The great length and uncommon depth of this river, says Mr. Hutchins, and the excessive mudiness and salubrious quality of its waters after its junction with the Missouri, are very singular. The direction of the channel is so crooked, that from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance which does not exceed 460 miles in a straight line, is about 856 by water. It may be shortened at least 250 miles, by cutting across eight or ten necks of land, some of which are not thirty yards wide. Charlevoix relates that in the year 1722, at Point Coupée, or Cut Point, the river made a great turn; and some Canadians, by deepening the channel of a small brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuosity of the stream was so violent, and the soil of so rich and loose a quality, that in a short time the point was entirely cut through, and travellers saved fourteen leagues of their voyage. The old bed has no water in it, the times of the periodical overflowings only excepted. The new channel has been since sounded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding bottom. Several other points of great extent, have, in like manner, been since cut off, and the river diverted into new channels.

“In the spring floods the Mississippi is very high, and the current so strong, that it is with difficulty it can be ascended; but this disadvantage is remedied in some measure by eddies, or counter currents, which are generally found in the bends close to the banks of the river, and assist the ascending boats. The current at this season descends at about the rate of five miles an hour. In autumn when the waters are low, it does not run faster than two miles, but it is rapid in such parts of the river as have clusters of islands, shoals, and sand banks. The circumference of many of these shoals being several miles, the voyage is longer, and in some parts more dangerous, than in the spring. The merchandise necessary for the commerce of the Upper Settlements, on or near the Mississippi, is conveyed in the spring and autumn in batteaux, rowed by eighteen or twenty men, and carrying about forty tons. From New Orleans to the Illinois the voyage is commonly performed in eight or ten weeks. A prodigious number of islands, some of which are of great extent, intersperse that mighty river. Its waters, after overflowing its banks below the river Iberville on the east, and the river Rouge

on the west, never return within them again, there being many outlets or streams by which they are conducted into the Bay of Mexico, more especially on the west side of the Mississippi, dividing the country into numerous islands. These singularities distinguish it from every other known river in the world. Below the Iberville the land begins to be very low on both sides of the river, across the country; and gradually declines as it approaches nearer to the sea. The island of New Orleans, and the lands opposite, are to all appearance of no long date, for in digging ever so little below the surface you find water, and great quantities of trees. The many beeches and breakers, as well as inlets, which have arisen out of the channel, within the last half century, at the several mouths of the river, are convincing proofs that this peninsula was wholly formed in the same manner. And it is certain that when La Salle sailed down the Mississippi to the sea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at present.

“The nearer you approach the sea this truth becomes more striking. The bars that cross most of these small channels, opened by the current, have been multiplied by means of the trees carried down by the streams; one of which, stopped by its roots or branches in a shallow part, is sufficient to obstruct the passage of thousands more, and to fix them at the same place. Astonishing collections of trees are daily seen in passing between the Balize and the Missouri. No human force is sufficient to remove them, and the mud carried down by the river serves to bind and cement them together. They are gradually covered, and every inundation not only extends their length and breadth, but adds another layer to their height. In less than ten years time, canes, shrubs, and aquatic timber, grow on them; and form points and islands which forcibly shift the bed of the river.

“Nothing can be asserted with certainty respecting the length of this river. Its source is not known, but supposed to be upwards of 3000 miles from the sea as the river runs. We only know that from St. Anthony's falls in lat. 45°, it glides with a pleasant clear current, and receives many large and very extensive tributary streams, before its junction with the Missouri, without greatly increasing the breadth of the Mississippi, though they do its depth and rapidity. The muddy waters of the Missouri discolor the lower part of the river, till it empties into the

Bay of Mexico. The Missouri is a longer, broader, and deeper river than the Mississippi, and affords a more extensive navigation; it is, in fact, the principal river, contributing more to the common stream than does the Mississippi. It has been ascended by French traders about 12 or 1300 miles; and from the depth of the water and breadth of the river at that distance, it appeared to be navigable many miles further. And in this year Captain Lewis was sent by the American government to explore the Missouri to its source; and from thence to pass forward to the Pacific Ocean. He went up the Missouri from its junction with the Mississippi, to the Rapids, below the great Falls of the Missouri 2572 miles, then by land crossing the rocky mountains to a navigable part of the Kooskooshe 340 miles, and on that river 73 miles—on Lewis' river 154 miles, and down the Columbia river to the Pacific Ocean 413 miles, making the total distance from the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean 3552 miles.

“From the Missouri river to nearly opposite the Ohio, the western bank of the Mississippi is, some few places excepted, higher than the eastern. From *Mine au Fer* to the Ibberville the eastern bank is higher than the western, on which there is not a single discernible rising or eminence for the distance of 750 miles. From the Ibberville to the sea there are no eminences on either side, though the eastern bank appears rather the highest of the two, as far as the *English turn*. Thence the banks gradually diminish in height to the mouths of the river, where they are but a few feet higher than the common surface of the water.

“The slime which the annual floods of the river Mississippi leave on the surface of the adjacent shores, may be compared with that of the Nile, which deposits a similar manure, and for many centuries past has insured the fertility of Egypt. When its banks shall have been cultivated, as the excellency of its soil and temperature of the climate deserve, its population will equal that of any other part of the world. The trade, wealth, and power of America may at some future period depend, and perhaps centre, upon the Mississippi. This also resembles the Nile in the number of its mouths, all issuing into a sea that may be compared to the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the north and south by the two continents of Europe and Africa, as the

Mexican Bay is by North and South America. The smaller mouths of this river might be easily stopped up by means of those floating trees, with which the river, during the floods, is always covered. The whole force of the channel being united, the only opening then left would probably grow deep, and the bar be removed.

“Whoever for a moment will cast his eye over a map of the town of New Orleans, and the immense country around it, and view its advantageous situation, must be convinced that it, or some place near it, must in process of time become one of the greatest marts in the world.

“The falls of St. Anthony, in about lat.  $45^{\circ}$ , received their name from: Father Lewis Hennepin, a French missionary, who travelled in these parts about the year 1680, and was the first European ever seen by the natives. The whole river, which is more than 250 yards wide, falls perpendicularly about thirty feet, and forms a most pleasing cataract. The Rapids below, in the space of 300 yards, render the descent considerably greater, so that when viewed at a distance they appear to be much higher than they really are. In the middle of the falls is a small island about 40 feet broad, and somewhat longer, on which grow a few scragged hemlock and spruce trees; and about half way between this island and the eastern shore is a rock lying at the very edge of the fall in an oblique position, five or six feet broad, and thirty or forty long. These falls are peculiarly situated, as they are approachable without the least obstruction from any intervening hill or precipice, which cannot be said of any other considerable fall perhaps in the world. The country around is exceedingly beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain, where the eye finds no relief, but composed of many gentle ascents, which in the spring and summer are covered with verdure, and interspersed with little groves, that give a pleasing variety to the prospect.

“A little distance below the falls is a small island of about an acre and a half, on which grow a great number of oak trees, almost all the branches of which able to bear the weight are, in the proper season of the year, loaded with eagles’ nests. Their instinctive sagacity has taught them to choose this place, as it is secure, on account of the rapids above, from the attacks of either man or beast.

"The Ohio is a most beautiful river. Its current gentle, waters clear, and bosom smooth and unbroken by rocks and rapids, a single instance only excepted. It is one quarter of a mile wide at Fort Pitt; 500 yards at the mouth of the Great Kanaway; 1200 yards at Louisville: and the rapids half a mile in some few places below Louisville: but its general breadth does not exceed 600 yards. In some places its width is not 400; and in one place particularly, far below the rapids, it is less than 300. Its breadth in no one place exceeds 1200 yards; and at its junction with the Mississippi neither river is more than 900 yards wide."

Mr. Morse proceeds to state the precise measurement of the length of the Ohio, with all its windings, from fort Pitt to its junction with the Mississippi, amounting to 1188 miles. The inundations commonly begin with April, and subside in July. A vessel drawing 12 feet water might safely navigate from Pittsburg to the sea. Ships of 200 to 300 tons are now built at Pittsburg, and in the spring or autumn are sent down the Ohio and Mississippi, (a voyage of above 2000 miles) for sale at New Orleans or elsewhere. Two great rivers unite to form the Ohio, namely the Monongahela, and the Allegany, both of them subservient to navigation.

The noble river of St. Lawrence is universally regarded as the second in North America, being not less than 90 miles wide at its mouth, and navigable for ships of the line as far as Quebec, a distance of 400 miles from the sea. Near Quebec it is five miles in breadth; and at Montreal from two to four. Though there be some rapids, yet this grand river may be considered as navigable to Kingston, and the Lake Ontario, 743 miles from the sea. It is difficult to define the precise source of the St. Lawrence, though that name be generally confined to the river issuing from Lake Ontario; while the Niagara, which flows from the Lake Erie, is regarded as a distinct stream. As in Asiatic geography the Angara is traced from the Sea of Baikal, without assuming the Selinga as a further source, so by analogy the St. Lawrence cannot be traced beyond the Lake Ontario, nor can geographical usage permit it to be traced to the Lake Superior; and far less, with Mr. Weld, to the Lake Winipic, which, according to the best maps, has no communication whatever with what has been called the Sea of Canada, consisting of

the joint Lakes Superior, Michigan, and Huron. The length of the St. Lawrence may therefore be about 700 British miles, the breadth being the grand characteristic.

The other chief rivers in North America are the Saskashawin, the Athabasca, the Unjiga or Mackenzie's river, the Rio Bravo, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico; that of Albany, which joins Hudson's Bay.

We shall defer the enumeration of the lesser rivers until we come to delineate more particularly the immense resources of the United States. We cannot however close this short Geographical Sketch without remarking how admirably the whole of North America, and more especially the United States, is fitted for the most intimate union: and strikingly nature has marked it out as the Seat of A Mighty Empire.

No part of the globe is so well watered with rivulets, navigable rivers, and lakes, as the territories of the United States. By means of these various streams and immense inland seas the whole country is divided into islands, and peninsulas. The facilities of navigation render the communication between the parts of Georgia and New Hampshire, far more expeditious and practicable than between those of Provence and Picardy, in France; Cornwall and Caithness, in Great Britain; or Galicia and Catalonia, in Spain. The canals opening between Susquehannah and Delaware, between Pasquetank and Elizabeth rivers, in Virginia, and between Schuylkil and Susquehannah, will form a communication from the Carolinas to the western counties of Pennsylvania and New York. The improvement of the Patomack will give a passage from the southern states to the western parts of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and even to the Lakes. From Detroit to Alexandria on the Patomack 607 miles, are only two carrying places which together do not exceed 40 miles. The canals of Delaware and Chesapeak will open the communication from South Carolina to New Jersey, Delaware, the most populous parts of Pennsylvania, and the midland counties of New York. Were these, and the canal between Ashley and Cooper rivers, in South Carolina, the canals in the northern parts of the State of New York, and those of Massachusetts and New Hampshire all opened, (and many of them are in great forwardness,) North America would thereby be converted into a cluster of large and fertile islands communi-

cating easily with each other at little expence, and in many instances without the uncertainty or danger of the seas.

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## NATURAL GEOGRAPHY.

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The mountains of North America are far from rivalling the Andes in the south. Some irregular ranges pervade the isthmus, but it seems mere theory to consider them as connected with the Andes, as they have neither the same character nor direction. In the isthmus there are also several volcanoes; but the natural history of Spanish America is extremely imperfect.

The most celebrated mountains in North America are those called the Apalachian, passing through the territory of the United States from the S. W. to the N. E. According to the best maps they commence on the north of Georgia, where they give source to many rivers running south to the Gulf of Mexico; and to the Tennessee and others running north. There are several collateral ridges, as the Iron or Bald Mountains, the White Oak Mountains, and others; the exterior skirt on the N. W. being the Cumberland Mountains. The Apalachian chain thence extends through the western territory of Virginia, accompanied with its collateral ridges, the breadth of the whole being often seventy miles, and proceeds through Pennsylvania, then passes Hudson river; and afterwards rises to more elevation, but seems to expire in the country of New Brunswick.

The chief summits appear to be in the province of New Hampshire; where the White Mountains are by some reported to be 9000 feet above the sea. For a particular account of these mountains see Morse's American Geography, p. 292. But the Duke de Rochefoucault says that no mountains in North America exceed the Vosges, or Wasgau. Kalm ii. 352, observes that the snow, even on the highest mountains, always melts during the summer. It may well be affirmed that the White Mountains cannot much exceed 4000 feet: and the glaciers of the Pyrenees at 9000 feet show the futility of the calculation. It is probable



that the highest mountains of North America are towards the western shores along the Pacific.

The Apalachian chain may thus extend about 900 geographical miles, a length unrivalled by any European mountains, except the Norwegian Alps. In no chain perhaps are the collateral ridges more distinct; and a naturalist would at once pronounce that the central, or highest, must be granitic, the next schistose, and the exterior belts calcareous. The granite seems commonly to consist of white felspar, bluish or rather pellucid quartz, and black mica. The schistose band, generally metaliferous in other regions here presents copper ore; and in Canada lead and silver are said to have been discovered. The limestone contains, as usual, many petrifications, particularly the cornu ammonis, a small scallop shell, and several sorts of corals. The height of the chief summits does not appear to be precisely ascertained, but probably does not exceed 3000 feet above the sea; and they are often clothed with forests. Mr. Weld conjectures that the Peaks of Otter, the highest of what are called the Blue Mountains, are little more than 2000 feet in height; and at any rate much inferior to that of Snowdon. The Alleghanic Mountains are from 1000 to 4000 feet high. The White Mountains in New Hampshire are visible 30 leagues at sea; and are said to be 7800 feet high.

The travels of the Duke de Rochefoucault in North America, present some valuable information concerning the orology. The primitive calcareous rock is mingled, in veins or banks, with the granitic, and is evidently contemporary. Near Philadelphia large pieces of talc appear, instead of Mica. There are also veins of hornblende, quartz, and marble, in the position of metallic veins. It is a remarkable feature in the mineralogy that the granitic mountains approach nearest to the sea, while at a greater distance the rocks are calcareous; and the red primitive limestone is sometimes covered with breccia, and argillaceous schistus. The lakes of Upper Canada are surrounded with calcareous rocks; while in Lower Canada, from Montreal to the sea, the granite predominates. At the isle of St. Helen this substance is apparent, and at the mountain of Beloeil displays much black schorl. The black slate of our traveller is the black schistose limestone of Calm. The rock of Quebec is said to consist of grey granite, mingled with schorls; and was called

the rock of diamonds, because quartz crystals were found. In the vicinity blocks of granite are mingled with limestone, and the bank of Newfoundland is supposed to be a mass of granite, covered with sand. Towards New York and Boston the rocks are of a soft granite interspersed with limestone and schistus; but towards Carolina and Florida the granitic mountains are at a considerable distance from the sea, which seems gradually to have retired. This observing traveller is of opinion that the highest mountains in North America do not exceed the elevation of the Vosges in France, that is perhaps 4 or 5000 feet.

But from the travels of Kalm, a far more skilful naturalist, it would appear that the rocks of North America often consist of a substance unknown to modern systems of mineralogy, and which may be termed *calcareous granite*, the absence of the felspar being supplied by primitive limestone. The Swedish traveller minutely describes this substance, as consisting of grey limestone, purple, or garnet colored quartz, and black mica. The limestone effervesces strongly with aquafortis; and there are some particles of felspar. Another mountain, near the river St. Lawrence, is composed of red felspar, black mica, white limestone, with grains of the purple or red quartz. Sometimes this calcareous granite is schistose, or assumes the form of gneiss. Part of the hills near the isle of Orleans is composed of grey quartz, reddish and grey limestone, and grains of sand. Near Fort St. Frederick, or Crown Point, Kalm observed fragments of granite mixed with schorl, without any calcareous addition; and he found ammonites about two feet in diameter. Towards the Lake Champlain he observed quantities of red sand, which seemed to be decomposed or pounded garnets. The Apalachian mountains he does not appear to have examined: but he mentions the calcareous granite as frequent in Pennsylvania, and often used in building at Philadelphia. He describes the lapis ollaris of New England, as sometimes spotted with starry asbestos; while green soap rock and amianthus are common in Pennsylvania. The hatchets of the savages were frequently of fine basalt; their knives of quartz and petrosilex; their kettles of lapis ollaris, grey or green; and their tobacco pipes of the same substance; but those of the chiefs, of beautiful red serpentine, from the west of the Mississippi.\*

\* Of the same description were the celebrated *Calumets*, or pipes of peace,

The mountains in the Isthmus, as well as those in the western part of North America, are certainly of far superior elevation: and in most maritime divisions of the old and new continents the highest mountains are towards the west, as their most precipitous sides uniformly front the west and south. But of the Isthmus, the kingdom of Mexico, and California, the natural history and geography are far from being clearly illustrated. In the province of Darien the Andes, according to the best maps, seem to expire in the ridge called Sierra Tagargona, which may be said to be lost in the sea on the west of the Gulf of Darien. This ridge with the Peak of Panama, belong to South America: but the inspection of any good map of this part will sufficiently show that the ridges in the province of Panama have not the smallest connexion with the Andes, but are scattered in every direction. On the west of that province, as already stated, a considerable chain passes north and south, which may be regarded as a natural division between the two great portions of America. This chain is called the Sierra de Canatagua. The ridges in Veragua also run N. and S. and on the west of that province is the volcano of Varu. Of the nature and height of the mountains in Mexico there is no particular account. Not far from Vera Cruz, Chappe D'Auteroche ascended a mountain of great height, which seems to have been volcanic; and he adds that the mountain of Orisaba is said to be the highest in that region, the snowy summit being visible from Mexico at the distance of twenty leagues.

On the western side of North America volcanoes have been observed by navigators; and one is said to exist in the province of New Hampshire.

In Florida, chiefly consisting of low grounds, the climate is insalubrious in the summer, when there is a kind of *mal avia* as in Italy; but the winters are mild and healthy. The climate of Louisiana is cold in the northern parts. In California epidemical distempers seem to be frequent; but the country has not been sufficiently examined by scientific observers. Moisture

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so called by the French settlers in Canada, from the Norman word *chabumeau*, the native term being *poagan*, and in the Iroquois *ganondao*. Lahontan, i. 270. He means the head of the Calumet, eight inches long; while the mouth projected about three inches; the pipe or stem, being about four or five feet in length, was probably of wood, and was adorned with feathers. Ib. 47.

seems to predominate in the Isthmus; but not to such a degree as in the South American province of Darien, where it may be said to rain for nine months of the year. The rains, however, temper the extreme heat, which would otherwise predominate in this climate. Violent storms are not unfrequent, and sometimes the lightning seems to rise from the ground. The maritime districts of Mexico are, however, hot and unhealthy, so as to occasion much perspiration even in January. The inland mountains, on the contrary, will sometimes present white frost and ice in the dog-days. In other inland provinces the climate is mild and benign, with some momentary snow in winter; but no artificial warmth is found necessary, and animals sleep all the year in the open sky. There are plentiful rains, generally after mid-day, from April till September, and hailstorms are not unknown. Thunder is frequent; and the earthquakes and volcanoes are additional circumstances of terror.

The face of the country is rather mountainous than plain, except towards the shores; but the mountains are interspersed with delightful vales, and the soil is generally fertile. In the northern provinces of Louisiana and Florida, the soil corresponds with that of Georgia, and the western settlements of the United States. Concerning New Mexico and California there is little minute and authentic information; but the testimony of La Perouse is greatly in favor of the latter.

The streams in the Isthmus are of a short course, and little remarkable in any respect. The principal river of Spanish North America is, beyond all comparison, the Rio Bravo, called also Del Norte, or of the northern star. The course of this important river, so far as its sources can yet be conjectured, may be about 1000 British miles; but its whole circuit probably exceeds that of the Danube. The nature of the shores, and the various appearances, and qualities of the waters, have not been illustrated.

Next in consequence would seem to be the Rio Colorado, on the east of the Bravo, whose comparative course may be about 700 British miles. Towards the west is a large river which flows into the Vermillion Sea, or Gulf of California, also called by D'Anville *Colorado*, with the addition *de los Martyres*; but the main stream seems rather to be the *Rio Grande de los Apostolos*, barbarous appellations imposed by the Jesuits who had set-

tlements in California. The course of this river may be computed at 600 British miles. Among the rivers of the Isthmus may be mentioned those of Palmas, of Panuco, Tabasco, Sumasinta, St. Juan, all flowing into the Gulf of Mexico. Those which join the Pacific seem mere rivulets; till, in the vicinity of Mexico, the mountains rather tend to the east, and the streams of Yopez, and Zacatula, join the Pacific Ocean. That of Guadaluaxara rises to the W. of Mexico; and being considered as passing through the Lake of Chapala will thus join the Pacific after a comparative course of 350 British miles.

The chief lake in Spanish North America, so far as yet explored, is that of Nicaragua, which is about 170 British miles in length, N. W. to S. E., and about half that breadth. This grand lake is situated in the province of the same name towards the south of the Isthmus, and has a great outlet, the river of St. Juan, to the Gulf of Mexico, while a smaller stream is by some supposed to flow into the Pacific. In the hands of an enterprising people this lake would supply the long wished for passage, from the Atlantic into the Pacific, and in the most direct course that could be desired. Nature has already supplied half the means; and it is probable that a complete passage might have been opened, at half the expence wasted in fruitless expeditions to discover such a passage by the north west, or the north east. This speculation must depend on circumstances; but if a passage were once opened, the force of the ocean would probably enlarge it; and a tribute at this new sound would be a considerable source of revenue. Among the more northern lakes that of Mexico is not only celebrated, but of considerable extent, being, according to the best maps, more than 30 British miles in length N. to S. if the part called Chalco be included. Towards the W. in this part, where the Isthmus begins to enlarge, there are several lakes, the principal being that of Chapala, which is about 60 British miles in length by 20 in breadth. The north western parts have been little explored, but probably contain some lakes of considerable extent. In West Florida are the lagoons of Pouchatryan and Maurepas; and in East Florida the lakes of Mayaco and George, with others of smaller note.

The whole of the Spanish territories in North America may be regarded as mountainous. The grand chain of the Andes seems to terminate, as already mentioned, on the west of the Gulf of

Darien in South America, but by others is supposed to extend to the Lake of Nicaragua. Even this extension would totally differ in its direction from the Andean range, as bending N. W., then S. W., then again N. W., so that the main range seems here lost, or passes through the Caribbean Sea in the isles of Mosquitos and others towards Jamaica; while the mountains in the south of the Isthmus, as far as the Lake of Nicaragua, must be regarded as only a branch, declining much in height, till it finally expires at that lake. In this point of view the ranges passing from N. to S. must be regarded as spurs of the main chain; but as on the one hand orology is confounded by minute and various appellations given to portions of the same range, so it may be equally perplexed by too extensive appellations; which, as in the case of the Taurus of the ancients, can only impart confused and erroneous ideas. The Mexican mountains seem to consist of gneiss, granite, &c., while the grand chain of the Andes has a most peculiar character, being composed of argillaceous schistus. It has already been observed that the ridge of Catnagua passes N. and S. between the provinces of Veragua and Panama. It is followed in the former province by the range called Urraca, and the Volcano of Varu; and by several ridges in Costa Rica.

To the north of the Lake of Nicaragua the main ridges often pass E. and W.; and the Sierra of Yucatan N. E. The chief summit of Nicaragua seems to be the Mamatombo. The volcano of Guatimala raged furiously during the earthquakes which ruined that great city in 1773. In the ancient kingdom of Mexico, which extended from near the Lake of Chapala in the north, to Chiapa, on the river Tabasco in the south, the summits rise to great height, as being the central parts of a range wholly unconnected with the Andes. Their direction has not been laid down with care or intelligence, more attention having been paid to the numerous volcanoes, than to the other grand features. D'Auteroche observes that the mountain of Orisaba is said to be the highest in Mexico; and its snowy summit is visible from the capital, a distance of 60 miles. This celebrated mountain is to the S. E. of Mexico, not far from the road to Vera Cruz: it became volcanic in 1545, and continued for twenty years; since which time there has been no appearance of inflammation. Though the summit be clothed with perpetual snow, the sides

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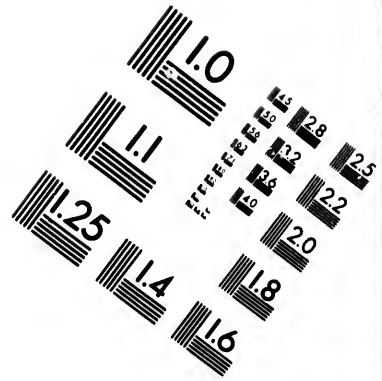
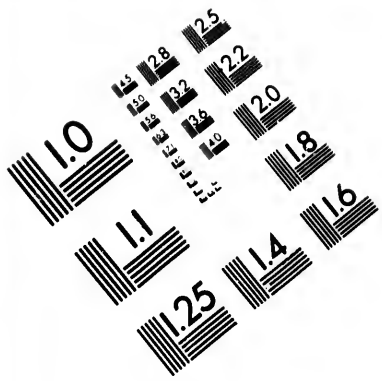
are adorned with beautiful forests of cedars, pines, and other trees. The detached mountains called by the Mexicans Popocatepec, and Iztaccihuatl, are also to the S. E. of the capital, at about 30 miles distance, both being volcanic. The crater of the former is said to be half a mile wide, and celebrated for ancient eruptions. Both are covered with perpetual snow. There are many other volcanoes in this singular province; while others are only remarkable for height, as the mountain of Tlascala, the Tentzon, Toloecam, and others; the range now extending in a N. W. direction towards Cinaloa, and being called the Sierra Mada, or Mother Range, and the Shining Mountains. It is afterwards, according to the best maps, joined by a ridge running N. W. from Louisiana; and after this junction passes through the north-west to the proximity of the arctic ocean, while the centre of North America consists of extensive and fertile plains.

The construction of the Mexican mountains has not been examined by any geologist. Among the substances basalt seems clearly indicated; and some others will be mentioned in the mineralogy. There are numerous forests on the sides of the mountains; and the peninsula of Yucatan is particularly abundant in logwood trees.

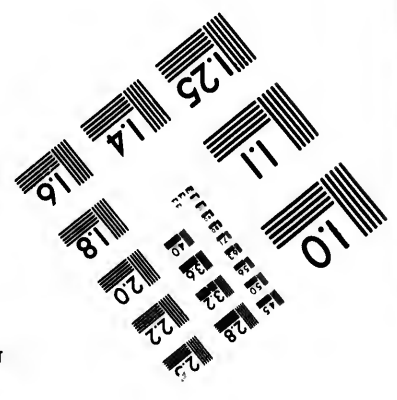
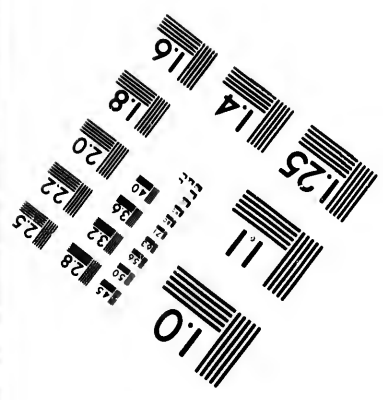
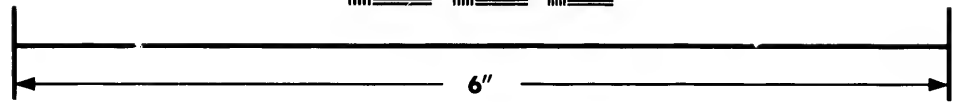
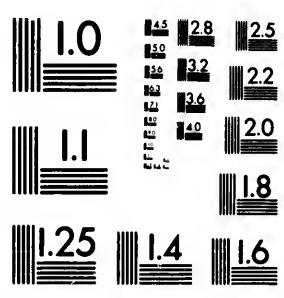
The plants that characterize the North American possessions of the Spanish crown are cactus cochenilifer, a species of the Indian fig, upon which the cochineal insect more particularly delights to feed: convolulus jalapa, the true jalap, a native of the province of Xalappa, in the viceroyalty of Mexico; copaifera officinalis and toluifera balsamum, two trees that yield the fragrant gum resins known in commerce by the name of balsam of Capivi and of Tolu. The shores of the bays of Honduras and Campechy have been celebrated from their very first discovery for their immense forests of mahogany and logwood; and the neighbourhood of Guatemala is distinguished for its indigo. The guayacum, the sassafras and tamarind, the cocoa nut palm, the chocolate nut tree, and a variety of others, which are better known as natives of the West Indian islands, enrich and adorn these fertile provinces. The pine apple grows wild in the woods and the shallow rocky soils are inhabited by the various species of aloe and euphorbia. A few Mexican plants have been introduced into European gardens, among which may be noticed the *salvia fulgens*, glowing with its crimson blossoms, the splendid







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dahlia, the elegant striated *sisyrinchium*, the gigantic *helianthus*, and the delicate *mentzelia*.

The zoology has been ably illustrated by Hernandez, styled the Pliny of New Spain, who flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century. The variety of animals is great, though it do not equal that of the plants and minerals. Among the most singular animals is, the Mexican, or hunchback dog, a kind of porcupine; and some others described by several naturalists. What is called the tiger seems a species of panther, and sometimes grows to a great size, though Buffon, ever fond of theory, asserts that American animals are generally small. In South America it attains the length of a large ox, as appears from the testimony of Dobrizhoffer; but Clavigero says that the largest quadruped is the Danta, Anta, or Tapir, about the size of a middling mule, being amphibious. This animal seems to be different from the Lanta or Danta of Africa, described by Leo; but the identity of the name tends to corroborate the idea that America was peopled from Africa. The bison is found in New Mexico; and the musk cattle may perhaps extend as far. In California there are said to be wild sheep. The birds of New Spain are particularly numerous and curious.

The mineralogy of the Spanish empire in North America is equal, if not superior, to that of Peru, and the other southern provinces. Even in the northern parts nature has disclosed her treasures: the abundance of gold found in the province of Sonora has already been mentioned; and California is supposed to contain rich minerals. The silver mines in New Spain, though they do not contend with Potosi, have long maintained great celebrity. Those of Sacotecas, or Zacatecas, are particularly distinguished. The produce of the Mexican mines, as already mentioned, has by some been computed at ten millions yearly; but the whole amount of the American mines probably does not exceed seven millions and a half; of which it cannot be supposed that North America produces more than two-thirds. The ancient Mexicans found gold in many of their rivers; and silver was dug up, but little esteemed. The chief silver mines are now to the north-west of the capital, where there is a town called Luis de Potosi, more than 200 British miles from Mexico. These mines are said to have been discovered soon after those of Potosi, 1545: they are in a considerable range of mountains,

which give source to the River of Panuco. Concerning the nature of these mines, and the manner of working them, the Spanish writers seem to be silent.

Copper is said to abound in some districts to the west of the capital; and tin is also mentioned among the Mexican minerals. Mercury is likewise reported to have been found in Mexico, and there was a celebrated mine in Peru; but both seem to be now exhausted, as the chief supply is from Spain. Amber and asphalt likewise occur in New Spain: and among the precious stones a few diamonds, with amethysts and turquoises, but the list is imperfect, and perhaps erroneous. The mountains also produce jasper, marble, alabaster, magnet, steatite, jad, talc. The stone called *tetzontli*, red and porous, was used in building, being perhaps a kind of tufa. The *itzli* is semi-transparent, of a glassy substance, and generally black, but also found white and blue: it was used in mirrors; and also for sharp instruments, being the same called *pietra del Galinazzo* in South America, the obsidian or volcanic glass of modern mineralogy.

There are several mineral waters of various qualities, sulphureous, vitriolic, and alumenous; and some springs of great heat, but none seem particularly distinguished. Besides the volcanoes there are many natural curiosities, one of the most remarkable being the Pont de Dios, or Bridge of God, resembling the natural bridge in the territory of the United States. It is about 100 miles S. E. from Mexico, near the village of Molcaxac. over a deep river called the Aquetoyaque, and is constantly passed as a highway; but it seems uncertain whether the river have worn the passage through a rocky mountain, or the fragment be part of a fallen hill detached by an earthquake. There are many romantic cataracts, among which must be mentioned those of the river Guadalaxara, between the city of the same name and the Lake of Chapala. The floating gardens in the Lake of Mexico were artificial curiosities, the bottom being formed of intertwined willows.

The climate of the United territories, is chiefly remarkable for sudden transitions from heat to cold, and the contrary. The wind from the north-west is violently cold, as it passes a wide expanse of the frozen continent. In the plains on the east of the Apalachian chain the summer heats are immoderate; and in some places even ice will not preserve poultry or fish from putre-

faction. Towards the mountains the climate is salutary even in the southern states, as is evinced by the bloom of the damsels in the back settlements of Virginia. In the northern states the winter is longer and more severe than in England, but the summer heat more intense. A N. E. wind commonly attends rain, while on the west side of the Apalachian mountains a S. W. has that effect. In Georgia the winter is very mild, snow being seldom seen, and the east wind is there the warmest.

This excessive heat of the plains must be regarded as one cause of that fatal pestilential malady called the yellow fever, which first appeared at Philadelphia in 1793, and has since too frequently repeated its ravages in various cities of the commonwealth.

The seasons in the United States generally correspond with those in Europe, but not with the equality to be expected on a continent; as, even during the summer heats, single days will occur which require the warmth of a fire. The latitude of Labrador corresponds with that of Stockholm, and that of Canada with France, but what a wide difference in the temperature! Even the estuary of the Delaware is generally frozen for six weeks every winter. Nor does the western coast of North America seem warmer than the eastern. The numerous forests, and wide expanses of fresh water, perhaps contribute to this comparative coldness of the climate, which may gradually yield to the progress of population and industry.

The face of these extensive territories is not so minutely diversified as might have been expected, the features of nature being here on a larger and more uniform scale than in Europe. Nor are there any scenes of classical or historical reminiscence, which transport the mind to remote centuries, and impart a crowd of relative ideas. The abundance of timber, and the diversity of the foliage, contribute greatly to enrich the landscape; but it is here reputed a weed, and the planter seldom spares trees near his habitation, as the roots having no great room to spread or penetrate, they would be dangerous during a violent wind. "What a beautiful country, not disgraced by a single tree," is an idea purely American. The landscape is less ennobled by lofty mountains than by rivers of great magnitude; and is frequently injured by the barren aspect of large fields, which have been exhausted by the culture of tobacco, and which

scarcely produce a weed or a pile of grass. The northern provinces called New England are generally hilly, as they approach the skirts of the Apalachian chain, which has, by no unfit similitude, been called the spine of the United territory. The vales in these northern regions are thickly clothed with wood, and often pervaded by considerable rivers; and many romantic cascades are formed by rivulets falling from the rocks, while towards the shore the land is level and sandy. In Virginia, a central state, the Blue Mountains, and other ridges of the Apalachian, add great charms and variety to the prospect, which is further enlivened by many beautiful plants and birds, particularly the humming bird, sucking the honey of various flowers, and rapidly glancing in the sun its indescribable hues of green, purple, and gold. Here a plain from 150 to 200 miles in breadth, reaching from the mountains to the sea, is studded with the villas of rich proprietors, the ancient hospitable country gentlemen of the United States. Similar levels appear in the Carolinas and Georgia. Beyond the Apalachian ridges extends another rich plain of amazing size, pervaded by the muddy waves of the Mississippi, which does not appear to be table land, but on nearly the same level with the eastern plain. In Kentucky the surface is agreeably waved with gentle swells, reposing on a vast bed of limestone; and a track of about twenty miles along the Ohio is broken into small hills and narrow vales.

The soil, though of various descriptions, is generally fertile, often on the east of the Blue Mountains, a rich brown loamy earth, sometimes a yellowish clay, which becomes more and more sandy towards the sea. Sometimes there are considerable marshes, and what are called salt meadows, and spots called barrens, which, even in the original forests, are found to be bare of trees for a considerable space. On the west of the Apalachian chain the soil is also generally excellent; and in Kentucky some spots are deemed too rich for wheat, but the product may amount to sixty bushels an acre: and about six feet below the surface there is commonly a bed of limestone. The vales in the northern states are also very productive.

Aboriginal forests are so numerous throughout the United territory, that none seem to be particularly distinguished. There does not appear to exist, on the whole continent of America, any of those sandy deserts which are so remarkable in Asia and

Africa. There is, on the contrary, an exuberance of water even in the most torrid regions; which might be added as a proof of the theory that this continent has more recently emerged. Even the volcanoes in South America often pour down torrents of water and mud, and no where occur the sandy ruins of plains, after the fertile soil has been totally lost, or the rocky skeletons of ancient mountains. The large tract in the eastern part of Virginia and North Carolina, called the Dismal Swamp, occupies about 150,000 acres; but it is entirely covered with trees, juniper and cypress on the more moist parts, and on the drier white and red oaks, and a variety of pines. These trees attain a prodigious size; and among them there is often thick brushwood, so as to render the swamp impervious, while other forests in North America are commonly free from underwood. Cane reeds, and tall rich grass, soon fatten cattle of the vicinity, which are taught to return to the farms of their own accord. In this swampy forest bears, wolves, deer, and other wild animals abound; and stories are told of children having been lost, who have been seen, after many years, in a wild state of nature. Some parts are so dry as to bear a horse, while some are overflowed, and others so miry that a man would sink up to the neck. A canal has been led through it; and even in the dry parts water of the color of brandy, as is supposed from the roots of the junipers, gushed in at the depth of three feet. In the northern part the timber supplies an article of trade, while in the southern rice is found to prosper; and in the neighbourhood none of these diseases are known which haunt other marshy situations.

Georgia presents a singular marsh, or in the wet season a lake, called Ekansanoka, by others Ouaquafenoga, in the S. E. extremity of the province. This marshy lake is about 300 miles in circumference, and contains several large and fertile isles; one of which is represented by the Creek Indians as a kind of paradise, inhabited by a peculiar race, whose women are incomparably beautiful, and are called by them daughters of the sun. These islanders are said to be a remnant of an ancient tribe, nearly exterminated by the Creeks. Such events may not have been uncommon among savage tribes; and the more industrious people who erected the noted forts may have been passing, like the Mexicans, to a comparative state of civilization, when an un-

happy defeat, by more savage tribes extinguished their name and power. That the natives have no memory of such transactions is not matter of wonder, for their traditions can scarcely exceed a century or two at the utmost.

A country that experiences on one frontier the severity of the Canadian winters, and on the other basks in the full radiance of the West Indian summers, may naturally be expected to contain no small variety of native plants. So numerous and important indeed are they, as to render it impossible in a work not devoted particularly to the subject to notice them as they deserve; we must therefore be contented with the selection of such alone as, from their utility and beauty, have the strongest claim to our attention.

The botany of these states, including the Floridas, or, in other words, of the whole region extending eastward from the Mississippi to the ocean, and southward from the river St. Lawrence with its lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, may be divided into those vegetables which are common to the whole country, and those that occupy only particular parts.

The most generally diffused species among the timber trees are the willow-leaved oak (*quercus phellos*) growing in the swamps; the chestnut oak (*quercus prinus*), which in the southern states attains an enormous size, and is almost as valuable for its sweet farinaceous acorns as for its wood; the white oak; the red and the black. Next to these in rank are two kinds of walnut, the black, and the white or the hickory, esteemed for its oily nuts. The chestnut and beech of Europe are also found abundantly in the American forests. The tulip tree and sassafras laurel, more impatient of cold than the preceding, appear as shrubs on the Canadian borders, rise into trees in the midland states, and on the warm banks of the Altamaha attain the full perfection of stateliness and beauty. The sugar maple, on the contrary, is seen only on the northern sides of the hills in the southern states, and increases both in size and frequency in the more bracing climate of the New England provinces. The sweet gum tree (*liquidambar styraciflua*), the iron wood (*carpinus ostrya*), the nettle tree (*celtis occidentalis*), the American elm, the black poplar, and the taccamahacca, appear in every state of the Union wherever the soil is suitable, without being much affected by variety of climate. The light sandy



tracts, both wet and dry, are principally inhabited by the important and useful family of pines; of these the chief species are the Pennsylvanian fir, the common and the hemlock spruce fir; the black, the white, and the Weymouth pine; and the larch: nearly allied to which are the arbor vitæ, and the juniperis virginiana, the red cedar of America. The smaller trees and shrubs that are dispersed in all parts of the United States, among a multitude of others, consist of the following; the fringe tree (*chionanthus*), the red maple, the sumach and poison oak (*rhus radicans*), the red mulberry, the persimmon plum, the robinia pseudacacia, and the triple-thorned acacia (*gleditsia triacantha*).

Such of the common herbaceous plants and low shrubs as are best known to the generality of readers from their introduction into the gardens of Great Britain are the collinsonia, used by the Indians against the bite of the rattlesnake, several gay species of the phlox, the thornapple, the Pennsylvanian lily and golden martagon, the biennial oenothera, with many species of aster, monarda, and rudbeckia.

The mountainous ridges are not sufficiently high to be rich in alpine plants; their climate however is sensibly cooler than that of the plains, on which account those of the south are inhabited by the vegetables of Pennsylvania and the northern states, while the highlands of these abound in the plants of Canada.

But the glories of the American flora are principally confined to Virginia and the southern states; it is here that the unfading verdure of the wide savannas, the solemn magnificence of the primeval forests, and the wild exuberance of the steaming swamps, offer to the astonished admiration of the botanist every thing that by color, by fragrance, and by form, can delight the senses and fix the attention.

Among the vegetables that inhabit the low shores of the Floridas, Georgia, and South Carolina, may be distinguished the mangrove tree, the only shrubby plant that can flourish in salt-water, the fragrant and snowy-flowered *pancratium* of Carolina, and the splendid *lobelia cardinalis*.

The low ridges of calcareous soil running parallel with the rivers, and rising from the level savannas into extensive lawns and swelling hills, are generally covered with open or entangled woods, except where they have been converted into tillage by the industry of the inhabitants. In these rich tracts grow the lofty palmetto,

the evergreen oak, the sweet bay (*laurus borbonia*), the benzoe laurel, the common laurel, the wide shading broom pine, and the red cedar. The strait silvery columns of the papaw fig, rising to the height of twenty feet, and crowned by a canopy of broad sinuated leaves, form a striking feature in this delicious scenery; while the golden fruit and fragrant blossoms of the orange, here realise the ancient traditions of the groves of the Hesperides. Superior however to all these is the towering magnificence of the great magnolia: in this rich marly soil it rises above a hundred feet, with a perfectly erect trunk, supporting a shady conical head of dark green foliage: from the centre of the coronets of leaves that terminate the branches expands a large rose-shaped blossom of pure white, which is succeeded by a crimson cone, containing the seeds of a beautiful coral red color, and these falling from their cells remain for several days suspended from the seed vessel by a silky thread, six inches or more in length, so that whether in this state or in blossom it is second to none for grandeur and beauty.

The level plains by the sides of rivers, and therefore generally in a flooded state during the whole rainy season, are called savannas. The trees that grow upon them are of the aquatic kind, such as *magnolia glauca*, or beaver tree, American olive, and *gordonia lasianthus*, silvered over with fragrant blossoms: these are generally either single, or grouped together into small open groves, while the larger part of the meadow is overgrown with long succulent herbage, intermixed with shrubs and plants; the candleberry myrtle, with numerous species of azaleas, *kalmias*, *andromedas*, and *rhododendrons*, arranged by the hand of nature into thickets and shrubberies, entwined and over-arched by the crimson *granadilla*, or the fantastic *clitoria*, here display their inimitable beauties in full luxuriance. The sides of the pools and the shallow plashes are adorned by the bright cærulean flowers of the *ixia*, the golden blossoms of the *canna lutea*, and the rosy tufts of the *hydrangia*, while the edges of the groves, and the dubious boundaries of the savannas, rising imperceptibly towards the forests, are fringed by innumerable gay varieties of the *phlox*, by the shrinking sensitive plant, the irritable *dionæa*, the glowing *amaryllis atamasco*, and the impenetrable ranks of the royal palmetto (*yucca gloriosa*).

The swamps are at all times, even in the height of summer,

for the most part under water, and are distinguished from the rest of the country by the crowded stems of the cane (*arundo gigantea*), the light foliage of the tupelo tree (*nyssa aquatica*), the taccamahacca, the fringe tree, and the white cedar (*cupressus disticha*); this last is perhaps the most picturesque tree in all America: four or five enormous buttresses or rude pillars rise from the ground, and unite in a kind of arch at the height of about seven feet, and from this centre there springs a straight column eighty or ninety feet high, without a branch: it then divides into a flat umbrella-shaped top, covered with finely divided leaves of the most delicate green. This platform is the secure abode of the eagle and the crane; and the oily seeds contained in its cones are the favorite repast of the paraquets that are constantly fluttering around.

Hundreds more of interesting plants yet remain, and we might go on to describe with unabated pleasure the profusion of various colored lupines and dwarf palmettos that relieve the dusky hue of the pine forests in which they live; the wild vines, the gourds, the bignonias, and other climbers that display to the sun their fruits and glowing blossoms above the summits of the tallest trees; we might describe the tent-like shade of the platanus, the regal splendor of the crimson-flowered horse chestnut, and the humbler, less obtrusive, yet not less exquisite beauties of the meadia, the spigelia (Indian pink), and gaura, but these our limits will not admit; it is enough for the present purpose to have sketched some of the characteristic features in the botany of a country, the most accessible of all the warmer climates to the investigations of European science.

The domestic zoology of the United States nearly corresponds with that of the parent country, with some few shades of difference in size and color. Among the larger wild animals may be mentioned the bison, large herds of which used to be seen near the Mississippi, and they were once very numerous in the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The musk bull and cow only appear in the more western regions, beyond the Mississippi. Among the animals now lost are classed the mammoth, whose enormous bones are particularly found near the salt springs upon the Ohio; and teeth of the hippopotamus are said to have been dug up in Long Island: but the labors of a late French naturalist have evinced that such remains often belong to ani-

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nals long since extirpated, and of which he has traced more than twenty kinds. The mammoth of America, though armed with tusks of ivory, has been supposed to be even five or six times larger than the elephant; but the bones are probably the same with those of the supposed elephant found in Siberia. In 1800, on the shore of the Frozen Ocean, near the mouth of the river Lena, the body of a mammoth was observed, imbedded in blocks of ice.—In the summer of 1804, the ice melted, and the body fell to the ground; a Tonquese Chief cut off its horns, three yards long, and a drawing of it was made.—It had pointed ears, small eyes, hoofs like a horse, and a bristly main along the back.—In 1806 the skeleton was found entire, and the flesh and skin remaining on the under side: the skin remaining, required 10 men to carry it, it was covered with reddish hair and bristles 2 feet long.—The entire carcase measured  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, and 14 feet from the tip of the nose to the beginning of the tail—(for, trunk and tail it had none)—the head weighed 460 pounds.—The skeleton is now at Petersburg. The moose deer are become extremely rare, and probably in no long time will be utterly extirpated, as the wolf and boar have been in Britain. The black moose deer are said to have been sometimes 12 feet in height, while the species called the grey seldom exceed the height of a horse. Both have large palmated horns, weighing 30 or 40 pounds. Mr. Pennant mentions a pair that weighed 56 pounds, the length being 32 inches. The moose deer is only a large species of the elk, and is found in the northern parts of the United States; while the rein deer inhabits the northern regions of British America. The American stag rather exceeds the European in size, and is seen in great numbers feeding in the rich savannahs of the Missouri and Mississippi, where there are also herds of that kind called the Virginian deer.

In the northern states are two kinds of bears, both black; but that carnivorous animal called the ranging bear is found in all the states, as is the wolf. Several kinds of foxes are also seen: and the wolverine seems a kind of bear. The animal most dreaded is the catamount, or cat of the mountains, found in the northern and middle states, and is probably the same with the *puma* of Pennant, which he says is sometimes in North America called the panther. One killed in New Hampshire was six feet in length, and the tail three; but the length of the leg

did not exceed twelve inches. The *cougar* is about five feet in length, and in the southern states is called the tiger: but it is well known that the ferocious animals of the new continent are totally different from those of the old, there being neither lions, tigers, leopards, nor panthers, in the whole extent of America. A German missionary, who resided twenty-two years in Paraguay, describes the tiger of that country as marked with black spots, sometimes on a whitish, sometimes on a yellowish, ground; and says that as the lions of Africa far exceed those of Paraguay, so the African tigers greatly yield in size to the American; which may be just, as the royal tiger seems peculiar to Asia. But he adds that he has seen the skin of a tiger three ells and two inches in length, or equal to that of a large ox. This animal easily carries off a horse or an ox; and seems to exceed in size any American beast of prey admitted in the system of Buffon, whose fondness for theories is often to be lamented; and his *jaguar*, or American tiger, seems only a diminutive species.

The lynx, the ocelot, and the margay, are smaller beasts of prey, of the cat kind. These and many other animals supply furs. The beaver is well known from the fur, and the singular formation of his cabin, built in ponds for the sake of security; but he seems to feed on the twigs of trees, and not on fish, as commonly supposed. This industrious animal is found in all the states, and is somewhat imitated by the musk rat, who likewise builds his hut in shallow streams. Some kinds of monkeys are said to be found in the southern states. The morse or sea cow, and the seal, used to frequent the northern shores; and the manati, common in South America, is said sometimes to appear on the southern coasts: this animal, which has fore feet like hands, and a tail like a fish, while the breasts of the female resemble those of a woman, seems to be the mermaid of fable.

Among the birds there are many kinds of eagles, vultures, owls, and numerous sorts called by European names, though generally different in the eye of the naturalist. The bird called a turkey is peculiar to America, and abounds in the north. They were brought from Mexico to Spain, and from Spain to England about 1524; the African poultry, or *meleagrides*, of more ancient authors, being Guinea fowls. There are also birds which resemble the partridge, ptarmigan, and quail, of Europe. Vir-

Virginia abounds with beautiful birds, among which is the humming bird, as already mentioned, while the wakon resembles the bird of paradise: and it may be conceived that vast varieties of aquatic birds crowd the numerous lakes and rivers, the largest being the wild swan, which sometimes weighs thirty-six pounds. Some of the frogs are of remarkable size; and the tortoise, or turtle, supplies a delicious food, while the alligator is not unknown in the southern rivers. Of serpents Mr. Morse enumerates near forty kinds found in the United territories, Virginia, in particular, producing great numbers. The rattlesnake is the largest, being from four to six feet in length, and is one of the most dreaded. Among the fish are most of those which are esteemed in Europe; and among those that are peculiar may be mentioned that large kind of white trout found in the lakes.

The mineralogy of the United States will not supply an extensive theme, as few substances are found, except those which are indeed the most precious to industry, iron and coal. In the district of Main the founderies are supplied with bog iron ore; and there is said to be a kind of stone which yields copperas, or vitriol and sulphur. Iron ore is found in great abundance in Massachussetts, where there are considerable manufactures. Copper ore also appears in that province with black lead, aluminous slate; and asbestos is said to be found in a quarry of limestone. In Rhode Island there are mines of iron and copper; and at Diamond Hill a variety of curious stones.\* On the banks of the Connecticut is a lead mine, but too expensive to work; and zinc is also found, with talcs, and crystals of various colors. At Philipsburg in New York is a silver mine; and lead, zinc, and manganese, with copper and coal. Gypsum, talc, asbestos, also occur in that extensive province. In New Jersey a rich copper mine was long wrought, pretended to have been discovered by a flame visible in the night, like one of the gold mines in Hungary. The middle provinces seem only to produce iron ore; but Virginia is celebrated for various minerals. A lump of gold ore was found near the falls of the river Kapahanoc, probably rolled down from its source, or that of some tributary rivulet.† There are lead mines which yield from 50 to

\* Native copper is found on the river Tonnagan, which runs into Lake Superior. Mackenzie, xli.

† In 1804, a bed of gold ore was discovered in North Carolina, in a creek

80 pounds from 100 of ore: copper and black lead are also found; and there is abundance of excellent coal on both sides of James-river, said to have been discovered by a boy in pursuit of cray fish. Coal also abounds towards the Mississippi and Ohio; and at Pittsburg is of superior quality: but this valuable mineral is chiefly worked in Virginia, where the beds seem very extensive. Limestone is rare on the east of the Blue ridge; but there is a vein of marble which crosses James-river. Amethysts, or violet-colored crystals, are also found in Virginia; and it is probable that the emerald mentioned by Mr. Jefferson was only a green crystal. North Carolina is crossed by a long ridge of limestone, in a south westerly direction, but no minerals seem to have been discovered. In the territory south of the Ohio, what is called stone-coal is found in the Cumberland mountains, or great Laurel ridge, (supposed by some to be of great height,) and there are salt springs near the upper branches of the Tennessee. In South Carolina there are said to be appearances of silver and lead, with abundance of iron ore, and quarries of free-stone; but the coarse diamonds are probably mere crystals of quartz. Georgia, the most southern state, is of a rich soil; but beside a bank of oyster shells, 90 miles from the sea, there seems no mineralogic discovery.\*

There are several mineral waters, of various virtues, in different provinces of the United States, but none of distinguished eminence like Bath, or Aix-la-Chapelle. In the province of Vermont, or the Green Mountain, there is a remarkable sulphureous spring, which dries up in two or three years, and bursts out in another place. There are several mineral springs in Massachusetts, but little frequented, and there is another at Stafford in Connecticut. Those of Saratoga, in the province of New York, are remarkably copious, and surrounded with singular petrifications. They are considerably frequented, as well as those of New Lebanon in the same country. New Jersey boasts of some chalybeate waters; and near Isle Creek in Pennsylva-

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running through the grounds of Mr. John Read, by his sons who were fishing, and who have since often picked up 100 to 120 pennyweights in a day.—Mr. Read himself picked up one lump of ore weighing 28 pennyweights, supposed to be worth £1400 sterling.

\* Oysters are however found in the rivers at a considerable distance from the sea, as appears from Mr. Weld and other authors. According to Imlay, 135, there is a very rich vein of copper on the river Wabash,



via on the river Allegany, or Ohio, there is a spring which yields petroleum, said to be useful in rheumatic complaints. Two warm springs occur in Virginia, one of them 112°. These are called the springs of Augusta; but others more frequented are near the river Patomack. A bituminous spring was discovered on the estate of General Washington, which easily takes fire, and continues burning for some time. The salt springs in Kentucky also deserve mention; and there are others in the province of Tennessee. In Georgia, near the town of Washington, there is a remarkable spring rising from a hollow tree, which is incrustated with matter probably calcareous.

The natural curiosities of the United States are numerous, and have been investigated with that laudable intention, which has been particularly directed by the English towards such interesting appearances. Besides the irruption of the river Patomack through the Blue Mountains, and other objects already mentioned, the principal uncommon features of nature shall be briefly indicated from Mr. Morse's American Geography. In Vermont there is a remarkable impendent ledge of rocks, about 200 feet high, on the west bank of the river Connecticut; and in the same province is a curious stalactitic cave, in which, after a descent of 104 feet, there opens a spacious room about 20 feet in breadth, and 100 in length, with a circular hall at the further end, at the bottom of which boils up a deep spring of clear water. Rattlesnake Hill in New Hampshire presents a stalactitic cave; and near Durham is a rock so poised on another, as to move with one finger; a natural remain of a ruined hill, though in England it would be called Druidical. The rivulet in Massachusetts, called Hudson's Brook, has excavated in a fantastic manner a large rock of white marble. The falls of the river Powow, in the same province, are not only curious in themselves, but present many grotesque mills, and other monuments of industry; and a similar appearance occurs on the river Pautukit in Rhode Island. In Connecticut is a cave which was for some time the retreat of Whaley and Goffe, two of the Judges of Charles I.

In the province of New York a rivulet runs under a hill about 70 yards in diameter, forming a beautiful arch in the rock; and there is a stalactitic cave in which was found the petrified skeleton of a large snake. The falls of the Mohawk river, call-



ed Cohoz, are more remarkable for the width of the stream, than from the height of the descent. There is a beautiful cascade in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, over a semicircular rock of marble. In Pennsylvania there are also some remarkable caves, one of which resembles a church with pillars and monuments. In the territory on the N. W. of the Ohio, the savannas, or rich plains, extend for 30 or 40 miles without any tree; they are crowded with deer, wild cattle, and turkies, and often visited by bears and wolves; but this district is chiefly remarkable for a number of old forts, of an oblong form, with an adjoining tumulus, or tomb. As the Mexicans have a tradition that they passed from the north, these forts may perhaps be remains of their first residence, or of some nation which they subdued. In the western part of Maryland there are said to be some remarkable caves: and others occur in Virginia, particularly that called Madison's cave, on the N. W. side of the Blue ridge, extending about 300 feet into the solid limestone. The blowing cave emits a strong current of air, particularly in frosty weather. The natural bridge is a sublime and striking curiosity, being a rock covered with soil and trees, across a chiasm, appearing to have been opened in the course of ages by a brook, which now runs between 2 and 300 feet beneath. The breadth of this bridge is about 60 feet; and the thickness of the mass about 40. The rock is limestone, which easily wastes by the attrition of water, whence the number of caverns in that kind of rock, while in the granitic, or argillaceous they rarely occur. In Kentucky the banks of the river so called, and of Dick's river, are sometimes 400 feet in height of limestone, or white marble; and there are said to be caverns of some miles in length, thus rivalling the celebrated cave in Carinthia. The territory on the south of the Ohio (Tennessee) presents a remarkable ledge of rocks in the Cumberland mountains, about 20 miles in length, and 200 feet thick, with a perpendicular face to the S. E. The *whirl* is more grand than the irruption of the Patomack through the Blue ridge: the Tennessee, which a few miles above is half a mile wide, contracts to 100 yards, and forces its way through this outer ridge of the Apalachian, forming a whirlpool by striking against a large rock. In Georgia the chief curiosity is a large bank of oyster shells, 90 miles from the sea, to which it runs nearly parallel: if the river Savannah

never passed in that direction, it is probable that the land has gained so far on the ocean.

The chief islands belonging to the United States are Long Island, (the province called Rhode Island being continental, with two or three small islands attached :\*) and a few insular stripes of land near the shores of North Carolina. The others, scattered along the coast, and in the various bays and lakes, are of little consequence.

Those parts of North America which still belong to Great Britain are extensive, and of considerable importance, though so thinly peopled, and in such a disadvantageous climate, that they sink into insignificance, when compared with the great and flourishing colony belonging to Spain, or with the territories of the United States. The inhabitants of the former have been estimated at 7,000,000, and those of the States at 5,000,000; while those of the British possessions scarcely exceed 200,000 souls, and the far greater part are French and indigenes.

The chief of these possessions is Canada, now divided into two provinces, called Upper and Lower Canada, the former being the western division, on the north of the great Lakes or Sea of Canada; while the lower division is on the river St. Lawrence towards the east, and contains Quebec the capital, and the chief city of our remaining settlements.

On the east of Canada, to the south of the river St. Lawrence is Nova Scotia: which in 1784 was divided into two provinces, that of Nova Scotia in the south, and New Brunswick in the north.

What is called New Britain comprehends the most northern parts towards Hudson's Bay, and the coast of Labrador. The large island of Newfoundland; that called Cape Breton; and the neighbouring isle St. John; complete the chief denominations of British territory. But in the English maps, while Greenland is assigned to Denmark, all the other most northern parts of America, on the east and on the west, as far south as the port of Sir Francis Drake, are impressed with the color of British territory. By the right of prior, or at least of more complete and precise, discovery, the western coast might be

\* Rhode Island, which gives name to the State, is about thirteen miles in length, by four in breadth, with a considerable town called Newport; and, before the war, was a beautiful and highly cultivated district.

considered as belonging to England, according to the established usage of all European nations; and which of course must be admitted as valid in a cause between any two of them. This right may indeed be carried to a ridiculous excess; and we have seen navigators in our own time giving new names to places in Cochin China, a country perhaps as civilized as their own; which is the same as if a Chinese junk should sail up the Thames, and the captain bestow new names upon every object. But in a country thinly inhabited by savages, and adapted for European settlements, the case is totally different; and any usage, however ridiculous, must be admitted which tends to prevent disputes and contests. The first settlement seems however to be the most rational claim; and no such event having yet happened, the western coast of North America shall be arranged among the Unconquered Countries, which seems to be the most proper method, when the settlements are only a few detached factories, to which the natives profess no subjection. Hence the regions around Hudson's Bay, with Labrador and Greenland, are, from the intense severity of the climate, declared free by nature, and shall also be classed among the Unconquered Countries. The present short description shall therefore only comprise Canada, and the other British provinces in the south, which form actual possessions or colonies.

## CANADA.

THIS country is computed to extend from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and isle of Anticosta, in the east, to the lake of Winnipeg, in the west, or from long.  $64^{\circ}$  to  $97^{\circ}$  west from London, thirty-three degrees, which in that latitude may be about 1200 geographical miles. The breadth, from the Lake of Erie, in the south, or lat.  $43^{\circ}$ , may extend to lat.  $49^{\circ}$ , or 360 geographical miles; but the medial breadth is not above 200. The original population consisted of several savage tribes, whose names and manners may be traced in the early French accounts, which may also be consulted for the progressive discovery, the first settlement being at Quebec in 1608. During a century and a half that the French possessed Canada, they made many discoveries towards the west; and Lahonton, in the end of the seventeenth

century, has given a tolerable account of some lakes beyond that called Superior, and of the river Missouri. Quebec being conquered by Wolfe 1759, Canada was ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris 1763.

The chief town is Quebec, built on a lofty point of land on the north-west side of the great river St. Lawrence; which in the neighbourhood is sufficiently deep and spacious to float more than one hundred sail of the line. The upper town, on a rock of limestone, is of considerable natural strength, and well fortified; but the lower town towards the river is open to every attack. Montcalm's vain confidence, in marching out of the city, led to his destruction, while a siege must have been dissolved by the approach of winter, when it was impracticable to form any works: yet Quebec might in the new procedures of war, yield, like Holland, to a frozen campaign. A large garrison is maintained; but 5000 soldiers would be necessary to man the works. The inhabitants are supposed to be 10,000, about two-thirds being French; and the presence of the governor, courts, and garrison, conspire to render it gay and lively. The lower town is mostly inhabited by traders and mariners. The houses are commonly of stone, small, ugly, and inconvenient; but the new part of the governor's house, for there is no citadel, is upon an improved plan. The monasteries are almost extinct; yet there are three nunneries. The market is well supplied; and the little carts are often drawn by dogs. The vicinity presents most sublime and beautiful scenery; and the falls of the river Montmorenci are particularly celebrated.

Montreal is a neat town, on the east side of a considerable island; formed by the river St. Lawrence at its junction with the river Utawas, which is the boundary between Lower and Upper Canada, about 150 miles above Quebec. This is the utmost point to which ships can ascend from the sea; but several of the burden of 400 tons reach Montreal by a tedious and difficult navigation. This town contains about 1200 houses, and probably 6000 souls; with six churches, four of which are Roman Catholic, and four convents. The chief trade is in furs, which are thence sent to Canada for England. The North-west company consists of merchants of Montreal. The canoes are chiefly employed on the Utawas, whence the fur traders proceed across to Lake Winnipeg. Mr. Mackenzie was a partner in the

North-west Company, which has considerably lessened the trade of that of Hudson's Bay. La Prairie is a village on the opposite side of the river to Montreal.

Mr. Weld, who is a great admirer of ice, depicts the Canadian climate in the most favorable colors, and would persuade us that, though considerably further to the north, it is at least equal to that of New England. But even by his account the extremes of heat and cold are amazing; the thermometer in July and August rising to 96, while in winter the mercury freezes. The snow begins in November; and in January the frost is so intense that it is impossible to be out of doors for any time without the risk of what is called a frost-bite, which endangers the limb: and the warm intervals only increase the sensation and the jeopardy. But winter, as at Petersburg, is the season of amusement; and the sledges drawn by one or two horses, afford a pleasant and speedy conveyance. Several stoves are placed in the hall, whence flues pass to the apartments; and there are double windows and doors. On going abroad the whole body is covered with furs, except the eyes and nose. In May the thaw generally comes suddenly, the ice on the river bursting with the noise of cannon, and its passage to the sea is terrific, especially when a pile of ice crashes against a rock. Spring is summer: and vegetation instantaneous. The month of September is one of the most pleasant.

The face of the country is generally mountainous and woody; but there are savannas, and plains of great beauty, chiefly towards Upper Canada. In the lower province the soil mostly consists of a loose blackish earth of ten or twelve inches, incumbent on cold clay. This thin mould is however very fertile, and manure was seldom or never used by the French settlers; but of late marl has been employed, and is found in considerable quantities on the shores of the river St. Lawrence.

The great river St. Lawrence has been already described in the general view of North America. The Utawas is the most important of all its tributary streams, issuing from various lakes, towards the centre of Canada: its waters are of a bright greenish color, while the St. Lawrence is muddy. Many rivers of smaller consequence flow into the river St. Lawrence from the north. The large lakes have been also already mentioned; there are many others, of which the enumeration would be tedious; and

some difficulty arises from the want of any precise boundary in the north of Canada: Nor have the mountains been examined by any geologist, who could indicate their ranges or illustrate their structure. The chief ridge seems to be in the northern part of the province, in a direction S. W. and N. E. giving source to the many streams which flow S. E., while a few pass to Hudson's Bay. But there are many mountains between Quebec and the sea, while towards the Utawas only a few are scattered, and to the S. W. there are ample plains. The botany differs little from that of the United States: and the chief singularities in zoology are the moose, the beaver, and some other animals, for which Mr. Pennant's Arctic Zoology may be consulted. The rein-deer appears in the northern part, and the puma and lynx are not unknown. Both the Canadas are much infested with rattlesnakes. The humming bird is not uncommon at Quebec. The mineralogy is of little consequence; and even iron seems to be rare. There are said to be lead mines which produce some silver; and it is probable that copper may be found, as it appears in the S. W. of Lake Superior. Coal abounds in the island of Cape Breton, but this valuable mineral has not been discovered in Canada. If so wide a territory were properly examined by skilful naturalists, which ought always to be a primary care with every government for the most advantageous position of settlements, and that every advantage may be secured, it is highly probable that important discoveries might be made. Little is said of warm springs, or mineral waters; and the chief natural curiosities seem to be the grand lakes, rivers, and cataracts. Among the latter the celebrated Falls of Niagara are chiefly on the side of Upper Canada, the river being there 600 yards wide, and the fall 142 feet. A small island lies between the falls; and that on the side of the States is 350 yards wide, while the height is 163 feet: from the great fall a constant cloud ascends, which may sometimes be seen at an incredible distance; and the whole scene is truly tremendous.

## NEW BRUNSWICK.

THE ancient province of Nova Scotia was granted by James I. to his secretary Sir William Alexander, afterwards earl of

Stirling; and the origin of the title of baronets of Nova Scotia is well known. It was afterwards seized by the French, who seem indeed to have been the first possessors, and by whom it was called Acadie; but it was surrendered to England by the treaty of Utrecht 1713. In 1784, as already stated, it was divided into two provinces, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In the former there are two considerable bays, and a river of some length, called St. John's; while that of St. Croix divides New Brunswick from the province of Main, belonging to the United States. The river of St. John is navigable for vessels of 50 tons about 60 miles; and for boats about 200; the tide flowing about 80. The fish are salmon, bass, and sturgeon; and the banks, enriched by the annual freshets, are often fertile, level, and covered with large trees. This river affords a common and near route to Quebec. There are many lakes, among which the Grand Lake is 30 miles long, and about nine broad. The great chain of Apalachian mountains passes on the N. W. of this province, probably expiring at the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The capital is Frederick-town on the river St. John, about 90 miles from its estuary. St. Anne's is almost opposite; and there are some other settlements nearer the Bay of Fundi, with a fort called Howe. There is a tribe of savages called the Marechites, estimated at 140 fighting men. The chief products are timber and fish.

## NOVA SCOTIA.

THIS province is about 300 miles in length, by about 80 of medial breadth, being inferior in size to New Brunswick. There are several considerable rivers, among which that of Annapolis is navigable 15 miles, for ships of 100 tons. The Bay of Fundi, between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, extends 50 leagues inland; the ebb and flowing of the tide being from 45 to 60 feet. The capital is Halifax, on the Bay of Chebucto, well situated for the fishery, with communications, by land and water, with other parts of this province, and New Brunswick. There is a good harbour, where a small squadron of ships of war, employed in protecting the fishing vessels, is laid up in the winter. The town is entrenched, with forts of timber, and is said to

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contain 15 or 16,000 inhabitants, a superior population to that of Quebec. Shelburn, towards the S. W., once contained 600 families: Guisbary about 250. The harbour of Annapolis is excellent; but it is an inconsiderable hamlet. During a great part of the year the air is foggy and unhealthy; and for four or five months intensely cold. There are many forests; and the soil is generally thin and barren, though fertile on the banks of the rivers, in grass, hemp, and flax; but supplies of grain are sent from England. The Micmacs, an Indian tribe of about 300 fighters, dwell on the east of Halifax. Britain sends to these provinces linen and woollen cloths, and other articles to the amount of about £30,000.; and receives timber and fish worth about £50,000. The chief fishery is that of cod on the Cape Sable coast. Near Cape Canco there are remarkable cliffs of white gypsum. About 23 leagues from that cape is the Isle de Sable, or of Sand, consisting wholly of that substance, mixed with white transparent stones, the hills being milk-white cones, and some 146 feet above the sea. This strange isle has ponds of fresh water; with junipers, blueberries, and cranberries, and some grass and vetches, which serve to support a few horses, cows, and hogs. The Bay of Fundi presents an infinite variety of picturesque and sublime scenery; and the Bore rises to the height of 70 feet.

### ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON.

THIS island is attached to the province of Lower Canada, though divided from Nova Scotia only by a strait of one mile in breadth. It is about 100 miles in length; and according to the French authors was discovered at a very early period, about A. D. 1500, by the Normans and Bretons, who navigated these seas; and being supposed a part of the continent was called Cape Breton, a name absurdly retained. They did not however take possession of it till 1713, when they erected Fort Dauphin: the harbour being found difficult, Louisburg was built in 1720, the settlers being chiefly from Europe, as the Acadians, or French of Nova Scotia, did not choose to leave that country. In 1745 Cape Breton was taken by some troops from New England; and has since remained subject to the British crown. The



climate is cold and foggy, not only from the proximity of Newfoundland, but from numerous lakes and forests. The soil is chiefly mere moss, and has been found unfit for agriculture. The chief towns are Sidney and Louisburg; the whole inhabitants of the isle do not exceed 1000. The fur trade is inconsiderable, but the fishery very important, this island being esteemed the chief seat; and the value of this trade, while in the French possession, was computed at £1,000,000 sterling. There is a very extensive bed of coal in this island, in a horizontal direction, not more than six or eight feet below the surface; but it has been chiefly used as ballast: in one of the pits a fire was kindled by accident, and remains unextinguished.

The island of St. John is at no great distance to the west of Cape Breton, being about 60 miles in length by 30 in breadth, and is attached to the province of Nova Scotia. The French inhabitants, about 4000, surrendered with Cape Breton, in 1745. It is said to be fertile, with several streams. A lieutenant-governor resides at Charlotte-town; and the inhabitants of the island are computed at 5000.

## NEWFOUNDLAND.

THIS island was discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1496, who also founded the prior claim of England to the North American shores as far south as Florida. This discovery, like that of Columbus and others, was unintentional, the design being merely to penetrate to the East Indies. Those authors who wonder that no colonies were sent, only show their ignorance of the intentions of the first navigators; and at that period there was not one man in Europe who could have formed the smallest idea of the benefits of a colony. It was the success of the Spanish colonies, allured by gold alone, that towards the end of the sixteenth century, enlarged the ideas of mankind: but even then Raleigh's transcendent mind held out gold to all his followers, as the sole inducement. The island of Newfoundland is about 320 miles in length and breadth, the shape approaching to a triangle. It seems to be rather hilly than mountainous, with woods of birch, small pine, and fir, yet on the south-west side there are lofty head-lands. The country has scarcely been penetrated

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above 30 miles; but there are numerous ponds and morasses, with some dry barrens. The great fishery on the banks of Newfoundland begins about the 10th of May, and continues till the end of September. The cod is either dried for the Mediterranean; or what are called mud-fish, barrell'd up in a pickle of salt, for the English market. These banks and the island are environed with constant fog, or snow and sleet; the former supposed by some to be occasioned by the superior warmth of the gulf stream from the West Indies. The fishery is computed to yield about £300,000 a year, from the cod sold in the Catholic countries. The island of Newfoundland, after many disputes with the French, was ceded to England 1713, the French having permission to dry their nets on the northern shores; and in 1763 it was stipulated that they might fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and the small isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to them. The French, by the treaty 1783, were to enjoy their fisheries on the northern and western coasts, the inhabitants of the United States having the same privileges as before their independence; and the preliminaries of October 1801 confirm the privileges granted to the French.

The chief towns are St. John in the S. E. with Placentia in the south, and Bonavista in the east; but not above a thousand families remain during the winter. In the spring a small squadron is sent to protect the fisheries and settlements, the admiral being also governor of the island, its sole consequence depending on the fishery; and there are two lieutenant governors, one at St. John's, another at Placentia.\*

These dreary shores are strongly contrasted by the Bermudas or Sommer Islands, lying almost at an equal distance between Nova Scotia and the West Indies; but as they are nearer to the coast of Carolina than to any other land, it seems more proper to arrange them here than under any other division.

### THE BERMUDAS, OR SOMMER ISLANDS.

THEY are four in number, and were discovered by the Spaniards under John Bermudas, in 1527; but being afterwards neg-

\* The isle of Anticosta, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, is full of rocks, and has no harbour, but is covered with wood; and excellent cod is found on the shores.

lected by them, they were again disclosed by the shipwreck of Sir George Sommer in 1609; which event seems to have induced Shakespear to describe them as ever vexed with storms. Another poet, Waller, who resided there some time, on his being condemned for a plot against the parliament in 1643, describes them in very different colors, as enjoying a perpetual spring. In 1725 the benevolent and eccentric bishop Berkley proposed to erect a college in these islands for the conversion of the savage Americans! Of these little islands the chief is that called St. George, with a capital town of the same name, containing about 500 houses, built of a soft free-stone, probably like that of Bath; the inhabitants being about 3000, and those of all the isles perhaps about 9000. There is a governor, council, and general assembly: the religion being that of the church of England. The people are chiefly occupied in building light ships of their cedars, in which they trade to North America and the West Indies. It would appear that these remote isles were uninhabited when settled by the English, but a good history and description of the Bermudas might afford a pleasing addition to the geographical library.

**NATIVE TRIBES,**  
AND  
**UNCONQUERED COUNTRIES.**

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**GREENLAND.**

THE discovery of this extensive region, which, whether continental or insular, must be regarded as belonging to North America, was made by the people of Iceland in the tenth century; the distance, according to the best maps, being about eight degrees of longitude in lat  $66^{\circ}$ , or nearly 200 geographical miles; but some maps reduce it to five degrees, or not more than 130 geographical miles. The intercourse between this colony and Denmark was maintained till the beginning of the fifteenth century, the last of seventeen bishops being named in 1406: and in that century, by the gradual increase of the arctic ice, the colony appears to have been completely imprisoned by the frozen ocean; while on the west a range of impassable mountains and plains, covered with perpetual ice, precluded all access. The ancient settlement contained several churches and monasteries, the names and positions of which may be traced in the map by Torfaeus; from which it would seem that the colony extended over about 200 miles in the S. E. extremity. On the west some ruins of churches have also been discovered. In more recent times the western coast was chiefly explored by Davis, and other English navigators; but there was no attempt to settle any colony. A pious Norwegian clergyman, named Egede, having probably read the book of Torfaeus published in 1715, was deeply impressed with the melancholy situation of this colony, if it should be found to exist; and in 1721 proceeded to the western shore, where he continued till 1735, preaching the gospel to the na-

tives, his benevolent example having been since followed by several missionaries. The sect called Moravians began their settlements about thirty years after, being chiefly those of New Hernhuth and Lichtenfels. It is said that the country is inhabited as far as  $76^{\circ}$ ; but the Danish and Moravian settlements are chiefly in the S. W., though at one time there appears to have been a factory as far north as  $73^{\circ}$ . The natives have no conception of what we call Baffin's Bay: but say that in the north of their country there is a narrow strait which divides it from the continent of America.

This dreary country may be said to consist of rocks, ice, and snow; but in the southern parts there are some small junipers, willows, and birch. There are rein-deer, and some dogs resembling wolves, with arctic foxes, and polar bears. Hares are common; and the walrus, and five kinds of seals, frequent the shores. The birds, particularly sea and water fowl, are tolerably numerous; as are the fish; and the insects exceed ninety.

What is called the *ice blink* is an amazing congeries of ice, at the mouth of an inlet, the splendor of which is discerned at the distance of many leagues. It is said to extend in magnificent arches for about 24 miles. The short summer is very warm, but foggy; and the northern lights diversify the gloom of winter. What is called the frost smoke bursts from cracks in the Frozen Ocean. The natives are short, with long black hair, small eyes, and flat faces, being a branch of the Iskimos, or American Samoieds: it is supposed that they do not exceed 10,000, the number having been greatly reduced by the small-pox. Their canoes, in which one man proceeds to kill seals, are of a singular construction, and have sometimes been wafted as far as the Orkneys. The highest mountains are on the west side; and the three pinnacles of what is called the Stag's Horn are visible from the sea at the distance of forty or sixty leagues. Crantz observes that the rocks are very full of clefts, commonly perpendicular, and seldom wider than half a yard, filled with spar, quartz, talc, and garnets. The rocks are generally rather vertical or little inclined, consisting of granite, with some sand-stone, and lapis olaris. Our author's imperfect mineralogy also indicates micaceous schistus, coarse marble, and serpentine; with asbestos and amianthus, crystals, and black schorl. It is said that fluete of argill, a new substance, has been recently found in Greenland;

perhaps this is the soft transparent stone of Crantz. The lapis olaris is of singular utility in Greenland, and the north of America, being used for lamps and culinary utensils. The soil consists of unfertile clay or sand. The winter is very severe; and the rocks often burst by the intensity of the frost. Above  $66^{\circ}$  the sun does not set in the longest days, and at  $64^{\circ}$  is not four hours beneath the horizon.

## LABRADOR.

THIS large extent of coast was so named by the Portuguese navigator who made the first discovery. In the inland parts there were American savages, and on the coasts Iskimos; but the former have mostly retired to the south, and even the latter seem gradually to withdraw: neither people had the ingenuity of the Laplanders. There were here only a few factories, till the Moravian clergy formed little settlements, particularly at Nain, about 1764. To these missionaries we are indebted for the discovery of that elegant iridescent felspar, called the Labrador stone. It is said to have been first discovered in sailing through some lakes,\* where its bright hues were reflected from the water. The most rare color is the scarlet. Mr. Cartwright, who resided at intervals nearly sixteen years in this desolate country, has published a minute and prolix journal, which however gives a curious picture of its state, and appearances along the coast, for the inland parts have never been explored. His Indians seem to be Iskimos, and their manners are very filthy. He remarks that the grouse not only change their color in the winter, but that they then gain a large addition of white feathers. The porcupines resemble the beaver in size and shape; and he observed wolvereens. He who wishes to study the manners of bears may here find ample satisfaction. At a cataract, surrounded with elders, spruces, firs, larches, birch, and aspin, many salmon ascend, and the bears assemble in numbers to catch their favorite prey. Some dive after the fish, and do not appear till at the distance of seventy or eighty yards. Others seem to be loungers, who only come to see what is going for-

\* A large inland sea, or lake, is laid down by D'Anville, which has recently been copied under the appellation of a New Sea.

wards, and to enjoy the promenade and the spectacle. Our author counted thirty-two white bears, and three black ones. Rein-deer also abound, and their venison is excellent. Mr. Cartwright contradicts the received accounts of the beaver, asserting that he never eats fish nor any animal food; but lives on the leaves and bark of such trees and shrubs as have not a resinous juice, and the roots of the water lily. Their sagacity is not so great as is generally supposed; but there is something so singular in their erect movements, that an illiterate observer pronounced them to be "enchanted christians." Even the peaceable Eskimos are liable to contests; and, about 1736, in a quarrel concerning a young woman, a furious slaughter arose, in which neither sex nor age were spared. At the close of his third volume Mr. Cartwright gives a general idea of the country, and a thermometrical journal. So far as discovered, Labrador is generally hilly, and even mountainous; but the southern parts might be improved, though it would be difficult to guard against the white bears and wolves; and cattle must be housed for nine months in the year. The eastern coast exhibits a most barren and iron-bound appearance, the rocky mountains rising suddenly from the sea, with spots of black peat earth, producing stunted plants. Rivers, brooks, lakes, pools, and ponds, are abundantly rich in fish, and frequented by innumerable birds. Though springs be rare, the waters being mostly dissolved snow, yet swelled throats are unknown, though frequent in the alpine countries of Europe and Asia. The eastern coast also presents thousands of islands, covered with flocks of sea fowl, particularly eider ducks; and in the larger isles there are deer, foxes, and hares. The fish are salmon, trout, pike, barbel, eels, and others. Inland the air is milder; there are many trees, and some symptoms of fertility. The plants are wild celery, scurvy-grass, reddocks, and Indian salad. There are some appearances of iron; and the Eskimos now collect the Labrador spar on the shores of the sea and lakes, for the rocks have not been discovered. Perhaps this spar was the shining stone brought from Labrador by one of our early navigators, as a specimen of gold ore. The birds are common to arctic regions, and the animals are mostly of the fur kind, in which trade our author was engaged. The natives are mountaineers and Eskimos; the former resembling gypsies, with somewhat of French features from a mix-

ture of Canadian blood. They chiefly live on rein deer, and also kill foxes, martins, and beavers. They live in wigwams, a kind of tents covered with deer skin and birch rind; and are a sort of Roman Catholics, being anxious to visit the priests at Quebec. The Eskimos are the same people with the Greenlanders, whose manners are minutely described by Crantz. They use sledges drawn by dogs, as in Asia. Remains of seals and oily substances have a remarkable effect on the ground, so as to produce rich crops of grass on spots formerly only sprinkled with heath.

### HUDSON'S BAY.

THE inland sea commonly called Hudson's Bay was explored in 1610; and a charter for planting and improving the country, and carrying on trade, was granted to a company in 1670. The Hudson's Bay Company has since retained a claim to most extensive territories, on the west, south and east, of that inland sea, supposed to extend from  $70^{\circ}$  to  $115^{\circ}$ , and allowing the degree only 30 miles, the length will be 1350 geographical miles, and the medial breadth about 350. This vast extent of ice and snow is however of little consequence considered in itself; and it is not understood that the company gain great wealth. An able writer has also defended them against the invidious charge of obstructing geographical knowledge for the sake of commercial monopoly. The journey of Mr. Hearne is indeed a manifest, though tardy, proof of the contrary. The annual exports are about £16,000; and the returns, which yield a considerable revenue to government, perhaps amount to £30,000. The North-west Company lately established at Montreal, has also considerably reduced the profits; but an enquiry into the state of this Company, and of their territories, might be an object of some importance, and might perhaps lead to great improvements in the mode of conducting the commerce, and deriving every possible advantage from these extensive territories and seas. The establishment of factories, here called forts, and which sometimes contain small garrisons, and other peculiar circumstances, seem more adapted to the powers of a commercial company, than of private traders; and even the example and success of the North-west Company seem to authorise that of



Hudson's Bay. But they ought strictly to attend to the character of their servants, who, as Mr. Cartwright observes, will sometimes kill an Indian in preference to a deer.

The regions around Hudson's Bay, and that of Labrador, have, by a miserable compliment to the parent country, been sometimes called New Britain, a name not admitted in French or English maps. The parts on the west of Hudson's Bay have also been called New North and South Wales; while that on the east is styled East Main. In the south, James' Bay stretches inland about 300 miles by about 150 in breadth; and the most valuable settlements are in that vicinity, as Albany Fort, Moose Fort, and East Main Factory. Further to the south, on the confines of Upper Canada, are Brunswick House, Frederick House; and some others, which, perhaps, belong to the North-west Company. In the north, Severn House is at the mouth of a large river, which seems to flow from the Lake of Winnipic. York Fort stands on Nelson river; and still further to the north is Churchill Fort, which seems the furthest settlement in that direction.\* To the west the Hudson's Bay Company had extended little further than Hudson's House; while the superior spirit of the North-west Company has nearly approached the Pacific.† The most important rivers are the Nelson or Saskashawin, and the Severn; the comparative course of the latter scarcely exceeding 400 British miles, but of great breadth and depth. In the south, the Albany, Moose, Abitib, and Harricana, are the most considerable; but all the rivers are impeded with falls and shoals. Near that singular inlet called Chesterfield there are many lakes, but the barbarous names would neither edify nor entertain the reader; nor is it likely that they should ever become memorable in natural or civil history. The Sea of Hudson commonly presents bold rocky shores; but at intervals there are marshes and large beaches. There are several high islands, the largest of which in the north has been little explored; and in what is called Baffin's Bay (if such a sea exist), some maps and charts admit a very large central island called James Island, which others entirely reject.

\* Churchill Fort was built in 1715. It is also called Fort Prince of Wales.

† The boundary between the Hudson's Bay Company and Canada is understood to follow the ridge that gives source to the rivers flowing N. and S. as far as Lake Annipeg; whence lat 49° is said to form the limit.

Even in lat.  $57^{\circ}$  the winters are extremely severe; the ice on the rivers is eight feet thick, and brandy coagulates. The rocks burst with a horrible noise, equal to that of heavy artillery, and the splinters are thrown to an amazing distance. Mock suns, and haloes, are not unfrequent; and the sun rises and sets with a large cone of yellowish light. The aurora borealis diffuses a variegated splendor, which equals that of the full moon; and the stars sparkle with fiery redness. The fish in Hudson Sea are far from numerous; and the whale fishery has been attempted without success. There are few shell fish; and the quadrupeds and birds correspond with those of Labrador and Canada. The northern indigenes are Eskimos; but there are other savages in the south: and the factories are visited by several tribes.

In order to complete this general sketch of the geography of the New World, we shall subjoin a very brief account of the islands which form a part of it. The numerous and important islands which border the Gulf of Mexico, extending nearly from East Florida almost to the mouth of the Oronoko, have obtained the name of West Indies, from an erroneous opinion entertained by the first discoverers, that they constituted a part of India, or at least that they were not far distant from that continent. The principal of these, ranging in a direction from east to west, are Cuba, Jamaica, St. Domingo, and Porto Rico. These are followed by that remarkable group known to the English by the names of Leeward and Windward Islands, the former distinction extending from Porto Rico to Dominica, the latter comprising Martinico, and all the southern part of the range. The French include them all under the appellation of windward, as being situated towards the east, the point of the trade wind: they are also known in geography by the names of the Antilles and the Caribbee Islands. Their situation and products are such as to render them of great commercial importance; but excepting St. Domingo, their political weight is considerable only by their connexion with Europe. The West India Islands are so well known, that a minute description is unnecessary; and a general view will suffice for every geographical and historical purpose.

## ST. DOMINGO.

AMONG all the islands comprised in this extensive range, Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, constituting an independent negro government, a phenomenon in the history of the new world, has acquired the greatest political importance, and merits in the highest degree the attention of the statesman and the philosopher. The central part of St. Domingo is situated under the 19th degree of north latitude, and the 71st degree of west longitude: and its extent may be computed at something more than 400 English miles in length from east to west, by about 120 miles in its greatest, or 100 in its medial breadth. The face of the country is exceedingly diversified. Towards the coasts, numerous vallies and extensive plains display the most luxuriant fertility. The interior of the island is mountainous, and presents an intricate mass of hills, vallies, and forests, which, notwithstanding the early colonization of the coasts, appear to be imperfectly known to the Europeans. The climate, like that of the rest of the West Indies, is hot; and if we may form a judgment from the events of the last war, it must be considered as extremely unhealthful. Homspech's regiment of hussars was in little more than two months reduced from 1000 to 300; and the 96th regiment totally perished on this inhospitable shore. Of 15,000 British and foreign troops employed in the expedition to St. Domingo, no more than 3000 were left alive and fit for service at the end of the year 1797; and about 5000 seamen are said to have perished in that ill-fated enterprise. The Europeans, however, having wealth for their only object in the establishment of colonies, have invariably postponed the advantages of health to the views of avarice; and in the eye of the merchant or the planter, the exuberant fertility of the soil of St. Domingo might amply compensate the inconveniences of the climate. The average produce of all the sugar lands, while in the hands of the French, was not less than twenty-four hundred weight per acre, which is three times the average fertility of those of Jamaica. In the richest soil of St. Domingo, a single acre has been known to yield the enormous quantity of two tons and a half of sugar. Before the revolution, the annual value of the exports in sugar,

the principal article, coffee, cotton, indigo, molasses, rum, raw and tanned hides, amounted to about £4,765,129 sterling. In regard to commerce, St. Domingo was the most valuable of all the West India Islands, and a mine of wealth to France.

Of all the European settlements, this was the most remarkable for the abundant importation of slaves. During the ten years previous to the revolution, the average number of negroes annually imported amounted to 29,000. And amidst this immense influx of Africans, the number of white inhabitants had somewhat decreased. In the year 1790, the population of the French part of St. Domingo amounted to 480,000 negro slaves, with about 24,000 Mulattoes, or free people of color, and no more than 30,830 whites. From a view of these circumstances, it is easy to perceive that the extent to which the slave trade was carried paved the way to that tremendous revolution, which proved so fatal to those dealers in human flesh, whose grand object was to acquire by the sweat and the toil of the negroes in St. Domingo, a fortune that might enable them to riot in luxury at Bourdeaux or Paris. The national assembly of France too precipitately attempting to reform her colonial system, at a moment when the mother country was agitated by the most violent commotions, gave the impulse to that dangerous power, which the rapid increase of black population had introduced into St. Domingo. Some contradictory decrees of that assembly respecting the rights of the free Mulattoes to vote for representatives, excited the first disturbances, which were further fomented by the intrigues of the French planters. Various struggles ensued between the whites and the people of color. The commissioners of France had emancipated and armed the slaves, in order to defend the island against the English; and the whole settlement exhibited a tumultuous and martial scene. The revolutionizing and levelling spirit of France was introduced into her colonies, and St. Domingo afforded an ample and favorable field for its operation. The consequence has been, that after a war of many years on the cruel principle of extermination, the French are totally expelled from all parts of the island, except from the city of St. Domingo; and the world now sees the singular phenomenon, an independent and powerful negro empire, in the most commanding situation of the West Indies.

## CUBA.

THE island of Cuba may be ranked next to St. Domingo, to which it is equal, or even superior in extent, and inferior only in political importance. The southernmost part of the coast is under the parallel of  $20^{\circ}$  north, which is nearly the latitude of the northern shores of St. Domingo; and the northern extremity extends almost to the tropic of Cancer. Cuba is about 700 miles in length, by something less than 70 in medial breadth. A chain of mountains runs across the interior from east to west; but the soil is in general extremely fertile. It produces a great quantity of sugar; and its tobacco has a finer flavor than that of any other part of America. Among its productions may also be reckoned cocoa, mastic, long pepper, ginger and aloes. The forests produce ebony, mahogany, and most of the different species of West Indian timber: they also abound with cattle and swine like those of St. Domingo. In consequence of the more liberal policy which Spain has adopted in her colonial system since 1765, the state of Cuba is greatly improved. In a few years its cultivation has been so greatly extended, that its trade, instead of requiring only six vessels as formerly, soon employed 200. The coast has several good harbours. St. Jago, on the south side of the island, was formerly the capital; but that honor is now transferred to the Havannah, situated on the northern coast. This city was founded about the year 1519. In 1669 it was taken by Morgan, the famous Buccaneer. It surrendered to the British arms under Admiral Pocock and the Earl of Albemarle, in 1761, after a gallant defence. Since the peace of 1763, its fortifications have been greatly augmented, and are now reckoned almost impregnable. Cuba was first discovered by Columbus. But he soon after abandoned it for St. Domingo, where he expected to find greater abundance of gold. Some gold dust, however, is found in the rivers, or rather rivulets, of Cuba: and there are mines of excellent copper. The gold mines of St. Domingo seem not to have fully answered the expectations of the Spaniards, who abandoned them as soon as those of Mexico were discovered. It was not known whether Cuba was an island, or part of the continent, till it was circumnavigated by

Ocampo in 1508; and in 1511 it was conquered by 300 Spaniards under Don Diego de Velasquez. From that time until after the conquest of Mexico, Cuba seems to have been the principal seat of the Spanish power in America.

## JAMAICA.

JAMAICA, the chief of the British West India Islands, is in extent the third in the American Archipelago, being about 170 miles in length, by 60 in breadth. A ridge of mountains runs from east to west quite through the middle of the island, and forms a variety of beautiful landscapes. The lower declivities are covered with forests, overtopped by the blue summits of the central ridge. The blue mountain peak rises 7,431 feet, or nearly a mile and a half above the level of the sea; and the precipices are interspersed with beautiful savannas. From these central mountains descend above 100 rivulets, of which the Black river, running to the south, is the most considerable. By the industry of the planters, Jamaica is become a flourishing settlement; but in fertility it is far inferior to St. Domingo and Cuba; and the climate though tempered by the sea breezes, is extremely hot. St. Jago, or Spanish town, is regarded as the capital, but Kingston is the principal port. The population is composed of 250,000 negroes, 10,000 Mulattoes, and about 20,000 white inhabitants. The legislature consists of the governor, the council of twelve, nominated by the crown, and a representative assembly of forty-three members chosen by the freeholders. The importation of slaves from Africa formerly constituted a considerable part of the trade of this island. To the immortal glory of the British senate, this commerce is now abolished, and the capital which it employed will be directed into some more laudable, perhaps more profitable channel. The chief exports of Jamaica to Great Britain, Ireland, and North America, are sugar, rum, coffee, indigo, ginger, and pimento. In 1787, they were estimated at the value of £2,000,000 sterling, and the imports at £1,500,000. The intercourse with Honduras, and other parts of the Mexican coast, is now nearly abandoned; but some little trade is carried on with Spanish America, by small vessels, which elude the vigilance of the

Guarda Costas. The annual revenue of the island, arising from a poll-tax, with a duty on rum, and formerly on negroes, amounted to more than £100,000 sterling, of which about £75,000 went to defray the ordinary expences of government. Jamaica was first discovered by Columbus in his second voyage, A. D. 1494. In 1655 it fell into the hands of the English, in whose possession it has ever since remained. The most striking events in its history are the wars with the Maroons or independent negroes. These were originally slaves to the Spaniards, being left behind when their masters evacuated the island, retired to the mountains, where they maintained their independence until they were lately subdued, and most of them sent to Nova Scotia.

## PORTO RICO.

PORTO RICO, which belongs to Spain, is about 120 English miles in length, by about 40 in breadth. It is a beautiful, well-watered, and fertile island. The productions are the same as those of Cuba. The northern parts are said to contain some mines of gold and silver; but the richer veins of Mexico and Peru have caused them to be neglected. This island was one of Colon's discoveries. In 1509 it was conquered by Ponce de Leon, the first explorer of Florida.

## THE ANTILLES,

OR

## CARIBBEE ISLANDS.

THE Caribbee islands, including Barbadoes, which stands detached towards the east, at some distance from the general range, are extremely fertile, and of great commercial advantage to their possessors, who are chiefly the English and the French. Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christopher's, St. Vincent, Dominica, Granada, Montserrat, Nevis, and the Virgin isles, belong to Great Britain. Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucie, and Tobago, are French. The Danish islands are St. Croix, St. Thomas,

and St. John. The Swedes possess St. Bartholomew, and the Dutch St. Eustatia. Of the whole group, Guadaloupe and Barbadoes are the most important. The first including Grand Terre, far surpasses any of the others in size, being about 60 miles in length, by 25 in breadth. Barbadoes, although only about 20 miles in length, and 13 in breadth, is supposed to contain 17,000 inhabitants, to export annually 10,000 hogsheads of sugar, and 6000 puncheons of rum, besides cotton and other commodities. Martinique is also a valuable island. St. Vincent may be considered as divided between the English and the black Caribs, a sort of Maroons, or descendants of revolted negroes, the whole British territory consisting of only six parishes. In some of these islands are short ranges of central hills; but the coasts are in general level, and display the most exuberant fertility. Dominica contains several volcanoes. It also seems that there have formerly been many in Guadaloupe. The noted soufriere, in this island, is a natural curiosity, being a vast mass of sulphur, or sulphurated earth, which emits a continual smoke. The productions of all these islands are similar, consisting of sugar, rum, coffee, cocoa, cotton, indigo, &c.

A group of islands also runs parallel to the coast of South America, of which the most noted are Curassoa and Buenayre, the former belonging to Great Britain, the latter to the Dutch. Under this division may also be classed the island of Trinidad, recently ceded by Spain to Great Britain. It is situated under the 10th parallel of north latitude, and is about 80 or 90 miles in length, by about 30 miles in medial breadth. About one third of the island consists of mountainous tracts: the rest has a fertile soil. The southern side is well adapted to the culture of coffee: and the western coast has a safe and commodious harbour. The climate of Trinidad is represented as excellent, and remarkably free from those hurricanes, which so often spread devastation in the other West India Islands; but the vehemence of the north winds has been found prejudicial to the cocoa plantations. The Bahama Islands form a numerous group; but they are little known or noticed. The soil is in general barren: their trade is consequently small, and their exports of little importance. The whole number of English settlers in these islands does not exceed 3000 or 4000.



## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

## WEST INDIES.

THE situation of the West India Islands within the torrid zone; the similarity of climate, products, and commerce; the mixture of European and African inhabitants; and, in fine, the whole combination of physical and moral circumstances, place them in nearly the same common predicament, and render some general observations applicable to the whole of this interesting portion of the globe. A mountainous and woody interior, presenting lofty heights, and encumbered with pathless forests and waste fertility, contrasted with level and cultivated coasts, may be regarded as the most striking geographical feature in all the larger, and most of the smaller islands. Their situation indicates the common advantages and inconveniencies of the tropical climates. From their exposure to the sea breezes, the heat in the West India Islands, however, is far from being so intense as the interior of Africa, Arabia, Persia, &c. where this refrigerating influence is wanted. In all these islands, the sea-breeze commences about nine or ten in the morning, when the solar rays have, to a certain degree, heated the land, and rarefied the incumbent air. This breeze blows from every point of the compass, from the surrounding coast towards the interior. In the evening, when the earth is cooled, the land-breeze begins, and blows in every direction from the centre of the island towards the coast. This alternate motion of the winds, constantly tending to restore the equilibrium of the air, in proportion as it is destroyed by rarefaction, greatly contributes to mitigate the heat of the climate. The combination of heat and moisture in the West Indies, however, is such as to render them very unhealthy to European constitutions, a fact so well known, as to render any reference to authorities, or any examination of proofs, unnecessary. The frequency of those dreadful hurricanes, which ruin at once all the hopes of the planter, not to mention the earthquakes which have sometimes proved so fatal in Cuba, Jamaica,

and other islands, must also be considered as a tremendous characteristic of the West India climate. The productions of those islands, which in all are nearly the same, with the nature of their commerce, have already been mentioned, and are subjects generally known.

The peculiar circumstances of the West Indies, have given rise to a particular state of society in a great measure common to all the islands, although possessed by different nations. Little attention is paid to literature or the arts: commercial speculation absorbs all the faculties of the mind, and gain is the only object of pursuit. The disproportionate numbers of the two sexes, and the long prevalence of negro slavery, have unavoidably contributed to the contamination of morals, and to the introduction of licentiousness, as well as of indolence. The abolition of the African trade cannot fail of producing a beneficial change in the structure of West Indian society.

HISTORY  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA.



*PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS.*

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SECTION III.

AS it does not consist with the plan of this work to enter into any lengthened details of the Civil History of the British Colonies, until the memorable contest which separated the most valuable of them for ever from the British sceptre; we shall very shortly state the leading facts which occurred previous to the dissensions which led to that memorable change. One of the main causes which led to the rapid colonization of the American colonies was, the spirit of religious intolerance which prevailed in Europe, and governed the councils of its governments—*ar. intolerance which drove numbers of virtuous and conscientious men into the wilds and wildernesses of America, where they might have the privilege of worshipping their creator in the mode the most consonant to their own judgment. The plague, the fire in London, and the discontents among the people of England in the reign of Charles II., prevented the court from prosecuting for some time the plans they had formed against the liberties of the province of Massachussets; and the province in this interval of neglect made rapid progress; disregarding the English acts of navigation, they traded as an independent people, and acquired a considerable portion of the commerce of their sister colonies, and a rapid accumulation of mercantile*

wealth. This state of prosperous repose was interrupted by a general combination of the Indians against the settlement, from which it suffered severely: after a long and bloody contest, this combination was suppressed, and peace concluded with the different tribes which had engaged in it. Disputes now commenced with the crown, arising from the neglect of the navigation laws which at length arose to such a height, that Charles determined to take away their charter, and in the Court of Chancery in Trinity term 1684, a decree was obtained against the governor and company, by which their charter was cancelled; but the king did not live long enough to complete his system respecting the New England colonies, and to adopt a new government for Massachussetts; he died early in the following year, and his successor was proclaimed in Boston with melancholy pomp. One of the first acts of James was the issuing of a commission for a temporary government for Massachussetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Narraghansett; but before this ill-fated monarch could carry into full effect the plans he had formed for the annihilation of the liberties of America, his intolerance and despotic power occasioned his expulsion from the throne of his ancestors, and opened brighter prospects to the people of New England. The revolution which placed the Stadtholder of Holland on the throne of England, revived in the people of Massachussetts the hope of regaining their ancient charter, to which they were enthusiastically attached; and until the pleasure of the new king could be ascertained, the government was administered under the provisions of the old charter. It was however soon apparent that king William was indisposed to the restoration of the ancient charter, and he very early manifested his determination to retain in his own hands the appointment of the governor. After a considerable interval a new charter was obtained, in some respects more eligible than the first, though it contained some provisions which materially affected the independence which the colony had so long practically enjoyed—By this new system, the governor, deputy governor, and secretary, were to be appointed by the crown, instead of being chosen by the people; and the governor had the same authority with respect to the assembly, as was possessed by the king in reference to the parliament, he could summon, prorogue, and dissolve, them at pleasure; and he had the sole appointment to all military offices, and with the

consent of his council to all offices in courts of justice. Sir William Phipps, the first governor under the new charter, arrived at Boston in May, 1692; he immediately issued writs for a general assembly, which met on the 8th of June, and who joyfully accepted the charter, which united the colony of Plymouth and Nova Scotia to Massachusetts; but contrary to the wishes of both colonies it omitted New Hampshire, which from this time became a separate government. Some opposition was made to the New English government by an adventurer of the name of Leisler, who obtained the entire command of the lower country of the state of New York, and he held that city against the new governor appointed by the crown, for a short time; but having neither the power nor the ability to make any effectual resistance, the new governor soon obtained possession of the fort and garrison. The result was that Leisler was arrested, tried for high treason, and executed. These domestic dissensions had hardly subsided, when New England and York were exposed to a bloody and desolating war with the French of Canada, and the Indians, which continued with the usual vicissitudes of war—alternate victory and defeat, until the peace of Ryswick, which terminated the war between Great Britain and France, and which also put an end to hostilities in the Western Hemisphere.

The annals of Massachusetts, for this period, exhibit one of those wonderful cases of popular delusion which, infecting every class of society, and gaining strength from its very extravagance; triumphing over human reason, and trampling on human life; reveal to man his own imbecility, and would instruct him, if the experience of other times could ever instruct, how cautiously he should, in any case, countenance a departure from that moderation, and those safe and sure principles of moral rectitude, which have stood the test of time, and have received the approbation of the wise and great in all ages. A very detailed and interesting account of the humiliating and affecting events here alluded to, has been given by Mr. Hutchinson, but is too long to be inserted entire in this work. They were however of too much magnitude, while passing, to be entirely unnoticed even at this day.

In Great Britain, as well as in America, the opinion had long prevailed, that, by the aid of malignant spirits, certain persons

possessed supernatural powers, which were usually exercised in the mischievous employment of tormenting others; and the criminal code of both countries was disgraced with laws for the punishment of witchcraft. With considerable intervals between them, some few instances had occurred in New England of putting this sanguinary law in force; but, in the year 1692, this weakness was converted into phrenzy; and, after exercising successfully its destructive rage on those miserable objects whose wayward dispositions had excited the ill opinion, or whose age and wretchedness ought to have secured them the pity, of their neighbours; its baneful activity was extended to persons in every situation of life, and many of the most reputable members of society became its victims.

The first scene of this distressing tragedy was laid in Salem. The public mind had been prepared for its exhibition by some publication, stating the evidence adduced in former witchcraft, both in Old and New England, in which full proof was supposed to have been given of the guilt of the accused. Soon after this, some young girls, in Boston, had accustomed themselves to fall into fits, and had affected to be struck dead on the production of certain popular books; such as the Assembly's Catechism, and Cotton's Milk for Babes, while they could read Oxford's Jests, or Popish and Quaker books, with many others which were deemed profane, without being in any manner affected by them. These pretences, instead of exposing the fraud to instant detection, seem to have promoted the cheat; and they were supposed to be possessed of the devil, who were utterly confounded at the production of those holy books.

"Sometimes," says Mr. Hutchinson, "they were deaf, then dumb, then blind; and sometimes all their disorders together would come upon them. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, then pulled out upon their chins. Their jaws, necks, and shoulders, elbows, and all their joints, would appear to be dislocated, and they would make most piteous outcries, of burnings, of being cut with knives, beat, &c. and the marks of wounds were afterwards to be seen." At length, an old Irish woman, not of good character, who had given one of those girls some harsh language, and to whom all this diabolical mischief was attributed, was apprehended by the magistracy; and, neither confessing nor denying the fact, was on the certificate of

physicians that she was *compos mentis*, condemned and executed. An account of the circumstances of this case was published by a Mr. Baxton, with a preface, in which he says, "the evidence is so convincing, that he must be a very obdurate saducee who will not believe."

Sir William Phipps, the governor, on his arrival from England, brought with him opinions which could not fail to strengthen the popular prejudice; and the lieutenant-governor supported one which was well calculated to render it sanguinary. He maintained that though the devil might appear in the shape of a guilty person, he could never be permitted to assume that of an innocent one. Consequently, when those who affected to perceive the form which tormented them, designated any particular person as guilty, the guilt of that person was established, because he could not, if innocent, be personated by an evil spirit.

The public mind being thus predisposed, four girls, in Salem, complained of being afflicted in the same manner with those in Boston, and the physicians, unable to account for the disorder, attributed it to the witchcraft; and an old Indian woman in the neighbourhood was fixed on as the witch. Those girls were much attended to and rendered of great importance by the public as well as private notice which was taken of them. Several private fasts were kept at the house of the minister, whose daughter one of them was; several more public were kept by the whole village; and, at length, a general fast was proclaimed through the colony, to seek to God to rebuke satan, &c. The effect of these measures, as well as of the compassion expressed for them by all visitors, and the deep interest taken by all in their pretended misfortunes, not only confirmed the girls in an imposture productive of such flattering attentions, but produced other competitors, who were ambitious of the same distinction. Several other persons were now bewitched; and not only the old Indian, but two other old women, the one bed-ridden, and the other subject to melancholy and distraction, were accused, as witches. It was necessary to keep up the agitation already excited, by furnishing fresh subjects for astonishment; and, in a short time, the accusations extended to persons who were in reputable situations. The manner in which these accusations were received, evidenced such a degree of public credulity, that

the impostors seem to have been convinced of their power to assail with impunity any characters, which caprice or malignity might select for their victims. Such was the prevailing infatuation, that, in one instance, a child of five years old was charged as an accomplice in these pretended crimes; and, if the nearest relatives of the accused manifested either tenderness for their situation, or resentment at the injury done their friends, they drew upon themselves the vengeance of these profligate impostors, and were involved in the dangers from which they were desirous of rescuing those with whom they were most intimately connected. For going out of church when a person of fair fame was believed to be strongly alluded to from the pulpit, a sister was charged as a witch; and for accompanying, on her examination, a wife who had been apprehended, the husband was involved in the same prosecution, and was condemned and executed. In the presence of the magistrates, those flagitious persons, whose testimony supported these charges, affected extreme agony, and attributed to those whom they accused the power of torturing them by a look, and without appearing to approach them. The examinations were all taken in writing, and several of them are detailed at full length in Mr. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. They exhibit a deplorable degree of blind infatuation on one side, and the most atrocious profligacy on the other, which, if not well attested, could scarcely be supposed to have existed. One of them will be sufficient to convey an idea of the course which was pursued.

“At a court held at Salem, the 11th of April, 1692, by the honored Thomas Danforth, deputy-governor.

“Question.—John, who hurt you?—Answer. A goody Proctor first, and then Cloyse.

“Q. What did she do to you?—A. She brought the book to me.

“Q. John, tell the truth; who hurts you? Have you been hurt?—A. The first was a gentlewoman I saw.

“Q. Who next?—A. Goody Cloyse.

“Q. But who hurt you next?—A. Goody Proctor.

“Q. What did she do to you?—A. She choked me and brought the book.

“Q. How oft did she come to torment you?—A. A good many times; she and goody Cloyse.



“ Q. Do they come to you in the night as well as in the day?  
—A. They come most in the day.

“ Q. Who?—A. Goody Cloyse and goody Proctor.

“ Q. Where did she take hold of you?—A. Upon my throat, to stop my breath.

“ Q. Do you know goody Cloyse and goody Proctor?—A. Yes; here is goody Cloyse.

“ Q. by Cloyse. When did I hurt thee?—A. A great many times, Cloyse.

“ Oh! you are a grievous liar.

“ Q. What did the goody Cloyse do to you?—A. She pinched and bit me until the blood came.

“ Q. How long since this woman came and hurt you?—A. Yesterday, at meeting.

“ Q. At any time before?—A. Yes, a great many times,

“ Q. Mary Walcot, who hurts you?—A. A goody Cloyse.

“ Q. What did she do to you?—A. She hurt me.

“ Q. Did she bring the book?—A. Yes.

“ Q. What were you to do with it?—A. To touch it and be well.

“ Then the witness fell into a fit.

“ Q. Doth she come alone?—A. Sometimes alone, and sometimes in company with goody Nurse, and goody —, and a great many I do not know.

“ Then she fell into a fit again.

“ Q. Abigail Williams, did you see a company at Mr. Paris's house eat and drink?—A. Yes, that was their sacrament.

“ Q. How many were there?—A. About forty, and goody Cloyse and goody Goode were their deacons.

“ Q. What was it?—A. They say it was our blood, and they had it twice that day.

“ Q. Mary Walcot, have you seen a white man?—A. Yes, Sir, a great many times.

“ Q. What sort of a man was he?—A. A fine grave man; and when he came he made all the witches to tremble. ——— confirmed the same, and said they had such a sight at deacon Ingerroll's.

“ Q. Who was at deacon Ingerroll's then?—A. Goody Cloyse, goody Nurse, goody Corey, and goody Goode. Then Sarah Cloyse asked for water, and sat down as one seized with a dying

fainting fit; and several of the afflicted fell into fits, and some of them cried out, Oh! her spirit is gone to prison to her sister Nurse.

“Q. Elizabeth Proctor; you understand whereof you are charged, viz. to be guilty of sundry acts of witchcraft; what say you to it? Speak the truth. And so you that are afflicted, you must speak the truth, as you will answer it before God another day. Mary Walcot, doth this woman hurt you?—A. I never saw her so as to be hurt by her.

“Q. Mary Lewis, does she hurt you?—Her mouth was stopped.

“Q. Ann Putnam, does she hurt you?—She could not speak.

“Q. Abigail Williams, does she hurt you?—Her hand was thrust into her own mouth.

“Q. John, does she hurt you?—A. This is the woman that came in her shift and choked me.

“Q. Did she ever bring the book?—A. Yes, Sir.

“Q. What to do?—A. To write.

“Q. What, this woman?—A. Yes, Sir.

“Q. Are you sure of it?—A. Yes, Sir.

“Again Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam were spoken to by the court; but neither of them could make any answer, by reason of dumbness or other fits.

“Q. What do you say, goody Proctor, to these things?—A. I take God in heaven to be my witness that I know nothing of it, no more than the child unborn.

“Q. Ann Putnam, doth this woman hurt you?—A. Yes, Sir, a great many times.

“Then the accused looked on them, and they fell into fits.

“Q. She does not bring the book to you, does she?—A. Yes, Sir, often, and saith she hath made her maid set her hand to it.

“Q. Abigail Williams, does this woman hurt you?—A. Yes, Sir, often.

“Q. Does she bring the book to you?—A. Yes.

“Q. What would she have you to do with it?—A. To write in it, and I shall be well.

“Did not you, said Abigail to the accused, tell me that your maid had written? Answer, Proctor.—Dear child, it is not so. There is another judgment, dear child.

“Then Abigail and Ann had fits. By and by they cried out, look you, there is goody Proctor upon the ————. By and by both of them cried out upon goodman Proctor himself, and said he was a wizard. Immediately many, if not all, of the bewitched had grievous fits.

“Q. Ann Putnam, who hurt you?—A. Goodman Proctor, and his wife too.

“Afterwards some of the afflicted cried, there is Proctor going to take up Mrs. Pope’s feet; and her feet were immediately taken up.

“Q. What do you say, goodman Proctor, to these things?—A. I know not, I am innocent.

“Abigail Williams cried out, there is goodman Proctor going to Mrs. Pope, and immediately said Pope fell into a fit. You see the devil will deceive you; the children could see what you was going to do before the woman was hurt. I would advise you to repentance, for the devil is bringing you out. Abigail Williams cried out again, there is goodman Proctor going to hurt goody Bibber; and immediately goody Bibber fell into a fit. There was the like of Mary Walcot, and divers others. Benjamin Gould gave his testimony, that he had seen goodman ———— and his wife, Proctor and his wife, goody Cloyse, goody Nurse, and goody Griggs, in his chamber last Thursday night. Elizabeth Hubbard was in a trance during the whole examination. During the examination of Elizabeth Proctor, Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam both made offer to strike at said Proctor; but when Abigail’s hand came near, it opened, whereas it was made up into a fist before, and came down exceedingly lightly as it drew near to said Proctor; and at length, with open and extended fingers, touched Proctor’s head very lightly. Immediately Abigail cried out, her fingers, her fingers, her fingers burned; and Ann Putnam took on most grievously of her husband, and sunk down.”

Upon such senseless jargon as this, many persons of sober lives and unblemished characters were committed to prison; and the public prejudices had already pronounced their doom. Against charges of this nature, thus conducted, no defence could possibly be made. To be criminated, was to be found guilty. The very grossness of the imposition seemed to secure

its success, and the absurdity of the accusation to establish the verity of the charge.

The consternation became almost universal. It was soon perceived that all attempts to establish innocence must be ineffectual; and the person accused could only hope to obtain safety by confessing the truth of the charge, and criminating others. The extent of crime to be introduced by such a state of things, may readily be conceived. Every feeling of humanity is shocked, when we learn, that, to save themselves, children accused their parents; in some instances, parents their children; and, in one case, sentence of death was pronounced against a husband, on the testimony of his wife.

There were examples of persons who, under the terrors of examination, confessed themselves guilty, and accused others; but, unable afterwards to support the reproaches of conscience, retracted their confessions, under the persuasions, that death would be the consequence of doing so. One of these retractions will be inserted.

“The humble declaration of Margaret Jacobs, unto the honored court now sitting at Salem, showeth: That whereas your poor and humble declarant, being closely confined here in Salem gaol, for the crime of witchcraft, which crime, thanks be to the Lord, I am altogether ignorant of, as will appear at the great day of judgment: May it please your honored court, I was cried out upon by some of the possessed persons, as afflicting them; whereupon I was brought to my examination, which persons at the sight of me fell down, which did very much startle and affright me. The Lord above knows I knew nothing, in the least measure, how or who afflicted them. They told me, without doubt I did, or else they would not fall down at me: they told me, if I would not confess, I should be put down in the dungeon, and would be hanged; but, if I would confess, I should have my life; the which did so affright me with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life, made me make the like confession I did; which confession may it please the honored court, is altogether false and untrue. The very first night after I had made confession, I was in such horror of conscience that I could not sleep, for fear the devil would carry me away for telling such horrid lies. I was, may it please the honored court, sworn to my confession as I understand since; but then, at that time, was ig-

norant of it, not knowing what an oath did mean. The Lord I hope, in whom I trust, out of the abundance of his mercy, will forgive me my false forswearing of myself: what I said was altogether false, against my grandfather and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to save my life and to have my liberty; but the Lord charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror, that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death, with a quiet conscience, than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer. Whereupon my denying my confession, I was committed to close prison, where I have enjoyed more felicity in spirit, a thousand times, than I did before my enlargement. And now, may it please your honors, your declarant having in part given your honors a description of my condition, do leave it to your honors' pious and judicious discretions to take pity and compassion on my young and tender years, to act and do with me as the Lord above and your honors shall say good, having no friend but the Lord to plead my cause for me; not being guilty, in the least measure, of the crime of witchcraft, nor any other sin that deserves death from men: and your poor and humble declarant shall for ever pray, as she is bound in duty, for your honor's happiness in this life, and eternal felicity in the world to come."

During this reign of popular prejudice, the bounds of probability were so far transcended, that we scarcely know how to give credit to the well-attested fact, that, among those who were permitted to save themselves by confessing that they were witches, and joining in the accusation of their parents, were to be found children from seven to ten years of age! Among the numbers who were accused, only one person was acquitted. For this, he was indebted to one of the girls who would not join the others in criminating him. The examination had commenced in February, and the list of commitments had swelled to a lamentable bulk by June, when the new charter having arrived, commissioners of *oyer* and *terminer* were appointed for the trial of persons charged with witchcraft. By this court, a considerable number were condemned, of whom nineteen, protesting their ignorance, were executed. It is observed by Mr. Hutchinson, that those who were condemned and not executed had most probably saved themselves by a confession of their guilt.

Fortunately for those who were still to be tried, the legislature convened under the new charter, created a regular tribunal for the trial of criminal as well as civil cases, and the court of commissioners rose to set no more. The first session of the regular court for the trial of criminal cases was to be held in January, and this delay was favorable to reflection and to the recovery of the public reason. Other causes contributed to this event. There remained yet in the various prisons of the colony a vast number of women, many of whom were of the most reputable families in the towns in which they had resided; and many of the very first rank had been hinted at, and some expressly named, by the bewitched and confessing witches. A Mr. Bradstreet, who had been appointed one of the council, and was soon after the old governor of that name, but who, as a justice of the peace, was suspected of not prosecuting with sufficient rigor, was named by the witnesses as a confederate, and found it necessary to abscond. The governor's lady, it is said, and the wife of one of the ministers, who had favored this persecution, were among the accused; and a charge was also brought against the secretary of the colony of Connecticut.

Although the violence of the torrent of prejudice was beginning to abate, yet the grand jury, in January, found true bills against fifty persons, but of those brought to trial, only three were condemned, and they were not executed. All those who were not tried in January, were discharged by order of the governor; and never says Mr. Hutchinson, has such a jail delivery been known in New England; and never was there given a more melancholy proof of the degree of depravity always to be counted on when the public passions countenance crime.

## POLITICAL HISTORY,

AND

### *Revolution of North America.*

WE have seen that America was originally peopled by uncivilized tribes, who lived mostly by hunting and fishing; and that the Europeans, who first visited these shores, treating the na-

tives as wild beasts of the forests, which have no property in the woods where they roam, planted the standard of their respective masters where they first landed, and in their names claimed the country by right of discovery. Prior to any settlement in North America, numerous titles of this kind were acquired by the English, French, Spanish, and Dutch, navigators, who came hither for the purposes of fishing and trading with the natives. Slight as such titles were, they were afterwards the causes of contention between the European nations. The subjects of different princes often laid claim to the same tract of country, because both had discovered the same river or promontory; or because the extent of their respective claims was undetermined. While the settlements in this vast uncultivated country were inconsiderable and scattered, and the trade of it confined to the bartering of a few trinkets for furs, a trade carried on by some adventurers, the interfering of claims produced no important controversy among the settlers or the nations of Europe. But in proportion to the progress of population, and the growth of the American trade, the jealousies of the nations, which had made early discoveries and settlements on this coast, were alarmed; ancient claims were revived; and each power took measures to extend and secure its own possessions at the expence of a rival.

By a treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the English claimed a right of cutting logwood in the Bay of Campeachy, in South America. In the exercise of this right, the English merchants had frequent opportunities of carrying on a contraband trade with the Spanish settlements on the continent. To remedy this evil, the Spaniards resolved to annihilate a claim, which, though often acknowledged, had never been clearly ascertained. To effect this design they captured the English vessels, which they found along the Spanish coast, and many of the British subjects were doomed to work in the mines of Potosi. Repeated severities of this kind produced a war between England and Spain, in 1739. Porto Bello was taken from the Spaniards by Admiral Vernon. Commodore Anson, with a squadron of ships, sailed to the South Seas, distressed the Spanish settlements on the western shore of America, and took a galleon laden with immense riches. But, in 1741, a formidable armament, destined to attack Carthage, under the command of Lord Cathcart, returned unsuc-

cessful, with the loss of upwards of 12,000 British soldiers and seamen; and the defeat of the expedition raised a clamor against the minister, Sir Robert Walpole, which produced a change in the administration. This change removed the scene of war to Europe, so that America was not immediately affected by the subsequent transactions, except that Louisburg, the principal fortress of Cape Breton, was taken from the French by General Pepperell, assisted by Commodore Warren with a body of New England troops. This war ended in 1748, by the treaty of peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which restitution was made, on both sides, of all places taken during the war.

Peace however was of short duration. The French possessed Canada, and had made considerable settlements in Florida, claiming the country on both sides of the Mississippi, by right of discovery. To secure and extend their claims, they established a line of forts from Canada to Florida. They had secured the important pass at Niagara, and erected a fort at the junction of the Allegany and Monongahela rivers, called Fort du Quesne. They took pains to secure the friendship and assistance of the natives; encroachments were made upon the English possessions, and mutual injuries were committed. The disputes among the settlers in America, and the measures taken by the French to command all the trade of the St. Lawrence river on the north, and of the Mississippi on the south, excited a jealousy in the English Nation, which soon broke out in open war. The next year three other expeditions were undertaken in America against the French. One was conducted by General Monckton, who had orders to drive the French from their encroachments on the province of Nova Scotia. This expedition was attended with success. General Johnson was ordered with a body of troops to take possession of Crown Point, but he did not succeed. General Shirley commanded an expedition against the fort at Niagara, but lost the season by delay.

In 1755, General Braddock marched against Fort du Quesne, but, in penetrating through the wilderness, he incautiously fell into an ambuscade, and suffered a total defeat. General Braddock was killed; but the enemy not pursuing the vanquished across the river, being eager in plundering the baggage of the dead, a part of his troops were saved by flight under the conduct of the celebrated Washington, at that time a colonel, who then



began to exhibit proofs of those military talents, by which he afterwards conducted the armies of America to victory, and his country to independence. The ill success of these expeditions left the English settlements in America exposed to the depredations of both the French and Indians.

It was not until the campaign of 1758, that affairs assumed a more favorable aspect in America. But, upon a change of administration, Mr. Pitt was appointed minister, and the operations of war became more vigorous and successful. General Amherst was sent to take possession of Cape Breton; and, after a warm siege, the garrison of Louisburg surrendered by capitulation. General Forbes was successful in taking possession of Fort du Quesne, which the French thought fit to abandon. But General Abercrombie, who commanded the troops destined to act against the French at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, attacked the lines at Ticonderoga, and was defeated with a terrible slaughter of his troops. After this defeat, he returned to his camp at Lake George. The next year, more effectual measures were taken to subdue the French in America. General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson began the operations of the campaign by taking the French fort near Niagara. General Amherst took possession of the forts at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, which the French had abandoned. But the decisive blow, which proved fatal to the French interests in America, was the defeat of the French army, and the taking of Quebec, by the brave General Wolfe. Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and on the west of the St. Charles, which latter river empties into the former immediately below the town. Its fortifications are strong, and the city elegant and extensive. It consists of an upper and a lower town; the lower is built on the strand which stretches along the base of the lofty rock on which the upper is situated. This rock continues with a bold and steep front far to the westward, parallel to and near the river St. Lawrence. On this side, therefore, the city might well be deemed inaccessible. On the other it was protected by the river St. Charles, in which were several armed vessels and floating batteries, deriving additional security from a strong boom drawn across its mouth. The channel of this river is rough and broken, and its borders intersected with ravines. On its left or eastern bank was encamped a French army strongly entrenched, and amounting, according

to all the English accounts, to 10,000 men. The encampment extended from the St. Charles eastward to the river Montmorency; and its rear was covered by an almost impenetrable wood. To render this army still more formidable, it was commanded by a general, who, in the course of the present war, had already given signal proofs of active courage and consummate prudence. The same Marquis de Montcalm, who, when strong enough to act offensively, had so rapidly carried Oswego and Fort William-Henry; and who, when reduced to the defensive, had driven Abercrombie with so much slaughter from the walls of Ticonderoga, was now at the head of the army which covered Quebec, and was an antagonist in all respects worthy of Wolfe.

Although perceiving in their full extent the difficulties with which he was environed, the British general possessed a mind too ardent, and too replete with military enthusiasm, to yield to them. Unpromising as were his prospects, he did not hesitate respecting the part it became him to take. He could not submit to the disgrace of relinquishing an enterprise intrusted to him, while any human means for accomplishing his object remained unessayed.

He took possession of Point Levi, on the southern side of the St. Lawrence, where he erected several heavy batteries, which were opened on the town. These did great execution among the houses, many of which were set on fire and reduced to ashes, but made no considerable impression on the fortifications. The works were too strong, and at too great a distance from Point Levi, to be essentially affected by a cannonade from thence.

Nor could his ships be employed in this service. The elevation of the principal fortifications placed them beyond the reach of the fleet; and the river was so commanded by the batteries on shore, as to render a station in it near the town entirely ineligible.

The English general was sensible of the impracticability of reducing the place, unless he should be enabled to erect his batteries on the north side of St. Lawrence; to effect which he determined to use his utmost endeavours to bring Montcalm to a decisive engagement.

After several unavailing attempts, by the use of every military manœuvre his mind could suggest, to draw that experienced and

cautious officer from the strong and advantageous post he occupied, Wolfe resolved to pass the Montmorency, and to attack him in his intrenchments. Should even this hardy enterprise prove successful, the river St. Charles would still present an obstacle to his views not easily to be surmounted: but, to use his own heroic language, he was aware that "a victorious army finds no difficulties."

In consequence of this resolution, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and part of the second battalion of royal Americans, were ordered to be landed near the mouth of the Montmorency, under cover of the cannon of the ships of war; while two divisions, under Generals Townshend and Murray, prepared to cross that river higher up. The original plan was, to attack, first, a detached redoubt close to the water's edge, apparently unprotected by the fire from the intrenchments, in the hope that Montcalm might be induced to support this work; in which case it would be in the power of Wolfe to bring on the general engagement he so much desired. Should the French general submit to the loss of this redoubt, without any effort to preserve it, he might from thence examine with coolness the situation of the enemy; throw his army over the Montmorency; and regulate, by circumstances, his future operations.

On the approach of the British troops the redoubt was evacuated; and Wolfe observing some confusion in the French camp changed his original purpose, and determined to avail himself of the supposed impression of the moment, and not to defer the meditated attack. With this view he directed the grenadiers and royal Americans to form on the beach; where they were to wait until the whole army should be formed, and they should be properly sustained. Orders were at the same time dispatched to Townshend and Murray to have their divisions in readiness for fording the river.

Disregarding the orders which had been given, the grenadiers and royal Americans rushed forward with impetuous and irregular valor on the intrenchments of the enemy; where they were received with so steady and well supported a fire, that they were soon thrown into confusion, and suffered very severely in their retreat. The General advancing in person with the remaining brigades, the fugitives formed again in the rear of the army: but the plan of attack was effectually disconcerted, and the English

commander was compelled to give orders for repassing the river, and returning to the Island of Orleans; which was effected, not without considerable loss.

Rendered sensible by this disaster of the impracticability of approaching Quebec on the side of the Montmorency, while Montcalm chose to retain the strong post he at present occupied, the whole attention of Wolfe was once more turned to the St. Lawrence.

A plan was formed, in concert with the admiral, for the purpose of destroying the French ships, and distracting the enemy by descents on the bank; and 1200 men, under the command of General Murray, were embarked in transports for its execution. The bank of the river, where practicable, was not undefended. He made two vigorous attempts to land on the northern shore without success. In the third he was more fortunate. By a sudden descent at Chambaud he burnt a valuable magazine filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions; but the main object of the expedition, which was the destruction of the French ships in the river, totally miscarried. They were secured in such a manner as not to be approached either by the fleet or army. Murray was, therefore, recalled by the commander-in-chief. He returned disappointed; but brought with him the intelligence that Niagara was taken; that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned; and that General Amherst was making preparations to attack the Isle aux Noix.

This intelligence was joyfully received, but it promised no immediate assistance; and the season for action was rapidly wasting away. Nor was it easy for Wolfe to avoid contrasting the success attending British arms under other auspices, with the ill fortune hitherto experienced by himself. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disaster at Montmorency; and the extreme chagrin of his spirits preying on his delicate frame sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh; and, as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, "he declared to his intimate friends his resolution not to survive the disgrace he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise." His dispatches, addressed about this time to Mr. Pitt, evince his perfect sense of the almost desperate situation of his affairs, and seemed intended to prepare the nation for the ill success with which he was threatened. "We

have," said he, "almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In such a choice of difficulties I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but the courage of a handful of brave men should be exercised only where there is hope of a favorable event." "The whole letter," says Mr. Belsham, "exhibits a picture of gloomy grandeur, of a mind revolving and meditating designs of the temerity of which it is perfectly conscious." Nor is the delicacy it manifests less worthy of recollection than its magnanimity. Severely as he must have been disappointed at the failure on the part of General Amherst to execute his part of the plan of co-operation concerted between the two armies, a failure to which all his own cruel embarrassments were attributable, not a sentence was permitted to escape himself, manifesting the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction at the conduct of that officer. He seemed perfectly persuaded that the utmost exertions of the commander-in-chief were used to accomplish every thing which had been expected from him.

It having been determined in council that all their future efforts should be directed towards the effecting of a landing above the town, the camp in the Island of Orleans was entirely broken up; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part carried higher up the river.

Montcalm could not view this movement without alarm. That part of Quebec which faces the country had not been fortified with so much care as those which look towards the water; and he was apprehensive that a landing might be effected high up the river, and the town approached on its weaker side. At the same time he could not safely relinquish his present position, because the facility of transporting their troops, which the command of the water gave the English, would enable them to seize the ground on which he was now encamped, should his army be moved above the town to prevent their landing in their quarter. Thus embarrassed, he detached Monsieur de Bougainville with 1500 men to watch the motions of the English up the river, and prevent their landing.

In this state of things a bold plan was formed, well adapted to the adventurous spirit of the English general, and the desperate situation of his affairs. This was to land the troops in the

night, a small distance above the city, on the northern bank of the river, and by scaling a precipice, accessible only by a narrow path, and therefore but weakly guarded, to gain by the morning the heights behind the town, where it has been stated to have been but slightly fortified. The difficulties attending the execution of this scheme are represented to have been numerous. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the intended and only practicable landing-place so narrow as easily to be missed in the dark, and the steep above, such as not to be ascended without difficulty even when unopposed. Under these circumstances, it was apparent that a discovery and a vigorous opposition would not only defeat the enterprise, but probably occasion the destruction of a great part of the troops engaged in it.

This bold resolution being taken, the admiral moved up the river, several leagues above the place where it was designed to land, and made demonstrations of an intention to debark a body of troops at different places. During the night a strong detachment was put on board the flat-bottomed boats, which fell silently down with the tide to the place fixed on for the descent, which was made with equal secrecy and vigor about a mile above Cape Diamond, an hour before day-break, Wolfe himself being the first man who leaped on shore. The highlanders and light infantry who composed the van, under the particular command of Colonel Howe, were intended to secure a four-gun battery which defended an intrenched path, by which the heights were to be ascended; and, dislodging from thence a captain's guard, to cover the landing of the remaining troops. The violence of the current forced them rather below the point of debarkation, and this circumstance increased their difficulties. However, scrambling up the precipice by the aid of the rugged projections of the rocks, and the branches of trees and plants growing on the cliffs, into which it was every where broken, they gained the heights, and very quickly dispersed the guard, which did not make the resistance to have been expected from the advantages of their situation. The whole army followed, up this narrow pass; and having only encountered a scattering fire from some Canadians and Indians, from which very little loss was sustained, they gained the summit by the break of day, where the corps were formed under their respective leaders.

The intelligence that the English were in possession of the

heights of Abraham was soon conveyed to Montcalm. Believing it to be impossible that an enterprise attended with so much difficulty could have been achieved, that officer supposed it to be only a feint, made with a small detachment, for the purpose of drawing him from his present strong and well-chosen position.

On being convinced of his error, he comprehended at once the full force of the advantage which had been gained, and the necessity it imposed on him of changing his plan of operations. He perceived that a battle was no longer avoidable, and that the fate of Quebec depended on its issue. He prepared for it with promptness and courage. Leaving his strong camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St. Charles for the purpose of attacking the English army.

This movement was made in the view of Wolfe, who without loss of time formed his order for battle. His right wing was commanded by General Monckton, and his left by General Murray. The right flank was covered by the Louisburg grenadiers, and the rear and left by the light infantry of Howe, who had now returned from the four-gun battery. The reserve consisted of Webb's regiment drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large intervals between them.

Montcalm had formed his right and left wing about equally of European and Colonial troops. His centre consisted of a column of Europeans; and two small field-pieces were brought up to play on the English line.

In this order he marched to the attack, advancing in his front about 1500 militia and Indians, who were sheltered by bushes, from whence they kept on the English an irregular and galling fire.

The movement of the French indicating an intention to flank his left, General Wolfe ordered the battalion of Amherst, with the two battalions of royal Americans, to that part of his line; where they were formed *en potence* under General Townshend, presenting to the enemy a double front.

Disregarding the irregular fire of the Canadian militia and Indians, he ordered his troops to reserve themselves for the main body of the enemy, advancing in the rear of those irregulars; but in the mean time a field-piece which had been brought up played briskly and with effect on the French column.

Montcalm had taken post on the left of the French army, and

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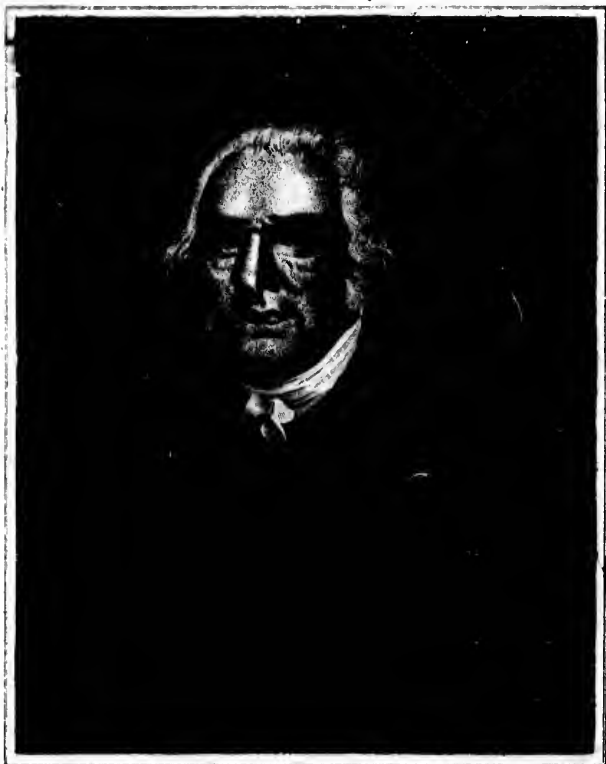
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Wolfe on the right of the English ; so that the two generals met each other, at the head of their respective troops, where the battle was most severe. The French advanced briskly to the charge, and commenced the action with great animation. The English are stated to have reserved their fire until the enemy were within forty yards of them, when they gave it with immense effect. It was kept up for some time with great spirit ; when Wolfe, advancing at the head of Bragg's and the Louisburg grenadiers with charged bayonets, received a mortal wound of which he soon afterwards expired. Undismayed by the loss of their general, the English continued their exertions under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved. He also received a ball through his body, which is stated to have passed through his lungs, and General Townshend took command of the British army. About the same time Montcalm, fighting in front of his battalion, received a mortal wound, and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The left wing and centre of the French began to give way ; and, being pressed close with the English bayonet and Highland broad-sword, were driven, notwithstanding one attempt to rally and renew the attack, partly into Quebec, and partly over the St. Charles river.

On the left and rear of the English the action was less severe, and the attack made by the enemy much less animated. The light infantry had been placed in houses ; and Colonel Howe, the better to support them, had taken post with two companies, still further to the left, behind a copse. As the right of the enemy attacked the English left, he sallied from this position against their flanks, and threw them into disorder. In this critical moment, Townshend advanced several platoons of Amherst's regiment against their front ; and thus was completely frustrated the intention the French general had formed of turning the left flank. Townshend maintained his position, for the purpose of keeping in check the right wing of the enemy, and a body of savages stationed opposite the light infantry, for the purpose of getting into and falling on their rear.

In this state of the action, Townshend was informed that the command had devolved on him. Proceeding instantly to the centre, he found that part of the army thrown into some disorder by the ardor of pursuit, and his efforts were employed in restoring the line. Scarcely was this effected, when Monsieur de

Bougainville, who had been detached as high as Cape Rouge to prevent a landing above, and who had hastened to the assistance of Montcalm, on his first hearing that the English had gained the plains of Abraham, appeared in the rear at the head of 1500 men. Fortunately the right wing of the enemy, as well as their left and centre, was now entirely broken, and had been driven off the field. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery being advanced towards Bougainville, he retired; and Townshend did not think it advisable to risk the important advantages already gained, by a pursuit of this fresh body of troops through a difficult country.

In this decisive battle, in which the numbers seem to have been nearly equal, but in which the English had the immense advantage of being all disciplined troops, while little more than half the enemy were of the same description, the French regulars, who do not appear to have been well supported by the militia or Indians, were almost entirely cut to pieces.

On the part of the English the loss was by no means so considerable as the fierceness of the action would have induced us to expect. The killed and wounded were less than 600 men; but among the former was the commander-in-chief. This gallant officer, of whom the most exalted expectations had very justly been formed; whose uncommon merit and singular fate have presented a rich theme for panegyric to both the poet and historian, received, in the commencement of the action, a ball in his wrist: but without discovering the least discomposure, wrapping a handkerchief around his arm, he continued to encourage his troops. Soon afterwards he received a shot in the groin. This painful wound he also concealed; and was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, when a third bullet pierced his breast. Though expiring, it was with reluctance he permitted himself to be conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered in the agonies of death the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. Being told that the enemy was visibly broken, he reclined his head, from extreme faintness, on the arm of an officer standing near him, but was soon aroused with the distant sound of—"They fly! they fly!" "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. On being answered—"The French!" "Then," said he, "I depart content;" and almost immediately expired in the arms of victory. "A death

more glorious, and attended with circumstances more picturesque and interesting, is no where to be found in the annals of history."

With less of good fortune, but not less of heroism, expired the equally gallant Montcalm. The same love of glory, and the same fearlessness of death, which in so remarkable a manner distinguished the British hero, were not less conspicuous in the conduct of his competitor for victory and for fame. He expressed the highest satisfaction at hearing that his wound was mortal; and, when told he could survive only a few hours, quickly replied,—“So much the better: I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec.”

The first days after the action were employed by General Townshend in fortifying his camp, cutting a road up the precipice for the conveyance of his heavy artillery to the batteries on the heights, and making the necessary preparations for the siege of Quebec. But before his batteries were opened the town capitulated, on condition that the inhabitants should, during the war, be protected in the free exercise of their religion, and the full enjoyment of their civil rights, leaving their future destinies to be decided by the general peace.

General Townshend seems to have been induced to allow better terms than would otherwise have been granted, from an apprehension that the place might still be relieved by Bougainville, or by a detachment from the army near Montreal.

Quebec, now in the possession of the English, was garrisoned by about 5000 men, under the command of General Murray; and the fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence. And Canada at the conclusion of the war was ceded to Great Britain, in whose possession it still remains.

Colonel Grant in 1761, defeated the Cherokees in Carolina, and obliged them to sue for peace. The next year Martinico was taken by Admiral Rodney and General Monckton; and also the Island of Grenada, St. Vincent's, and others. The capture of these was soon followed by the surrender of the Havannah, the capital of the Island of Cuba.

In 1763, a definitive treaty of peace was concluded at Paris, between Great Britain, France, and Spain; by which the English ceded to the French several islands which they had taken from them in the West Indies, but were confirmed in the pos-

session of all North America on this side the Mississippi, except the Island of Orleans. But this war, however brilliant the successes and glorious the event, proved the cause of great and unexpected misfortunes to Great Britain. Engaged with the combined powers of France and Spain during several years, her exertions were surprising, and her expence immense. To discharge the debts of the nation, the parliament was obliged to have recourse to new expedients for raising money. Previous to the last treaty in 1763, the parliament had been satisfied to raise a revenue from the American colonies, by a monopoly of their trade.

It will be proper here to state, that there were four kinds of government established in the British American colonies. The first was a charter government, by which the powers of legislation was vested in a governor, council, and assembly, chosen by the people: of this kind were the governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island. The second was a proprietary government, in which the proprietor of the province was governor; although he generally resided abroad, and administered the government by a deputy of his own appointment; the assembly only being chosen by the people: such were the governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and originally of New Jersey and Carolina. The third kind was that of royal government, where the governor and council were appointed by the crown, and the assembly by the people: of this kind were the governments of New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey (after the year 1702), Virginia, the Carolinas after the resignation of the proprietors in 1728, and Georgia. The fourth kind was that of Massachussetts, which differed from all the rest. The governor was appointed by the king; so far it was a royal government; but the members of the council were elected by the representatives of the people. The governor, however, had a right to negative a certain number, but not to fill up vacancies thus occasioned.

This variety of constitutions created different degrees of dependance on the crown. In the royal government, to render a law valid, it was constitutionally required that it should be ratified by the king; but the charter governments were empowered to enact laws, and no ratification by the king was necessary. It was only required that such laws should not be contrary to the

laws of England. The charter of Connecticut was express to this purpose.

Such was the state of the British colonies at the conclusion of the war in 1763. Their flourishing condition at this time was remarkable and striking: their trade had prospered in the midst of all the difficulties and distresses of war in which they were so nearly and so immediately concerned. Their population continued on the increase, notwithstanding the ravages and depredations that had been so fiercely carried on by the French, and the native Indians in their alliance. They abounded with intelligent and active individuals of all denominations. They were flushed with the uncommon prosperity that had attended them in their commercial affairs and military transactions. Hence they were ready for all kind of undertakings, and saw no limits to their hopes and expectations.

Their improvements in the necessary and useful arts did honor to their industry and ingenuity. Though they did not live in the luxury of Europe, they had all the solid and substantial enjoyments of life, and were not unacquainted with many of its elegancies and refinements. A circumstance much to their praise is, that, notwithstanding their peculiar addiction to those occupations of which lucre is the sole object, they were duly attentive to cultivate the field of learning; and they have ever since their first foundation been particularly careful to provide for the education of the rising generation. Their vast augmentation of internal trade and external commerce, was not merely owing to their position and facility of communication with other parts; it arose also from their natural turn and temper, full of schemes and projects; ever aiming at new discoveries, and continually employed in the search of means of improving their condition. Their industry carried them into every quarter from whence profit could be derived. There was scarcely any part of the American hemisphere to which they had not extended their navigation. They were continually exploring new sources of trade, and were found in every spot where business could be transacted. To this extensive and incessant application to commerce, they added an equal vigilance in the administration of their affairs at home. The progress of agriculture, and the improvement of their domestic circumstances, were attended to with so much labor and care, that it may be strictly said, that nature had given them

nothing of which they did not make the most. In the midst of this solicitude and toil in matters of business, the affairs of government were conducted with a steadiness, prudence, and activity, seldom equalled, and never exceeded, in the best regulated countries of Europe.

## C O N T E S T

BETWEEN

### *Great Britain and the United Colonies.*

At the beginning of the war with France, commissioners from many of the colonies had assembled at Albany, who proposed that a great council should be formed by deputies from the several colonies, which, with a general governor to be appointed by the crown, should be empowered to take measures for the common safety, and to raise money for the execution of their designs. This proposal was not approved by the British ministry; but in lieu of this plan, it was proposed, that the governors of the colonies, with one or two of their council, should assemble and concert measures for the general defence; erect forts, levy troops, and draw on the treasury of England for the monies that should be wanted; the British treasury to be reimbursed by a tax on the colonies, to be laid by the parliament. To this plan, which implied an avowal of the right of parliament to tax the colonies, the provincial assemblies objected with unshaken firmness. Hence it seems that the British parliament, even before the war, had it in contemplation to exercise the right of taxing the colonies, without permitting them to be represented. The colonies, however, with an uncommon foresight and firmness, defeated these attempts, and the war was carried on by requisitions on the colonies for supplies of men and money, or by voluntary contributions.

Peace with France was no sooner concluded, than the English parliament resumed the scheme of taxing America; and, in March, 1764, a bill was passed, by which heavy duties were laid on goods imported by the colonists from such West India Islands as did not belong to Great Britain; at the same time

that these duties were to be paid into the exchequer in specie: and, in the same session, another bill was framed to restrain the currency of paper-money in the colonies themselves. The passing of these acts threw the whole colonies into the utmost ferment. Vehement remonstrances were made to the ministry, and every argument urged that reason or ingenuity could suggest, but to no purpose. The Americans, finding both entreaty and remonstrance alike ineffectual, united in an agreement to import no more of the manufactures of Great Britain, until these acts should be repealed; and to encourage to the utmost of their power every thing of that kind among themselves. This ferment was still further increased by the bringing in of a bill to impose a stamp duty on law and other proceedings; the reason assigned for this most impolitic measure was, that a sum might be raised sufficient for the defence of the colonies against a foreign enemy; but this pretence was so far from giving any satisfaction to the Americans, that it excited their indignation to the utmost degree. They not only asserted that they were abundantly able to defend themselves against any foreign enemy, but denied that England had any right to tax them at all, unless they were allowed the privilege of sending representatives to the British parliament.

It would be superfluous to enter into any of the arguments used by the contending parties on this important occasion. The stamp act, after a violent opposition, was passed, and its reception in America was such as might have been expected. News of its passing, and the act itself, first arrived at Boston, when the bells were muffled and rung a funeral peal. The act was hawked about the streets with a death's head affixed to it, and styled the "Folly of England, and the ruin of America;" and afterwards publicly burnt by the enraged populace. The stamps themselves were seized and destroyed; those who were to receive the stamp duties were compelled to resign their offices; and such of the Americans as advocated the cause of the British government had their houses plundered and burnt.

It was now found absolutely necessary either to yield to the colonists, by repealing the obnoxious statutes, or to enforce them by arms. The ferment had diffused itself universally throughout the colonies. Non-importation agreements were every where entered into; and it was even resolved to prevent



the sale of any more British goods after the present year. American manufactures, though dearer, as well as inferior in quality to the British, were universally preferred. An association was entered into against eating of lamb, in order to promote the growth of wool; and the ladies with cheerfulness agreed to renounce the use of every species of ornament manufactured in Britain. Such a general and alarming confederacy determined the ministry to repeal some of the most obnoxious statutes; and to this they were the more inclined by a petition from the first American congress, held at New York, in October, 1765.

The stamp act was therefore repealed, to the universal joy of the Americans, and indeed to the general satisfaction of the English, whose manufactures had begun to suffer very severely in consequence of the American association against them. The ministry were conscious, that, in repealing this obnoxious act, they yielded to the Americans; and therefore, to support, as they thought, the dignity of Great Britain, it was judged proper to publish a declaratory bill, setting forth the authority of the mother country over her colonies, and her power to bind them by laws and statutes *in all cases whatever*. This much diminished the joy with which the repeal of the stamp act was received in America. It was considered as a proper reason to enforce any claims equally prejudicial with the stamp act, which might hereafter be set up; a spirit of jealousy pervaded the whole continent, and a strong party was formed, watchful on every occasion to guard against the supposed encroachments of the British power.

It was not long before an occasion offered, in which the Americans manifested the spirit of freedom. The Rockingham ministry had passed an act, for providing the troops stationed in different parts of the colonies with such accommodations as were necessary for them. The assembly of New York, however, took upon them to alter the mode of execution prescribed by the act of parliament, and to substitute one of their own. This gave great offence to the new ministry, and rendered them, though composed of those who had been active against the stamp bill, less favorable to the colonies than in all probability they would have otherwise been. An unfortunate incident at the same time occurred, which threw every thing once more into confusion. One of the new ministry, Mr. Charles Townshend, having de-

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clared that he could find a way of taxing the Americans without giving them offence, was called upon to propose his plan. This was by imposing a duty upon tea, paper, painters' colors, and glass, imported into America. The undutiful behaviour of the New York assembly, and that of Boston, which had proceeded in a similar manner, caused this bill to meet with less opposition than it otherwise might have done. As a punishment to the refractory assemblies, the legislative power was taken from that of New York, until it should fully comply with the terms of the act. That of Boston at last submitted with reluctance. The bill for the new taxes was quickly passed, and sent to America in 1768.

A ferment much greater than that occasioned by the stamp act now took place, which was further augmented by the news that a number of troops had been ordered to repair to Boston, to keep the inhabitants in awe. A dreadful alarm pervaded the whole town; and the people called on the governor to convene a general assembly, in order to remove their fears of the military; who they said were to be assembled to overthrow their liberties, and force obedience to law to which they were entirely averse. The governor replied, that it was no longer in his power to call an assembly; having, in his last instructions from England, been required to wait the king's orders, the matter being then under consideration at home. Being thus refused, the people took upon themselves the formation of an assembly, which they called a *Convention*. The proceedings and resolutions of this were conformable to their former declarations; but now they went a step further, and, under pretence of an approaching rupture with France, ordered the inhabitants to put themselves in a posture of defence against any sudden attack of an enemy; and circular letters were directed to all the towns in the province, acquainting them with the resolutions that had been taken in the capital, and exhorting them to proceed in the same manner. The town of Hatfield alone refused its concurrence; but this opposition served only to expose its inhabitants to the censure and contempt of the rest of the colonies. The convention assured the governor of their pacific intentions, and renewed their request that an assembly might be called; but being refused an audience, and threatened with being treated as rebels, they at last thought proper to dissolve of themselves, and sent over to

England a circumstantial account of their proceedings, with the reason of their having assembled in the manner already mentioned.

The expected troops arrived at Boston on the very day on which the convention broke up, and had some houses in the town prepared for their reception. Their arrival had a considerable influence on the people, and for some time seemed to put an end to the disturbances; but the seeds of discord had taken such deep root, that it was impossible to destroy them. The late spirited behaviour in Boston had given the greatest offence in England; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of opposition, an address from both houses of parliament was presented to the king; in which the daring behaviour of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay was circumstantially set forth, and the most vigorous measures recommended for reducing them to obedience. The Americans, however, continued steadfast in the ideas they had adopted. Though the troops had for some time quieted the disturbances, yet the calm continued no longer than they appeared respectable on account of their number; but, as soon as this was diminished by the departure of a large detachment, the remainder were treated with contempt, and it was even resolved to expel them altogether. The country people took up arms for this purpose, and were to have assisted their friends in Boston; but, before the plot could be put in execution, an event happened which put an end to every idea of reconciliation betwixt the contending parties.

On the 5th of March, 1770, a scuffle happened between some soldiers and a party of the town's people. The soldiers, while under arms, were pressed upon, insulted, and pelted, by a mob armed with clubs, sticks, and snowballs covering stones; they were also dared to fire. In this situation, one of the soldiers, who had received a blow, in resentment fired at the supposed aggressor. This was followed by a single discharge from six others; so that three of the inhabitants were killed, and five dangerously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion; and such was the temper, force, and number, of the inhabitants, that nothing but an engagement to remove the troops out of the town, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the townsmen from falling on the soldiers. The killed were buried in one vault, and in a most respectful manner, in

order to express the indignation of the inhabitants at the slaughter of their brethren, by soldiers quartered among them, in violation of their civil liberties. Captain Preston, who commanded the party which fired on the inhabitants, was committed to jail, and afterwards tried; but the captain, and six of the men, were acquitted, and two only brought in guilty of manslaughter; for it appeared on the trial, that the soldiers were insulted, threatened, and pelted, before they fired; and it was also proved, that only seven guns were fired by the eight prisoners; these circumstances, therefore, induced the jury to make a favorable verdict. The result of the trial reflected great honor on John Adams, and Josiah Quincey, Esqrs., the council for the prisoners; and also on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinions. The consequences of this tragical event sunk deep into the minds of the people, and were made subservient to important purposes.

The new assembly proceeded in the most formal manner to disavow the supremacy of the British legislature; accused the parliament of Britain of having violated the natural rights of the Americans in a number of instances. Copies of the transactions of this assembly were transmitted to every town in Massachusetts, exhorting the inhabitants to rouse themselves, and exert every nerve in opposition to the iron hand of oppression, which was daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty. The disturbances were also greatly heightened by an accidental discovery that Mr. Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts Bay, had written several confidential letters to people in power in England, complaining of the behaviour of the province, recommending vigorous measures against them, and, among other things, asserting, that "there must be an abridgement of what is called British liberty." Letters of this kind had somehow or other fallen into the hands of the agent for the colony at London. They were immediately transmitted to Boston, where the assembly was sitting, by whom they were laid before the governor, who was thus reduced to a very mortifying situation. Losing every idea of respect or friendship for him as their governor, they instantly dispatched a petition to the king, requesting him to remove the governor and deputy-governor from their places; but to this they not only received no favorable answer, but the petition itself was declared groundless and scandalous.

Matters were now ripe for the utmost extremities on the part of the Americans; and they were brought on in the following manner: though the colonists had entered into a non-importation agreement against tea as well as all other commodities from Britain, it had nevertheless found its way into America, though in smaller quantities than before. This was sensibly felt by the East India Company, who had now agreed to pay a large sum annually to government; in recompence for which compliance, and to make up their losses in other respects, they were empowered to export their tea free from any duty payable in Britain; and in consequence of this permission, several ships freighted with the commodity were sent to North America, and proper agents appointed for disposing of it. The Americans now perceiving that the tax was thus likely to be enforced whether they would or not, determined to take every possible method to prevent the tea from being landed, as well knowing that it would be impossible to hinder the sale, should the commodity once be brought on shore. For this purpose the people assembled in great numbers, forcing those to whom the tea was consigned to resign their offices, and to promise solemnly never to resume them; and committees were appointed to examine the accounts of merchants, and make public tests, declaring such as would not take them enemies to their country. Nor was this behaviour confined to the colony of Massachusetts Bay; the rest of the provinces entered into the contest with the same warmth, and manifested the same resolution to oppose the mother-country.

In the midst of this confusion three ships laden with tea arrived at Boston; but so much were the captains alarmed at the disposition which seemed to prevail among the people, that they offered, providing they could obtain the proper discharges from the tea consignees, customhouse, and governor, to return to Britain without landing their cargoes. The parties concerned, however, though they durst not order the tea to be landed, refused to grant the discharges required. The ships, therefore, would have been obliged to remain in the harbour; but the people, apprehensive that if they remained there the tea would be landed in small quantities, and disposed of in spite of every endeavour to prevent it, resolved to destroy it at once. This resolution was executed with equal speed and secrecy. The very evening after the above-mentioned discharges had been refused, a number o

people, dressed like Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships, and threw into the sea their whole cargoes, consisting of 342 chests of tea; after which they retired without making any further disturbance, or doing any more damage. No tea was destroyed in other places, though the same spirit was every where manifested. At Philadelphia the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the vessels up the river; and at New York, though the governor caused some tea to be landed under the protection of a man of war, he was obliged to deliver it up to the custody of the people, to prevent its being sold.

The destruction of the tea at Boston, which happened in November 1773, was the immediate prelude to the disasters attending civil discord. Government finding themselves every where insulted and despised, resolved to enforce their authority by all possible means; and as Boston had been the principal scene of the riots and outrages, it was determined to punish that city in an exemplary manner. Parliament was acquainted by a message from his majesty with the undutiful behaviour of the city of Boston, as well as of all the colonies, recommending at the same time the most vigorous and spirited exertions to reduce them to obedience. The parliament in its address promised a ready compliance; and indeed the Americans, by their outrageous behaviour, had now lost many of their partisans. It was proposed to lay a fine on the town of Boston equal to the price of the tea which had been destroyed, and to shut up its port by armed vessels until the refractory spirit of the inhabitants should be subdued; which it was thought must quickly yield, as a total stop would thus be put to their trade. The bill was strongly opposed on the same grounds that the other had been; and it was predicted, that instead of having any tendency to reconcile or subdue the Americans, it would infallibly exasperate them beyond any possibility of reconciliation. The petitions against it, presented by the colony's agent, pointed out the same consequence in the strongest terms, and in the most positive manner declared that the Americans never would submit to it; but such was the infatuation attending every rank and degree of men, that it never was imagined that the Americans would dare to resist the parent state openly, but would in the end submit implicitly to her commands. In this confidence a third bill was proposed for the impartial administration of justice on such persons as might be

employed in the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay. By this act it was provided, that should any persons acting in that capacity be indicted for murder, and not able to obtain a fair trial in the province, they might be sent by the governor to England, or to some other colony, if necessary, to be tried for the supposed crime.

These three bills having passed so easily, the ministry proposed a fourth, relative to the government of Canada; which it was said, had not yet been settled on any proper plan. By this bill the extent of that province was greatly enlarged; its affairs were put under the direction of a council into which Roman Catholics were to be admitted; the Roman Catholic clergy were secured in their possessions and the usual perquisites from those of their own profession. The council above mentioned were to be appointed by the crown, to be removable at its pleasure; and to be invested with every legislative power excepting that of taxation.

No sooner were these laws made known in America, than they cemented the union of the colonies almost beyond any possibility of dissolving it. The assembly of Massachusetts Bay had passed a vote against the judges accepting salaries from the crown, and put the question, Whether they would accept them as usual from the general assembly? Four answered in the affirmative; but Peter Oliver the chief justice refused. A petition against him, and an accusation, were brought before the governor; but the latter refused the accusation, and declined to interfere in the matter: but as they still insisted for what they called justice against Mr. Oliver, the governor thought proper to put an end to the matter by dissolving the assembly.

In this situation of affairs a new alarm was occasioned by the news of the port bill. This had been totally unexpected, and was received with the most extravagant expressions of displeasure among the populace; and while these continued, the new governor, General Gage, arrived from England. He had been chosen to this office on account of his being well acquainted in America, and generally agreeable to the people; but human wisdom could not now point out a method by which the flame could be allayed. The first act of his office as governor was to remove the assembly to Salem, a town 17 miles distant, in consequence of the late act. When this was intimated to the assembly, they replied, by requesting him to appoint a day of pub-



the humiliation for deprecating the wrath of heaven, but met with a refusal. When met at Salem, they passed a resolution, declaring the necessity of a general congress composed of delegates from all the provinces, in order to take the affairs of the colonies at large into consideration; and five gentlemen, remarkable for their opposition to the British measures, were chosen to represent that of Massachusetts Bay. They then proceeded with all expedition to draw up a declaration, containing a detail of the grievances they labored under, and the necessity of exerting themselves against lawless power: they set forth the disregard shown to their petitions, and the attempts of Great Britain to destroy their ancient constitution; and concluded with exhorting the inhabitants of the colony to obstruct, by every method in their power, such evil designs, recommending at the same time a total renunciation of every thing imported from Great Britain, till a redress of grievances could be procured.

Intelligence of this declaration was carried to the governor on the very day that it was completed; on which he dissolved the assembly. This was followed by an address from the inhabitants of Salem in favor of those of Boston, and concluding with these remarkable words: By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours.

It had been fondly hoped by the ministerial party at home, that the advantages which other towns of the colony might derive from the annihilation of the trade of Boston would make them readily acquiesce in the measure of shutting up that port, and rather rejoice in it than otherwise; but the words of the address above mentioned seemed to preclude all hope of this kind; and subsequent transactions soon manifested it to be totally vain. No sooner did intelligence arrive of the remaining bills passed in the session of 1774, than the cause of Boston became the cause of all the colonies. The port bill had already occasioned violent commotions throughout them all. It had been reprobated in provincial meetings, and resistance even to the last had been re-



commended against such oppression. In Virginia, the first of June, the day on which the port of Boston was to be shut up, was held as a day of humiliation, and a public intercession in favor of America was enjoined. The style of the prayer enjoined at this time was, that "God would give the people one heart and one mind; firmly to oppose every invasion of the American rights." The Virginians, however, did not content themselves with acts of religion. They recommended in the strongest manner a general congress of all the colonies, as fully persuaded that an attempt to tax any colony in an arbitrary manner was in reality an attack upon them all, and must ultimately end in the ruin of them all.

The provinces of New York and Pennsylvania, however, were less sanguine than the rest, being so closely connected in the way of trade with Great Britain, that the giving it up entirely appeared a matter of the most serious magnitude, and not to be thought of but after every other method had failed. The intelligence of the remaining bills respecting Boston, however, spread a fresh alarm throughout the continent, and fixed those who had seemed to be the most wavering. The proposal of giving up all commercial intercourse with Britain was again proposed; contributions for the inhabitants of Boston were raised in every quarter: and they every day received addresses commending them for the heroic courage with which they sustained their calamity.

The Bostonians on their part were not wanting in their endeavours to promote the general cause. An agreement was framed, which, in imitation of former times, they called a Solemn League and Covenant. By this the subscribers most religiously bound themselves to break off all communication with Britain after the expiration of the month of August ensuing, until the obnoxious acts were repealed; at the same time they engaged neither to purchase nor use any goods imported after that time, and to renounce all connexion with those who did, or who refused to subscribe to this covenant; threatening to publish the names of the refractory, which at this time was a punishment by no means to be despised. Agreements of a similar kind were almost instantaneously entered into throughout all America. General Gage indeed attempted to counteract the covenant by a proclamation, wherein it was declared an illegal and traitorous

combination, threatening with the pains of law such as subscribed or countenanced it. But matters were too far gone for his proclamations to have any effect. The Americans retorted the charge of illegality on his own proclamation, and insisted that the law allowed subjects to meet in order to consider of their grievances, and to associate for relief from oppression.

Preparations were now made for holding the general congress so often proposed. Philadelphia, as being the most considerable town, was pitched upon for the place of its meeting. The delegates, of whom it was to be composed, were chosen by the representatives of each province; and were in number from two to seven for each colony, though no province had more than one vote. The first congress which met at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September, 1774, consisted of fifty-one delegates. The novelty and importance of the meeting excited an universal attention; and their transactions were such as could not but give them great importance in the public opinion.

The first act of congress was an approbation of the conduct of Massachusetts Bay, and an exhortation to continue in the same spirit with which they had begun. Supplies for the suffering inhabitants (whom indeed the operation of the port bill had reduced to great distress) were strongly recommended; and it was declared, that in case of attempts to enforce the obnoxious acts by arms, all America should join to assist the town of Boston; and should the inhabitants be obliged, during the course of hostilities, to remove farther up the country, the losses they might sustain should be repaired at the public expence.

Matters thus went on, until every idea of reconciliation or friendship with Britain was lost. The Americans, without ceremony, began to seize on the military stores and ammunition. This first commenced at Newport in Rhode Island, where the inhabitants carried off forty pieces of cannon appointed for the protection of the place; and, on being asked the reason of this proceeding, they replied, that the people had seized them lest they should be made use of against themselves. After this the assembly met, and resolved, that ammunition and warlike stores should be purchased with the public money. New Hampshire followed the example of Rhode Island, and seized a small fort, for the sake of the powder and military stores it contained. In

Pennsylvania a convention was held, which expressed an earnest desire of reconciliation with the mother country; though, at the same time, in the strongest manner declaring, that they were resolved to take up arms in defence of their just rights; and the people were exhorted to apply themselves with the greatest assiduity to the prosecution of such manufactures as were necessary for their defence and subsistence, such as salt, saltpetre, gunpowder, steel, &c.

As the disturbances had originated in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and there continued with the greatest violence, so this was the province where the first hostilities were commenced. In the beginning of February, 1775, the congress met at Cambridge; and, as no friends to Britain could now find admittance to that assembly, the only consideration was, how to make speedy preparations for war. Expertness in military discipline was recommended in the strongest manner, and several military institutions were enacted; among which, that of the *minute-men* was one of the most remarkable. These were chosen from the most active and expert among the militia; and their business was to keep themselves in constant readiness at the call of their officers; from which perpetual vigilance they derived their title. It was now easily seen, that a slight occasion would bring on hostilities, which could not but be attended with the most violent and certain destruction to the vanquished party, for both were so much exasperated by a long course of reproaches and literary warfare, that they seemed to be filled with the utmost inveteracy against each other.

On the 26th of February, General Gage, having been informed that a number of field-pieces had been brought to Salem, dispatched a party to seize them. Their road was obstructed by a river, over which was a draw-bridge. This the people had pulled up, and refused to let down: upon which the soldiers seized a boat to ferry them over, but the people cut out her bottom. Hostilities would immediately have commenced, had it not been for the interposition of a clergyman; who represented to the military, on the one hand, the folly of opposing such numbers; and to the people, on the other, that, as the day was far spent, the military could not execute their design, so that they might without any fear, leave them the quiet possession of the draw-bridge. This was complied with; and the soldiers, after

having remained for some time at the bridge, returned without executing their orders.

The next attempt was attended with more serious consequences. General Gage having been informed that a large quantity of ammunition and military stores had been collected at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, and where the provincial congress was sitting, sent a detachment, under the command of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, to destroy the stores, and, as was reported, to seize Messrs. Hancock and Adams, the leading men of the congress. They set out before day-break, on the 19th of April, marching with the utmost silence, and securing every one they met on the road, that they might not be discovered. But, notwithstanding all their care, the continual ringing of bells and firing of guns as they went along soon gave them notice that the country was alarmed. About five in the morning they had reached Lexington, fifteen miles from Boston, where the militia of the place were exercising. An officer called out to them to disperse; but some shots, it is said, being at that moment fired from a house in the neighbourhood, the military made a discharge, which killed and wounded several of the militia. The detachment then proceeded to Concord, where, having destroyed the stores, they were encountered by the Americans; and a scuffle ensued, in which several fell on both sides. The purpose of their expedition being thus accomplished, it was necessary for the king's troops to retreat, which they did through a continual fire kept upon them from Concord to Lexington. Here their ammunition was expended; and they would have been unavoidably cut off, had not a considerable reinforcement, commanded by Lord Percy, luckily met them. The Americans, however, continued their attack with great fury; and the British would still have been in the utmost danger, had it not been for two field-pieces which Lord Percy brought with him. By these the impetuosity of the Americans was checked, and the British made good their retreat to Boston, with the loss of 263 killed and wounded; that of the Americans was eighty-eight.

By this engagement the spirits of the Americans were so raised, that they meditated nothing less than the total expulsion of the British troops from Boston. An army of 20,000 men was assembled, who formed a line of encampment from Roxbury to

Mystic, through a space of about thirty miles; and here they were soon after joined by a large body of Connecticut troops, under General Putnam, an old officer of great bravery and experience. By this formidable force was the town of Boston now kept blocked up. General Gage, however, had so strongly fortified it, that the enemy, powerful as they were, durst not make an attack; while, on the other hand, his force was by far too insignificant to meet such an enemy in the field. But, towards the end of May, a considerable reinforcement having arrived, with Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, he prepared to act with more decision; while the Americans, on their part, did every thing to oppose him.

On the 15th of June, two days previous to this memorable engagement, the congress had appointed George Washington, Esq., a gentleman of large fortune in Virginia, to the chief command of all the American forces. He had been a distinguished and successful officer in the British service; and at this period was serving in the independent companies of Virginia: and of which he had been chosen the commander. He was elected a member of the first congress that met at Philadelphia, in which body he was very soon distinguished as the soldier of America. He was placed on all those committees whose duty it was to make arrangements for defence; and when it became necessary to appoint a commander-in-chief, his military character, the solidity of his judgment, the steady firmness of his temper, the dignity of his person and deportment, the confidence inspired by his patriotism and integrity, and the independence of his circumstances, combined with that policy which actuated New England, and induced a wish to engage the southern colonies cordially in a war, to designate him in the opinion of all as the person to whom the destinies of his country should be confided.

He was unanimously chosen "General and Commander-in-Chief of the army of the United Colonies, and all the forces now raised or to be raised by them\*."

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\* Artemas Ward, of Massachusetts, who had commanded the troops before Boston; Colonel Lee, a British officer, who had distinguished himself in Portugal, but had resigned his commission in the service of the king; Philip Schuyler, of New York; and Israel Putnam of Connecticut, now also before Boston; were appointed to the rank of major-generals; and Mr-Horatio Gates, who had held the rank of a major in the British service, was appointed adjutant-general.

When, on the following day, the president communicated this appointment to him, he modestly answered, that though truly sensible of the high honor done him, yet he felt great distress, from a consciousness that his abilities and military experience might not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the congress desired it, he would enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power he possessed in their service, and for support of the glorious cause. He begged them to accept his cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation, and then added, "But lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with."

He declined all compensation for his services, and avowed an intention to keep an exact account of his expences, which he should rely on congress to discharge.

A special commission was made out for him\*, and a solemn

\* "The delegates of the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts's Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina ;

*To George Washington, Esq.,*

"We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct, and fidelity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be General and Commander-in-Chief of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces now raised, or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. And you are hereby invested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

"And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

"And we also enjoin and require you to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers be duly exercised and provided with all convenient necessaries.

"And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war, (as herewith given you,) and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from this or a future congress of these United Colonies, or Committee of congress.

"This commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future congress.

resolution was unanimously entered into, declaring, that congress would maintain, assist, and adhere to him as the General and Commander-in-Chief of the forces raised, or to be raised, for the maintenance and preservation of American liberty, with their lives and fortunes.

He prepared, without delay, to enter upon the arduous duties of his station; and having passed a few days in New York, where General Schuyler commanded, and where several very important arrangements were to be made, he proceeded with the utmost dispatch to Cambridge, which was the head quarters of the American army.

A considerable height, known by the name of Bunker's Hill, just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, was so situated as to make the possession of it a matter of great consequence to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore, June 16, issued by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of 1000 men should entrench upon this height. By some mistake, Breed's Hill, high and large like the other, but situated nearer Boston, was marked out for the entrenchments, instead of Bunker's Hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's Hill, and worked with so much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning, they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. They kept such a profound silence, that they were not heard by the British on-board their vessels, though very near. These, having derived their first information of what was going on from the sight of the work near completion, began an incessant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmness, and, though they were only young soldiers, continued to labor till they had thrown up a small breastwork, extending from the east side of the breastwork to the bottom of the hill. As this eminence overlooked Boston, General Gage thought it necessary to drive the provincials from it. About noon, therefore, he detached Major-general Howe, and Brigadier-general Pigot, with the flower of the army, consisting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery, to effect this business. These troops landed at Moreton's Point, and, June 17, formed after landing, but remained in that position till they were reinforced by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces, and



a battalion of marines, making in the whole near 3000 men. While the troops who first landed were waiting for this reinforcement, the provincials, for their farther security, pulled up some adjoining post and rail fences, and set them down in two parallel lines at a small distance from each other, and filled the space between with hay, which having been lately mowed, remained on the adjacent ground.

The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced slowly, to give their artillery time to demolish the American works. While the British were advancing to the attack, they received orders to burn Charlestown. This was not done because they were fired upon from the houses in that town, but from the military policy of depriving the enemies of a cover in their approaches. In a short time this ancient town, consisting of about 500 buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze. The lofty steeple of the meeting-house formed a pyramid of fire above the rest, and struck the astonished eyes of numerous beholders with a magnificent but awful spectacle. In Boston, the heights of every kind were covered with the citizens, and such of the king's troops as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country, which afforded a safe and distinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country.

Thousands, both within and without Boston, were anxious spectators of the bloody scene. The honor of British troops beat high in the breasts of many, while others, with a keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The British moved on but slowly, which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. The latter, in general, reserved themselves till their adversaries were within ten or twelve rods, but then began a furious discharge of small arms. The stream of the American fire was so incessant, and did so great execution, that the king's troops retreated in disorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them, and pushed them forward with their swords, but they returned to the attack with great reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then put them a second time to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were at last successful, though the soldiers discovered a great aversion to going on. By this time the powder of the Americans began to fail. The British also brought some cau-



non to bear, which raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end: the fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery, was redoubled. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances a retreat from it was ordered, but the provincials delayed, and made resistance with their discharged muskets as if they had been clubs, so long that the king's troops, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt before it was given up to them.

While these operations were going on at the breastwork and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited the most undaunted courage, they met with an opposition which called for its greatest exertions. The provincials here, in like manner, reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then poured it upon the light infantry, in so true a direction, as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both sides with great resolution. The persevering exertions of the king's troops could not compel the Americans to retreat, till they observed that their main body had left the hill. This, when begun, exposed them to new danger, for it could not be effected but by marching over Charlestown Neck, every part of which was raked by the shot of the Glasgow man of war, and two floating batteries. The incessant fire kept up across this neck prevented any considerable reinforcement from joining their countrymen who were engaged; but the few who fell on their retreat over the same ground proved, that the apprehensions of those provincial officers, who declined passing over to succour their companions, were without any solid foundation.

The number of Americans engaged amounted only to 1500. It was apprehended that the conquerors would push the advantages they had gained, and march immediately to American head-quarters at Cambridge, but they advanced no farther than Bunker's Hill; there they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same on Prospect Hill in front of them. Both were guarding against an attack, and both were in a bad condition to receive one. The loss of the peninsula depressed the spirits of the Americans, and their great loss of men produced the same effect on the British. There have been few battles in modern wars, in which, all circumstances considered, there was

a greater destruction of men than in this short engagement. The loss of the British, as acknowledged by General Gage, amounted to 1054. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and seventy more were wounded. The battle of Quebec in 1759, which gave Great Britain the province of Canada, was not so destructive to British officers as this affair of a slight entrenchment, the work only of a few hours. That the officers suffered so much, must be imputed to their being aimed at. None of the provincials in this engagement were riflemen, but they were all good marksmen. The whole of their previous military knowledge had been derived from hunting, and the ordinary amusements of sportsmen. The dexterity which by long habit they had acquired in hitting beasts, birds, and marks, was fatally applied to the destruction of British officers. From their fall much confusion was expected; they were therefore particularly singled out. Most of those who were near the person of General Howe were either killed or wounded, but the general, though he greatly exposed himself, was unhurt. The light infantry and grenadiers lost three-fourths of their men. Of one company not more than five, and of another not more than fourteen, escaped. The unexpected resistance of the Americans was such as wiped away the reproaches of cowardice, which had been cast on them by their enemies in Britain. The spirited conduct of the British officers merited and obtained great applause; but the provincials were justly entitled to a large portion of the same, for having made the utmost exertions of their adversaries necessary to dislodge them from lines, which were the work only of a single night. The Americans lost five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to 139. The wounded and missing to 314. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. They particularly regretted the death of General Warren.

This action at Breed's Hill, or Bunker's Hill, as it has been commonly called, produced many and very important consequences. The same determined spirit of resistance now every where appeared on the part of the Americans. The commencement of hostilities at Lexington determined the colony of New York, which had hitherto continued to waver, to unite with the rest; and, as the situation of New York renders it unable to resist an attack from the sea, it was resolved, before the arrival of a British fleet, to secure the military stores, send off the women

and children, and to set fire to the city if it was still found incapable of defence. The exportation of provisions was every where prohibited, particularly to the British fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or to such colonies of America as should adhere to the British interest. Congress resolved on the establishment of an army, and of a large paper currency in order to support it. In the inland northern colonies, Colonels Easton and Ethan Allen, without receiving any orders from congress, or communicating their design to any body, with a party of only 250 men, surprised the forts of Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the rest that form a communication betwixt the colonies and Canada. On this occasion 200 pieces of cannon fell into their hands, besides mortars and a large quantity of military stores, together with two armed vessels, and materials for the construction of others.

After the battle of Bunker's Hill, the provincials erected fortifications on the heights which commanded Charlestown, and strengthened the rest in such a manner that there was no hope of driving them from thence; at the same time that their activity and boldness astonished their adversaries, who had been accustomed to entertain too mean an opinion of their courage.

The British troops, thus shut up in Boston, were soon reduced to distress. Their necessities obliged them to attempt the carrying off the American cattle on the islands before Boston, which produced frequent skirmishes; but the provincials, better acquainted with the navigation of these shores, landed on the islands, destroyed or carried off whatever was of any use, burned the lighthouse at the entrance of the harbour, and took prisoners the workmen sent to repair it, as well as a party of marines who guarded them. Thus the garrison was reduced to the necessity of sending out armed vessels to make prizes indiscriminately of all that came in their way, and of landing in different places to plunder for subsistence as well as they could.

The congress in the mean time continued to act with all the vigor which its constituents had expected. Articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up and solemnly agreed upon; and they proceeded formally to justify their conduct, in a declaration drawn up in terms remarkably expressive, and well calculated to excite attention.

"Were it possible," said they, "for men who exercise their

reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and unbounded power over, others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them had been granted to that body: but a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

“The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom; and despairing of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to law, truth, or right; have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice in the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations to the rest of the world to make known the justice of our cause.”

After taking notice of the manner in which their ancestors left Britain, the happiness attending the mutual friendly commerce betwixt that country and her colonies, and the remarkable success of the late war, they proceed as follows: “The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

“These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of their colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful, services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the

most honorable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the intended innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project; and assuming a new power over them, has in the course of eleven years given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt of the effects of acquiescence under it.

“They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty, and vice-admiralty, beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable rights of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of our colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, secured by acts of its own legislature, and solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the murderers of colonists from legal trial, and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of a profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences shall be transported to England to be tried.

“But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it was declared, that parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited, a power? Not a single person who assumes it is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and the American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as it increases ours.

“We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language; but admistra-

tion, sensible that we should regard these measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them.

“We have pursued every temperate, every respectful, measure; we have even proceeded to break off all commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects as our last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation on earth would supplant our attachment to liberty: this we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies!

“The lords and commons, in their address in the month of February, said, that a rebellion at that time actually existed in the province of Massachusetts Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his majesty's subjects in several of the colonies; and therefore they besought his majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature. Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

“Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence, of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate, the heedless fury with which these accumulated outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and of many other respectable towns, in our favor.”

After some further observations on parliament, and the British ministry, the declaration thus proceeds: “We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to tyranny, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. Our cause is just; our union is perfect; our internal resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign as-

sistance is undoubtedly attainable. We fight not for glory or conquest; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of people attacked by unprovoked enemies. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death. In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property acquired by the honest industry of our forefathers and our own, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of our aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed,—and not before.”

These are some of the most striking passages in the declaration of congress on taking up arms against Great Britain, dated July 6, 1775. In every other respect an equal spirit was shown; and the rulers of the British nation had the mortification to see those whom they styled *rebels* and *traitors* succeed in negotiations in which they themselves were utterly foiled. In the passing of the Quebec bill, ministry had flattered themselves that the Canadians would be so much attached to them on account of restoring the French laws, that they would very readily join in any attempt against the colonists who had reprobated that bill in such strong terms: but in this they found themselves mistaken. A scheme had been formed for General Carleton, governor of the province, to raise an army of Canadians wherewith to act against the Americans; and, so sanguine were the hopes of administration in this respect, that they had sent 20,000 stand of arms, and a great quantity of military stores, to Quebec for the purpose. But the people, though they did not join the Americans, yet were found immovable in their purpose to stand neuter. The British administration next tried to engage the Indians in their cause. But, though agents were dispersed among them with large presents to the chiefs, the greatest part replied, that they did not understand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they distinguish whether those who dwelt in America or on the other side of the ocean were in fault: but they were surprised to see Englishmen ask their assistance against one another; and advised them to be reconciled, and not to think of shedding the blood of their brethren. To the representations of congress they paid more respect. These set forth, that the English on the other side of the ocean had taken up arms to enslave



not only their countrymen in America, but the Indians also; and, if the latter should enable them to overcome the colonists, they themselves would soon be reduced to a state of slavery also. By arguments of this kind most of the savages were engaged to remain neuter; and thus the colonists were freed from a dangerous enemy. On this occasion the congress thought proper to hold a solemn conference with the different tribes of Indians. The speech made by them on the occasion is curious, but too long to be inserted. The following is a specimen of the European mode of addressing these people:

“Brothers, Sachems, and Warriors!

“We, the delegates from the Twelve United Provinces, now sitting in general congress at Philadelphia, send their talk to you our brothers.

“Brothers and Friends, now attend!

“When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the king of England gave them a talk, assuring them that they and their children should be his children; and that if they would leave their native country, and make settlements, and live here, and buy and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant-chain, and enjoy peace; and it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods, and possessions, which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children's for ever, and at their sole disposal.

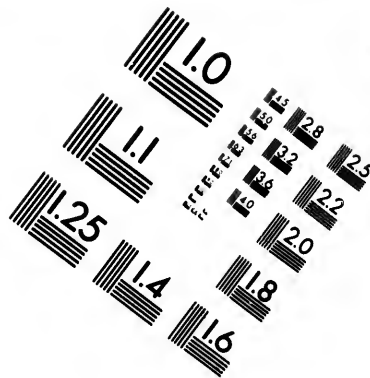
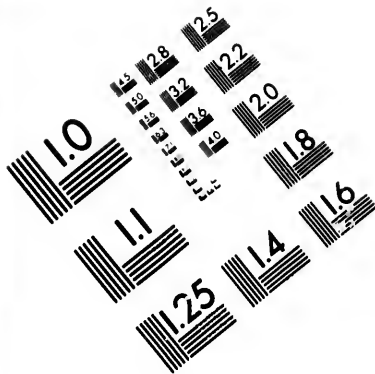
“Brothers and Friends, open a kind ear!

“We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of king George, and the inhabitants and colonies of America.

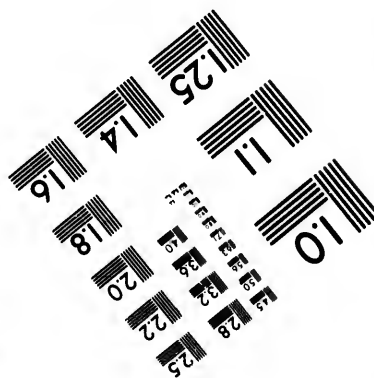
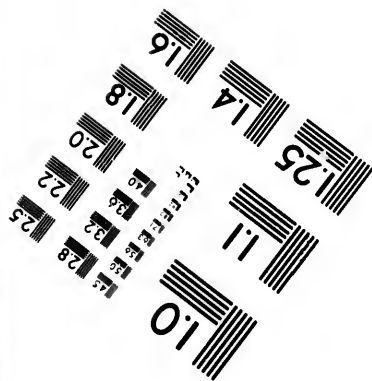
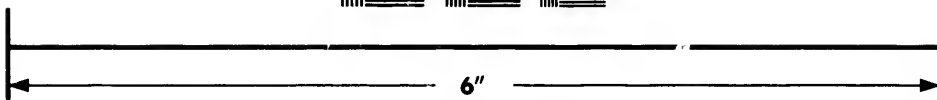
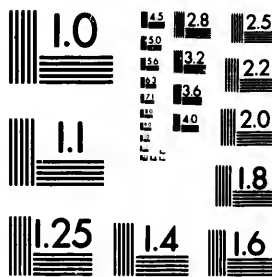
“Many of his counsellors have persuaded him to break the covenant-chain, and not to send us any more good talks. They have prevailed upon him to enter into a covenant against us; and have torn asunder, and cast behind their back, the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of. They now tell us they will put their hands into our pocket without asking, as though it were their own; and at their pleasure, they will take from us our charters, or written civil constitution, which we love as our lives; also our plantations, our houses, and goods, whenever they please, without asking our leave. They tell us, that our vessels may go to that or this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island







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we shall not trade any more ; and, in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

“Brothers, we live on the same ground with you ; the same island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you ; let us water its roots, and cherish the growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the Twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kindle up a small fire at Albany, where we may hear each other’s voice, and disclose our minds fully to one another.”

The success which had hitherto attended the Americans in all their measures, now emboldened them to think not only of defending themselves, but likewise of acting offensively against Great Britain. The conquest of Canada appeared an object within their reach, and one that would be attended with many advantages ; and, as an invasion of that province was already facilitated by the taking of Crown Point and Ticonderago, it was resolved if possible to penetrate that way into Canada, and reduce Quebec during the winter, before the fleets and armies, which they were well assured would sail thither from Britain, should arrive. By order of congress, therefore, 3000 men were put under the command of Generals Montgomery and Schuyler, with orders to proceed to Lake Champlain, from whence they were to be conveyed in flat-bottomed boats to the mouth of the river Sorel, a branch of the great river St. Lawrence, and on which is situated a fort of the same name with the river. On the other hand, they were opposed by General Carleton, governor of Canada ; an officer of great activity and experience in war : who, with a very few troops, had hitherto been able to keep in awe the disaffected people of Canada, notwithstanding all the representations of the colonists. He had now augmented his army by a considerable number of Indians, and promised even in his present situation to make a formidable resistance.

As soon as General Montgomery arrived at Crown Point, he received information that several armed vessels were stationed at St. John’s, a strong fort on the Sorel, with a view to prevent his crossing the lake ; on which he took possession of an island

that commands the mouth of the Sorel, and by which he could prevent them from entering the lake. In conjunction with General Schuyler, he next proceeded to St. John's: but, finding that place too strong, he landed on a part of the country considerably distant, and full of woods and swamps. From thence, however, they were driven by a party of Indians whom General Carleton had employed.

The provincial army was now obliged to retreat to the island of which they at first took possession; where General Schuyler being taken ill, Montgomery was left to command alone. His first step was to gain over the Indians whom General Carleton had employed, and this he in a great measure accomplished; after which he determined to lay siege to St. John's. In this he was facilitated by the reduction of Chamble, a small fort in the neighbourhood where he found a large supply of powder. An attempt was made by General Carleton to relieve the place; for which purpose he with great pains collected about 1000 Canadians, while Colonel Maclean proposed to raise a regiment of the Highlanders who had emigrated from their own country to America. But, while General Carleton was on his march with these new levies, he was attacked by a superior force of provincials, and utterly defeated; which being made known to another body of Canadians who had joined Colonel Maclean, they abandoned him without striking a blow, and he was obliged to retreat to Quebec.

The defeat of General Carleton was a sufficient recompence to the Americans for that of Colonel Ethan Allen, which had happened a little before. The success which had attended this gentleman against Crown Point and Ticonderago had emboldened him to make a similar attempt on Montreal; but, being attacked by the militia of the place, supported by a detachment of regulars, he was entirely defeated, and taken prisoner.

General Carleton's defeat, and the desertion of Maclean's forces, induced the garrison of St. John's to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and they were treated with great humanity. They were in number 500 regulars and 200 Canadians, among whom were many French nobles. General Montgomery next took measures to prevent the British shipping from passing down the river from Montreal to Quebec. This he accomplished so effectually, that the whole were taken. The town itself was

obliged to surrender at discretion; and it was with the utmost difficulty that General Carleton escaped in an open boat by the favor of a dark night.

No obstacle now remained to prevent the Americans from making their way to the capital, except what arose from the nature of the country; and these were very considerable. Nothing, however, could damp the ardor of the provincials. Notwithstanding it was now the middle of November, and the depth of winter was at hand, Colonel Arnold formed a design of penetrating through woods, morasses, and the most frightful solitudes, from New England to Canada, by a nearer way than that which Montgomery had chosen; and this he accomplished in spite of every difficulty, to the astonishment of all who saw or heard of the attempt. This desperate march, however, cannot be looked upon as conducive to any good purpose. A third part of his men under another colonel had abandoned him by the way, under pretence of want of provisions; the total want of artillery rendered his presence insignificant before a place strongly fortified; and the smallness of his army rendered it even doubtful whether he could have taken the town by surprise. The Canadians indeed were amazed at the exploit, and their inclination to revolt from Britain was somewhat augmented; but none of them as yet took up arms in behalf of America. The consternation into which the town of Quebec was thrown, proved detrimental rather than otherwise to the expedition; as it doubled the vigilance and activity of the inhabitants to prevent any surprise; and the appearance of common danger united all parties, who, before the arrival of Arnold, were contending most violently with one another. He was therefore obliged to content himself with blocking up the avenues to the town, in order to distress the garrison for want of provisions; and even this he was unable to do effectually, by reason of the small number of his men. The matter was not much mended by the arrival of General Montgomery. The force he had with him, even when united to that of Arnold, was too insignificant to attempt the reduction of a place so strongly fortified, especially with the assistance only of a few mortars and field-pieces. After the siege had continued through the month of December, General Montgomery, conscious that he could accomplish his end no other way than by surprise, resolved to make an attempt on the last day of the year 1775.

The method he took at this time was perhaps the best that human wisdom could devise. He advanced by break of day, in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which covered his men from the sight of the enemy. Two real attacks were made by himself and Colonel Arnold, at the same time that two feigned attacks were made on two other places, thus to distract the garrison, and make them divide their forces. One of the real attacks was made by the people of New York, and the other by those of New England under Arnold. Their hopes of surprising the place, however, were defeated by the signal for the attack being through some mistake given too soon. General Montgomery himself had the most dangerous place, being obliged to pass between the river and some high rocks on which the Upper Town stands; so that he was forced to make what haste he could to close with the enemy. His fate, however, was now decided. Having forced the first barrier, a violent discharge of musquetry and grape-shot from the second killed him, his principal officers, and the most of the party he commanded; on which those who remained immediately retreated. Colonel Arnold in the mean time made a desperate attack on the Lower Town, and carried one of the barriers after an obstinate resistance for an hour; but in the action he himself received a wound, which obliged him to withdraw. The attack, however, was continued by the officers whom he had left, and another barrier forced: but the garrison now perceiving that nothing was to be feared except from that quarter, collected their whole force against it; and after a desperate engagement of three hours, overpowered the provincials, and obliged them to surrender.

In this action the valor of the provincial troops could not be exceeded. Yet such a terrible disaster left no hope remaining of the accomplishment of their purpose, as Arnold could now scarcely number 800 effective men under his command. He did not, however, abandon the province, or even remove to a greater distance than three miles from Quebec; and here he still found means to annoy the garrison very considerably by intercepting their provisions. The Canadians, notwithstanding the bad success of the American arms, still continued friendly; and thus he was enabled to sustain the hardships of a winter encampment in that most severe climate. The congress, far from passing

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any censure on him for his misfortune, created him a brigadier-general.

While hostilities were thus carried on with vigor in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending itself in the south. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, was involved in disputes similar to those which had taken place in other colonies. These had proceeded so far, that the assembly was dissolved; which in this province was attended with a consequence unknown to the rest. As Virginia contained a great number of slaves, it was necessary that a militia should be constantly embodied to keep them in awe. During the dissolution of the assembly the militia laws expired; and the people, after complaining of the danger they were in from the negroes, formed a convention, which enacted that each county should raise a quota for the defence of the province. Dunmore, on this, removed the powder from Williamsburg; which created such discontents, that an immediate quarrel would probably have ensued, had not the merchants of the town undertaken to obtain satisfaction for the injury supposed to be done to the community. This tranquillity, however, was soon interrupted; the people, alarmed by a report that an armed party were on their way from the man of war where the powder had been deposited, assembled in arms, and determined to oppose by force any farther removals. In some of the conferences which passed at this time, the governor let fall some unguarded expressions, such as threatening them with setting up the royal standard, proclaiming liberty to the negroes, destroying the town of Williamsburg, &c., which were afterwards made public, and much to increase the public ferment.

In this state of confusion the governor thought it necessary to fortify his palace with artillery, and procure a party of marines to guard it. Lord North's conciliatory proposal arriving also about the same time, he used his utmost endeavours to induce the people to comply with it; and with this view had called an assembly for the purpose of laying this conciliatory proposal before them; but it had been little attended to. The assembly began their session by enquiries into the state of the magazine. It had been broken into by some of the townsmen; for which reason spring-guns had been placed there by the governor, which discharged themselves upon the offenders at their entrance:



these circumstances, with others of a similar kind, raised such a violent uproar, that as soon as the preliminary business of the session was over, the governor retired on-board a man of war, informing the assembly that he durst no longer trust himself on shore. This produced a long course of disputation, which ended in a positive refusal of the governor to trust himself again in Williamsburg, even to give his assent to the bills, which could not be passed without it, though the assembly offered to bind themselves for his personal safety. In his turn he requested them to meet him on-board the man of war where he then was; but this proposal was rejected, and all further correspondence containing the least appearance of friendship was discontinued.

Lord Dunmore, thus deprived of his government, attempted to reduce the patriots by force. Some of the most strenuous adherents to the British cause, whom zeal had rendered obnoxious at home, now repaired to him. He was also joined by numbers of negro slaves. With these auxiliaries, and the assistance of the British shipping, he was for some time enabled to carry on a kind of predatory war, sufficient to wound and exasperate, but not to subdue. After some inconsiderable attempts on land, proclaiming liberty to the slaves, and setting up the royal standard, he took up his residence at Norfolk, a maritime town of some consequence, where the people were better affected to Britain than in most other places. A considerable force, however, was collected against him; and, the natural impetuosity of his temper prompting him to act against them with more courage than prudence, he was entirely defeated, and obliged to retire to the shipping, which was now crowded by the number of those who had incurred the resentment of the provincials.

In the mean time a scheme of the utmost magnitude and importance was formed by one Mr. Conolly, a Pennsylvanian, of an intrepid and aspiring disposition, and attached to the cause of Britain. The first step of this plan was to enter into a league with the Ohio Indians. This he communicated to Lord Dunmore, and it received his approbation: upon which Conolly set out and actually succeeded in this part of his design. On his return, he was dispatched to General Gage, from whom he received a colonel's commission, and set out in order to accomplish the remainder of his scheme. The plan in general was, that he should return to the Ohio, where, by the assistance of

the British and Indians in these parts, he was to penetrate through the back settlements into Virginia, and join Lord Dunmore at Alexandria: but, by an accident very likely to occur, he was discovered, taken prisoner, and thrown into a dungeon.

After the retreat of Lord Dunmore from Norfolk, that place was taken possession of by the provincials, who treated the loyalists that had remained there with great cruelty; at the same time that they greatly distressed those on-board Lord Dunmore's fleet, by refusing to supply them with any necessaries. Nor was this all: the vicinity of the shipping was such, as to afford the riflemen an opportunity of reaching the people on-board. These proceedings at last drew a remonstrance from his lordship; in which he insisted, that the fleet should be furnished with necessaries, and that the soldiers should desist from firing at the people on-board; but both these demands were rejected: a resolution was taken to set fire to the town. After giving the inhabitants a proper warning, a party landed, under cover of a man of war, and set fire to that part which lay nearest the shore; but the flames were observed, at the same time, to break forth in every other quarter, and the whole town was reduced to ashes. This universal destruction, by which a loss of more than £30,000 was incurred, is said to have been occasioned by order of the congress itself, that the loyalists might find no refuge there for the future.

In the southern colonies of Carolina, the British governors were also expelled, and obliged to take refuge on-board the men of war: among others, Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, was expelled, on a charge of attempting to raise the back-settlers, consisting chiefly of Scots Highlanders, against the colony. Having secured themselves against any attempts from these enemies, they proceeded to regulate their internal concerns in the same manner as the rest of the colonies; and, by the end of the year 1775, Britain beheld the whole of America united against her in the most determined opposition. Her vast possessions of that tract of land, since known by the name of the *Thirteen United States*, were now reduced to the single town of Boston; in which her forces were besieged by an enemy with whom they were apparently not able to cope, and by whom they must of course expect in a very short time to be expelled. The situation of the inhabitants of Boston, indeed,

was peculiarly unhappy. After having failed in their attempts to leave the town, General Gage had consented to allow them to retire with their effects; but afterwards, for what reason does not well appear, he refused to fulfil his promise. When he resigned his place to General Howe, in October 1775, the latter, apprehensive that they might give intelligence of the situation of the British troops, strictly prohibited every person from leaving the place, under pain of military execution. Thus matters continued till the month of March, 1776, when the town was evacuated.

On the second of that month, General Washington opened a battery on the west side of the town, from whence it was bombarded with a heavy fire of cannon; and three days after, it was attacked by another battery from the eastern shore. This terrible attack continued for fourteen days without intermission; when General Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, determined if possible to drive the enemy from their works. Preparations were therefore made for a most vigorous attack on a hill called Dorchester Neck, which the Americans had fortified in such a manner as would in all probability have rendered the enterprise next to desperate. No difficulties, however, were sufficient to daunt the spirit of the general; and every thing was in readiness, when a sudden storm prevented this intended exertion of British valor. Next day, upon a more close inspection of the works they were to attack, it was thought advisable to desist from the enterprise altogether. The fortifications were very strong, and extremely well provided with artillery: and, besides other implements of destruction, upwards of 100 hogsheads of stones were provided to roll down upon the enemy as they came up; which, as the ascent was extremely steep, must have done prodigious execution.

Nothing, therefore, now remained, but to think of a retreat; and even this was attended with the utmost difficulty and danger. The Americans, knowing that it was in the power of the British general to reduce the town to ashes, which could not have been repaired in many years, did not think proper to give the least molestation; and, for the space of a fortnight, the troops were employed in the evacuation of the place, from whence they carried along with them 2000 of the inhabitants, who durst not stay on account of their attachment to the British

cause. From Boston they sailed to Halifax ; but all their vigilance could not prevent a number of valuable ships from falling into the hands of the enemy. A considerable quantity of cannon and ammunition had also been left at Bunker's Hill and Boston Neck ; and, in the town, an immense variety of goods, principally woollen and linen, of which the provincials stood very much in need. The estates of those who fled to Halifax were confiscated ; as also those who were attached to government, and had remained in the town. As an attack was expected as soon as the British forces should arrive, every method was employed to render the fortifications, (already very strong,) impregnable. For this purpose some foreign engineers were employed, who had before arrived at Boston ; and so eager were people of all ranks to accomplish this business, that every able-bodied man in the place, without distinction of rank, set apart two days in the week, to complete it the sooner.

The provincial assemblies, under the influence of congress, took up the question of independence ; and in some instances, authorised their representatives, in the great national council, to enter into foreign alliances. Except Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York, they were in favor of a total and immediate separation from Great Britain, and gave instructions to their representatives conforming to this opinion. Measures had been taken to ascertain the sense of the people respecting it, which was expressed in instructions to their representatives in the colonial assemblies, and was generally in favor of it. "The time was," said the people of the town of Malden, in Massachusetts, "when we loved the king and the people of Great Britain with an affection truly filial ; we felt ourselves interested in their glory ; we shared in their joys and sorrows ; we cheerfully poured the fruit of all our labors into the lap of our mother-country, and, without reluctance, expended our blood and our treasure in her cause.

"These were our sentiments towards Great Britain, while she continued to act the part of a parent state ; we felt ourselves happy in our connexion with her, nor wished it to be dissolved. But our sentiments are altered. It is now the ardent wish of our souls that America may become a free and independent state."

The inhabitants of Boston, ever forward and zealous in the

contest, concluded, in their instructions, a recapitulation of the existing causes of durable animosity, and of the hazards of restoring the past connexion, with saying, "We therefore think it almost impracticable for these colonies to be ever again subject to, or dependant upon, Great Britain, without endangering the very existence of the state. Placing, however, unbounded confidence in the supreme councils of the congress, we are determined to wait, most patiently to wait, till their wisdom shall dictate the necessity of making a declaration of independence. Nor should we have ventured to express our sentiments upon the subject, but from the presumption that congress would choose to feel themselves supported by the people of each colony, before they adopt a resolution so interesting to the whole. The inhabitants of this town, therefore, unanimously instruct and direct you, that, at the approaching session of the General Assembly, you use your endeavours, that the delegates of this colony, in congress, be advised, that, in case the congress shall think it necessary, for the safety of the United Colonies, to declare them independent of Great Britain, the inhabitants of this colony, with their lives and the remnant of their fortunes, will most cheerfully support them in that measure."

The people of the other parts of the same province, and in the other colonies generally, manifested the same spirit, and expressed the same sentiments. In South Carolina they were particularly ardent; and, in Virginia, the public sense was so decisive on the subject, that the convention not only instructed their representatives to move the resolution in the grand council of the continent, but declared that colony an independent state before the measure was sanctioned by congress.

The public opinion having manifested itself in favor of independence, the great and decisive step was determined on; and the following resolution was moved by Richard Henry Lee, and seconded by John Adams: "Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

This resolution was referred to a committee of the whole congress, where it was daily debated. All the colonies, except Pennsylvania and Maryland, had expressed their approbation of the measure, and no doubt was entertained of its adoption: but

it was thought prudent to suspend a decision on it till the acquiescence of those colonies in the measure should render its adoption unanimous\*. Great exertions were made in both, by the strong friends of this resolution, who availed themselves of the apprehension, that those who did not join in this last and greatest step, would be excluded from the union; and, at length, instructions were received from the conventions of those provinces also, directing their representatives to assent to it.

The resolution was now unanimously agreed to; and the declaration, which had been already prepared by a committee appointed for that purpose, was taken into consideration, and after several amendments, received the sanction of the whole congress.

This important paper commenced with stating, that "When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature, and of Nature's God, entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to the separation†."

The causes are then stated, and a long enumeration of the oppressions, complained of by America, is closed with saying, "A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

The fruitless appeals which had been made to the people of Great Britain, are also recounted; but "they, too," concludes this declaration, "have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we would the rest of mankind, enemies in war—in peace, friends.

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\* While this vote was depending, resolutions were entered into by congress, declaring that all persons residing within, or passing through, any one of the United Colonies, owed allegiance to the government thereof; and that any such person, who should levy war against any of the United Colonies, or adhere to the king of Great Britain, or other enemies of the said colonies, or any of them, should be guilty of treason; and it was recommended to the several legislatures to pass laws for their punishment.

† Mr Jefferson, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Sherman, and Mr. R. R. Livingston, were appointed to prepare this declaration; and the draft reported by the committee has been generally attributed to Mr Jefferson.

"We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may, of right, do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor\*."

This declaration, which was published on the 4th of July, 1776, was immediately communicated to the armies, where it was received with enthusiasm. It was also proclaimed throughout the United States, and gave to the people very general joy. Some individuals, however, who had been very zealous supporters for all measures which had for their object only a redress of grievances, and in whose bosoms the hope of accommodation still lingered, either too timid to meet the arduous conflict which this measure rendered, in their estimation, certain and inevitable, or sincerely believing that the happiness of America would be best consulted by preserving their political connexion with

\* The names of the members, who subscribed the declaration of independence, were as follow, viz.,

*New Hampshire*—Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton,  
*Massachusetts Bay*—Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry,  
*Rhode Island, &c.*—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery,

*Connecticut*—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott,  
*New York*—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris,  
*New Jersey*—Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart,  
Abram Clark,

*Pennsylvania*—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton,  
George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross,

*Delaware*—Cesar Rodney, George Read,

*Maryland*—Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton,  
*Virginia*—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison,

Thomas Nelson, jun., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton,

*North Carolina*—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn,

*South Carolina*—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, jun., Thomas Lynch, jun., Arthur Middleton,

*Georgia*—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.



Great Britain, viewed the dissolution of that connexion with anxious regret; and others, who afterwards deserted the American cause, which they had at first embraced, attributed their defection to this measure. It was also an unfortunate truth, that in the whole country, between New England and the Patomac, which was now to become the great theatre of action, although the majority was in favor of independence, yet there existed a formidable minority, who not only refused to act with their countrymen, but were ready to give the enemy every aid in their power.

It cannot, however, be questioned, that the declaration of independence was wise, and well timed: and that, since the continuance of the war was inevitable, every principle of sound policy required that the avowed characters of the parties should be changed; and that it should no longer be denominated, or considered, a war between a sovereign and his acknowledged subjects.

After thus decisively throwing off all allegiance and hope of reconciliation, the colonists soon found that an exertion of all their strength was required in order to support their newly acquired independence. Their arms, indeed, had not, during this season, been attended with success in Canada. Reinforcements had been promised to General Arnold, who still continued the blockade of Quebec; but they did not arrive in time to second his operations. Being sensible, however, that he must either desist from the enterprise, or finish it successfully, he recommenced in form, attempting to burn the shipping, and even to storm the town itself. He was unsuccessful, however, by reason of the smallness of his force; but he succeeded so far as to burn a number of houses in the suburbs, and the garrison were obliged to pull down the remainder in order to prevent the fire from spreading.

As the Americans, though unable to reduce the town, kept the garrison in continual alarms, and in a very disagreeable situation, some of the nobility collected themselves into a body, under the command of one Mr. Beaujeu, in order to relieve their capital; but they were met on their march by the provincials, and so entirely defeated, that they were never afterwards able to attempt any thing. The Americans, however, had but little reason to plume themselves on this success. Their want of ar-



tillery at last convinced them, that it was impracticable in their situation to reduce a place so strongly fortified: the small-pox at the same time made its appearance in their camp, and carried off great numbers; intimidating the rest to such a degree, that they deserted in crowds. To add to their misfortunes, the British reinforcements unexpectedly appeared, and the ships made their way through the ice with such celerity, that the one part of their army was separated from the other; and General Carleton, sallying out as soon as the reinforcement was landed, obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them all their cannon and military stores; at the same time that their shipping was entirely captured by vessels sent up the river for that purpose. General Carleton now gave a signal instance of his humanity; being well apprised that many of the provincials had not been able to accompany the rest in their retreat, and that they were concealed in woods, &c. in a very deplorable situation, he generously issued a proclamation, ordering proper persons to seek them out, and give them relief at the public expence; at the same time, lest through fear of being made prisoners, they should refuse these offers of humanity, he promised, that, as soon as their situation enabled them, they should be at liberty to depart to their respective homes.

The British general, now freed from any danger of an attack, was soon enabled to act offensively against the provincials, by the arrival of the forces destined for that purpose from Britain. By these, he was put at the head of 12,000 regular troops, among whom were those of Brunswick. With this force he instantly set out to the Three Rivers, where he expected that Arnold would have made a stand; but he had fled to Sorel, a place 150 miles distant from Quebec, where he was at last met by the reinforcements ordered by congress. Here, though the preceding events were by no means calculated to inspire much military ardor, a very daring enterprise was undertaken; and this was, to surprise the British troops posted under Generals Fraser and Nesbit; of whom the former commanded those on land, the latter such as were on-board the transports, and were but a little way distant. The enterprise was very hazardous, both on account of the strength of the parties against whom they were to act, and as the main body of the British forces were advanced within fifty miles of the place; besides that, a number of small

vessels and transports with troops lay between them and the Three Rivers. Two thousand chosen men, under General Thomson, engaged in this enterprise. Their success was by no means answerable to their spirit and valor. Though they passed the shipping without being observed, General Fraser had notice of their landing; and, thus being prepared to receive them, they were soon thrown into disorder, at the same time that General Nesbit, having landed his forces, prepared to attack them in the rear. On this occasion some field-pieces did prodigious execution, and a retreat was found to be unavoidable. General Nesbit had got between them and their boats; so that they were obliged to take a circuit through a deep swamp, while they were vigorously pursued by both parties at the same time, who marched for some miles on each side of the swamp, till at last the miserable provincials were sheltered from further danger by a wood at the end of the swamp. General Thomson was taken, with 200 of his men.

By this disaster the provincials lost all hopes of making any impression in Canada. They demolished their works, and carried off their artillery with the utmost expedition. They were pursued by General Burgoyne; against whom it was expected that they would have collected all their force, and made a resolute stand. But they were for the present too much dispirited by misfortunes to make any further exertions of valor. On the 18th of June, the British general arrived at Fort St. John's, which he found abandoned and burnt. Chamblee had shared the same fate, as well as all the vessels that were not capable of being dragged up against the current of the river. It was thought they would have made some resistance at Nut Island, the entrance to Lake Champlain; but this also they had abandoned, and retreated across the lake to Crown Point, whither they could not be immediately followed. Thus was the province of Canada entirely evacuated by the Americans; whose loss in their retreat from Quebec was not calculated at less than 1000 men, of whom 400 fell at once into the hands of the enemy at a place called the Cedars, about 50 miles above Montreal. General Sullivan, however, who conducted this retreat after the affair of General Thomson, was acknowledged to have had great merit in what he did, and received the thanks of the congress accordingly.

This bad success in the north was somewhat compensated by what happened in the southern colonies. We have formerly taken notice that Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, had been obliged to leave his province and take refuge on-board a man of war. Notwithstanding this, he did not despair of reducing it again to obedience. For this purpose he applied to the Regulators, a daring set of banditti, who lived in a kind of independent state; and though considered by government as rebels, yet had never been molested, on account of their numbers and known skill in the use of fire arms. To the chiefs of these people commissions were sent, in order to raise some regiments; and Colonel Macdonald, a brave and enterprising officer, was appointed to command them. In the month of February he erected the king's standard, issued proclamations, &c., and collected some forces, expecting to be soon joined by a body of regular troops, who were known to be shipped from Great Britain to act against the southern colonies. The Americans, sensible of their danger, dispatched immediately what forces they had to act against the royalists, at the same time that they diligently exerted themselves to support these with suitable reinforcements. Their present force was commanded by General Moore, whose numbers were inferior to Macdonald; for which reason the latter summoned him to join the king's standard, under pain of being treated as a rebel. But Moore, being well provided with cannon, and conscious that nothing could be attempted against him, returned the compliment, by acquainting Colonel Macdonald, that if he and his party would lay down their arms, and subscribe an oath of fidelity to congress, they should be treated as friends; but, if they persisted in an undertaking for which it was evident they had not sufficient strength, they could not but expect the severest treatment. In a few days, General Moore found himself at the head of 8000 men, by reason of the continual supplies which daily arrived from all parts. The royal party amounted only to 2000, and they were destitute of artillery, which prevented them from attacking the enemy while they had the advantage of numbers. They were now, therefore, obliged to have recourse to a desperate exertion of personal valor; by dint of which, they effected a retreat for 80 miles, to Moor's Creek, within 16 miles of Wilmington. Could they have gained this place, they expected to have been joined by governor Mar-

tin and General Clinton, who had lately arrived with a considerable reinforcement. But Moore, with his army, pursued them so close, that they were obliged to attempt the passage of the creek itself, though a considerable body of the enemy, under the command of Colonel Coswell, in fortifications well planted with cannon, was posted on the other side. On attempting the creek, it was found not to be fordable. They were obliged, therefore, to cross over a wooden bridge, which the provincials had not time to destroy entirely. They had, however, by pulling up part of the planks, and greasing the remainder in order to render them slippery, made the passage so difficult, that the royalists could not attempt it. In this situation they were, on the 27th of February, attacked by Moore, with his superior army, and totally defeated, with the loss of their general, and most of their leaders, as well as the best and bravest of their men.

Thus was the power of the patriots established in North Carolina. Nor were they less successful in the province of Virginia; where Lord Dunmore, having long continued an useless predatory war, was at last driven from every creek and road in the province. The people he had on-board were distressed to the highest degree, by confinement in small vessels. The heat of the season, and the numbers crowded together, produced a pestilential fever, which made a great havoc, especially among the blacks. At last, finding themselves in the utmost hazard of perishing by famine as well as disease, they set fire to the least valuable of their vessels, reserving only about fifty for themselves, in which they bade adieu to Virginia, some sailing to Florida, some to Bermuda, and the rest to the West Indies.

In South Carolina, the Americans had a more formidable enemy to deal with. A squadron, whose object was the reduction of Charlestown, had been fitted out in December, 1775; but, by reason of unfavorable weather, did not reach Cape Fear, in North Carolina, till the month of May, 1776; and here it met with further obstacles till the end of the month. Thus the Americans, always noted for their alertness in raising fortifications, had time to strengthen those of Charlestown in such a manner as rendered it extremely difficult to be attacked. The British squadron consisted of two 50-gun ships, four of 30 guns, two of 20, an armed schooner, and bomb-ketch, under the command of Sir Peter Parker. The land forces were commanded

by Lord Cornwallis, with Generals Clinton and Vaughan. As they had yet no intelligence of the evacuation of Boston, General Howe dispatched a vessel to Cape Fear with some instructions; but it was too late; and, in the beginning of June, the squadron anchored off Charlestown-bar. Here they met with some difficulty in crossing, being obliged to take out the guns from the two large ships, which were, notwithstanding, several times in danger of sticking fast. The next obstacle was a strong fort on Sullivan's Island, six miles east from Charlestown; which, though not completely finished was very strong. The British generals resolved, without hesitation, to attack it; but, though an attack was easy from the sea, it was very difficult to obtain a co-operation with the land forces. This was attempted, by landing them on Long Island, adjacent to Sullivan's Island on the east, from which it is separated by a very narrow creek, said not to be above two feet deep at low water. Opposite to this ford, the provincials had posted a strong body of troops, with cannon and entrenchments; while General Lee was posted on the main land, with a bridge of boats betwixt that and Sullivan's Island, so that he could at pleasure send reinforcements to the troops in the fort on Sullivan's Island. On the part of the British, so many delays occurred, that it was the 28th of June before they were in readiness to make an attack; and, by this time, the provincials had abundantly provided for their reception. On the morning of that day, the bomb-ketch began to throw shells into Fort Sullivan; and, about mid-day, the two 50-gun ships and 30-gun frigates came up and began a severe fire. Three other frigates were ordered to take their station between Charlestown and the fort, in order to enfilade the batteries, and cut off the communication with the main land; but, through the ignorance of the pilots, they all stuck fast; and, though two of them were disentangled, they were found to be totally unfit for service: the third was burnt, that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The attack was therefore confined to the five armed ships and bomb-ketch, between whom and the fort a dreadful fire ensued. The Bristol suffered excessively. The springs on her cable being shot away, she was entirely exposed to the enemy's fire. As the enemy poured in great quantities of red-hot balls, she was twice in flames. The captain, (Mr. Morris,) after receiving five wounds, was obliged to

go below, in order to have his arm amputated. After undergoing this operation, he bravely returned to his place, where he received another wound, but still refused to quit his station; at last he received a red-hot ball in his belly, which instantly put an end to his life. Of all the officers and seamen who stood on the quarter-deck of this vessel, not one escaped without a wound, excepting Sir Peter Parker alone; whose intrepidity and presence of mind on this occasion were very remarkable. The engagement lasted till darkness put an end to it. Little damage was done by the British, as the works of the enemy lay so low, that most of the shot flew over; and the fortifications, being composed of palm-trees mixed with earth, were extremely well calculated to resist the impression of cannon. During the height of the attack, the provincial batteries remained for some time silent, so that it was concluded that they had been abandoned; but this was found to proceed only from want of powder; for as soon as a supply of this article was obtained, the firing was resumed as briskly as ever. During the whole of this desperate engagement, it was impossible for the land forces to give the least assistance to the fleet. The enemy's works were found to be much stronger than they had been imagined, and the depth of water effectually prevented them from making any attempt. In this unsuccessful attack, the killed and wounded, on the part of the British, amounted to about 200. The *Bristol* and *Experiment* were so much damaged, that it was thought they could not have been got over the bar; however, this was at last accomplished, by a very great exertion of naval skill, to the surprise of the provincials, who had expected to make them both prizes. On the American side the loss was very considerable; as most of their guns were dismounted, and reinforcements had poured into the fort during the whole time of the action.

This year also, the Americans, having so frequently made trial of their valor by land, became desirous of trying it by sea, and of forming a navy that might in some measure be able to protect their trade, and do essential hurt to the enemy. In the beginning of March, Commodore Hopkins was dispatched with five frigates to the Bahama Islands, where he made himself master of the ordnance and military stores; but the gunpowder, which had been the principal object, was removed. On his return he captured several vessels; but was foiled in his attempt

on the Glasgow frigate, which found means to escape, notwithstanding the efforts of his whole squadron.

The time was now come, when the fortitude and patience of the Americans were to undergo a severe trial. Hitherto they had been, on the whole, successful in their operations: but now they were doomed to experience misfortune, misery, and disgrace; the enemy over-running their country, and their own armies not able to face them in the field. The province of New York, as being the most central colony, and most accessible by sea, was pitched upon for the object of the main attack. The force sent against it consisted of six ships of the line, thirty frigates, besides other armed vessels, and a vast number of transports. The fleet was commanded by Lord Howe, and the land forces by his brother, General Howe, who was now at Halifax. The latter, however, a considerable time before his brother arrived, had set sail from Halifax, and lay before New York, but without attempting to commence hostilities until he should be joined by his brother. The Americans had fortified New York, and the adjacent islands, in an extraordinary manner. General Howe landed his troops on Staten Island, where he was soon joined by a number of the inhabitants. About the middle of July, Lord Howe arrived with the grand armament; and, being one of the commissioners appointed to receive the submission of the colouists, he published a circular letter to this purpose, to the several governors who had lately been expelled from their provinces, desiring them to make the extent of his commission, and the powers he was invested with by parliament, as public as possible. Here, however, congress saved him trouble, by ordering his letter and declaration to be published in all the newspapers, that every one might be convinced, that they might see the insidiousness of the British ministry, and that they had nothing to trust to besides the exertion of their own valor.

As there was some difficulty in recognising either the civil or military character conferred on individuals by the existing powers in America, and yet it was desirable, either for the purpose of effecting a pacification, or of dividing still more the Americans, if a pacification should be impracticable, to open negotiations, and hold out the semblance of restoring peace, the commissioners cast about for means to evade this preliminary obstacle to any discussion of the terms they were authorised to pro-



pose ; and, at length, Colonel Patterson, Adjutant General of the British army, was sent on shore by General Howe, with a letter directed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. He was introduced to the General, whom he addressed by the title of "Excellency;" and, after the usual compliments, entered on business, by saying that General Howe much regretted the difficulties which had arisen respecting the address of the letters; that the mode adopted was deemed consistent with propriety, and was founded on precedent, in cases of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, where disputes or difficulties about rank had arisen. That General Washington might recollect he had, last summer, addressed a letter to "The Honorable William Howe." That Lord and General Howe did not mean to derogate from his rank, or the respect due to him, and that they held his person and character in the highest esteem; but that the direction, with the addition of &c. &c. &c. implied every thing which ought to follow. Colonel Patterson then produced a letter, which he said was the same that had been sent, and which he laid on the table.

The General declined receiving it; and said, that a letter, directed to a person in a public character, should have some description or indication of that character, otherwise it would be considered as a mere private letter. It was true the *et ceteras* implied every thing, and they also implied any thing. That the letter to General Howe, alluded to, was an answer to one received from him under a like address, which, having been taken by the officer on duty, he did not think proper to return, and therefore answered in the same mode of address; and that he should absolutely decline any letter, relating to his public station, directed to him as a private person.

Colonel Patterson then said, that General Howe would not urge his delicacy further, and repeated his assertions, that no failure of respect was intended.

Some conversation then passed, relative to the treatment of prisoners; after which, Colonel Patterson said, that the goodness and benevolence of the king had induced him to appoint Lord Howe and General Howe his commissioners, to accommodate the unhappy dispute at present subsisting; that they had great powers, and would derive much pleasure from effecting the



accommodation; and that he wished this visit to be considered as making the first advance towards so desirable an object.

General Washington replied, that he was not vested with any powers on this subject, by those from whom he derived his authority; but he would observe, that so far as he could judge from what had as yet transpired, Lord Howe and General Howe were only empowered to grant pardons: that those who had committed no fault wanted no pardon; and that the Americans were only defending what they deemed their indubitable rights. This Colonel Patterson said, would open a very wide field for argument; and after expressing his fears that an adherence to forms might obstruct business of the greatest moment and concern, he took his leave.

The substance of this conversation was communicated to congress, and was ordered by that body to be published.

The decision of the momentous question at issue being now by consent of both parties left to the sword, no time was lost, but hostilities commenced as soon as the British troops could be collected. This, however, was not done before the month of August; when they landed on Long Island, opposite to the shore of Staten Island. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped and strongly fortified on a peninsula on the opposite shore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal pass of which was near a place called *Flat-bush*. Here the centre of the British army, consisting of Hessians, took post; the left wing under General Grant, lying near the shore; and the right, consisting of the greater part of the British forces, lay under Lords Percy, Cornwallis, and General Clinton. Putnam had ordered the passes to be secured by large detachments, which was executed as to those at hand; but one of the greatest importance, which lay at a distance, was entirely neglected. This gave an opportunity to a large body of troops under Lord Percy and Clinton to pass the mountains and attack the Americans in the rear, while they were engaged with the Hessians in front. Through this piece of negligence their defeat became inevitable. Those who were engaged with the Hessians first perceived their mistake, and began a retreat towards their camp; but the passage was intercepted by the British troops, who drove them back into the woods. Here they were met by the Hessians; and thus were they for many hours slaughtered

between two fires, no way of escape remaining but by breaking through the British troops, and thus regaining their camp. In this attempt many perished; and the right wing, engaged with General Grant, shared the same fate. The victory was complete; and the Americans lost on this fatal day (August 27th) between 3 and 4000 men, of whom 2000 were killed in the battle. Among these a regiment, consisting of young gentlemen of fortune and family in Maryland, was almost entirely cut in pieces, and of the survivors not one escaped without a wound. Eleven hundred of the enemy, among whom were three generals, were taken prisoners.

The enemy, believing the Americans to be much stronger than they were in reality, and seeming unwilling to commit any thing to hazard, fortunately made no immediate attempt to force the lines. They encamped in front of them; and on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form, within six hundred yards of a redoubt on the left.

The situation of the army, on Long Island, had now become extremely critical. In front was a victorious enemy, from whom much was to be apprehended, in case of assault, but whose numbers, and formidable train of artillery, rendered the destruction of their works, by regular approaches, inevitable. The movements of the fleet, too, indicated an intention to make some attempt on New York, and, so soon as the wind should be favorable, to force a passage into the East River: should they succeed in this attempt, and attack him by water, while the army might assault him by land, they would render his retreat extremely difficult, if not absolutely impracticable. The troops, too, being obliged to lie in the lines, without shelter from the heavy rains which fell, were excessively fatigued and dispirited. Under these circumstances, it was determined to withdraw from Long Island; and this difficult movement was effected, on the night of the 28th, with such silence and dispatch, that all the troops and military stores, with the greater part of the provisions, and all the artillery, except such heavy pieces as, in the deep roads made by the excessive heavy rains which had fallen, could not possibly be drawn, were carried over in safety. Early the next morning, the enemy perceived the rear-guard crossing the East River, out of reach of their fire. From the commencement of the action, on the morning of the

27th, till the troops had crossed the East River on the morning of the 29th, and were freed from the immediate perils to which their situation had exposed them, the exertions and fatigues of the Commander-in-Chief, who personally inspected almost every thing, were incessant. Throughout that time he never closed his eyes, and was almost constantly on horseback.

The first use made by Lord Howe of the victory of the 27th of August, was to avail himself of the impression it had probably made on congress, by opening a negociation, in conformity with his powers as a commissioner. For this purpose, General Sullivan was sent on parole to Philadelphia, with a verbal message, the import of which, when reduced to writing, was, that though he could not, at present, treat with congress as a political body, yet he was desirous of having a conference with some of their members, whom he would consider, for the present only as private gentlemen, and meet them as such at any place they would appoint.

That he, in conjunction with General Howe, had full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, on terms advantageous to both; the obtaining of which delayed him near two months in England, and prevented his arrival at New York before the declaration of independence took place.

That he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could alledge being compelled to enter into such agreement.

That in case congress were disposed to treat, many things, which they had not as yet asked, might and ought to be granted them; and that, if, upon the conference, they found any probable ground of an accommodation, the authority of congress must be afterwards acknowledged, otherwise the compact would not be complete.

This proposition of Lord Howe was not without its embarrassments. To reject it altogether would be to give some countenance to the opinion that, if independence were waved, a restoration of the ancient connexion between the two countries, on principles formerly deemed constitutional, was still practicable; an opinion believed by congress not to be well founded, but which would have an unfavorable effect on the public sentiment, and which, therefore, it was useful to explode. On the other hand, to enter into a negociation, under such circumstances,

might excite a suspicion that their determination to maintain the independence they had declared was not immoveable, and that things were in such a situation, as to admit of some relaxation in the measures necessary for the defence of the country.

The answer given to Lord Howe, through General Sullivan, was, "That congress, being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, cannot with propriety send any of its members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body, to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorised by congress for that purpose, on behalf of America; and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think proper to make respecting the same."

The president was at the same time directed to give to General Washington the opinion of congress, that no propositions for making peace "ought to be received or attended to, unless the same be made in writing, and addressed to the representatives of the United States in Congress, or persons authorised by them. And if application be made to him by any of the commanders of the British forces on that subject, that he inform them, that the United States, who entered into the war only for the defence of their lives and liberties, will cheerfully agree to peace, on reasonable terms, whenever such shall be proposed to them in manner aforesaid."

It is worthy of remark, that, in these resolutions, congress preserve the appearance of insisting on the independence of the United States, without declaring it to be the indispensable condition of peace.

Mr. Franklin, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Edward Rutledge, all zealous advocates for independence, were appointed, in conformity with the first resolution, to receive the communications of Lord Howe.

They waited on his lordship, and, on their return, reported, that "he had received them, on the 11th of September, on Staten Island, opposite to Amboy, with great politeness."

He opened the conversation by acquainting them, that though he could not treat with them as a committee of congress, yet, as his powers enabled him to confer and consult with any private gentlemen of influence in the colonies, on the means of resto-

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*W. P. Wood, engr.*

ring peace between the two countries, he was glad of this opportunity of conferring with them on that subject, if they thought themselves at liberty to enter into a conference with him in that character. The committee observed to his lordship, that, as their business was to hear, he might consider them in what light he pleased, and communicate to them any propositions he might be authorized to make, for the purpose mentioned; but that they could consider themselves in no other character than that in which they were placed by order of congress. His lordship then entered into a discourse of considerable length, which contained no explicit proposition of peace, except one, namely, "That the colonies should return to their allegiance and obedience to the government of Great Britain. The rest consisted principally of assurances, that there was an exceeding good disposition in the king and his ministers to make that government easy to them; with intimations, that, in case of submission, they would cause the offensive acts of parliament to be revised, and the instructions to governors to be reconsidered; that so, if any just causes of complaint were found in the acts, or any errors in government were perceived to have crept into the instructions, they might be amended or withdrawn."

The committee gave it as their opinion to his lordship, that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not now to be expected. They mentioned the repeated humble petitions of the colonies to the king and parliament, which had been treated with contempt, and answered only by additional injuries; the unexampled patience which had been shown under their tyrannical government; and that it was not till the late act of parliament, which denounced war against them, and put them out of the king's protection, that they declared their independence; that this declaration had been called for by the people of the colonies in general; and that every colony had approved of it when made; and all now considered themselves as independent states, and were settling, or had settled, their governments accordingly: so that it was not in the power of congress to agree for them, that they should return to their former dependant state: that there were no doubt of their inclination to peace, and their willingness to enter into a treaty with Britain, that might be advantageous to both countries; that though his lordship had, at present, no power to treat with them as inde-



pendent states, he might, if there were the same good disposition in Britain, much sooner obtain fresh powers from thence, for that purpose, than powers could be obtained by congress, from the several colonies, to consent to a submission.

His lordship then saying, that he was sorry to find that no accommodation was likely to take place, put an end to the conference.

These fruitless negotiations produced no suspension of hostilities.

Lord Howe, upon the failure of this negotiation, published a manifesto, in which he declared the refusal of congress, and that he himself was willing to confer with all well disposed persons about the means of restoring public tranquillity, set about the most proper methods for reducing the city of New York. Here the provincial troops were posted, and from a great number of batteries kept continually annoying the British shipping. The East River lay between them, of about 1200 yards in breadth, which the British troops were extremely desirous of passing. At last the ships having, after an incessant cannonade of several days, silenced the most troublesome batteries, a body of troops were sent up the river to a bay, about three miles distant, where the fortifications were less strong than in other places. Here having driven off the provincials by the cannon of the fleet, they marched directly towards the city; but the enemy, finding that they should now be attacked on all sides, abandoned the city, and retired to the north of the island, where their principal force was collected. In their passage thither they skirmished with the British, but carefully avoided a general engagement; and it was observed that they did not behave with that ardor and impetuous valor which had hitherto marked their character.

The British and American armies were not now above two miles distant from each other: the former lay encamped from shore to shore for an extent of two miles, being the breadth of the island, which, though fifteen miles long, exceeds not two in any part in breadth. The Americans, who lay directly opposite, had strengthened their camp with many fortifications; at the same time, being masters of all the passes and defiles betwixt the two camps, they were enabled to defend themselves against an army much more numerous than their own; and they had also strongly fortified a pass called *King's Bridge*, whence they



could secure a passage to the continent in case of any misfortune. Here General Washington, in order to inure his troops to actual service, and at the same time to annoy the enemy as much as possible, employed them in continual skirmishes; by which it was observed that they soon recovered their spirits, and behaved with their usual boldness.

As the vicinity of the American army was now highly inconvenient for the British generals, it was resolved to make such movements as might oblige General Washington to relinquish his strong situation. The possession of New York had been less beneficial than was expected. It had been concerted among the provincials, that the city should be burnt at the time of evacuation; but, as they were forced to depart with precipitation, they were prevented from putting the scheme in execution. In a few days, however, it was attempted by some who had been left behind for that purpose. Taking advantage of a high wind and dry weather, the town was set on fire in several places at once, by means of combustibles placed for that purpose; and, notwithstanding the most active exertions of the soldiery and sailors, a fourth part of the city was consumed.

On this occasion the British were irritated to the highest degree; and many persons, said to be incendiaries, were without mercy thrown into the flames. It was determined to force the provincial army to a greater distance, that they might have it less in their power, by any emissaries, to engage others in a similar attempt. For this purpose, General Howe having left Lord Percy with sufficient force to garrison New York, he embarked his army in flat-bottom boats, by which they were conveyed through the dangerous passage called *Hell Gate*, and landed near the town of West Chester, lying on the continent towards Connecticut. Here having received a supply of men and provisions; they moved to New Rochelle, situated on the sound which separates Long Island from the continent. After this, receiving still fresh reinforcements, they made such movements as threatened to distress the provincials very much, by cutting off their convoys of provisions from Connecticut, and thus force them to an engagement. This, General Washington determined at all events to avoid. He therefore extended his forces into a long line opposite to the way in which the enemy marched; keeping the Bruna, a river of considerable magni-

tude, between the two armies, with the North River on his rear. Here again the provincials continued for some time to annoy and skirmish with the royal army, until at last, by some other manœuvres, the British general found means to attack them advantageously at a place called the *White Plains*, and drove them from some of their posts. The victory on this occasion was much less complete than the former; however, it obliged the provincials once more to shift their ground, and to retreat farther up the country. General Howe pursued for some time; but, at last, finding all his endeavours vain to bring the Americans to a pitched battle, he determined to give over such an useless chace, and employ himself in reducing the forts which the provincials still retained in the neighbourhood of New York. In this he met with the most complete success. The Americans, on the approach of the king's forces, retreated from King's Bridge into Fort Washington; and this, as well as Fort Lee, which lay in the neighbourhood, was quickly reduced, though the garrison made their escape. Thus the Jerseys were laid entirely open to the incursions of the British troops; and so fully were these provinces taken possession of by the royal army, that its winter quarters extended from New Brunswick to the river Delaware. Had any number of boats been at hand, it is probable that Philadelphia would now have fallen into their hands. All these, however, had been carefully removed by the Americans. In lieu of this enterprise, Sir Henry Clinton undertook an expedition to Rhode Island, and became master of it without losing a man. His expedition was also attended with this further advantage, that the American fleet under Commodore Hopkins was obliged to sail as far as possible up the river Providence, and thus remained entirely useless.

The same ill success attended the Americans in other parts. After their expulsion from Canada, they had crossed the Lake Champlain, and taken up their quarters at Crown Point, as already mentioned. Here they remained for some time in safety, as the British had no vessels on the lake, and consequently General Burgoyne could not pursue them. To remedy this deficiency, there was no possible method, but either to construct vessels on the spot, or take to pieces some vessels already constructed, and drag them up the river into the lake. This was effected in no longer a space than three months; and the British

general, after incredible toil and difficulty, saw himself in possession of a great number of vessels, by which means he was enabled to pursue his enemies, and attack them in his turn. The labor undergone at this time by the sea and land forces must indeed have been prodigious; since there were conveyed over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Laurence, no fewer than 30 large long-boats, 400 batteaux, besides a vast number of flat-bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons. The intent of the expedition was to push forward before winter to Albany, where the army would take up its winter quarters, and next spring effect a junction with that under General Howe, when it was supposed that the united force and skill of these two commanders would speedily put a termination to the war.

By reason of the difficulties with which the equipment of this fleet had been attended, it was the beginning of October before the expedition could be undertaken. It was, now, however, by every judge, allowed to be completely able to answer the purpose for which it was intended. It consisted of one large vessel with three masts, carrying 18 twelve-pounders; two schooners, the one carrying 14, the other 12, six-pounders; a large flat-bottomed radeau with 6 twenty-four, and 6 twelve, pounders; and a gondola with 8 nine-pounders. Besides these were twenty vessels of a smaller size, called *gun-boats*, carrying each a piece of brass ordnance from nine to twenty-four-pounders, or howitzers. Several long-boats were fitted out in the same manner; and, besides all these, there were a vast number of boats and tenders of various sizes, to be used as transports for the troops and baggage. It was manned by a number of select seamen, and the guns were to be served by a detachment from the corps of artillery; the officers and soldiers for this expedition were also chosen out of the whole army.

To oppose this formidable armament the Americans had only an inconsiderable force, commanded by General Arnold, who, after engaging a part of the British fleet for a whole day, took advantage of the darkness of the night to set sail without being perceived, and next morning was out of sight; but he was so closely pursued by the British, that on the second day after he was overtaken, and forced to a second engagement. In this he behaved with great gallantry; but, his force being very inferior to that of the enemy, he was obliged to run his ships a-shore

and set them on fire; but a few escaped to Lake George. The garrison of Crown Point, having destroyed or carried off every thing of value, retired to Ticonderoga.

Thus the affairs of the Americans seemed every where tending to ruin: even those who had been most sanguine in their cause began to waver. The time, also, for which the soldiers had enlisted themselves, was now expired; and the bad success of the preceding campaign had been so very discouraging, that no person was willing to engage himself during the continuance of a war, of which the event seemed to be so doubtful. In consequence of this, General Washington found his army daily decreasing in strength; so that from 30,000, of whom it consisted when General Howe landed on Staten Island, scarcely a tenth part could now be mustered. To assist the chief commander as much as possible, General Lee had collected a body of forces in the north; but on his way southward having imprudently taken up his lodging at some distance from his troops, information was given to Colonel Harcourt, who happened at that time to be in the neighbourhood, and Lee was made prisoner. The loss of this general was much regretted; the more especially as he was of superior quality to any prisoner in the possession of the colonists. Six field-officers were offered in exchange for him, but refused; and the congress was highly irritated at its being reported that he was to be treated as a deserter, having been a half-pay officer in the British service at the commencement of the war. In consequence of this they issued a proclamation, threatening to retaliate on the prisoners in their possession whatever punishment should be inflicted on any of those taken by the British; and especially, that their conduct should be regulated by the treatment of General Lee.

In the mean time, the congress proceeded with the most indefatigable diligence to recruit their army, and bound their soldiers to serve for a term of three years, or during the continuance of the war. The army designed for the ensuing campaign, was to consist of eighty-eight battalions; of which, each province was to contribute its quota; and twenty dollars were offered as a bounty to each soldier, besides an allotment of lands at the end of the war. In this allotment it was stipulated, that each soldier should have 100 acres; an ensign, 150; a lieutenant, 200; a captain, 300; a major, 400; a lieutenant-colonel,

150; and a colonel, 500. No lands were promised to those who enlisted only for three years. All officers or soldiers disabled through wounds received in the service, were to enjoy half-pay during life. To defray the expence, congress borrowed five millions of dollars at five per cent., for payment of which the United States became surety. At the same time, in order to animate the people to vigorous exertions, a declaration was published, in which they set forth the necessity there was for taking proper methods to ensure success in their cause: they endeavoured to palliate, as much as possible, the misfortunes which had already happened; and represented the true cause of the present distress to be the short term of enlistment.

This declaration, combined with the imminent danger of Philadelphia, roused the American people to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to reinforce General Washington's army; and they soon received farther encouragement, by an exploit of that general against the Hessians. As the royal army extended in different cantonments for a considerable length, General Washington, perceiving the imminent danger to which Philadelphia was exposed, resolved to make some attempt on those divisions of the enemy which lay nearest that city. These happened to be the Hessians, who lay in three divisions. On the 25th of December, he set out with an intent to surprise that body of the enemy which lay at Trenton. His army was divided into three battalions, one of which he ordered to cross the Delaware at Trenton Ferry, a little below the town; the second at a distance below, at a place called Bordentown, where the second division of Hessians was placed; while he himself with the third, directing his course to a ferry some miles above Trenton, intended to have passed it at midnight, and attack the Hessians at break of day. But, by reason of various impediments, it was eight in the morning before he could reach the place of his destination. The enemy did not perceive his approach till they were suddenly attacked. Colonel Ralle, who commanded them, did all that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer; but every thing was in such confusion, that no efforts of valor or skill could now avail them. The colonel himself was mortally wounded, his troops were entirely broken, their artillery seized, and about 1000 taken prisoners.

This action, though seemingly of no very decisive nature, was

of great advantage to the American cause. It tended greatly to lessen the fear which the provincials had of the Hessians, at the same time that it equally abated the confidence which the British had till now put in them. Reinforcements came in to General Washington's army from all quarters; so that he was soon in a condition to leave Philadelphia, and take up his quarters at Trenton. Emboldened by his success, he determined to make an attempt on a division of the British forces stationed at Maidenhead, a town situated half-way between Trenton and Princetown. This consisted of three regiments, under the command of Colonel Mawhood, an officer of great merit. The troops were surprised on their march; but, though they were separately surrounded and attacked by a force vastly superior, they charged the American troops so resolutely with their bayonets, that the British made good their retreat. These attempts of the Americans, however, with the hostile disposition of the people, showed the impossibility of maintaining posts so far advanced in the enemy's country; so that it was resolved to retreat towards Brunswick, in order to prevent it, with the troops and magazines it contained, from falling into the hands of the provincials. General Washington omitted no opportunity of recovering what had been lost; and, by dividing his army into small parties, which could be re-united on a few hours warning, he in a manner entirely covered the face of the country, and repossessed himself of all the important places.

Thus ended the campaign of 1776, with scarce any real advantage to the royalists, other than the acquisition of the city of New York, and of a few fortresses in its neighbourhood; where the troops were constrained to act with as much circumspection as if they had been besieged by a victorious army, instead of being themselves the conquerors.

The British army at New York began, in 1777, to exercise a kind of predatory war, by sending out parties to destroy magazines, make incursions, and take or destroy such forts as lay on the banks of rivers, to which their great command of shipping gave them access. In this they were generally successful; the provincial magazines at Peek's Hill, a place about fifty miles distant from New York, were destroyed, the town of Dunbury, in Connecticut, burnt, and that of Ridgefield, in the same province, was taken possession of. In returning from the last ex-



pedition, the British were greatly harassed by the enemy under Generals Arnold, Wooster, and Sullivan; but they made good their retreat in spite of all opposition, with the loss of only 170 killed and wounded. On the American side the loss was much greater; General Wooster was killed, and Arnold in the most imminent danger. On the other hand, the Americans destroyed the Store at Saggs Harbour, in Long Island, and made prisoners of all who defended the place. As this method of making war could answer but little purpose, and savored more of the barbarous incursions of savages than of a war carried on by a civilized people, it was resolved by the British general to make an attempt on Philadelphia. At first it was thought that this could be done through the Jerseys; but General Washington had received such large reinforcements, and posted himself so strongly, that it was found to be impracticable. Many stratagems were used to draw him from this strong situation, but without success; so that it was found necessary to make the attempt on Philadelphia by sea. While the preparations for this expedition were going forward, the Americans found means to make amends for the capture of General Lee by that of General Prescott, who was seized in his quarters with his aid-de-camp, in much the same manner as General Lee had been. This was exceedingly mortifying to the general himself, as he had not long before set a price upon General Arnold, by offering a sum of money to any one that apprehended him; which the latter answered, by setting a lower price upon General Prescott.

The month of July was far advanced before the preparations for the expedition against Philadelphia were completed; and it was the 23d before the fleet was able to sail from Sandy Hook. The force employed in this expedition consisted of thirty-six battalions of British and Hessians, a regiment of light horse, and a body of loyalists raised at New York. The remainder of these, with seventeen battalions, and another body of light horse, were stationed at New York, under Sir Henry Clinton. Seven battalions were stationed at Rhode Island. After a week's sailing, they arrived at the mouth of the Delaware; when they received certain intelligence, that the navigation of the river was so effectually obstructed, that no possibility of forcing a passage remained. Upon this it was resolved to proceed further southward, to Chesapeak Bay, in Maryland, from whence the distance

to Philadelphia was not very great, and where the provincial army would find less advantage, from the nature of the country, than in the Jerseys. On the news of their arrival in Chesapeak, General Washington left the Jerseys, and hastened to the relief of Philadelphia; and, in the beginning of September, met the royal army at Brandy-wine Creek, about mid-day, between the head of the Elk and Philadelphia. Here he adhered to his former method of skirmishing and harassing the royal army on its march; but, as this proved insufficient to stop its progress, he retired to that side of the creek next to Philadelphia, with an intent to dispute the passage. This brought on a general engagement, on the 11th of September, in which the Americans were defeated; and it was only through the approach of night that they were saved from being entirely destroyed. On this occasion, the provincials lost about 1000 in killed and wounded, besides 400 taken prisoners.

The loss of this battle proved also the loss of Philadelphia. General Washington retired towards Lancaster, an inland town at a considerable distance. Here the British general took such measures as must have forced the provincials to a second engagement, but a violent rain, which lasted a day and a night, prevented his design. General Washington, though he could not prevent the loss of Philadelphia, still adhered to his original plan of distressing the royal party, by laying ambushes, and cutting off detached parties: but in this he was less successful than formerly; and one of his own detachments, which lay in ambush in a wood, were themselves surprised and entirely defeated, with the loss of 300 killed and wounded, besides a great number taken, and all their arms and baggage.

General Howe now perceiving that the Americans would not risk another battle, even for the sake of their capital, took peaceable possession of it on the 26th of September. His first care was then to cut off, by means of strong batteries, the communication between the upper and lower parts of the river: which was executed, notwithstanding the opposition of some American armed vessels; one of which carrying 36 guns, was taken. His next task was to open a communication with it by sea, and this was a work of no small difficulty. A vast number of batteries and forts had been erected, and immense machines, formed like *chevaux de frize*, from whence they took their name,



sunk in the river to prevent its navigation. As the fleet was sent round to the mouth of the river, in order to co-operate with the army, this work, however difficult, was accomplished; nor did the provincials give much opposition, well knowing that all places of this kind were now untenable. General Washington, however, took the advantage of the royal army being divided, to attack the camp of the principal division of it, that lay at German-town, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. In this he met with very little success; for, though he reached the place of destination by three o'clock in the morning, the patrols had time to call the troops to arms. The Americans made a very resolute attack; but they were received with such bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the attempt, and retreat in great disorder; with the advantage, however, of carrying off their cannon, though pursued for a considerable way, after having 300 killed, 600 wounded, and upwards of 400 taken prisoners, among whom were fifty-four officers. On the British side, the loss amounted to 430 wounded and prisoners, and 70 killed; among whom were General Agnew and Colonel Bird, with some other excellent officers.

There still remained two strong forts on the Delaware to be reduced. These were Mud Island and Red Bank. The various obstructions which the Americans had thrown in the way rendered it necessary to bring up the *Augusta*, a ship of the line, and the *Merlin* frigate, to the attack of Mud Island; but, during the heat of the action, both were grounded. Upon this, the Americans sent down four fire-ships, and directed the whole fire from their galleys against them. The former were rendered ineffectual by the courage and skill of the British seamen: but, during the engagement, both the *Augusta* and *Merlin* took fire, and were burnt to ashes, and the other ships obliged to withdraw. The enemy, encouraged by this unsuccessful attempt, proceeded to throw new obstructions in the way; but the British general having found means to convey a number of cannon, and to erect batteries within a gun-shot of the fort, by land, and bringing up three ships of the line which mounted heavy cannon, the garrison, after making a vigorous defence for one day, perceiving that preparations were making for a general assault on the next, abandoned the place in the night. Those who defended Red Bank followed their example, and abandoned it on the approach

of Lord Cornwallis. A great number of the American shipping, finding themselves entirely destitute of any protection, sailed up the river in the night-time. Seventeen remained, whose retreat was intercepted by a frigate and some armed vessels; on which the Americans ran them ashore and burnt them, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands.

Thus the campaign of 1777, in Pennsylvania, concluded successfully on the part of the British. In the north, however, matters wore a different aspect. The expedition in that quarter had been projected by the British ministry, as the most effectual method that could be taken to crush the colonies at once. The four provinces of New England had originally begun the confederacy against Britain, and they were still considered as the most active in the continuation of it; and it was thought, that any impression made upon them would contribute in an effectual manner to the reduction of the rest. For this purpose, an army of 4000 chosen British troops, and 3000 Germans, were put under the command of General Burgoyne: General Carleton was directed to use his interest with the Indians to persuade them to assist in this expedition; and the province of Quebec was to furnish large parties to join in the same. The officers who commanded under General Burgoyne were, General Phillips of the artillery, Generals Fraser, Powel, and Hamilton; with the German officers, Generals Reidesel and Specht. To aid the principal expedition, another was projected on the Mohawk river, under Colonel St. Leger, who was to be assisted by Sir John Johnson, son of the famous Sir William Johnson, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the war of 1755.

On the 21st of June, 1777, the army encamped on the western side of the Lake Champlain; where, being joined by a considerable body of Indians, General Burgoyne made a speech, in which he exhorted these new allies to lay aside their ferocious and barbarous manner of making war; to kill only such as opposed them in arms; and to spare prisoners, with such women and children as should fall into their hands. After issuing a proclamation, in which the force of Britain, and that which he commanded, was set forth in very ostentatious terms, the campaign opened with the siege of Ticonderoga. The place was very strong, and garrisoned by 6000 men, under General Sinclair; nevertheless, the works were so extensive, that even this

number was scarce sufficient to defend them. They had, therefore, omitted to fortify a rugged eminence, called Sugar Hill, the top of which overlooked and effectually commanded the whole works; vainly imagining, that the difficulty of the ascent would be sufficient to prevent the enemy from taking possession of it. On the approach of the first division of the army, the provincials abandoned and set fire to their outworks; and so expeditious were the British troops, that by the 5th of July every post was secured which was judged necessary for investing it completely. A road was soon after made to the very summit of that eminence, which the Americans had with such confidence supposed could not be ascended; and so much were they now disheartened, that they instantly abandoned the fort entirely, taking the road to Skenesborough, a place to the south of Lake George; while their baggage, with what artillery and military stores they could carry off, were sent to the same place by water. But the British generals were determined not to let them pass so easily. Both were pursued, and both overtaken. Their armed vessels consisted only of five galleys; two of which were taken, and three blown up; on which they set fire to their boats and fortifications at Skenesborough. On this occasion, the provincials lost 200 boats, 130 pieces of cannon, with all the provisions and baggage. Their land forces under Colonel Francis made a brave defence against General Fraser: and, being greatly superior in number, had almost overpowered him, when General Reidesel, with a large body of Germans, came to their assistance. The enemy were now overpowered in their turn; and, their commander being killed, they fled on all sides with great precipitation. In this action 200 Americans were killed, as many taken prisoners, and above 600 wounded, many of whom perished in the woods for want of assistance.

During the engagement, General Sinclair was at Castleton, about six miles from the place; but, instead of going forward to Fort Anne, the next place of strength, he repaired to the woods which lie between that fortress and New England. General Burgoyne detached Colonel Hill, with the ninth regiment, to intercept such as should attempt to retreat towards Fort Anne. On his way he met with a body of the enemy, said to be six times as numerous as his own; who after an engagement of three hours, were obliged to retire with great loss. After so

many disasters, despairing of being able to make any stand at Fort Anne, they set fire to it, and retired to Fort Edward. In all these engagements, the loss of killed and wounded in the royal army did not exceed 200 men.

General Burgoyne was now obliged to suspend his operations for some time, and wait at Skenesborough for the arrival of his tents, provisions, &c. He therefore employed this interval in making roads through the country about St. Anne, and in clearing a passage for his troops to proceed against the enemy. This was attended with incredible toil; but all obstacles were surmounted with equal patience and resolution by the army. In short, after undergoing the utmost difficulties that could be undergone, and making every exertion that man could make, he arrived with his army before Fort Edward about the end of July. Here General Schuyler had been for some time endeavouring to recruit the shattered American forces, and had been joined by General Sinclair with the remains of his army; the garrison of Fort George also, situated upon the lake of that name, had evacuated the place, and retired to Fort Edward. However, on the approach of the royal army, they retired thence also, and formed their head-quarters at Saratoga. Notwithstanding the great successes of the British general, the Americans showed not the least disposition to submit, but seemed only to consider how they might make the most effectual resistance. For this purpose, the militia were every where raised and draughted to join the army at Saratoga; and such numbers of volunteers were daily added, that they soon began to recover from the terror into which they had been thrown. That they might have a commander whose abilities could be relied on, General Arnold was appointed; who repaired to Saratoga with a considerable train of artillery; but receiving intelligence that Colonel St. Leger was proceeding with great rapidity in his expedition on the Mohawk River, he removed to Stillwater, a place about half-way between Saratoga and the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson's River. The colonel, in the mean time, had advanced as far as Fort Stanwix; the siege of which he pressed with great vigor. On the 6th of August, understanding that a supply of provisions, escorted by eight or nine hundred men, was on the way to the fort, he dispatched Sir John Johnson with a strong detachment to intercept it. This he did so effectually, that besides inter-

cepting the provisions, 400 of its guard were slain, 200 taken, and the rest escaped with great difficulty. The garrison, however, were not to be intimidated by this disaster, nor by the threats or representation of St. Leger: on the contrary, they made several successful sallies, under Colonel Willet, the second in command; and this gentleman, in company with another, even ventured out of the fort; and, eluding the vigilance of the enemy, passed through them, in order to hasten the march of General Arnold to their assistance.

Thus the affairs of Colonel St. Leger, seemed to be in no very favorable situation, notwithstanding his late success, and they were soon totally ruined by the desertion of the Indians. They had been alarmed by the report of General Arnold's advancing with 2000 men to the relief of the fort; and, while the colonel was attempting to give them encouragement, another report was spread, that General Burgoyne had been defeated with great slaughter, and was now flying before the provincials. On this, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of the tents, and some of the artillery and military stores.

General Burgoyne, in the mean time, notwithstanding the difficulties he had already sustained, found that he must still encounter more. The roads he had made with so much labor and pains, were destroyed, either by the wetness of the season, or by the enemy; so that the provisions he brought from Fort George could not arrive at his camp without prodigious toil. On hearing of the siege of Fort Stanwix by Colonel St. Leger, he determined to move forward, in hopes of inclosing the enemy betwixt his own army and that of St. Leger, or of obtaining the command of all the country between Fort Stanwix and Albany; or, at any rate, a junction with Colonel St. Leger would be effected, which could not but be attended with the most happy consequences. The only difficulty was, the want of provisions; and this it was proposed to remedy by reducing the provincial magazines at Bennington. For this purpose, Colonel Baume, a German officer of great bravery, was chosen, with a body of 500 men. The place was about twenty miles from Hudson's River; and, to support Colonel Baume's party, the whole army marched up the river's bank, and encamped almost opposite to Saratoga, with the river betwixt it and that place. An advanced party was posted at Batten Kill, between the camp and Bennington, in

order to support Colonel Baume. In their way, the British seized a large supply of cattle and provisions, which were immediately sent to the camp; but the badness of the roads retarded their march so much, that intelligence of their design was sent to Bennington. Understanding now that the American force was greatly superior to his own, the colonel acquainted the general, who immediately dispatched Colonel Breyman with a party to his assistance; but, through the same causes that had retarded the march of Colonel Baume, this assistance came too late. General Starke, in the mean time, who commanded at Bennington, determined to attack the two parties separately; and, for this purpose, advanced against Colonel Baume, whom he surrounded on all sides, and attacked with the utmost violence. The troops defended themselves with great valor, but were to a man either killed or taken. Colonel Breyman, after a desperate engagement, had the good luck to effect a retreat through the darkness of the night, which otherwise he could not have done, as his men had expended all their ammunition.

General Burgoyne, disappointed in his attempt on Bennington, applied himself with indefatigable diligence to procure provisions from Fort George; and, having amassed a sufficient quantity to last for a month, he threw a bridge of boats over the river Hudson, which he crossed about the middle of September, encamping on the hills and plains near Saratoga. As soon as he approached the provincial army, encamped at Stillwater under General Gates, he determined to make an attack; for which purpose he put himself at the head of the central division of his army, having General Fraser and Colonel Breyman on the right, with Generals Reidesel and Philips on the left. In this position he advanced towards the enemy on the 19th of September. But the Americans did not now wait to be attacked: on the contrary, they attacked the central division with the greatest ardor; and it was not until General Philips with the artillery came up, that they could be repulsed. On this occasion, though the British troops lost only 330 in killed and wounded, and the enemy no less than 1500, the former were very much alarmed at the obstinate resolution shown by the Americans. This did not, however, prevent the British from advancing towards the enemy, and posting themselves the next day within cannon-shot of their lines. But their allies the In-



Indians began to desert in great numbers; and at the same time the general was in the highest degree mortified by having no intelligence of any assistance from Sir Henry Clinton, as had been stipulated. He now received a letter from him, by which he was informed that Sir Henry intended to make a diversion on the North River in his favor. This afforded but little comfort: however, he returned an answer by several trusty persons whom he dispatched different ways, stating his present distressed situation, and mentioning that the provisions and other necessaries he had would only enable him to hold out till the 12th of October.

In the mean time the Americans, in order to cut off the retreat of the British army, undertook an expedition against Ticonderoga; but were obliged to abandon the enterprise after having surprised all the out-posts, and taken a great number of boats with some armed vessels, and a number of prisoners. The army under General Burgoyne now labored under the greatest distresses; so that in the beginning of October he was obliged to diminish the soldiers' allowance. On the 7th of that month he determined to move towards the enemy. For this purpose he sent a body of 1500 men to reconnoitre their left wing; intending, if possible, to break through it in order to effect a retreat. This detachment had not proceeded far, when a dreadful attack was made upon the left wing of the British army, which was with great difficulty preserved by a reinforcement brought up by General Fraser, who was killed in the action. After the troops had with great difficulty regained their camp, it was furiously assaulted by General Arnold; who, notwithstanding all opposition, would have forced the entrenchments, had he not received a dangerous wound, which obliged him to retire. Thus the attack failed on the left, but on the right the camp of the German reserve was forced, Colonel Breyman killed, and his countrymen defeated, with the loss of all their artillery and baggage.

This was by far the heaviest loss the British army had sustained since the action at Bunker's Hill. The list of killed and wounded amounted to near 1200, exclusive of the Germans; but the greatest misfortune was, that the enemy had now an opening on the right and rear of the British forces, so that the army was threatened with entire destruction. This obliged General Burgoyne once more to shift his position, that the enemy

might also be obliged to alter theirs. This was accomplished on the night of the 7th, without any loss, and all the next day he continued to offer the enemy battle; but they were now too well assured of obtaining a complete victory, by cutting off all supplies from the British, to risk another engagement. Wherefore they advanced on the right side, in order to inclose him entirely; which obliged the general to direct a retreat towards Saratoga. But the enemy had stationed a great force on the ford at Hudson's River, so that the only possibility of retreat was by securing a passage to Lake George; and, to effect this, a body of workmen were detached, with a strong guard, to repair the roads and bridges that led to Fort Edward. As soon as they were gone, the enemy seemed to menace an attack; which rendered it necessary to recal the guard, and the workmen, being of course left exposed, could not proceed. The boats, which conveyed provisions down Hudson's River, were now exposed to the continual fire of the American marksmen, who also took many of them; so that it became necessary to convey the provisions over land. In this extreme danger it was resolved to march by night to Fort Edward, forcing the passages at the fords either above or below the place; and, in order to effect this the more easily, it was resolved that the soldiers should carry their provisions on their backs, leaving behind their baggage and every other incumbrance. But, before this could be executed, intelligence was received that the enemy had raised strong entrenchments opposite to these fords, well provided with cannon, and that they had likewise taken possession of the rising ground between Fort George and Fort Edward, which in like manner was provided with cannon.

All this time the American army was increasing by the continual arrival of militia and volunteers from all parts. Their parties extended all along the opposite bank of Hudson's River, and some had even passed it in order to watch the least movement of the British army. The whole force under General Gates was computed at upwards of 16,000 men, while the army under General Burgoyne did not amount to 6000; and every part of the camp was penetrated by the grape and rifle shot of the enemy, besides discharges from their artillery, which were almost incessant. In this state of extreme distress and danger, the army continued with the greatest constancy and perseverance



till the evening of the 13th of October, when, an inventory of provisions being taken, it was found that no more remained than what were sufficient to serve for three days, and, a council of war being called, it was unanimously determined that there was no method now remaining but to treat with the enemy. In consequence of this, a negociation was opened the next day, which speedily terminated in a capitulation of the whole British army; the principal article of which was, that the troops were to have a free passage to Britain, on condition of not serving against America during the war. On this occasion, General Gates ordered his army to keep within their camp, while the British soldiers went to a place appointed for them to lay down their arms, that the latter might not have the additional mortification of being made spectacles of so melancholy an event. The number of those who surrendered at Saratoga, amounted to 5750, according to the American accounts; the list of sick and wounded left in the camp when the army retreated to Saratoga, to 528; and the number of those lost by other accidents since the taking of Ticonderoga, to near 3000. But in the evidence afterwards adduced before the house of commons by General Burgoyne, it appeared that the number of effective men in the British army at the time it surrendered, amounted only to 3499; whilst the number of the American army, according to General Gates' return, was 18,624. Thirty-five brass field-pieces, 7000 stand of arms, clothing for an equal number of soldiers, with the tents, military-chest, &c., likewise fell into the hands of the Americans.

Sir Henry Clinton, in the mean time, had sailed up the North River, and destroyed the two forts called Montgomery and Clinton, with Fort Constitution, and another place called Continental Village, where were barracks for 2000 men. Seventy large cannon were carried away, besides a number of smaller artillery, and a great quantity of stores and ammunition; a large boom and chain reaching across the river from Fort Montgomery to a point of land called St. Anthony's Nose, which cost no less than £70,000 sterling, were partly destroyed and partly carried away, as was also another boom of little less value at Fort Constitution. Another attack was made by Sir James Wallace, with some frigates, and a body of land forces under General Vaughan. The place which now suffered was named Esopus: the fortifica-

tions were destroyed, and the town itself reduced to ashes, as that called Continental Village had been before. But these successes, of whatever importance they might be, were now disregarded by both parties. They served only to irritate the Americans, flushed with their success; and they were utterly insufficient to raise the spirits of the British, who were now thrown into the utmost dismay.

On the 16th of March, 1778, Lord North acquainted the house of commons, that a paper had been laid before the king by the French ambassador, intimating the conclusion of an alliance between the court of France and the United States of America. The preliminaries of this treaty had been concluded in the end of the year 1777, and a copy of them sent to congress, in order to counteract any proposals that might be made in the mean time by the British ministry. On February 6, 1778, the articles were signed.

The notification of such a treaty as this could not but be looked upon as a declaration of war. On its being announced to the house, every one agreed in an address to his majesty, promising to stand by him to the utmost in the present emergency; but it was warmly contended by the members in opposition, that the present ministry ought to be removed on account of their numberless blunders and miscarriages in every instance. Many were of opinion, that the only way to extricate the nation from its trouble was to acknowledge the independency of America at once, and thus we might still do with a good grace what must inevitably be done at last, after expending much more blood and treasure than had yet been lavished in this unhappy contest. The ministerial party, however, entertained different ideas. Instigated by zeal for the national honor, it was determined at once to resent the arrogance of France, and prosecute hostilities against America with more vigor than ever, should the terms now offered them be rejected.

The Americans, in the mean time, assiduously employed their agents at the courts of Spain, Vienna, Prussia, and Tuscany, in order, if possible, to conclude alliances with them, or at least to procure an acknowledgment of their independency. As it had been reported that Britain intended to apply for assistance to Russia, the American commissioners were enjoined to use their utmost influence with the German princes to prevent such

auxiliaries from marching through their territories, and to endeavour to procure the recal of the German troops already sent to America. To France they offered a cession of such West India Islands as should be taken by the united strength of France and America; and, should Britain by their joint endeavours be dispossessed of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, these territories should be divided betwixt the two nations, and Great Britain be totally excluded from the fishery. The proposals to the Spanish court were, that, in case they should think proper to espouse the quarrel, the American States should assist in reducing Pensacola under the dominion of Spain, provided their subjects were allowed the free navigation of the river Mississippi, and the use of the harbour of Pensacola; and they further offered, that, if agreeable to Spain, they would declare war against Portugal, should that power expel the American ships from its ports.

The troops under General Burgoyne, were about the same period, preparing to embark for Britain, according to the convention at Saratoga; but, to their utter surprise, congress positively refused to allow them to depart, under pretence that some sinister designs were harboured on the part of Britain, and that they only wanted an opportunity to join the other troops at Philadelphia or New York.

The season for action was now approaching; and congress was indefatigable in its preparations for a new campaign, which it was confidently said would be the last. Among other methods taken for this purpose, it was recommended to all the young gentlemen of the colonies to form themselves into bodies of cavalry to serve at their own expence during the war. General Washington, at the same time, in order to remove all incumbrances from his army, lightened the baggage as much as possible, by substituting sacks and portmanteaus in place of chests and boxes, and using pack-horses instead of waggons. On the other hand, the British army, expecting to be speedily reinforced by 20,000 men, thought of nothing but concluding the war according to their wishes before the end of the campaign. It was with the utmost concern, as well as indignation, therefore, that they received the news of Lord North's conciliatory bill. It was universally looked upon as a national disgrace; and some even tore the cockades from their hats, and trampled them under

their feet as a token of their indignation. By the colonists it was received with indifference. The British commissioners endeavoured to make it as public as possible; and the congress, as formerly, ordered it to be printed in all the newspapers. On this occasion, Governor Tryon inclosed several copies of the bill to General Washington in a letter, entreating that he would allow them to be circulated; to which that general returned for answer a copy of a newspaper in which the bill was printed, together with the resolutions of congress upon it. These were, That whoever presumed to make a separate agreement with Britain should be deemed a public enemy; that the United States could not with any propriety keep correspondence with the commissioners until their independence was acknowledged, and the British fleets and armies removed from America. At the same time, the colonies were warned not to suffer themselves to be deceived into security by any offers that might be made; but to use their utmost endeavours to send their quotas with all diligence into the field. The individuals with whom the commissioners conversed on the subject of the conciliatory bill, generally returned for answer, that the day of reconciliation was past; and that the haughtiness of Britain had extinguished all filial regard in the breasts of the Americans.

About this time also Mr. Silas Deane arrived from France with two copies of the treaty of commerce and alliance to be signed by congress. Advices of the most pleasing nature were also received from various parts, representing in the most favorable light the dispositions of the European powers; all of whom, it was said, wished to see the independence of America settled upon the most firm and permanent basis. Considering the situation of matters with the colonists at this time, therefore, it is no wonder that the commissioners found themselves unable to accomplish the errand on which they came. Their proposals were utterly rejected, themselves treated as spies, and all intercourse with them interdicted.

But, before any final answer could be obtained from congress, Sir Henry Clinton had taken the resolution of evacuating Philadelphia. Accordingly, on the 10th of June, after having made all necessary preparations, the army marched out of the city, and crossed the Delaware before noon with all its baggage and other incumbrances. General Washington, apprised of this de-

sign, had dispatched expresses into the Jerseys with orders to collect all the forces that could be assembled, to obstruct the march of the enemy. After various movements on both sides, Sir Henry Clinton, with the royal army, arrived on the 27th of June at a place called Freehold; where, judging that the enemy would attack him, he encamped in a very strong situation. Here General Washington determined to make an attack as soon as the army had again begun its march. The night was spent in making the necessary preparations, and General Lee with his division was ordered to be ready by day-break. But Sir Henry Clinton, justly apprehending that the chief object of the enemy was the baggage, committed it to the care of General Knyphausen, whom he ordered to set out early in the morning, while he followed with the rest of the army. The attack was accordingly made; but the British general had taken such care to arrange his troops properly, and so effectually supported his forces when engaged with the Americans, that the latter not only made no impression, but were with difficulty preserved from a total defeat, by the arrival of General Washington with the whole army. The British troops effected their retreat with the loss of 300 men, of whom many died through fatigue. In this action General Lee was charged by General Washington with disobedience and misconduct in retreating before the British army: he was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to a temporary suspension from his command. After they had arrived at Sandy Hook, a bridge of boats was by Lord Howe's directions thrown over the channel which separated the island from the main land, and the troops were conveyed on board the fleet; after which they sailed to New York. After sending some light detachments to watch the enemy's motions, General Washington marched towards the North River, where a great force had been collected to join him, and where it was now expected that some capital operations would take place.

In the mean time, France had been active in her preparations for the assistance of the Americans. On the 14th of April Count D'Estaing sailed from Toulon with a strong squadron of ships of the line and frigates, and arrived on the coast of Virginia, in the beginning of July, while the British fleet was employed in conveying the forces from Sandy Hook to New York. It consisted of one ship of 90 guns, one of 80, six of 74, and

four of 64, besides several large frigates; and, exclusive of its complement of sailors, had 6000 marines and soldiers on-board. To oppose this, the British had only six ships of 64 guns, three of 50, and two of 40, with some frigates and sloops. Notwithstanding this inferiority, however, the British admiral posted himself so advantageously, and showed such superior courage and skill, that D'Estaing did not think proper to attack him. He therefore remained at anchor four miles off Sandy Hook, till the 22nd of July, without effecting any thing more than the capture of some vessels, which, through ignorance of his arrival, fell into his hands.

The next attempt of the French admiral was, in conjunction with the Americans, on Rhode Island. It was proposed that D'Estaing, with the 6000 troops he brought with him, should make a descent on the southern part of the island, while a body of the Americans should take possession of the north; at the same time the French squadron was to enter the harbour of Newport, and take or destroy all the British shipping. On the 8th of August the French admiral entered the harbour as was proposed, but found himself unable to effect any thing material. Lord Howe instantly set sail for Rhode Island; and D'Estaing, confiding in his superiority, came out of the harbour to meet him. A violent storm parted the two fleets, and did so much damage that they were both rendered unfit for action. The French suffered most; and several of their ships, being afterwards attacked singly by the British, very narrowly escaped being taken. On the 20th of August D'Estaing returned to Newport in a very shattered condition; and, not thinking himself safe there, sailed two days after for Boston. General Sullivan had landed in the mean time on the northern part of Rhode Island with 10,000 men. On the 17th of August they began their operations by erecting batteries, and making their approaches to the British lines. But General Pigot, who commanded in Newport, had taken such effectual care to secure himself on the land-side, that without the assistance of a marine force it was altogether impossible to attack him with any probability of success. The conduct of D'Estaing, therefore, who had abandoned them when master of the harbour, gave the greatest disgust to the people of New England, and Sullivan began to think of a retreat. On perceiving his intentions, the

garrison sallied out upon him with so much vigor, that it was not without difficulty that he effected his retreat. He had not been long gone when Sir Henry Clinton arrived with a body of 4000 men, which, had it arrived sooner, would have enabled the British commander to have gained a decisive advantage over him, as well as to have destroyed the town of Providence, which by its vicinity to Rhode Island, and the enterprises which were continually projected and carried on in that place, kept the inhabitants of Rhode Island in continual alarm.

The first British expedition was to Buzzard's Bay, in the neighbourhood of Rhode Island. Here they destroyed a great number of privateers and merchantmen, magazines, with store-houses, &c., whence proceeding to a fertile and populous island called Martha's Vineyard, they carried off 10,000 sheep and 300 black cattle. Another expedition took place up the North River, under Lord Cornwallis and General Knyphausen; the principal event of which was the destruction of a regiment of American cavalry, known by the name of Washington's light-horse. A third expedition was directed to Little Egg Harbour, in New Jersey, a place noted for privateers, the destruction of which was its principal intention. It was conducted by Captains Ferguson and Collins, and ended in the destruction of the enemy's vessels, as well as of the place itself. At the same time part of another body of American troops, called Pulaski's legion, was surprised, and a great number of them put to the sword.

The Americans had in the beginning of the year projected the conquest of West Florida; and captain Willing with a party of resolute men, had made a successful incursion into the country. This awakened the attention of the British to the southern colonies, and an expedition against them was resolved on. Georgia was the place of destination; and, the more effectually to ensure success, Colonel Campbell, with a sufficient force, under convoy of some ships of war, commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker, embarked at New York, while General Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, was directed to set out with all the forces he could collect. The armament from New York arrived off the coast of Georgia in December; and, though the enemy were strongly posted in an advantageous situation near the shore, the British troops made good their landing, and advanced towards Savannah the capital of the province. That



same day they defeated the provincials who opposed them; and took possession of the town with such celerity, that the Americans had not time to execute a resolution they had taken of setting it on fire. In ten days the whole province of Georgia was reduced, Sunbury alone excepted; and this was also brought under subjection by General Prevost in his march northward. Every proper method was taken to secure the tranquillity of the country; and rewards were offered for apprehending committee and assembly men, or such as they judged most inimical to the British interest. On the arrival of General Prevost, the command of the troops devolved on him as the senior officer; and the conquest of Carolina was next projected. That country contained a great number of friends to government, who now eagerly embraced the opportunity of declaring themselves; many of the inhabitants of Georgia had joined the royal standard; and there were not in the province any provincial forces capable of opposing the efforts of the regular and well-disciplined troops. On the news of General Prevost's approach, the loyalists assembled, imagining themselves able to stand their ground until their allies should arrive; but in this they were disappointed. The Americans attacked and defeated them, with the loss of half their number. The remainder retreated into Georgia; and after undergoing many hardships, at last effected a junction with the British forces.

During the time that these operations were going on, General Lincoln with a considerable reinforcement of American troops, had encamped within twenty miles of the town of Savannah; and another strong party had posted themselves at a place called Briar's Creek, farther up the river of the same name. Thus the extent of the British government was likely to be circumscribed within very narrow bounds. General Prevost therefore determined to dislodge the party at Briar's Creek: and the latter, trusting to their strong situation, and being remiss in their guard, suffered themselves to be surprized on the 30th of March, 1779; when they were utterly routed, with the loss of 400 killed and taken, besides a great number drowned in the river or the swamps. The whole artillery, stores, baggage, and almost all the arms, of this unfortunate party, were taken, so that they could no more make any stand; and thus a communication was



opened with those places in Carolina where the royalists chiefly resided.

The victory at Briar's Creek proved of considerable service to the British cause. Great numbers of the loyalists joined the army, and considerably increased its force. Hence General Prevost was enabled to stretch his posts farther up the river, and to guard all the principal passes: so that General Lincoln was reduced to a state of inaction; and at last moved off towards Augusta, in order to protect the provincial assembly, which was obliged to sit in that place, the capital being in the hands of the British. Lincoln had no sooner quitted his post, than it was judged proper by the British general to put in execution the grand scheme which had been meditated against Carolina. Many difficulties indeed lay in his way. The river Savannah was so swelled by excessive rains, that it seemed impassable; the opposite shore was so full of swamps and marshes, that no army could march over it without the greatest difficulty; and, to render the passage still more difficult, General Moultrie was left with a considerable body of troops to oppose the enemy's attempts. Yet, in spite of every opposition, the constancy and perseverance of the British forces prevailed. General Moultrie was defeated, and obliged to retire towards Charlestown; and the victorious army, after having waded through the marshes for some time, arrived in an open country, through which they pursued their march with great rapidity towards the capital; while General Lincoln remained in a state of security at Augusta, vainly imagining that the obstacles he had left in the way could not be surmounted.

Intelligence of the danger to which Charlestown was exposed, roused the American general from his lethargy. A chosen body of infantry, mounted on horseback for the greater expedition, was dispatched before him; while Lincoln himself followed with all the forces he could collect. General Moultrie too, with the troops he had brought from the Savannah, and some others he had collected since his retreat from thence, had taken possession of all the avenues leading to Charlestown, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But all opposition proved ineffectual. The Americans were defeated in every encounter; and, retreating continually, allowed the British army to come within cannon-shot of Charlestown on the 12th of May. The town was now summon-

ed to surrender; and the inhabitants would gladly have agreed to observe a neutrality during the rest of the war, and would also have engaged for the rest of the province. But, these terms not being accepted, they made preparations for a vigorous defence. It was not in the power of the British commander at this time to make an attack with any prospect of success. His artillery was not of sufficient weight; there were no ships to support him by sea; and General Lincoln, advancing rapidly with a superior army, threatened to inclose him between his own forces and the town; so that, should he fail in his first attempt, certain destruction would be the consequence. For these reasons he withdrew his army from before the town, and took possession of two islands called *St. James'* and *St. John's*, lying to the southward; where having waited some time, he was reinforced by the arrival of two frigates. With these he determined to make himself master of Port Royal, an island possessed of an excellent harbour and many other natural advantages, from its situation also commanding the sea-coast from Charlestown to Savannah river. The American general, however, did not allow this to be accomplished without opposition. Perceiving his opponent had occupied an advantageous post on *St. John's* island, preparatory to his enterprise against Port Royal, he attempted, on the 20th of June, to dislodge him from it; but, after an obstinate attack, the provincials were, as usual, obliged to retire with considerable loss. On this occasion the success of the British was in a great measure owing to an armed float; which galled the right flank of the enemy so effectually, that they could direct their efforts only against the strongest part of the lines, which proved impregnable. This disappointment was instantly followed by the loss of Port Royal, which General Prevost took possession of, and put his troops into proper stations, waiting for the arrival of such further reinforcements as were necessary for the intended attack on Charlestown.

In the mean time, Count D'Estaing, who put into Boston harbour to refit, had used his utmost efforts to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants of that city. Zealous also in the cause of his master, he had published a proclamation to be dispersed through Canada, inviting the people to return to their original friendship with France, and declaring that all who renounced their allegiance to Great Britain should certainly find a protector

in the French king. All his endeavours, however, proved insufficient to produce any revolution, or even to form a party of any consequence among the Canadians.

As soon as the French admiral had refitted his fleet, he took the opportunity, while that of Admiral Byron had been shattered by a storm, of sailing to the West Indies. During his operations there, the Americans having represented his conduct as totally unserviceable to them, he received orders from Europe to assist the colonies with all possible speed. He therefore directed his course towards Georgia, with a design to recover that province, and to put it, as well as South Carolina, in such a posture of defence as would effectually secure them from any future attack. This seemed to be an easy matter, from the little force with which he knew he should be opposed; and the next object in contemplation was the destruction of the British fleet and army at New York. Full of these hopes, the French commander arrived off the coast of Georgia with a fleet of twenty-two sail of the line and ten frigates. His arrival was so little expected, that several vessels laden with provisions and military stores fell into his hands: the *Experiment* also, a vessel of 50 guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was taken after a stout resistance. On the continent, the British troops were divided. General Prevost, with one part, remained at Savannah; but the main force was under Colonel Maitland at Port Royal. On the first appearance of the French fleet, an express was dispatched to Colonel Maitland: but it was intercepted by the enemy; so that, before he could set out to join the commander-in-chief, the Americans had secured most of the passes by land, while the French fleet effectually blocked up the passage by sea. Yet by taking advantage of creeks and inlets, and marching over land, he arrived just in time to relieve Savannah.

D'Estaing allowed General Prevost twenty-four hours to deliberate whether he would capitulate or not. This time the general employed in making the best preparations he could for a defence; and at this critical juncture Colonel Maitland arrived. D'Estaing's summons was now rejected; and, as the superiority of the enemy was by no means so much out of proportion, there was every probability of success on the part of the British. The garrison consisted of 3000 men, of approved valor and experience; and, having the advantage of a strong fortification and

excellent engineers, the fire of the allies made so little impression, that D'Estaing resolved to bombard the town, and a battery of nine mortars was erected for the purpose. This produced a request from General Prevost, that the women and children might be allowed to retire to a place of safety. But the allied commanders had the inhumanity to refuse compliance; and resolved upon a general assault. This was accordingly attempted on the 9th of October: but the assailants were every where repulsed with such slaughter, that 1200 were killed and wounded; among the former was Count Polaski, and among the latter D'Estaing himself. This disaster entirely overthrew the sanguine hopes of the Americans and French; mutual reproaches and animosities took place, and, after waiting eight days, both parties prepared to retreat; the French to their shipping, and the Americans into Carolina.

While the allies were thus unsuccessfully employed in the southern colonies, their antagonists were no less assiduous in distressing them in the northern parts. Sir George Collier was sent with a fleet, carrying General Matthews, with a body of land-forces, into the province of Virginia. Their first attempt was on the town of Portsmouth; where, though the enemy had destroyed some ships of great value, the British troops arrived in time to save a great number of others. On this occasion about 120 vessels of different sizes were burnt, and twenty carried off; and an immense quantity of provisions designed for the use of General Washington's army was either taken or destroyed, together with a great variety of naval and military stores.

The success with which this expedition was attended, soon gave encouragement to another. The Americans had for some time been employed in erecting two strong forts on the river; the one at Verplanks Neck on the east, and the other at Stoney Point on the west, side. These when completed would have been of the utmost service to the Americans, by commanding the principal pass, called the *King's Ferry*, between the northern and southern colonies. At present, however, they were not in a condition to make any effectual defence; and it was determined to attack them before the work should be completed. The force employed on this occasion was divided into two battalions; one of which directed its force against Verplanks, and the

other against Stoney Point. The former was commanded by General Vaughan, the latter by General Pattison, while the shipping was under the direction of Sir George Collier. General Vaughan met with no resistance, the enemy abandoning their works, and setting fire to every thing they could not carry off. At Stoney Point, however, a vigorous defence was made, though the garrison was at last obliged to capitulate. To secure the possession of this last, which was the more important of the two, General Clinton removed from his former situation, and encamped in such a manner that Washington could not give any assistance. The Americans, in turn, revenged themselves by distressing, with their numerous privateers, the trade to New York.

This occasioned an expedition to Connecticut, where these privateers were chiefly built and harboured. The command was given to Governor Tryon and General Garth. Under convoy of a considerable number of armed vessels they landed at Newhaven, where they demolished the batteries that had been erected to oppose them, and destroyed the shipping and naval stores; but they spared the town itself, as the inhabitants had abstained from firing out of their houses upon the troops. From Newhaven they marched to Fairfield, where they proceeded as before, and reduced the town to ashes. Norwalk was next attacked, which in like manner was burnt; as was also Greenfield, a small sea-port in the neighbourhood. These successes proved very alarming as well as very detrimental to the Americans; so that General Washington determined at all events to drive the enemy from Stoney Point. For this purpose he sent General Wayne with a detachment of chosen men, directing them to attempt the recovery of it by surprise. On this occasion the Americans showed a spirit and resolution exceeding any thing they had performed during the course of the war. Though the fortifications of this place were very strong, they attacked the British with bayonets, after passing through a heavy fire of musquetry and grape-shot; and, in spite of all opposition, obliged the surviving part of the garrison, amounting to 500 men, to surrender prisoners of war. Though the Americans did not retain Stoney Point, the success they had met with emboldened them to make a similar attempt on Paulus Hook, a fortified post on the Jersey

side, opposite to New York; but they were obliged to retreat, after they had made themselves masters of one or two posts.

An expedition of greater importance was now projected on the part of the Americans. This was against a post on the river Penobscot, on the borders of Nova Scotia, of which the British had lately taken possession, and where they had begun to erect a fort, which threatened great inconvenience to the colonists. The armament destined against it was so soon got in readiness, that Colonel Maclane, the commanding officer at Penobscot, found himself obliged to drop the execution of part of his scheme; and, instead of a regular fort, to content himself with putting the works already constructed in as good a posture of defence as possible. The Americans could not effect a landing without much difficulty; and, as soon as this was done, they erected several batteries, and kept up a brisk fire for the space of a fortnight. They now proposed to carry the fort by a general assault; but, before this could be effected, they perceived Sir George Collier, with a British fleet, coming to its relief. On this, they instantly re-embarked their artillery and military stores, and sailed up the river, as far as possible, in order to avoid him. They were so closely pursued, however, that not a single vessel could escape; so that the whole fleet, consisting of 19 armed vessels and 24 transports, was destroyed. The soldiers and sailors were obliged to wander through immense deserts, where they suffered much for want of provisions; and, to add to their calamities, a quarrel arose between the soldiers and seamen concerning the cause of their disaster, which ended in a violent fray, wherein a great number were killed.

Thus, the arms of America and France being almost every where unsuccessful, the independency of the former seemed yet to be in danger, notwithstanding the assistance of so powerful an ally, when further encouragement was given by the accession of Spain to the confederacy against Britain, in the month of June, 1779. The first effect of this appeared in the invasion of West Florida by the Spaniards, in September following. As the country was in no state of defence, the enemy easily made themselves masters of it, almost without opposition. Their next enterprise was against the Bay of Honduras, where the British logwood-cutters were settled. These, finding themselves too weak to resist, applied to the governor of Jamaica for relief; who sent

them a supply of men, ammunition, and military stores, under Captain Dalrymple. Before the arrival of this detachment, the principal settlement in those parts, called *St. George's Key*, had been taken by the Spaniards, and retaken by the British. In his way, Captain Dalrymple fell in with a squadron from Admiral Parker, in search of some register ships richly laden; but which, retreating into the harbour of Omoa, were too strongly protected by the fort to be attacked with safety. A project was then formed, in conjunction with the people of Honduras, to reduce this fort. The design was to surprise it; but, the Spaniards having discovered them, they were obliged to fight. Victory quickly declared for the British; but the fortifications were so strong that the artillery made no impression. It was then determined to try the success of an escalade; and this was executed with so much spirit, that the Spaniards stood astonished, without making any resistance, and, in spite of all the efforts of the officers, threw down their arms and surrendered. The spoil was immense, being valued at 3,000,000 of dollars. The Spaniards chiefly lamented the loss of 250 quintals of silver; a commodity indispensably necessary in the working of their gold and silver mines, so that they offered to ransom it at any price; but this was refused, as well as the ransom of the fort, though the governor offered 300,000 dollars for it. A small garrison was left for the defence of the place; but it was soon after attacked by a superior force, and retaken.

We must now take a view of the transactions in the southern colonies; to which the war, in the year 1780, was so effectually transferred, that the operations there became at last decisive. The success of General Prevost, in advancing to the very capital of South Carolina, has been already stated, together with the obstacles which prevented him from becoming master of it at that time. Towards the end of 1779, Sir Henry Clinton set sail from New York with a considerable body of troops, intended for the attack of Charlestown, in a fleet of ships of war and transports, under the command of Vice-admiral Arbuthnot. They had a very tedious voyage; the weather was uncommonly bad; several of the transports were lost, and an ordnance-ship foundered at sea. Having arrived at Savannah, where they endeavoured to repair the damages, they proceeded, on the 10th of February, 1780, to North Edisto, the place of debarkation



which had been previously appointed. They had a favorable passage thither; and, though it required time to have the bar explored and the channel marked, the transports all entered the harbour the next day; and the army took possession of John's Island without opposition. Preparations were then made for passing the squadron over Charlestown-bar, where the high-water spring-tides were only nineteen feet deep; but no opportunity offered of going into the harbour till the 20th of March, when it was effected without any accident, though the American galleys continually attempted to prevent the English boats from sounding the channel. The British troops had previously removed from John's to James' Island; and, on the 29th of the same month, they effected their landing on Charlestown Neck. On the 1st of April they broke ground within 800 yards of the American works; and, by the 8th, the besiegers' guns were mounted for action.

As soon as the army began to open their batteries against the town, Admiral Arbutnot embraced the first opportunity of passing Sullivan's Island, upon which there was a strong fort, the chief defence of the harbour. He weighed on the 9th, with the Boebuck, Richmond, and Romulus, Blonde, Virginia, Raleigh, and Sandwich armed ship, the Renown bringing up the rear; and, passing through a severe fire, anchored in about two hours under James' Island, with the loss of twenty-seven seamen killed and wounded. The Richmond's fore-top-mast was shot away, and the ships in general sustained damage in their masts and rigging, though not materially in their hulls. But the *Acetus* transport, having on-board some naval stores, grounded within gun-shot of Sullivan's Island, and received so much damage, that she was obliged to be abandoned and burnt.

On the 10th, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbutnot summoned the town to surrender; but Major-general Lincoln, who commanded in Charlestown, returned them an answer, declaring it to be his intention to defend the place. The batteries were now opened against the town; and from their effect the fire of the American advanced works considerably abated. It appears, that the number of troops under the command of Lincoln, were by far too few for defending works of such extent as those of Charlestown; and that many of these were men little accustomed to military service, and very ill provided with clothes and



other necessaries. Lincoln had been for some time expecting reinforcements and supplies from Virginia, and other places: but they came in very slowly. Earl Cornwallis and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton were extremely active in intercepting these reinforcements. They totally defeated a considerable body of cavalry and militia, which was proceeding to the relief of the town; and made themselves masters of some posts, which gave them the command of the country, by which means great supplies of provisions fell into their hands. Such was the state of things, and Fort Sullivan had also been taken by the king's troops, when General Clinton summoned the town to surrender; an offer being made, that the lives and property of the inhabitants should be preserved to them. Articles of capitulation were then agreed upon, and the town surrendered on the 4th of May, 1780. A large quantity of ordnance, arms, and ammunition; was found in Charlestown; and, according to Sir Henry Clinton's account, the number of prisoners amounted to 5618 men, exclusively of near 1000 sailors in arms; but, according to General Lincoln's account, transmitted to the congress, the whole number of continental troops taken prisoners amounted to no more than 2487. The remainder, therefore, included in General Clinton's account, must have consisted of militia and inhabitants of the town. Several American frigates were also taken or destroyed in the harbour.

While Sir Henry Clinton was employed in his voyage to Charlestown, and in the siege of that place, the garrison at New York were not free from apprehensions for their own safety. An intense frost, accompanied with great falls of snow, began about the middle of December, 1779, and shut up the navigation of the port of New York from the sea, within a few days after the departure of Admiral Arbuthnot and General Clinton. The severity of the weather increased to so great a degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with New York by water were entirely cut off, and as many new ones opened by the ice. The inhabitants could scarcely be said to be in an insular state. Horses with heavy carriages could go over the ice into the Jerseys, from one island to another. The passage in North River, even in the widest part, from New York to Paul's Hook, which was 2000 yards, was, about the 19th of January, passable for the heaviest cannon: an event which had been un-

known in the memory of man. Provisions were soon after transported upon sledges, and a detachment of cavalry marched upon the ice from New York to Staten Island, which was a distance of eleven miles.

The city of New York, being thus circumstanced, was much exposed to the continental troops; and it was strongly reported, that General Washington was meditating an attack upon it with his whole force. Some time before this, Major-general Pattison, commandant at New York, having received an address from many of the inhabitants, offering to put themselves in military array, he thought the present a favorable opportunity of trying the sincerity of their professions. Accordingly, he issued a proclamation, calling upon all the male inhabitants from sixteen to sixty to take up arms. The requisition was so readily complied with, that, in a few days, forty companies from the six wards of the city were enrolled, officered, and under arms, to the number of 2600. Other volunteer companies were also formed; and the city was put into a strong posture of defence. No attack, however was made upon New York, whatever it might originally have been meditated: but an attempt was made upon Staten Island, where there were about 1800 men, under the command of Brigadier-general Sterling. General Washington, whose army was huddled at Morris-town, sent a detachment of 2700 men, with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and some horses, commanded by Lord Sterling, who arrived at Staten Island early in the morning of the 15th of January. The advanced posts of the British troops retired upon the approach of the Americans, who formed the line, and made some movements in the course of the day; but they withdrew in the night, and carried off with them about 200 head of cattle. Immediately on the arrival of the Americans on Staten Island, Lieutenant-general Knyphausen had embarked 600 men to attempt a passage, and to support General Sterling; but the floating ice compelled them to return. After Charlestown had surrendered, General Clinton issued two proclamations, and circulated a handbill amongst the inhabitants of South Carolina, to induce them to return to their allegiance, and to be ready to join the king's troops. These proclamations appear to have produced some effect, though they probably operated chiefly upon those who were before not much inclined to the cause of the American independen-

dence. Two hundred and ten of the inhabitants of Charlestown signed an address to General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, soliciting to be re-admitted to the character and condition of British subjects; declaring their disapprobation of the doctrine of American independence, and expressing their regret, that, after the repeal of those statutes which gave rise to the troubles in America, the overtures of his majesty's commissioners had not been regarded by the congress.

At this time the people of America were involved in great difficulties by the depreciation of their paper-currency. At the time when the colonies engaged in war with Great Britain, they had no regular civil government established among them of sufficient energy to enforce the collection of taxes, or to provide funds for the redemption of such bills of credit as their necessities obliged them to issue. In consequence of this, their bills increased in quantity far beyond the sum necessary for the purpose of a circulating medium: and, as they wanted at the same time specific funds to rest on for their redemption, they saw their paper currency daily sink in value. The depreciation continued, by a kind of gradual progression, from the year 1777 to the year 1780; so that, at the latter period, the continental dollars were passed, by common consent, in most parts of America, at the rate of at least thirty-nine fortieths below their nominal value. The impossibility of keeping up the credit of the currency to any fixed standard, occasioned great and almost insurmountable embarrassments in ascertaining the value of property, or carrying on trade with any sufficient certainty. Those who sold, and those who bought, were left without a rule whereon to form a judgment of their profit or their loss: and every species of commerce or exchange, whether foreign or domestic, was exposed to numberless and increasing difficulties. The consequences of the depreciation of the paper-currency, were also felt with peculiar severity by such of the Americans as were engaged in their military services, and greatly augmented by their other hardships. The requisitions made by the congress to the several colonies for supplies, were also far from always being complied with: and their troops were not unfrequently in want of the most common necessaries; which naturally occasioned complaints and discontent among them. Some of these difficulties, resulting from their circumstances and situation, perhaps no wisdom could

have prevented : but they seem to have arisen in part from the congress not being sufficiently acquainted with the principles of finance, and from a defect of system in the departments of their government. The cause of the Americans appears also to have suffered by their depending too much on temporary enlistments. But the congress endeavoured, towards the close of the year 1780, to put their army upon a more permanent footing, and to give all the satisfaction to their officers and soldiers which their circumstances would permit. They appointed a committee for arranging their finances, and made some new regulations respecting their war-office and treasury-board, and other public departments.

Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they labored, the Americans seemed to entertain no doubts but that they should be able to maintain their independence. The 4th of July was celebrated this year at Philadelphia, as the anniversary of American independence. A commencement for conferring degrees in the arts was held the same day, in the hall of the university there ; at which the president and members of the congress attended, and other persons in public offices. The Chevalier de la Lucerne, minister plenipotentiary from the French king to the United States, was also present on the occasion. A charge was publicly addressed by the provost of the university to the students ; in which he said, that he could not but congratulate them "on that auspicious day, which, amidst the confusions and desolations of war, beheld learning beginning to revive ; and animated them with the pleasing prospect of seeing the sacred lamp of science burning with a still brighter flame, and scattering its invigorating rays over the unexplored deserts of that extensive continent ; until the whole world should be involved in the united blaze of knowledge, liberty, and religion. When he stretched his views forward," he said, "and surveyed the rising glories of America, the enriching consequences of their determined struggle for liberty, the extensive fields of intellectual improvement and useful invention, in science and arts, in agriculture and commerce, in religion and government, through which the unfettered mind would range, with increasing delight, in quest of the undiscovered treasure which yet lay concealed in the animal, vegetable, and mineral, kingdoms of that new world ; or in the other fertile sources of knowledge with which it abounded ; his heart

swelled with the pleasing prospect, that the sons of that institution would distinguish themselves, in the different walks of life, by their literary contributions to the embellishment and increase of human happiness."

On the 10th of July, M. Terna, with a fleet consisting of seven ships of the line, besides frigates, and a large body of French troops commanded by the count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island; and the following day 6000 men were landed. A committee from the general assembly of Rhode Island was appointed to congratulate the French general upon his arrival: whereupon he returned an answer, in which he informed them, that the king his master had sent them to the assistance of his good and faithful allies the United States of America. At present, he said, he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid; and the king had ordered him to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support. He added, that the French troops were under the strictest discipline; and, acting under the orders of general Washington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

A scheme was soon after formed, of making a combined attack with English ships and troops, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, against the French fleet and troops at Rhode Island. Accordingly a considerable part of the troops at New York were embarked for that purpose. General Washington, having received information of this, passed the North River by a very rapid movement, and, with an army increased to 12,000 men, proceeded with celerity towards King's Bridge, in order to attack New York; but, learning that the British general had changed his intentions, and disembarked his troops on the 31st of the month, General Washington recrossed the river, and returned to his former station. Sir Henry Clinton and the admiral had agreed to relinquish the design of attacking the French and Americans at Rhode Island as impracticable.

An unsuccessful attempt was also made about this time in the Jerseys by general Knyphausen, with 7000 British troops under his command, to surprise the advanced posts of general Washington's army. They proceeded rapidly towards Springfield, meeting little opposition till they came to the bridge there, which was very gallantly defended by 170 of the continental troops, for fifteen minutes, against the British army: but they

were at length obliged to give up so unequal a contest, with the loss of thirty-seven men. After securing this pass, the British troops marched into the place, and set fire to most of the houses. They also committed some other depredations in the Jerseys; but were obliged to return about the beginning of July, without effecting any thing material.

In South Carolina the royal arms were attended with more success. Earl Cornwallis, who commanded the British troops, obtained a very signal victory over General Gates, on the 16th of August. The action began at break of day, in a situation very advantageous for the British troops, but very unfavorable to the Americans. The latter were much more numerous; but the ground on which both armies stood was narrowed by swamps on the right and left, so that the Americans could not avail themselves of their superior numbers. There seems to have been a want of generalship in Gates, in suffering himself to be surprised in so disadvantageous a position: but this circumstance was partly the effect of accident; for both armies set out with a design of attacking each other precisely at the same time, at ten the preceding evening, and met together before day-light at the place where the action happened. The attack was made by the British troops with great vigor, and in a few minutes the action was general along the whole line. It was at this time a dead calm, with a little haziness in the air, which prevented the smoke from rising, and occasioned so thick a darkness, that it was difficult to see the effect of a very heavy and well-supported fire on both sides. The British troops either kept up a constant fire, or made use of bayonets, as opportunities offered: and, after an obstinate resistance during three quarters of an hour, threw the Americans into total confusion, and forced them to give way in all quarters. The continental troops appear to have behaved well, but the militia were soon broken, and left the regulars to oppose the whole force of the British troops. General Gates did all in his power to rally the militia, but without effect: the continentals retreated in some order; but the rout of the militia was so great, that the British cavalry are said to have continued the pursuit of them to the distance of twenty-two miles from the place where the action happened. The loss of the Americans was very considerable: about 1000 prisoners were taken, and more said to have been killed and wounded,

but the number is not very accurately ascertained. Seven pieces of brass cannon, a number of colors, and all the ammunition-waggons of the Americans, were taken. Of the British troops, the killed and wounded amounted to 213. Among the prisoners was Major-general Baron de Kalb, a Prussian officer in the American service, who was mortally wounded, having exhibited great gallantry in the action, and received eleven wounds. The British troops by which this great victory was achieved did not much exceed 2000, while the American army is said to have amounted to 6000, of which, however the greatest part was militia.

Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, who had greatly distinguished himself in this action, was detached the following day, with some cavalry and light infantry, amounting to about 350 men, to attack a corps of Americans under General Sumpter. He executed this service with great activity and military address. He procured good information of Sumpter's movements; and by force and concealed marches came up with and surprised him in the middle of the day on the 18th, near the Catawba fords. He totally destroyed or dispersed his detachment, which consisted of 700 men, killing 150 on the spot, and taking two pieces of brass cannon, 300 prisoners, and forty-four waggons.

Not long after these operations so disastrous to the American cause, whilst the American army was almost compelled to disperse by the want of food, and its brave Commander-in-Chief found all his projects for the safety of his country frustrated by adverse events; treason found its way into the American camp, and had nearly achieved the ruin of the new-born liberties of of the rising republic.

The great services and military talents of General Arnold, his courage in battle, and the patient fortitude with which he bore the most excessive hardships, had secured to him a high place in the opinion of the army, and a large portion of the confidence of his country.

Having not sufficiently recovered from the wounds he had received before Quebec, and at Saratoga, to be fit for active service; and having large accounts to settle with the continent, which required leisure; he was, on the evacuation of Philadelphia in 1778, appointed to take the command in that place.

Unfortunately with that firmness which he had displayed in the field and in the most adverse circumstances, were not asso-



ciated that strength of principle and correctness of judgment which might enable him to resist the various seductions to which his high station exposed him in the metropolis of the union.

His claims against the United States were great, and to them he looked for the means of extricating himself from the difficulties into which his indiscretions had plunged him: but the commissioners to whom his accounts were referred for settlement, reduced them considerably; and on his appeal from their decision to congress, a committee reported that the sum allowed him by the commissioners, with which he was dissatisfied, was more than he was entitled to receive. He was charged with various acts of extortion, on the citizens of Philadelphia, and with peculating on the funds of the continent. Not the less soured and disgusted by these multiplied causes of irritation, in consequence of their being attributable to his own follies and vices, he gave full scope to his resentments; and indulged himself in expressions of angry reproach against what he termed the ingratitude of his country, which provoked those around him, and gave great offence to congress. Having rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the government of Pennsylvania, as well as to many of the citizens of Philadelphia, formal charges against him were brought by the executive of that state before congress, who directed that he should be arrested and tried by a court martial.

Such were the various delays occasioned by the movements of the army, and the difficulty of obtaining testimony, that his trial, though commenced in June 1778, was not concluded till the 26th of January 1779, when he was sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. This sentence was approved by congress, and carried soon afterwards into execution.

From the time the sentence against him was approved, if not sooner, it is probable that his unprincipled spirit revolted from the cause of his country, and determined him to seek occasion for making the objects of his resentment the victims of his vengeance.

Every history of the American war exhibits the importance of West Point. Its preservation had been the principal object of more than one campaign; and its loss, it was believed, would enfeeble all the military operations of the continent. Selected for the natural strength of its situation, immense labour, di-



rected by skilful engineers, had been employed on its fortifications, and it was justly termed the Gibraltar of America.

To this fortress Arnold turned his eyes, as an acquisition which would give value to treason, while its loss would inflict a mortal wound on his former friends. As affording the means of enabling him to gratify both his avarice and his hate, he sought the command of it.

To New York the safety of West Point was peculiarly interesting; and in that state, the reputation of Arnold was particularly high. To its delegation he addressed himself: and from a respectable member (Mr. Livingston) belonging to it, a letter had been written to General Washington, suggesting doubts respecting the military character of Howe, to whom its defence was then intrusted, and recommending Arnold for that service. From motives of delicacy, this request could not be immediately complied with; but it was not forgotten. Some short time afterwards, General Schuyler who was then in camp, mentioned to the commander-in-chief a letter he had received from Arnold, intimating his wish to join the army, and render such service as might be in his power; but stating his inability, in consequence of his wounds, to perform the active duties of the field. The letter also suggested that he could discharge the duties of a stationary command, without much inconvenience or uneasiness from his wounds. General Washington observed, that as there was a prospect of an active and vigorous campaign, he should be gratified with the aid of General Arnold, but did not believe there would be at his disposal any such command as that gentleman had suggested. That so soon as the operations against New York should commence, he designed to draw his whole force into the field, leaving even West Point to the care of invalids and a small garrison of militia. Recollecting, however, the former application on the part of a member of congress respecting this particular post, he added, "that if, with this previous information, that situation would be more agreeable to him than a command in the field, his wishes should certainly be indulged." This conversation being communicated to Arnold, that officer, without openly discovering any solicitude on the subject, caught with eagerness at a proposition which promised to place in his possession the object of his most ardent wishes; and in the beginning of August, he repaired to camp, where he renewed

in person the solicitations which had before been indirectly made.

It was at this juncture that the principal part of the British force was embarked on the expedition against Rhode Island; and that General Washington was advancing on New York, in order to avail himself of the weakened state of that place. He offered Arnold the left wing of the army; which he declined under the pretexts mentioned in his letter to General Schuyler. Incapable of suspecting a man who had given such distinguished proofs of courage and patriotism, the commander-in-chief was neither alarmed at his refusal to embrace so splendid an opportunity as this promised to be, or of recovering the favor of his countrymen, nor at the embarrassment accompanying that refusal. Pressing him no further, he assented to the request which had been made; and Arnold was invested with the command of West Point. Previous to his soliciting this station, he had, in a letter to Colonel Robinson, signified his change of principles, and his wish to restore himself to the favor of his prince by some signal proof of his repentance. This letter opened to him a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton; the immediate object of which, after obtaining the appointment he had solicited, was to concert the means of putting the important post he commanded into the possession of the British general.

Major John André, an aid-de-camp of Sir Henry Clinton, and adjutant-general of the British army, a young gentleman who had in an uncommon degree improved the liberal endowments of nature, and who seems to have held a very high place in the esteem and affections of his general, was selected as the person to whom the maturing of Arnold's treason, and the arrangements for its execution, should be committed. A correspondence was for some time carried on between them, under a mercantile disguise, and the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson; and at length, to facilitate their communications, the Vulture sloop of war moved up the North river, and took a station convenient for the purpose, but not so near as to excite suspicion.

The particulars of the plan digested between them are unknown; but from acts and expressions of Arnold since recollected, its general outlines have been conjectured. Under the pretext of fighting the enemy in the defiles and narrow passes

leading to the fortress, he is understood to have designed so to post the greater part of his army in the gorges of the mountains, as to leave unguarded a particular pass, through which the assailants might securely approach and surprise West Point. It is also understood that he was so to have disposed of that part of the garrison which remained in the works, as to make the least possible opposition to those who should attack them; and at the same time, to place his troops in a situation which would compel them to surrender, or be cut to pieces. Arnold had expressed a wish to obtain copies of those exact and minute maps of the neighbouring country, especially on the east side of the river, which General Washington had caused to be made; and, in conversation with his officers, he had frequently avowed a decided opinion, that the enemy ought not to be waited for in the works, but should be met and fought in the narrow passes leading through the mountains.

The time when General Washington was at Hartford was selected for finally adjusting every part of the plan: and, as a personal interview with Arnold would be necessary to complete their arrangements, Major André came up the river, and went on board the *Vulture*. The place appointed for the interview was the house of a Mr. Smith, without the American posts. Both parties repaired thither in the night at the hour agreed on. Major André was brought under a pass in the name of *John Anderson*, in a boat dispatched for the purpose from the shore. While the conference was yet unfinished, daylight approached; and to avoid the danger of discovery, it was proposed that André should remain concealed till the succeeding night. He is understood to have refused peremptorily to be carried within the American posts; but the promise made him by Arnold to respect this objection, was not observed. They continued together the succeeding day; and when, on the following night, his return on board the *Vulture* was proposed, the boatmen refused to carry him, because she had, during the day, shifted her station; in consequence of a gun having been moved to the shore, without the knowledge of Arnold, and brought to bear upon her. This embarrassing circumstance reduced him to the necessity of endeavouring to reach New York by land. To render this more practicable, he reluctantly yielded to the urgent representations of Arnold, and, laying aside his regimentals, which he had

hitherto worn under a sirtout, put on a plain suit of cloaths; and received a pass from General Arnold, authorising him, under the feigned name of *John Anderson*, to proceed on the public service to the White Plains, or lower if he thought proper.

With this permit, he had passed all the guards and posts on the road without suspicion; and was proceeding to New York in perfect security, when one of three militia-men, who were employed with others in scouting parties between the lines of the two armies, springing suddenly from his covert into the road, seized the reins of his bridle and stopped his horse. With a want of self-possession, so difficult to be accounted for in a mind equally brave and intelligent, that it would almost seem providential, Major André, instead of producing the pass from General Arnold, asked the man hastily where he belonged to? He replied, "*To below*;" a term designating him to be from New York. "And so," said André, without suspecting the deception practised on him, "am I." He then declared himself to be a British officer on urgent business, and begged that he might not be detained. The other two militia-men coming up immediately, he discovered his mistake, but it was too late to repair it. He offered a purse of gold, and a valuable watch; to which he added the most tempting promises of ample reward, and permanent provision from the government, if they would permit him to escape: but his offers were rejected without hesitation by his captors, who proceeded to search him. They found concealed in his boots exact returns, in Arnold's hand-writing, of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences, at West Point and its dependencies; critical remarks on the works, and an estimate of the men ordinarily employed in them; with other interesting papers. He was carried before Lieutenant-colonel Jameson, the officer commanding the scouting parties on the lines; where, regardless of himself, and only anxious for the safety of Arnold, he still maintained the character he had assumed, and requested Jameson to inform his commanding officer that Anderson was taken. Faithful himself, the mind of Jameson rejected the suspicion, that in a gallant soldier, whose blood had flowed liberally in the service of his country, was to be found a traitor. He therefore dispatched an express with the communication which he had been requested to make. On receiving it, Arnold comprehended at once the danger with which

he was menaced; and, flying from the punishment he merited, took refuge on board the *Vulture*, and afterwards proceeded to New York.

When sufficient time for Arnold to make his escape was supposed to have elapsed, when André no longer affected disguise or concealment, and acknowledged himself to be the adjutant-general of the British army.

Seeking to correct the mischief which might have been occasioned by the slowness with which he had given faith to circumstances that seem sufficient to have forced conviction on the most incredulous, Jameson immediately dispatched a packet to the commander-in-chief, containing the papers which had been discovered. This packet was accompanied by a letter from André, in which he related the manner of his capture, and accounted for the disguise he had assumed.

The man conveying these dispatches was directed to meet the commander-in-chief, who was then on his return from Hartford. Taking different roads, they missed each other; and a delay attended the delivery of the papers, which secured the escape of Arnold. Some time elapsed before they were received; and then the measures taken to apprehend him proved too late. Before the officers dispatched for that purpose could reach Verplank's, he had passed that post; and had got on-board the *Vulture*, which lay a few miles below it.

Every precaution was immediately taken for the security of West Point. The garrison was put on the watch; and General Greene, on whom the command of the army had devolved in the absence of General Washington, was directed to march the nearest division instantly up to King's Ferry, where he would receive further orders. The defection, however, appears not to have extended beyond Arnold himself; and the exact report he was capable of making to Sir Henry Clinton of the situation of West Point, was not such as to induce that officer to hazard an enterprise against it, when unaided by the treason of its commander.

These measures of security being taken, it remained to determine the fate of the gallant and unfortunate André. A board of general officers, of which Major-general Greene was president, and the two foreign generals, La Fayette and Steuben, were members, was called to report a precise state of his case, and to

determine in what character he was to be considered, and to what punishment he was liable.

The candour, openness, and magnanimity, with which André had conducted himself from the first moment of his appearance in his real character, had made a very favorable impression on all those with whom he had held any intercourse. From this cause he experienced every mark of indulgent attention; and from a sense of justice, as well as of delicacy, he was informed, on the first opening of the examination, that he was at perfect liberty not to answer any interrogatory which might embarrass his own feelings. But, as if only mindful of his fame; and desirous, by the noble frankness of his conduct, to rescue his character from imputations which he dreaded more than death; he disdained every evasion; and, rendering the examination of any witness unnecessary, he confessed every thing material to his own condemnation, while he would divulge nothing which might involve others.

The board reported the essential facts which had appeared; with their opinion, that Major André was a spy, and ought to suffer death. The execution of this sentence was ordered on the day succeeding that on which it was declared.

Superior to the terrors of death, but dreading disgrace, André was deeply affected by the mode of dying which the laws of war had decreed to persons in his situation. He wished to die like a soldier, not as a criminal.

To obtain a mitigation of his sentence in this respect, he addressed a letter to General Washington, replete with all the feelings of a man of sentiment and honor. But the occasion required that the example should make its full impression, and his request could not be granted. He encountered his fate with composure, dignity, and fortitude; and such was his whole conduct, as to excite the admiration, and interest the feelings, of all who witnessed it.

The general officers lamented the sentence which the usages of war compelled them to pronounce; and perhaps on no occasion of his life did the commander-in-chief\* obey with more

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\* Miss Anna Seward, the author of the monody on the death of this brave officer, gives the following interesting anecdote on this subject, in a letter dated 1798; addressed to Miss Ponsonby: "I was not as you supposed favored with a letter from General Washington; but a few years after peace

reluctance the stern mandates of duty and of policy. The sympathy excited among the American officers by his fate was as universal as it is unusual on such occasions.

Great exertions were made by Sir Henry Clinton, to whom André was particularly dear, first to have him considered as protected by a flag of truce, and afterwards as a prisoner of war. Even Arnold had the hardihood to interpose. After giving a certificate of facts which he supposed might tend to exculpate the prisoner, exhausting his powers of reasoning on the case, and appealing to the humanity of the American general, he sought to intimidate him by stating the situation of many of the principal characters of South Carolina who had forfeited their lives, but had hitherto been spared through the clemency of the British general. This clemency, he said, could no longer in justice be extended to them should Major André suffer.

It may well be supposed that the interposition of Arnold was without any influence on the mind of Washington. He conveyed Mrs Arnold to her husband in New York, and also transmitted to him his clothes and baggage for which he had written; but in

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was signed between this country and America, an officer introduced himself, commissioned from General Washington to call upon me, and to assure me from the general himself, that no circumstance of his life had been so mortifying as to be censured in the *Monody* on André, as the pitiless author of his ignominious fate, that he had labored to save him—that he requested my attention to papers on the subject which he had sent by this officer for my perusal. On examining them, continues Miss Seward, I found they entirely acquitted the general. They filled me with contrition for the rash injustice of my censure. With a copy of the proceedings of the court martial that determined André's condemnation, there was a copy of a letter from General Washington to General Clinton, offering to give up André for Arnold, who had fled to the British camp, observing the reason there was to believe, that the apostate general had exposed that gallant English officer to unnecessary danger, to facilitate his own escape; also the copy of another letter from General Washington to Major André, adjuring him to state to the commander-in-chief his unavoidable conviction of the selfish perfidy of Arnold, in suggesting that plan of disguise, which exposed André, if taken, to certain condemnation as a spy, when if he had come openly in his regimentals, and under a flag of truce to the then unsuspected American general, he would have been perfectly safe; there was also a copy of André's high souled answer, thanking General Washington for the interest he took in his destiny; but observing, that even under conviction of General Arnold's inattention to his safety, he could not suggest to General Clinton any thing which might influence him to save his less important life by such an exchange." *Vide Seward's Letters, Vol. 5, page 143.*



every other respect, his letters, which were altogether unanswered, were also entirely unnoticed.

The mingled sentiments of admiration and compassion excited in every bosom for the unfortunate André, seemed to add fresh vigor to the detestation in which Arnold was held. "André," says General Washington in a private letter, "has met his fate with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and a gallant officer; but I am mistaken if, at this time, Arnold is not undergoing the torments of a mental hell. He wants feeling. From some traits of his character, which have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hackneyed in crime, so lost to all sense of honor and shame, that, while his faculties still enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse."

From motives of policy or of faith, Arnold was made a brigadier-general in the British service, which rank he preserved throughout the war. Yet it is impossible that this, or a still higher rank, could have rescued him from the contempt and detestation in which the generous, the honorable, and the brave, could not cease to hold him. It was impossible for men of this description, while obeying or acting with him, to bury the recollection of his being a traitor, a sordid traitor; first the slave of his rage, then purchased with gold, and finally secured by the blood of one of the most accomplished officers in the British army. As all men wish to preserve at least the appearances of honor, Arnold affected to ascribe his defection from the American cause to principle. He originally took up arms, he said, because he really believed the rights of his country endangered; and although he thought the declaration of independence precipitate, yet he was led by the many plausible arguments urged in its favor to acquiesce in it as a measure necessary to procure a redress of grievances. But the rejection of the overtures made by Great Britain in 1778, and the French alliance, had opened his eyes to the ambitious views of those who would sacrifice the happiness of their country to their own aggrandisement, and had made him a confirmed loyalist.

His representations of the discontent of the country, and of the army, concurring with reports from other quarters, had raised the expectation that the loyalists and the dissatisfied, allured by British gold and the hope of rank in the British ser-



vice, would flock to his standard, and form a corps, at the head of which he might again display in the field those military qualities he had proved himself to possess.

With this hope he published an address to the inhabitants of America, in which he labored to palliate his own guilt, and to render them dissatisfied with the existing state of things. He dilated on the motives which had induced him to join the British standard, and on all those topics which had most influence with the royalists throughout the United States. With peculiar bitterness he execrated the alliance with France, and endeavoured to revive ancient prejudices against that nation. He was profuse in his invectives against congress and their leaders generally, whom he accused of sinister views in protracting the war at the public expence, and with general tyranny and usurpation. With these charges he artfully mingled assertions of their sovereign contempt for the people, particularly manifested in refusing to take their collective sentiments on the proposals offered by Great Britain.

This appeal to the public was followed by a proclamation particularly addressed "To the officers and soldiers of the continental army, who have the real interest of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of congress or of France."

The object of this proclamation was to induce the officers and soldiers of the American army to desert the cause they had embraced from principle, by holding up to them very flattering terms from the British general, and contrasting the substantial emoluments of the British service with their present deplorable condition. He attempted to cover this dishonorable proposition with the garb of decency and principle, by representing the base step he invited them to take, as the only measure which could restore to their country peace, real liberty, and happiness. "You are promised liberty," he exclaims, "but is there an individual in the enjoyment of it saving your oppressors? Who among you dare speak or write what he thinks against the tyranny which has robbed you of your property, imprisons your persons, drags you to the field of battle, and is daily deluging your country with your blood.

"You are flattered with independence as preferable to a redress of grievances; and for that shadow, instead of real felicity,

are sunk in all the wretchedness of poverty, by the rapacity of your own rulers. Already you are disqualified to support the pride of character they taught you to aim at, and must inevitably shortly belong to one or the other of those great powers their folly and wickedness have drawn into the conflict.

“What!” he exclaims again, “is America now but a land of widows, orphans, and beggars?”

“As to you who have been soldiers in the continental army, can you at this day want evidence that the funds of your country are exhausted, or that the managers have applied them to their own private uses? In either case, you surely can no longer continue in their service with honor or advantage. Yet you have hitherto been their supporters in that cruelty, which, with an equal indifference to yours, as well as to the labor and blood of others, is devouring a country that, from the moment you quit their colors, will be redeemed from their tyranny.”

The terms he offered as inducements to enter into the corps which he proposed to form were highly flattering, but were attended with no effect. Although the temper of the army might be irritated by their real sufferings, and by the supposed neglect of government, no diminution of patriotism, or of zeal for the cause in which they had already sacrificed so much, had been produced.

Through all the hardships, sufferings, and irritations, of the American war, notwithstanding the almost desperate aspect which their affairs often wore, and the gloom with which their political horizon was frequently overcast, Arnold remains a solitary instance of an American officer who abandoned the side first embraced in this civil contest, and turned his sword upon his former companions in arms.

When the probable consequences of this plot, had it been successful, came to be considered; and the combination of apparent accidents, by which it was discovered and defeated, was recollected; all were filled with a kind of awful astonishment, and the pious men perceived in the transaction the hand of Providence guiding America to independence.

The thanks of congress were voted to the three militia-men\* who had rendered to their country this invaluable service; and a silver medal, with an inscription expressive of their fidelity and

\* Their names were, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Vanwert.

patriotism, was directed to be presented to each of them. In addition to this flattering testimony of their worth, and as a further evidence of national gratitude, two hundred dollars per annum during life, to be paid in specie, or an equivalent in current money, was voted to each of them; a reward, it must be admitted, much more accurately apportioned to the poverty of the public treasury, than to the service which had been received.

The efforts of General Washington were unabated to obtain a permanent military force, or its best substitute, a regular system for filling the vacant ranks with draughts who should join the army on the first day of January in each year, and serve for twelve months after they should arrive in camp, have been more than once adverted to.

To place the officers of the army in a situation which would render their commissions valuable; and hold out to them the prospect of a comfortable old age, in a country saved by their blood, their sufferings, and the labors of their best years; and thus to rescue from the contempt and misery too often attendant on poverty, men who had devoted their prime of life, and many of whom had employed their little all, in the service of the public; was also an object which had always been dear to the heart of the commander-in-chief. Sound policy, real justice, and affection for men whose sufferings he had witnessed, and whose merits he prized, all combined to place the establishment of this principle among the first of his desires. He had seized every opportunity to press it on congress. That body had approached it slowly; taking with apparent reluctance step after step, as the necessity of the measure became more and more obvious.

The first resolution on the subject passed in May, 1778. This allowed to all military officers who should continue in service during the war, and not hold any office of profit under the United States or any of them, half-pay for seven years, if they lived so long. At the same time a reward of eighty dollars, in addition to his pay, was granted to every non-commissioned officer and soldier who should serve to the end of the war. In 1779 this subject was again taken up: and, after much debate, its further consideration was postponed, and the officers and soldiers were recommended to the attention of their several states; with a declaration that their patriotism, valor, and perseverance in defence of the rights and liberties of their country, had entitled

them to the gratitude as well as the approbation of their fellow citizens.

In 1780, a memorial from the general officers, depicting in strong terms the situation of the army, and requiring present support and some future provision, was answered by a reference to what had been already done, and a declaration "that patience, self-denial, fortitude, and perseverance, and the cheerful sacrifice of time and health, are necessary virtues, which both the citizen and soldier are called to exercise, while struggling for the liberties of their country; and that moderation, frugality and temperance, must be among the chief supports, as well as the brightest ornaments, of that kind of civil government which is wisely instituted by the several states in this union."

It may well be supposed that this philosophic lecture on the virtues of temperance, to men who were often without food, and nearly half their time with a very limited supply of it, was but ill calculated to assuage the irritations fomented by the neglect which was believed to have been sustained.

In a few days afterwards, this subject was again brought before congress, when a temper of greater conciliation was manifested. The odious restriction on the half-pay for seven years, by which it was limited to those who should hold no post of profit under the United States or any of them, was taken off; and the bounty allowed the men was extended to the widows and orphans of those who had died or should die in the service. At length the vote passed which has been stated, allowing half-pay for life to all those who should serve in the armies of the United States to the end of the war.

Resolutions were also passed, recommending it to the several states to make up the depreciation on the pay which had been received by the army; and it was determined that their future services should be compensated in the money of the new emission, the value of which it was supposed might be kept up by taxes and by loans.

While the government of the union was thus employed in measures essential to the preservation of its military establishment, the time for action passed away without furnishing any material event. The hostile armies continued, however, to watch each other, till the season of the year forced them out of the field.

Just before retiring into winter quarters, a spirited enterprise, though on a small scale, was planned and executed by Major Talmadge, of Colonel Sheldon's regiment of light dragoons. This gentleman had been generally stationed on the lines, on the east side of the North river; and had been particularly distinguished for the accuracy of his intelligence, and the skill employed in obtaining it.

He was informed of a large magazine of forage collected at Coram on Long Island, protected only by the militia of the country, the cruizers in the Sound, and a small garrison in its neighbourhood stationed in Fort St. George on South Haven.

With a detachment of eighty dismounted dragoons, under the command of Captain Edgar, and eight or ten who were mounted, he passed the Sound on the 21st of November, where it was upwards of twenty miles over. He then marched across the island in the night, and so completely surprised the fort, that his troops entered the works on three different sides, before the garrison was prepared to resist them. The British took refuge in two houses connected with the fortification, and commenced a fire from the doors and windows. These were instantly forced open; and except seven killed and wounded, the whole party, amounting to fifty-four, among whom were a lieutenant-colonel, captain, and subaltern, were made prisoners. Stores to a considerable amount in the fort and in a vessel lying in South Haven, were destroyed; the fort was demolished, and the magazines at Coram were consumed by fire.

The objects of the expedition being thus completely effected, Major Talmadge recrossed the Sound without having lost a single man.

Although this expedition was by no means important for its magnitude, yet those employed on it had manifested so much address and courage in its execution, that the general recommended them to the particular attention of congress, who passed a resolution, expressing the high sense entertained of their merit.

No objects for enterprise presenting themselves, the troops were, early in December, withdrawn into winter-quarters. The Pennsylvania line was stationed near Morristown; the Jersey line about Pompton, on the confines of New York and New

Jersey; and the troops belonging to the New England states in West Point, and in its vicinity, on both sides the North river.

The line of the state of New York remained at Albany, to which place it had been detached for the purpose of opposing an invasion from Canada.

Major Carlton, at the head of 1000 men, composed of Europeans, Indians, and Tories, had made a sudden irruption into the northern parts of New York, where he took Forts Anne and George, and made their garrisons prisoners. At the same time Sir John Johnson, at the head of a body of men, also composed of Europeans, Indians, and Tories, appeared on the Mohawk. Several sharp skirmishes were fought in that quarter with the continental troops, and a regiment of new levies, aided by the militia of the country. General Clinton's brigade was ordered to their assistance; but before he could reach the scene of action, the invading armies had retired, after laying waste the whole country through which they passed.

While the disorder of the American finances, the exhausted state of the country, and the debility of the government, kept alive the hopes of conquest, and determined the British crown to persevere in offensive war against the United States, Europe assumed an aspect not less formidable to the permanent grandeur of England than hostile to its present views. In the summer of 1780, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, entered into the celebrated compact which has been generally denominated **THE ARMED NEUTRALITY**; the principal objects of which were, to reduce the list of articles which should be deemed contraband; and to impart to goods the character of the bottom which conveyed them. Holland had also manifested unequivocally a determination to accede to the same confederacy; and it is not improbable, that this measure contributed, in no inconsiderable degree, to the declaration of war which was made by Great Britain against that power towards the close of the present year.

The long and intimate friendship which had existed between these two nations, had been visibly impaired from the commencement of the American war. Although not concurring with the house of Bourbon in the wish to weaken a rival, Holland yielded to neither France nor Spain in the desire of participating in that commerce, which the independence of America would open to the world. From the commencement of hostili-

ties, therefore, the merchants of Holland, and especially of the great commercial city of Amsterdam, watched with anxiety the progress of the war, and engaged in speculations which were profitable to themselves, and at the same time beneficial to the United States. The remonstrances made by the British minister at the Hague against this conduct, were answered in the most amicable manner by the government; but the practice of individuals remained the same.

When the war broke out between France and England, a great number of Dutch vessels trading with France, laden with materials for ship-building, were seized and carried into the ports of Great Britain, although the existing treaties between the two nations were understood to exclude those articles from the list of contraband war. Attributing these acts of violence to the necessity of her situation, Great Britain persisted in refusing to permit naval stores to be carried to her enemy in neutral bottoms. This refusal, however, was accompanied with friendly professions, with an offer to pay for the vessels and cargoes already seized, and with proposals to form new stipulations for the future regulation of that commerce.

The states-general refused to enter into any negotiations for modifying the subsisting treaties; and the merchants of all the great trading towns of Holland, and especially those of Amsterdam, expressed the utmost indignation at the injuries they had sustained.

In consequence of this conduct, the British government, required those succours which had been stipulated in ancient treaties, and insisted that the *casus fœderis* had now occurred. Advantage was taken of the refusal of the states-general to comply with this demand, to declare the treaties between the two nations at an end.

It may well be supposed that the temper produced by this state of things was favorable to the comprehending of Holland in the treaty for an armed neutrality, and that the Dutch government was well disposed to enter into it. They acceded to it in November; yet some unknown causes prevented the actual signature of the treaty on the part of the states-general, till a circumstance occurred which was used for the purpose of placing them in a situation not to avail themselves of the aid they



would otherwise have been entitled to as a member of that confederacy.

While Mr. Lee, one of the ministers of the United States, was on his mission to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, he fell in company with Mr. John de Neufville, a merchant of Amsterdam, with whom he held several conversations on the subject of a commercial intercourse between the two nations; the result of which was, that the plan of an eventual commercial treaty was sketched out, as one which might subsequently be concluded between them. This paper had received the approbation of the pensionary Van Berkel, and the city of Amsterdam, but not of the states-general.

Mr. Henry Laurens, late president of congress, was deputed to the states-general with this plan of a treaty, for the double purpose of endeavouring to complete it, and of negotiating a loan for the use of his government. On his voyage he was captured by a British frigate; and his papers, which he had previously thrown overboard, were rescued from the waves by the skill and courage of a British sailor. Among these papers, which were preserved for the minister, was found the plan of a treaty which has been mentioned. This was immediately transmitted to Sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, to be laid before the Dutch government. Mr. Laurens after being examined by the privy council was committed close prisoner to the tower on a charge of high treason.

The explanation of this transaction not being deemed satisfactory by the court of London, Sir Joseph Yorke received orders to withdraw from the Hague; soon after which war was declared against Holland.

At the beginning of the year 1781, an affair happened in America, from which expectations were formed by Sir Henry Clinton, that some considerable advantage might be derived to the royal cause. The long continuance of the war, and the difficulties under which the congress labored, had prevented their troops from being properly supplied with necessaries and conveniences. In consequence of this, on January 1st, the American troops that were huddled at Morristown, and who formed what was called the *Pennsylvanian line*, turned out, being in number about 1300, and declared that they would serve no longer unless their grievances were redressed, as they had not received their



pay, or been furnished with the necessary clothing or provisions. It is said they were somewhat inflamed with liquor, in consequence of rum having been distributed to them more liberally than usual, New-year's day being considered as a kind of festival. A riot ensued, in which an officer was killed and four wounded; five or six of the insurgents were also wounded. They then collected the artillery, stores, provisions, and waggons, and marched out of the camp. They passed by the quarters of General Wayne, who sent a message to them, requesting them to desist, or the consequences would prove fatal. They refused, and proceeded on their march till the evening, when they took post on an advantageous piece of ground, and elected officers from among themselves. On the second, they marched to Middlebrook, and on the third to Princetown, where they fixed their quarters. On that day a flag of truce was sent to them from the officers of the American camp, with a message, desiring to know what were their intentions. Some of them answered, that they had already served longer than the time for which they were enlisted, and would serve no longer; and others, that they would not return unless their grievances were redressed. But at the same time they repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, denied being influenced by the least disaffection to the American cause, or having any intention of deserting to the enemy.

Intelligence of this transaction was soon conveyed to New York. A large body of British troops were immediately ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move on the shortest notice, it being hoped that the American rebels might be induced to join the royal army. Messengers were also sent to them from General Clinton, acquainting them that they should directly be taken under the protection of the British government; that they should have a free pardon for all former offences; and that the pay due to them from the congress should be faithfully paid them, without any expectation of military service, unless it should be voluntary, upon condition of their laying down their arms and returning to their allegiance. It was also recommended to them to move beyond the South river; and they were assured, that a body of the British troops should be ready to protect them whenever they desired it. These propositions were rejected with disdain; and they even delivered up two of Sir Henry Clinton's messengers to the congress. Joseph Reed, Esq., president of

the state of Pennsylvania, afterwards repaired to them at Princeton, and an accommodation took place; such of them as had served out their full term were permitted to return to their homes, and others again joined the American army, upon receiving satisfactory assurances that their grievances should be redressed.

Earl Cornwallis now made vigorous preparations to penetrate into North Carolina. On the 11th of January his lordship's army was in motion; but was somewhat delayed by an attempt made by the Americans, under General Morgan, to make themselves masters of the valuable district of Ninety-six. To prevent this, Lord Cornwallis detached Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with 300 cavalry, 300 light infantry, the 7th regiment, the first battalion of the 71st regiment, and two 3-pounders, to oppose the progress of Morgan, not doubting but that he should be able to perform this service effectually. The British troops came up with the Americans on the 17th of January. They were drawn up in an open wood, and having been lately joined by some militia, were more numerous than the British; but the latter were so much better disciplined, that they had the utmost confidence of obtaining a speedy victory. The attack was begun by the first line of infantry, consisting of the 7th regiment and a corps of light infantry, with a troop of cavalry placed on each flank. The first battalion of the 71st and the remainder of the cavalry formed the reserve. The American line soon gave way, and their militia quitted the field; upon which the royal troops, supposing the victory already gained, engaged with ardor in the pursuit, and were thereby thrown into some disorder. General Morgan's corps, who were supposed to have been routed, immediately faced about, and began a heavy fire upon the king's troops, which occasioned the utmost confusion amongst them; and they were at length totally defeated by the Americans. Four hundred of the British infantry were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners: the loss of the cavalry was much less considerable; but the two 3-pounders fell into the hands of the Americans, together with the colors of the 7th regiment. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton gallantly made another effort; having assembled about fifty of his cavalry, with which he charged and repulsed Colonel Washington's horse, retook his baggage, and killed the Americans who were appointed to guard it. He then retreated

to Hamilton's Ford, near the mouth of Bullock's Creek, carrying with him part of the baggage, and destroying the remainder.

This defeat was a severe stroke to Lord Cornwallis, as the loss of his light infantry was a great disadvantage to him. The day after that event, he employed in collecting the remains of Tarleton's Corps, and in endeavouring to form a junction with General Leslie, who had been ordered to march towards him with some British troops from Wynneshorough. Considerable exertions were then made by part of the army, without baggage, to retake the prisoners in the hands of the Americans, and to intercept General Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba. But that officer had made forced marches up the country, and crossed the Catawba the evening before a great rain, which swelled the river to such a degree, as to prevent the royal army from crossing for several days; by which time the British prisoners were got quite out of reach.

On the first of February, the king's troops crossed the Catawba at M'Cowan's Ford, where General Davidson, with a party of the American militia, was ordered to oppose their passage; but, that officer being killed by the first discharge, the royal troops made good their landing, and the militia retreated. When Lord Cornwallis arrived at Hillsborough, he erected the king's standard, and invited, by proclamation, all loyal subjects to repair to it, and to stand forth and take an active part in assisting his lordship to restore order and government. He had been taught to believe that the king's friends were numerous in that part of the country: but the event did not confirm the truth of the representations that had been made. The royalists were but few in number, and some of them too timid to join the king's standard. There were, indeed, about 200 who were proceeding to Hillsborough, under Colonel Pyle, in order to avow their attachment to the royal cause; but they were met accidentally, and surrounded, by a detachment from the American army, by whom a number of them are said to have been killed when they were begging for quarter, without making the least resistance. Meanwhile General Greene was marching with a great expedition to form a junction with another corps of American troops, in order to put a stop to the progress of Lord Cornwallis.

In other places considerable advantages were obtained by the royal arms. On the 4th of January, some ships of war, with a number of transports, on-board which was a large body of troops under the command of General Arnold, arrived at Westover, about 140 miles from the Capes of Virginia, where the troops immediately landed and marched to Richmond; which they reached without opposition, the provincials having retreated on their approach. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe marched from hence with a detachment of the British troops at Westham, where he destroyed one of the finest founderies for cannon in America, and a large quantity of stores and ammunition. General Arnold, on his arrival at Richmond, found large quantities of salt, rum, sail-cloth, tobacco, and other merchandise; and that part which was public property he destroyed. The British troops afterwards attacked and dispersed some small parties of the Americans, took some stores, and a few pieces of cannon; and, on the 20th of the same month, marched into Portsmouth. On the 25th, Captain Barclay, with several ships of war, and a body of troops under the command of Major Craig, arrived in Cape Fear river. The troops landed about nine miles from Wilmington, and, on the 28th, entered that town. It was understood, that their having possession of that town, and being masters of Cape Fear river, would be productive of very beneficial effects to Lord Cornwallis' army.

General Greene, having effected a junction, about the 10th of March, with a continental regiment, and two large bodies of militia, resolved to attack the British troops under Lord Cornwallis. The American army marched from the High Rock Ford on the 12th of the month, and on the 14th arrived at Guildford. Lord Cornwallis, from the information he had received of the motions of the American general, easily conjectured his designs. As they approached more nearly to each other, a few skirmishes ensued between some advanced parties, in which the king's troops had the advantage. On the morning of the 15th, Lord Cornwallis marched at day-break to meet the Americans, or to attack them in their camp. About four miles from Guildford, the advanced guard of the British army, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the Americans, consisting of Lieutenant-colonel Lee's legion, which he defeated.

The greater part of the country in which the action took place is a wilderness of trees, and thick underwood, with a few cleared fields interspersed. The American army, which was superior to the British in point of numbers, was posted on a rising ground. It was drawn up in three lines: the front line was composed of the North Carolina militia, under the command of Generals Butler and Eaton; the second line was of Virginia militia, commanded by Generals Stephens and Lawson, forming two brigades; the third line, consisting of two brigades, one of Virginia and one of Maryland continental troops, was commanded by General Hugar, and Colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry, composed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen, under Colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of their right flank. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen under Colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of their left flank. The attack was made by Lord Cornwallis, in the following order: on the right, the regiment of Bose and the 71st regiment, led by Major-general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards; on the left, the 23d and 33d regiments, led by Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and supported by the grenadiers and second battalion of guards commanded by General O'Hara; the yagers and light infantry of the guards remained in a wood, on the left of the guns, and the cavalry in the road, ready to act as circumstances might require.

About half an hour after one in the afternoon, the action commenced by a cannonade, which lasted about twenty minutes; when the British troops advanced in three columns and attacked the North Carolina brigade with great vigor, and soon obliged part of these troops, who behaved very ill, to quit the field; but the Virginia militia kept up a heavy fire for a long time, till, being beaten back, the action became general every where. The American corps, under Colonels Washington and Lee, did considerable execution. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had directions to keep his cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, excepting to protect any of the corps from the most evident danger of being defeated. The excessive thickness of the woods rendered the British bayonets of little use, and

enabled the broken corps of Americans to make frequent stands with an irregular fire. The second battalion of the guards first gained the clear ground near Guildford court-house, and found a corps of continental infantry, superior in number, formed in an open field on the left of the road. Desirous of signaling themselves, they immediately attacked and soon defeated them, taking two six pounders; but, as they pursued the Americans into the wood with too much ardor, they were thrown into confusion, and were instantly charged and driven back into the field by General Washington's dragoons, with the loss of the six pounders they had taken. But the American cavalry were in turn repulsed, and the two six-pounders again fell into the hands of the British troops. The British troops having at length broken the second Maryland regiment, and turned the left flank of the Americans, got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appeared to be gaining their right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, when General Greene thought it prudent to retreat. Many of the American militia dispersed in the woods; but the continental troops fell back in good order to the Reedy Fork river, and crossed at the ford, about three miles from the field of action. When they had collected their stragglers, they retreated to the iron-works, ten miles distant from Guildford, where they encamped. They lost their artillery, and two waggons laden with ammunition. It was a hard fought battle, and lasted an hour and a half. Of the British troops, the loss, as stated by Lord Cornwallis, was 532 killed, wounded, and missing. General Greene, in his account of the action transmitted to the congress, stated the loss of the continental troops to be 329 killed, wounded, and missing; but he made no estimate of the loss of the militia. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart was killed in the action; and Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and Captains Schutz, Maynard, and Goodriche, died of their wounds. General O'Hara, General Howard, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, were also wounded. Of the Americans, the principal officer killed was Major Anderson, of the Maryland line; and Generals Stephens and Huger were wounded.

The British troops underwent great hardships in the course of this campaign; and, in a letter from Lord Cornwallis to Lord George Germaine, dated March 17th, he observed, that "the soldiers had been two days without bread." His lordship quitted

Guilford three days after the battle; and, on the 7th of April, arrived at Wilmington. General Greene, notwithstanding his late defeat, endeavoured to make some fresh attempts against the king's forces in South Carolina. Lord Rawdon had been appointed to defend the post of Camden, with about 800 British; and, on the 19th of April, General Greene appeared before that place with a large body of continentals and militia. He found it impossible to storm the town with any prospect of success; and therefore endeavoured to take such a position as should induce the British troops to sally forth from their works. He posted the Americans about a mile from the town, on an eminence which was covered with woods, and flanked on the left by an impassable swamp. On the morning of the 25th, Lord Rawdon marched out of Camden, and with great gallantry attacked General Greene in his camp. The Americans made a vigorous resistance, but were at last compelled to give way, and the pursuit is said to have been continued three miles. The loss of the English was about 100 killed and wounded. Upwards of 100 of the Americans were taken prisoners; and according to the account published by General Greene, they had 126 killed and wounded.

Notwithstanding the advantage which Lord Rawdon had obtained, he soon found it necessary to quit his post; and the Americans made themselves masters of several other posts that were occupied by the king's troops, and the garrisons were made prisoners of war. These were afterwards exchanged under a cartel which took place between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene, for the release of all prisoners in the southern district. After this, General Greene laid siege to Ninety-six, which was the most commanding and important of all the posts in the back-settlements; and, on the 19th of June, he attempted to storm the garrison, but was repulsed by the British troops, with the loss of 75 killed and 150 wounded. General Greene then raised the siege, and retired behind the Saluda, to a strong situation within sixteen miles of Ninety-six.

On the 18th of April, a large body of British troops, under the command of General Phillips and General Arnold, embarked at Portsmouth, in Virginia, on an expedition for the purpose of destroying some of the American stores. A party of light infantry were sent ten miles up the Chickahomany; where they de-



stroyed several armed ships, sundry warehouses, and the American ship-yards. At Petersburg, they destroyed 4000 hogsheads of tobacco, one ship, and a number of small vessels on the stocks and in the river. At Chesterfield, they burnt a range of barracks for 2000 men, and 300 barrels of flour. At a place called Osborn's, they made themselves masters of several vessels loaded with cordage and flour, and destroyed 2000 hogsheads of tobacco, and sundry vessels were sunk and burnt. At Warwick, they burnt 500 barrels of flour, some mills belonging to Colonel Carey, a large range of public rope-walks and store-houses, tan and bark houses full of hides and bark, and great quantities of tobacco. A like destruction of stores and goods was made in other parts of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis, after his victory over General Greene, at Guildford, proceeded, as we have seen, to Wilmington, and, on the 20th of May, his lordship arrived at Petersburg, in Virginia, where he joined the British troops that had been under the command of General Philips and General Arnold. Before this junction, he had encountered considerable inconveniences from the difficulty of procuring provisions and forage; so that, in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he informed him, that his cavalry wanted every thing; and his infantry every thing but shoes. He added that he had experienced the distresses of marching hundreds of miles in a country chiefly hostile, without one active or useful friend, without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country.

On the 26th of June, about six miles from Williamsburgh, Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, and 350 of the queen's rangers, with 80 mounted yagers, were attacked by a much superior body of the Americans; but whom they repulsed with great gallantry and with equal success, making four officers and twenty private men prisoners. The loss of the Americans in this action is said to have been upwards of 120, and that of the British troops not more than 40. On the 6th of July, another action happened near the Green Springs, in Virginia, between a reconnoitring party of the Americans, under General Wayne, amounting to about 800, and a large part of the British army, under Lord Cornwallis; in which, the Americans had 127 killed and wounded; and the loss of the royal troops is supposed to have been considerably greater. It was an action in which no small degree of



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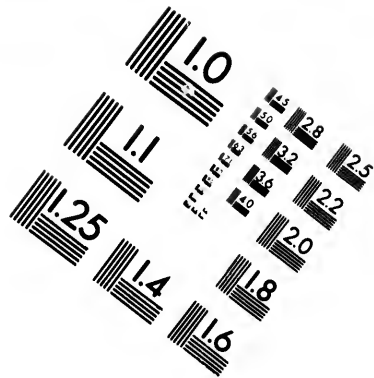
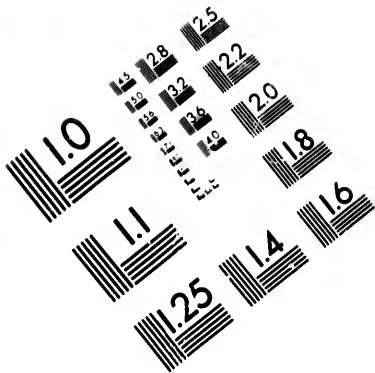
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military skill and courage was exhibited by the Americans. In a variety of skirmishes, the Marquis la Fayette very much distinguished himself, and displayed the utmost ardor in the American cause.

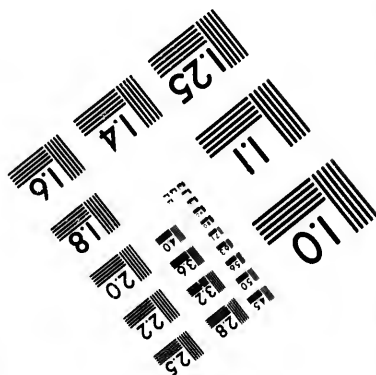
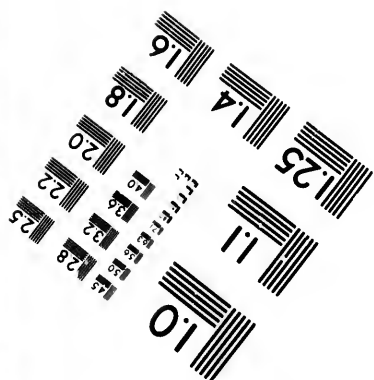
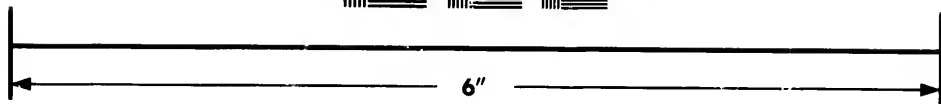
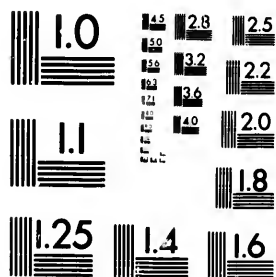
Notwithstanding the signal advantages Lord Cornwallis had obtained, his situation in Virginia began to be very critical; and the rather, because he did not receive those reinforcements from Sir Henry Clinton which he conceived to be necessary for the success of his operations. Indeed, the commander-in-chief was prevented from sending those reinforcements, by his fears respecting New York, against which he entertained apprehensions that General Washington intended to make a formidable attack. In fact, the American general appears to have taken much pains, and to have employed great finesse, to lead Sir Henry Clinton into this imagination. Letters, expressive of this intention; fell into the hands of Sir Henry, which were manifestly written to be intercepted, with a view to amuse and deceive the British general. The project was successful; and, by a variety of manœuvres, in which he completely out-generalled the British commanders, he increased his apprehensions about New York, and prevented him from sending proper assistance to Lord Cornwallis. Having thus kept Sir Henry Clinton in perpetual alarm, General Washington suddenly quitted his camp at White Plains, crossed the Delaware, and marched towards Virginia, with a design to attack Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton now received information, that the Count de Grasse, with a large French fleet, was expected every moment in the Chesapeak, to co-operate with general Washington. He therefore endeavoured to communicate this information to Lord Cornwallis; and also sent him assurances, that he would either reinforce him by every possible means, or make the best diversion he could in his favor. In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis had taken possession of the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester, in Virginia, where he fortified himself in the best manner he could.

On the 28th of August, Sir Samuel Hood, with a squadron from the West Indies, joined the fleet under Admiral Graves, before New York. It was then necessary, on account of the situation of Lord Cornwallis, that they should immediately proceed to the Chesapeak; but much time appears to have been lost, though Admiral Hood was extremely anxious that no delay





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might be made. They arrived in the Chesapeak on the 5th of September, with nineteen ships of the line; where they found the Count de Grasse, who had come to an anchor, on the 30th of August, with twenty-four ships of the line. The French admiral had previously landed a large body of troops, which had marched to join the American army under General Washington. The British and French fleets came to an action on the same day in which the former arrived in the Chesapeak. On-board the British fleet, 90 were killed and 246 wounded; some of the ships were greatly damaged in the engagement, and the *Terrible*, a 74-gun ship, was so much shattered, that it was afterwards found necessary to set her on fire. That this action was not favorable to the English, was manifest from the event: the fleets continued in sight of each other for five days successively, and sometimes were very near; but at length the French all anchored within the Cape, so as to block up the passage. Admiral Graves then called a council of war, in which it was resolved, that the fleet should return to New York, that the ships might be put into the best state for the service: and thus were the French left masters of the Chesapeak.

Before the news of this engagement had reached New York, a council of war had been held, in which it was resolved, that 5000 men should be embarked on-board the king's ships, in order to proceed to the assistance of Lord Cornwallis. But, when it was known that the French were absolute masters of the navigation of the Chesapeak, it was thought inexpedient to send off that reinforcement. In another council of war, it was resolved, that, as Lord Cornwallis had provisions to last him to the end of October, it was advisable to wait for more favorable accounts from Admiral Graves, or for the arrival of Admiral Digby, who was expected with three ships of the line.

In the mean time, the most effectual measures were taken by General Washington, for surrounding the army under Lord Cornwallis. A large body of French troops, under the command of the Count de Rochambeau, with a considerable train of artillery, assisted in the enterprise. The Americans amounted to near 8000 continentals, and 5000 militia. General Washington was commander-in chief of the combined forces of America and France. On the 29th of September, the investment of Yorktown was complete, and the British army were quite blocked up. The

day following, Sir Henry Clinton wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis, containing assurances that he would do every thing in his power to relieve him. A duplicate of this letter was sent to his lordship by Major Cochran, on the 3d of October. That gentleman, who was a very gallant officer, went in a vessel to the Capes, and made his way to Lord Cornwallis, undiscovered, through the whole French fleet, in an open boat. He got to Yorktown on the 10th of the month; and, soon after his arrival, had his head carried off by a cannon-ball.

York is a small village on the south side of the river which bears that name, where the long peninsula between the York and the James is only eight miles wide. In this broad and bold river a ship of the line may ride in safety. Its southern banks are high; and some batteries facing the water had been constructed on them by a small corps of artillery belonging to the state of Virginia, formerly stationed at this place. On the opposite shore is Gloucester Point; a piece of land projecting deep into the river, and narrowing it at that place, so that it does not exceed one mile. Both these posts were occupied by Lord Cornwallis, who had been assiduous in fortifying them. The communication between them was commanded by his batteries, and by some ships of war which lay under his guns.

The main body of his army was encamped in the open grounds about Yorktown, within a range of outward redoubts and field-works, calculated to command the peninsula, and impede the approach of the assailants: and Colonel Tarleton, with a small detachment, consisting of six or seven hundred men, held the post at Gloucester Point.

The legion of Lauzun, and a brigade of militia under General Weedon, the whole commanded by the French general De Choise, were directed to watch and restrain the enemy on the side of Gloucester; and on the 28th, the grand combined army moved down on the south side of the river, by different routes, towards Yorktown. About noon the heads of the columns reached the ground respectively assigned to them; and, after driving in the piquets and some cavalry, encamped for the evening. The next day was principally employed in reconnoitring the situation and works of the garrison, and in digesting the plans of approach: after which the right wing, consisting of Americans, extended further to the right, and occupied the

ground east of Beaver Dam creek; while the left wing, consisting of the French, were stationed on the west side of that creek. In the course of the night Lord Cornwallis withdrew within his inner lines; and the next day the works he had evacuated were possessed by the besieging army, which now completely and closely invested the town on that side.

No attack on Gloucester Point being intended, the arrangements in that quarter were only calculated to keep up a rigorous blockade; and the force allotted to this service consisted of rather more than 2000 men. On approaching the lines a sharp skirmish took place, which terminated unfavorably for the British; after which they remained under cover of their works, and the blockade sustained no further interruption.

Until the 6th of October, the besieging army was incessantly employed in disembarking their heavy artillery and military stores, and drawing them from the landing-place on James river to camp, a distance of six miles. This work being at length accomplished, the first parallel was commenced in the night of the 6th of October, within six hundred yards of the British lines, with so much silence, that the operation appears to have been unperceived, till the return of daylight disclosed it to the garrison. By that time the trenches were in such forwardness as to cover the men. The loss on this occasion was consequently inconsiderable. In killed and wounded, it amounted only to one officer and twenty men, and was principally sustained by the corps of the Marquis de St. Simon on the left. By the evening of the 9th several batteries and redoubts were completed, and cannon mounted in them. A heavy fire was immediately commenced on the besieged, the effect of which was soon perceived. Many of their guns were dismantled and silenced, and their works were in different places demolished. The next day new batteries were opened; and the fire became so heavy that the besieged withdrew their cannon from their embrasures, and scarcely returned a shot. The shells and red-hot balls from the American batteries reached the ships in the harbour; and in the evening set fire to the *Charon*, of forty-four guns, and three large transports, which were entirely consumed. Reciprocal esteem, and a spirit of emulation between the French and Americans, being cultivated with great care by the commander-in-chief, the siege was carried on with unexampled rapidity. On the night

of the 11th, the second parallel was opened within three hundred yards of the British lines. This advance was made so secretly, and so much sooner than had been expected, that no suspicion of the measure seems to have been entertained by the besieged till day-light discovered the working parties to their piquets, by which time the trenches had advanced so far, as in a great measure to cover the men employed in them. The three succeeding days were devoted to the completion of the second parallel, and of the batteries constructed in it; during which, the fire of the garrison, who, with indefatigable labor, had opened several new embrasures, became more destructive than at any previous time. The men in the trenches were particularly annoyed by two redoubts, advanced three hundred yards in front of the British works, which flanked the second parallel of the besiegers. It was necessary to possess these redoubts; and on the 14th preparations were made to carry them both by storm. To avail himself of the spirit of emulation existing between the troops of the two nations, and to avoid furnishing matter to excite the jealousy of either, the attack of the one was committed to the Americans, and of the other to the French. The Marquis de la Fayette commanded the American detachment, composed of the light infantry, which was intended to act against the redoubt on the left of the British works on the river bank, and the Baron de Viominel led the grenadiers and chasseurs of his country against that which, being further to the British right, approached rather nearer the French lines. Towards the close of day, the two detachments marched with equal firmness to the assault. Emulous for glory both for themselves and their country, every exertion was made by each. Colonel Hamilton, who throughout this campaign, had commanded a battalion of light infantry, led the advanced corps of the Americans, consisting of his own and of Colonel Gimat's battalions; and Colonel Laurens, another aid of the commander-in-chief, turned the redoubt at the head of eighty men, in order to take the garrison in reverse, and intercept their retreat. The troops rushed on to the charge without firing a single piece; and so great was their ardor, that they did not give the sappers time to remove the abattis and palisades. Passing over them, they assaulted the works with irresistible impetuosity on all sides at once, and entered them with such rapidity that their loss was inconsi-



derable. This redoubt was defended by Major Campbell, with some inferior officers, and forty five privates. The major, a captain, an ensign, and seventeen privates, were made prisoners; eight privates were killed while the Americans were entering the works, and a few escaped. The redoubt attacked by the French was defended by a greater number of men; and the resistance being greater, was not overcome so quickly, or with so little loss. Of 120 men commanded by a lieutenant-colonel, who were originally in this work, 18 were killed, and 42, among whom were a captain and two subaltern officers, were made prisoners. In killed and wounded the assailants lost near 100 men. The commander in chief was highly gratified with the active courage displayed in the assault. Speaking of it in his diary, he says, "The bravery exhibited by the attacking troops was emulous and praiseworthy. Few cases have exhibited greater proofs of intrepidity, coolness, and firmness, than were shown on this occasion." The orders of the succeeding day, congratulating the army on the capture of these important works, expressed a high sense of the judicious dispositions and gallant conduct of both the Baron de Viominei and the Marquis de la Fayette; and requested them to convey to every officer and man engaged in the enterprise, the acknowledgments of the commander in-chief, for the spirit and rapidity with which they advanced to the attack, and for the admirable firmness with which they supported themselves under the fire of the enemy without returning a shot. "The general reflects," the orders conclude, "with the highest degree of pleasure on the confidence which the troops of the two nations must hereafter have in each other. Assured of mutual support, he is convinced there is no danger which they will not cheerfully encounter, no difficulty which they will not bravely overcome."

In the same night on which these two redoubts were taken, they were included in the second parallel; and in the course of the next day, some howitzers were placed in them, which, by five o'clock in the afternoon, were opened on the besieged.

The situation of Lord Cornwallis was now becoming desperate. His works in every quarter were sinking under the fire of the besiegers. The batteries already playing on him had silenced nearly all his guns; and the second parallel was about to open, which in a few hours must infallibly render the town altogether

untenable. To suspend for a short time a catastrophe which appeared almost inevitable, he resolved on attempting to retard the completion of the second parallel, by a vigorous sortie against two batteries which appeared to be in the greatest readiness, and which were guarded by French troops. The party making this sortie consisted of 350 men, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie. It was formed into two detachments; which, about four in the morning of the 16th, attacked the two batteries with great impetuosity, and carried both with inconsiderable loss; but the guards from the trenches immediately advancing on them, they retreated without being able to effect any thing important, and the few pieces which they had hastily spiked were soon rendered fit for service.

About four in the afternoon, the besiegers opened several batteries in their second parallel; and it was apparent that, in the course of the ensuing day, the whole line of batteries in that parallel, in which was mounting an immense quantity of artillery, would be ready to play on the town. The works of the besieged were in no condition to sustain so tremendous a fire. They were every where in ruins. Their batteries were so overpowered, that in the whole front which was attacked they could not show a single gun; and their shells were nearly expended. In this extremity, Lord Cornwallis formed the bold design of endeavouring to escape by land with the greater part of his army.

He determined to leave his sick and baggage behind, and crossing over in the night with his effectives to Gloucester shore, to attack de Choice. After cutting to pieces or dispersing the troops under that officer, he intended to mount his infantry on the horses belonging to that detachment, and on others to be seized on the road, and by a rapid march to gain the fords of the great rivers; and, forcing his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, to form a junction with the army in New York.

Scarcely a possibility existed that this desperate attempt could be crowned with success; but the actual situation of the British general had become so absolutely hopeless, that it could scarcely be changed for the worse.

Boats prepared under other pretexts were held in readiness to receive the troops at ten at night, in order to convey them over the river. The arrangements were made with the utmost secre-

cy; and the first embarkation had arrived at the Point unperceived, and part of the troops were landed, when a sudden and violent storm of wind and rain interrupted the further execution of this hazardous plan, and drove the boats down the river. It was not till the appearance of daylight that the storm ceased, so that the boats could return. They were sent to bring back the soldiers; who, without much loss, were relanded on the southern shore in the course of the forenoon.

In the morning of the 17th, several new batteries were opened in the second parallel, which poured in a weight of fire no longer to be resisted. Neither the works, nor any of the town, afforded security to the garrison; and in the opinion of Lord Cornwallis, as well as of his engineers, the place was no longer tenable. About ten in the forenoon his lordship beat a parley, and proposed a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, that commissioners might meet at Moore's house, which was just in the rear of the first parallel, to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester. To this letter the American general immediately returned an answer, declaring his "ardent desire to spare the further effusion of blood, and his readiness to listen to such terms as were admissible;" but as, in the present crisis, he could not consent to lose a moment in fruitless negociations, he desired that, "previous to the meeting of the commissioners, the proposals of his lordship might be transmitted in writing, for which purpose a suspension of hostilities for two hours should be granted." The general propositions stated by Lord Cornwallis, as forming the basis of the negociation to be entered into, though not all of them admissible, being such as led to the opinion that no great difficulty would occur in adjusting the terms of the capitulation, the suspension of hostilities was prolonged for the night. In the mean time, to avoid the delay of useless discussion, the commander-in-chief drew up and proposed such articles as he would be willing to grant. These were transmitted to Lord Cornwallis; who was at the same time informed, that if he approved them, commissioners might immediately be appointed to digest them into form. In consequence of this message, the Viscount de Noailles and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens were met on the 18th by Colonel Dundas and Major Ross; but, being unable to adjust definitively the terms of the capitulation, only a rough draught of them

could be prepared, which was to be submitted to the consideration of the British general. Determined not to expose himself to those accidents which time might produce, General Washington could not permit any suspense on the part of Lord Cornwallis. He therefore immediately directed the rough articles which had been prepared by the commissioners to be fairly transcribed, and sent them to his lordship early the next morning, with a letter expressing his expectation that they would be signed by eleven, and that the garrison would march out by two in the afternoon. Finding all attempts to obtain better terms unavailing, Lord Cornwallis submitted to a necessity no longer to be avoided; and on the 19th of October, surrendered the posts of York Town and Gloucester Point, with the garrisons which had defended them, and the shipping in the harbour with their seamen, to the land and naval officers of America and France.

The army with the artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores of every denomination, were surrendered to General Washington; the ships and seamen to the Count de Grasse. The total amount of prisoners, exclusive of seamen, rather exceeded 7000 men, of whom 5963 were rank and file. Of this number 4017 are stated to have been fit for duty. The loss sustained by the garrison during the siege, in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, amounted to 552 men, including six officers. The soldiers, accompanied by a due proportion of officers, were to remain in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. The officers not required for this service were permitted to go on parole to Europe, or to any maritime port occupied by the English in America. Lord Cornwallis earnestly endeavoured to obtain permission for his European troops to return to their respective countries, under the single restriction of not serving against France or America; but this indulgence was peremptorily refused. His effort to introduce an article for the security of those Americans who had joined the British army, was not more successful. The subject was declared to belong to the civil authority, and the article was rejected. Its object, however, was granted without the appearance of conceding it. Lord Cornwallis was permitted to send the Bonetta sloop of war, unsearched, with dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton; and on-board this vessel were embarked the Americans who were most obnoxious to their countrymen.

There are some circumstances which would indicate that in this transaction the commander-in-chief held in recollection the capitulation of Charlestown. The garrison was obliged to march out of the town with colors cased, but with drums beating either a British or German march; and General Lincoln was appointed to receive them on their going through the ceremony of grounding their arms.

The allied army to which that of Lord Cornwallis surrendered, may be estimated at 16,000 men. The French were stated, by the Count de Rochambeau, at 7000. The continental troops amounted to about 5500, and the militia to about 3500. In the course of the siege, their loss in killed and wounded was about 300. It is full evidence of the vigor and skill with which the operations of the besiegers were conducted, that the treaty was opened on the 11th, and the capitulation signed on the 13th, day after the ground was first broken before the works. The whole army merited a high degree of approbation; but from the nature of the service, the artillery and engineers were enabled particularly to distinguish themselves. Generals Du Portail and Knox were each promoted to the rank of major-general; Colonel Gouvain and Captain Rochfontaine of the corps of engineers, were each advanced a step by brevet. In addition to the officers belonging to those departments, Generals Lincoln, De la Fayette, and Steuben, were particularly mentioned by the commander-in-chief, in the orders issued the day after the capitulation; and terms of peculiar warmth were applied to Governor Nelson, who continued in the field during the whole siege at the head of the militia of Virginia, and also exerted himself in a particular manner to furnish the army with all those supplies which the country afforded. The highest acknowledgments were made to the Count de Rochambeau; and several other French officers were named with distinction.

The exultation manifested throughout the United States at the capture of this formidable army, was equal to the terror it had inspired. At all times disposed to draw flattering conclusions from any favorable event, the Americans now, with more reason than heretofore, yielded to the suggestions of this sanguine temper, and confidently indulged the hope that the termination of their toils and privations was fast approaching. In

congress the intelligence was received with a joy proportioned to the magnitude of the event; and the sense entertained by that body of this brilliant achievement was manifested in various resolutions returning the thanks of the United States to the commander-in-chief, to the Count de Rochambeau, to the Count de Grasse, to the officers of the allied army generally, and to the corps of artillery and engineers in particular. In addition to these testimonials of a grateful nation, it was resolved that a marble column should be erected at York-town in Virginia, with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his Most Christian majesty: and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to his Excellency General Washington, commander-in-chief of the combined forces of America and France; to his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary troops of his Most Christian Majesty in America; and to his Excellency the Count de Grasse, commanding in chief the naval armament of France in the Chesapeak. Two stand of colors taken in Yorktown were presented to General Washington; two pieces of field-ordnance to the Count de Rochambeau; and application was made to his Most Christian Majesty, to permit the admiral to accept a testimonial of their approbation, similar to that presented to the Count de Rochambeau. Congress determined to go in solemn procession to the Dutch Lutheran church, to return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied arms with success by the surrender of the whole British army under Lord Cornwallis; and also issued a proclamation appointing the 13th day of December as a day of general thanksgiving and prayer on account of this signal interposition of divine Providence.

It was not by congress alone that the public joy for this great event, and the public approbation of the conduct of General Washington, were displayed. The most flattering and affectionate addresses of congratulation were presented from every part of the union; and state governments, city authorities, and learned institutions, vied with each other in the testimonials they gave of the high sense they entertained of his important services, and of their attachment to his person and character.

As no rational expectation now remained of a subjugation of the colonies, the military operations that succeeded in America were of little consequence. On the 5th of May, 1782, Sir Guy

Carleton arrived at New York, being appointed to the command of the British troops in America, in the room of Sir Henry Clinton.

Fortunately for the United States, the temper of the British nation on the question of continuing the American war was now materially changed. That war, into which the nation had entered with at least as much eagerness as the minister, had now become almost universally unpopular. Motions against the measures of administration respecting America were repeated by the opposition, and on every new experiment the strength of the minority increased. At length, on the 27th of February, General Conway moved in the house of commons, "That it is the opinion of this house that a further prosecution of offensive war against America would, under present circumstances, be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, and tend to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America." The whole force of administration was exerted to get rid of this question, but was exerted in vain, and the resolution was carried. An address to the king in the words of the motion was immediately voted, and was presented by the whole house. The answer of the crown being deemed inexplicit, it was on the 4th of March resolved by the commons, "That the house will consider as enemies to his majesty and the country, all those who should advise or attempt a further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America."

These votes were soon followed by a change of administration, and by conformable instructions to the commanding officers of his Britannic Majesty's forces in America.

While the commander-in-chief was employed in addressing circular letters to the state governments, suggesting all those motives which concurred to stimulate them to exertions better proportioned to the exigency of public affairs, English papers containing the debates in parliament on the various propositions which had been made respecting America, reached the United States. Alarmed at the impression these debates might make, he introduced the opinions it was deemed prudent to inculcate respecting them into the letters he was then about to transmit to the governors of the several states. "I have perused these debates," said he, "with great attention and care; with a view, if possi-

ble, to penetrate their real design: and upon the most mature deliberation I can bestow, I am obliged to declare it as my candid opinion, that the measure, in all its views, so far as it respects America, is merely delusory; having no serious intention to admit our independence upon its true principles, but is calculated to produce a change of ministers to quiet the minds of their own people, and reconcile them to a continuance of the war, while it is meant to amuse this country with a false idea of peace, to draw us from our connexion with France, and to lull us into a state of security and inactivity, which taking place, the ministry will be left to prosecute the war in other parts of the world with greater vigor and effect. Your Excellency will permit me on this occasion to observe, that even if the nation and parliament are really in earnest to obtain peace with America, it will undoubtedly be wisdom in us to meet them with great caution and circumspection, and by all means to keep our arms firm in our hands; and instead of relaxing one iota in our exertions, rather to spring forward with redoubled vigor, that we may take the advantage of every favorable opportunity until our wishes are fully obtained. No nation yet suffered in treaty by preparing (even in the moment of negociation) most vigorously for the field. The industry which the enemy are using to propagate their pacific reports, appears to me a circumstance very suspicious; and the eagerness with which the people, as I am informed, are catching at them, is, in my opinion, equally dangerous."

Early in May, Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded Sir Henry Clinton in the command of all the British forces in the United States, arrived at New York. Having been also appointed, in conjunction with Admiral Digby, a commissioner to negotiate a peace, he lost no time in conveying to General Washington copies of the votes of the British parliament, and of a bill which had been introduced on the part of administration, authorising his Majesty to conclude a peace or truce with those who were still denominated the revolted colonies of North America. These papers, he said, would manifest the dispositions prevailing with the government and people of England towards those of America; and if the like pacific temper should prevail in this country, both inclination and duty would lead him to meet it with the most zealous concurrence. He had addressed to congress, he



said, a letter containing the same communications, and he solicited from the American general a passport for the person who should convey it.

At this time, the bill enabling the British Monarch to conclude a peace or truce with America had not passed into a law; nor was any assurance given that the present commissioners possessed the power to offer other terms than those which had formerly been rejected. General Carleton therefore could not hope that negotiations would commence on such a basis; nor be disappointed that the passports he requested were refused by congress, to whom the application was, of course, referred. The letter might have been written for the general purpose of conciliation, and of producing in the United States on the subject of hostilities a disposition corresponding with that which had been expressed in the house of commons. But the situation of the United States justified a suspicion of different motives; and prudence required that their conduct should be influenced by that suspicion. The unwillingness with which the king would assent to the dismemberment of the empire, was understood; and it was thought not improbable that the sentiments expressed in the house of commons might be attributable rather to the desire of changing those who had administered the government, than to any fixed determination to relinquish the design of reannexing America to the British crown. Under these impressions, the overtures now made were considered as opiates administered to lull into a state of fatal repose the spirit of vigilance which the guardians of the public safety labored still to keep up, and to prevent those measures of security which it might yet be necessary to adopt. This jealousy was nourished by all the intelligence received from Europe. Either to avoid an acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or to obtain a peace on terms more favorable than could be expected from a conjoint negotiation with all the powers engaged in the war, the utmost address of the British cabinet had been employed to detach her enemies from each other. The mediation of Russia had been accepted to procure a separate peace with Holland; propositions had been submitted both to France and Spain, tending to an accommodation of differences with those powers singly; and inquiries had been made of Mr. Adams, the American minister at the Hague, which seemed to contemplate the same object with

regard to the United States. These political manœuvres were communicated to congress, and the communication furnished additional motives for doubting the sincerity of the English cabinet. But whatever views might actuate the court of St. James on this subject, the resolution of the American government to enter into no separate treaty was unalterable. On this occasion the several states passed resolutions expressing their objections to separate negotiations, and declaring those to be enemies to America who should attempt to treat without the authority of congress. But the public votes which have been stated, and probably the private instructions given to the British general, restrained him from offensive war, and the state of the American army disabled General Washington from making any attempt on the posts held by the enemy. The campaign of 1782 consequently passed away without furnishing any military operations of moment between the armies under the immediate direction of the respective commanders-in-chief. Early in August, a letter was received by General Washington from Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby, which, among other communications,\* manifesting a pacific disposition on the part of England, contained the information that they had received official assurances that Mr. Grenville was at Paris, invested with full powers to treat with all the parties at war, and that negotiations for a general peace had already commenced. They further stated, that in order to remove all obstacles to a peace, his Majesty had commanded his ministers to direct Mr. Grenville, that the independence of the thirteen provinces should be proposed by him in the first instance, instead of being made a condition of a general treaty; but that this proposition would be made in the confidence that the loyalists would be restored to their possessions, or a full compensation allowed them for whatever confiscations might have taken place.

This letter was not long afterwards followed by one from Sir Guy Carleton, in which he declared that he could discern no further object of contest; and that he disapproved of all further hostilities both by sea and land, which could only tend to multiply the miseries of individuals, without any possible advantage

\* This letter gave intelligence of the liberation of Mr. Laurens, and that transports were prepared to convey American prisoners hitherto detained in England.

to either nation. In pursuance of this opinion, he had, soon after his arrival in New York, restrained the practice of detaching parties of Indians against the frontiers of the United States, and had recalled those which were previously engaged in those bloody incursions. These communications appear to have alarmed the jealousy of the minister of France. To quiet his fears, the resolution was renewed, "that congress would enter into no discussion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his Most Christian Majesty." At the same time it was again recommended to the several states to adopt such measures as would most effectually guard against all intercourse with any subjects of the British crown during the war.

The inactivity which prevailed in the north, was in some measure communicated to the armies of the south.

On the 4th of January, General St. Clair reached the headquarters of General Greene, with the troops detached from Yorktown; but they had been so weakened by the casualties of a long march, that they did not much more than supply the places of those soldiers who were entitled to a discharge on the last day of December. Soon after receiving this reinforcement, General Wayne was detached with a part of the army over the Savannah river, for the purpose of protecting the state of Georgia. On his approach, the British troops in that state were concentrated in the town of Savannah, where they were frequently insulted by Wayne. Some sharp skirmishes took place between them which terminated to the advantage of the Americans. But the evacuation of their posts being a necessary part of the plan for discontinuing offensive operations in America, the garrison was withdrawn from the town of Savannah on the 11th of July.

Charlestown was held until the 14th of December, although the intention of evacuating that place had been announced in the general orders of the 7th of August. Previous to that time, General Leslie had proposed a suspension of hostilities, to which General Greene did not think himself at liberty to accede. But no further military operations took place, than a few light skirmishes with foraging parties.

From the arrival of Sir Guy Carleton at New York, the conduct of the British armies on the American continent was regulated by the spirit then recently displayed in the house of com-

mons; and all the sentiments expressed by their general were pacific, and in a high degree conciliatory. But to these flattering appearances it was dangerous to yield implicit confidence. With a change of men, a change of measures might also take place; and in addition to the ordinary suggestions of prudence, the military events in the West Indies were well calculated to keep alive the attention, and to continue the anxieties, of the United States.

Immense preparations had been made for the invasion of Jamaica; and early in April, Admiral Count de Grasse sailed from Martinique with a powerful fleet, having on-board the land forces and artillery which were to be employed in the operations against that island. His intention was to form a junction with the Spanish Admiral Don Solano, who lay at Hispaniola; after which, the combined fleet, whose superiority promised to render it irresistible, was to proceed immediately on the important enterprise which had been concerted. On his way to Hispaniola, De Grasse was overtaken by Rodney, and brought to an engagement, in which he was totally defeated, and was himself made a prisoner. This decisive victory disconcerted the plans of the combined powers, and gave security to the British islands; in the United States it was feared that this alteration in the aspect of affairs might influence the deliberations of the English cabinet on the question of peace; and these apprehensions increased the uneasiness with which all intelligent men contemplated the state of the American finances.

The small and inadequate sums which were paid by the states, came so slowly into the hands of the minister of finance, that neither the military nor civil establishments could have been supported, had not the high reputation of that officer enabled him to make anticipations to a great extent; and had he not firmly resisted every temptation to divert the funds he could command, from the most essential objects to others which, though pressing heavily on him, were yet of minor importance. Almost every other expenditure yielded to the subsistence of the army; and it was with difficulty scarcely to be credited that money even for this purpose could be obtained.

So late as the month of August, not more than 80,000 dollars had been received from all the states. In every department the utmost distress prevailed. To the bare subsistence of the

army scarcely any thing could be added : to pay the troops was impossible.

After an intricate negotiation, in which the penetration, judgment, and firmness, of the American commissioners were eminently displayed, eventual and preliminary articles were signed on the 30th of November. By this treaty every reasonable wish of America, especially on the questions of the fisheries and of boundaries, was gratified. The liberality of the articles on these points attests the success which attended the endeavours of the plenipotentiaries on the part of the United States, to prove that the real interests of England required that America should become independent in fact as well as name, and that every cause of future discord between the two nations should be removed. On the part of the United States, it was stipulated that creditors should be permitted to recover their debts ; that congress would recommend the restoration of the estates of real British subjects which had been confiscated during the war, and that no future confiscations should be made. The effect of this treaty was suspended till peace should be concluded between France and Great Britain. The connexions between his Most Christian and Most Catholic Majesty not admitting of a separate peace on the part of either, the negociations between the belligerent powers of Europe had been protracted by the perseverance with which Spain persisted in her endeavours to obtain the cession of Gibraltar. At length, the formidable armanent which had invested that fortress was repulsed with immense slaughter ; after which, the place was relieved by Lord Howe, and the besiegers in despair abandoned the enterprise. Negotiations were then taken up with sincerity ; and preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, were signed on the 20th of January, 1783.

In America, the approach of peace, combined with other causes, produced a state of things highly interesting and critical. There was much reason to fear that congress possessed neither the power nor the inclination to comply with its engagements to the army ; and the officers who had wasted their fortunes and their prime of life in unrewarded service, could not look with unconcern at the prospect which was opening to them. In December, soon after going into winter quarters, they presented a petition to congress respecting the money actually due to them ;

and a commutation of the half-pay stipulated by the resolutions of October 1780, for a sum in gross, which they flattered themselves would be less objectionable than the half-pay establishment. Some security that the engagements of the government would be complied with, was also requested.

A committee of officers were deputed to solicit the attention of congress to this memorial, and to attend its progress through the house.

Among the most distinguished members of the federal legislature were persons sincerely disposed to do ample justice to the public creditors generally, and to that class of them in particular, whose claims were founded in military service. But there were many who viewed the army with a jealous eye, who acknowledged their merits with unwillingness, and involuntarily betrayed their repugnance to a faithful observance of the public engagements. With this question was connected one of equal importance, on which congress was divided almost in the same manner. One party was attached to state, the other to continental, politics. The latter labored to fund the public debts on solid continental securities, while the former opposed their whole weight to measures calculated to effect that object. In the last party were to be found the best talents and the most discerning patriotism of America; but the system of government opposed to their views obstacles not to be surmounted. In consequence of these divisions on the most interesting points, the business of the army advanced slowly; and the important question respecting the commutation of their half-pay remained undecided in March, when intelligence was received of the signature of the preliminary and eventual articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain.

Soured by their past sufferings, their present wants, and their gloomy prospects; and exasperated by the neglect with which they believed themselves to be treated, and by the injustice supposed to be meditated against them: the ill temper of the army was almost universal, and seemed to require only a slight impulse to give it activity. To render this temper the more dangerous, an opinion had been insinuated, that the commander-in-chief was restrained by extreme delicacy from advocating their interests with that zeal which his feelings and knowledge of their situation had inspired. Early in March, a letter was re-

ceived from their committee in Philadelphia, purporting that the objects they solicited had not been obtained. On the 10th of that month, an anonymous paper was circulated, requiring a meeting of the general and field officers at the public building on the succeeding day at eleven in the morning. It was also announced, that an officer from each company, and a delegate from the medical staff, would be expected. The object of the convention was to be, "to consider the late letter from their representatives in Philadelphia, and what measures (if any) should be adopted to obtain that redress of grievances which they seemed to have solicited in vain." On the same day was privately circulated an address to the army, admirably well prepared to work on the passions of the moment, and to conduct them to the most desperate resolutions.

Persuaded as the officers in general were of the indisposition of government to remunerate their services, this eloquent and passionate address, dictated by genius and by feeling, found in almost every bosom a kindred though latent sentiment, prepared to receive its impression. Like the train to which a torch is applied, the passions quickly caught its flame, and nothing seemed to be required but the assemblage invited on the succeeding day to communicate the conflagration to the combustible mass, and to produce an explosion alike tremendous and ruinous. Fortunately the commander-in-chief was in camp. His characteristic firmness and decision did not forsake him in this crisis. The occasion required that his measures should be firm, but prudent and conciliatory; evincing his fixed determination to oppose any rash proceedings, but calculated to assuage the irritation which was excited, and to restore a confidence in government.

This course he at once adopted. Knowing well that it was much easier to avoid intemperate measures, than to correct them, he thought it of essential importance to prevent the immediate meeting of the officers; but knowing also that a sense of injury and fear of injustice had made a deep impression on them, and that their sensibilities were all alive to the proceedings of congress on their memorial, he thought it more advisable to guide than to discountenance their deliberations on that interesting subject. With these views, he noticed in his orders the anonymous paper proposing a meeting of the officers, and expressed the conviction he felt that their good sense would secure

them from paying any "attention to such an irregular invitation; but his own duty," he conceived, "as well as the reputation and true interest of the army, required his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings. At the same time he requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representative from the staff of the army, to assemble at twelve on Saturday the 15th, at the New Building, to hear the report of the committee deputed by the army to congress. After mature deliberation, they will devise what further measures ought to be adopted as most rational, and best calculated to obtain the just and important object in view." The senior officer in rank, present, was directed to preside, and to report the result of the deliberations to the commander-in-chief. The day succeeding that on which these orders were published, a second anonymous address appeared from the same pen which had written the former.

Acquainted with the discontents of the army, its author did not despair of impelling the officers to the desired point. Affecting to consider the orders in a light favorable to his views, he said: "Till now, the commander-in-chief has regarded the steps you have taken for redress with good wishes alone. His ostensible silence has authorised your meetings, and his private opinion has sanctified your claims. Had he disliked the object in view, would not the same sense of duty which forbade you from meeting on the third day of the week, have forbidden you from meeting on the seventh? is not the same subject held up for your discussion? and has it not passed the seal of office, and taken all the solemnity of an order? This will give system to your proceedings, and stability to your resolves. It will ripen speculation into fact; and while it adds to the unanimity, it cannot possibly lessen the independence, of your sentiments. It may be necessary to add upon this subject, that from the injunction with which the general orders close, every man is at liberty to conclude that the report to be made to head-quarters is intended for congress. Hence will arise another motive for that energy which has been recommended: for can you give the lie to the pathetic descriptions of your representations, and the more alarming predictions of your friends?"

But, incapable of acting on motives not to be avowed, Washington would not permit himself to be misunderstood. The in-



terval between his orders and the general meeting they invited, was employed in impressing on those officers individually who possessed the greatest share of the general confidence, a just sense of what the exigency required; and the whole weight of his influence was exerted to bring the agitations of the moment to a happy termination. This was a work of no inconsiderable difficulty. So convinced were many of them, that government designed to deal unfairly by them, that only the reliance they placed on their general, and their attachment to him, could have moderated their resentments so far as to induce them to adopt the measures he recommended

On the 15th the convention of officers assembled, and General Gates took the chair. The commander-in-chief then addressed them in a speech the most impressive; in which he placed the perfidious counsels of the anonymous incendiary in so clear and convincing point of view, as to remove entirely the unfavorable impression which had been made upon their minds; and the officers after passing a vote of thanks to their venerated chief, unanimously agreed to the following resolutions.

“Resolved unanimously, That at the commencement of the present war the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country, from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of human nature, which motives still exist in the highest degree; and that no circumstance of distress or danger shall induce a conduct that may tend to sully the reputation and glory which they have acquired, at the price of their blood and eight years’ faithful services.

“Resolved unanimously, That the army continue to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of congress and their country, and are fully convinced that the representatives of America will not disband or disperse the army until their accounts are liquidated, the balances accurately ascertained, and adequate funds established for payment; and in this arrangement, the officers expect that the half-pay, or a commutation for it, should be efficaciously comprehended.

“Resolved unanimously, That his excellency the commander-in chief be requested to write to his excellency the president of congress, earnestly entreating the most speedy decision of that honorable body upon the subject of our late address, which was forwarded by a committee of the army, some of whom are wait-

ing upon congress for the result. In the alternative of peace or war, this event would be highly satisfactory; and would produce immediate tranquillity in the minds of the army, and prevent any further machinations of designing men to sow discord between the civil and military powers of the United States.

“On motion, resolved unanimously, That the officers of the American army view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown persons to collect the officers together, in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order.

“Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of the officers of the army be given to the committee who presented to congress the late address of the army, for the wisdom and prudence with which they have conducted that business: and that a copy of the proceedings of this day be transmitted by the president to Major-general M'Dougall; and that he be requested to continue his solicitations at congress, until the objects of his mission are accomplished.”

The storm which had so suddenly and unexpectedly been raised being thus happily dissipated, the commander-in-chief exerted all his influence in support of the application the officers had made to congress. The letter written by him on the occasion will show that he was not impelled to this measure by the engagements he had entered into more strongly than by his feelings.

“The result of the proceedings of the grand convention of the officers, which I have the honor of enclosing to your excellency, for the inspection of congress, will, I flatter myself, be considered as the last glorious proof of patriotism which could have been given by men who aspired to the distinction of a patriot army, and will not only confirm their claim to the justice, but will increase their title to the gratitude of their country.

“Having seen the proceedings on the part of the army terminate with perfect unanimity, and in a manner entirely consonant to my wishes; being impressed with the liveliest sentiments of affection for those who have so long, so patiently, and so cheerfully, suffered and fought under my immediate direction; having, from motives of justice, duty, and gratitude, spontaneously of-

ferred myself as an advocate for their rights; and having been requested to write to your excellency, earnestly entreating the most speedy decision of congress upon the subjects of the late address from the army to that honorable body; it now only remains for me to perform the task I have assumed, and to intercede in their behalf, as I now do, that the sovereign power will be pleased to verify the predictions I have pronounced of, and the confidence the army have reposed in, the justice of their country.

“And here I humbly conceive it is altogether unnecessary (while I am pleading the cause of an army which have done and suffered more than any other army ever did in the defence of the rights and liberties of human nature) to expatiate on their claims to the most ample compensation for their meritorious services; because they are perfectly known to the whole world, and because (although the topics are inexhaustible) enough has already been said on the subject. To prove these assertions, to evince that my sentiments have ever been uniform, and to show what my ideas of the rewards in question have always been, I appeal to the archives of congress, and call on those sacred deposits to witness for me. And in order that my observations and arguments in favor of a future adequate provision for the officers of the army may be brought to remembrance again, and considered in a single point of view, without giving congress the trouble of having recourse to their files, I will beg leave to transmit herewith an extract from a representation made by me to a committee of congress, so long ago as the 20th of January, 1778, and also the transcript of a letter to the president of congress, dated near Passaic Falls, October 11, 1780.

“That in the critical and perilous moment when the last-mentioned communication was made, there was the utmost danger a dissolution of the army would have taken place, unless measures similar to those recommended had been adopted, will not admit of a doubt. That the adoption of the resolution granting half-pay for life has been attended with all the happy consequences I had foretold, so far as respected the good of the service, let the astonishing contrast between the state of the army at this instant and at the former period determine. And that the establishment of funds, and security of the payment of all the just demands of the army, will be the most certain means

of preserving the national faith and future tranquillity of this extensive continent, is my decided opinion.

“By the preceding remarks it will be readily imagined, that instead of retracting and reprehending (from farther experience and reflection), the mode of compensation so strenuously urged in the enclosures, I am more and more confirmed in the sentiment; and if in the wrong, suffer me to please myself in the grateful delusion. For if, besides the simple payment of their wages, a further compensation is not due to the sufferings and sacrifices of the officers, then have I been mistaken indeed. If the whole army have not merited whatever a grateful people can bestow, then have I been beguiled by prejudice, and built opinion on the basis of error. If this country should not in the event perform every thing which has been requested in the late memorial to congress, then will my belief become vain, and the hope that has been excited void of foundation. And if (as has been suggested for the purpose of inflaming their passions) the officers of the army ‘are to be the only sufferers by this revolution; if, retiring from the field, they are to grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt; if they are to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor;’ then shall I have learned what ingratitude is; then shall I have realized a tale which will embitter every moment of my future life.

“But I am under no such apprehensions: a country rescued by their arms from impending ruin, will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude.

“Should any intemperate and improper warmth have mingled itself among the foregoing observations, I must entreat your excellency and congress that it may be attributed to the effusions of an honest zeal in the best of causes, and that my peculiar situation may be my apology; and I hope I need not on this momentous occasion make any new protestations of disinterestedness, having ever renounced for myself the idea of pecuniary reward. The consciousness of having attempted faithfully to discharge my duty, and the approbation of my country, will be a sufficient recompence for my services.

“I have the honor to be,” &c.

These proceedings of the army produced a concurrence of

nine states in favor of a resolution commuting the half-pay into a sum in gross equal to five years full pay.

But the value of this resolution depended on the success of requisitions, and of applications to the respective states to place permanent funds in the power of congress.

The treaty between the United States and Great Britain being eventual, it furnished no security against a continuance of the calamities of war, and the most serious fears were entertained that the difficulties opposed to a general pacification would not be removed. On the 24th of March these fears were entirely dispelled by a letter from the Marquis de la Fayette, announcing a general peace. This intelligence, though not official, was certain; and orders were immediately issued recalling all armed vessels cruising under the authority of the United States. Early in April the copy of a declaration, published in Paris, and signed by the American commissioners, notifying the exchange of ratifications of the preliminary articles between Great Britain and France, was received; and on the 19th of that month the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed.

The attention of congress might now safely be turned to the reduction of the continental army. This was a critical operation, and in the present state of the funds by no means exempt from danger. Independent of the anxieties which the officers would naturally feel respecting their future provision, which of necessity remained unsecured, large arrears of pay were due to them, the immediate receipt of part of which was necessary to supply the most urgent wants. To disband an army to which the government was greatly indebted, without furnishing the means of conveying the individuals who composed it to their respective homes, could scarcely be undertaken; and congress was unable to advance the pay of a single month. Although, for the year 1782, eight millions had been required, the payments made into the public treasury under that requisition had amounted to only 420,031 $\frac{2}{3}$  dollars, and the foreign loans had not been sufficient to defray expences it was impossible to avoid. At the close of that year, the expenditures of the superintendent of the finances had exceeded his receipts by 404,713 $\frac{2}{3}$  dollars, and the excess continued to increase.

Although it was deemed a necessary precaution to declare that the troops entered for the war should not be considered as

entitled to a discharge till the definitive treaty of peace should be signed, the commander-in-chief was instructed to grant furloughs to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of this description, who were not required to rejoin their regiments. By this prudent measure, it was intended to diminish the hazard of disbanding an unpaid army. Congress urged the states to comply so far with the requisitions as to enable the superintendent of the finances to advance a part of the arrears due to the soldiers; but as the foreign danger diminished, they became still less attentive to these demands; and the financier was under the necessity of making further anticipations of the revenue. Measures were taken to advance three months pay in his notes; but before they could be prepared, the orders were issued for complying with the resolution of congress for granting furloughs. These orders produced a serious alarm. The generals and other officers commanding regiments and corps cautioned on the Hudson assembled, and presented an address to the commander-in-chief, in which the most ardent affection to his person, and confidence in his attachment to the interests of the army, were mingled with expressions of profound duty and respect for the government. But they declared, that after the late explanations on their claims, they had confidently expected that their accounts would be liquidated, the balances ascertained, and adequate funds for the payment of those balances provided, before they should be dispersed or disbanded.

Bound to the army by the strongest ties of affection and of gratitude, intimately convinced of the justice of their claims, and of the patriotic principles by which they were influenced, the general was induced by sentiment, not less than by prudence, to regard their application. On the succeeding day he returned an answer, in which, after declaring, "that as no man could possibly be better acquainted than himself with the past merits and services of the army, so no one could be more strongly impressed with their present ineligible situation, feel a keener sensibility at their distresses, or more ardently desire to alleviate or remove them;" he added: "Although the officers of the army very well know my official situation, that I am only a servant of the public, and that it is not for me to dispense with orders which it is my duty to carry into execution; yet, as furloughs in all services are considered as a matter of indulgence,

and not of compulsion ; as congress, I am persuaded, entertain the best disposition towards the army ; and as, I apprehend, in a very short time the two principal articles of complaint will be removed ; until the further pleasure of congress can be known, I shall not hesitate to comply with the wishes of the army, under these reservations only : that officers sufficient to conduct the men who choose to have furloughs will attend them, either on furlough, or by detachment."

With this answer the officers were completely satisfied. The utmost good temper was universally manifested, and the arrangements for retiring on furlough were made without a murmur. In the course of the summer, a considerable proportion of the troops enlisted for three years were also permitted to return to their homes : and in October a proclamation was issued by congress, declaring all those who had engaged for the war to be discharged on the 3d of December.

While these excellent dispositions were manifested by the veterans serving under the immediate eye of their patriot chief, the government was exposed to insult and outrage from the mutinous spirit of a small party of the new levies. About eighty of this description of troops belonging to the state of Pennsylvania, were stationed at Lancaster. Revolting against the authority of their officers, they marched in a body to Philadelphia, with the avowed purpose of obtaining a redress of their grievances from the executive council of the state.

The march of these insolent mutineers was unobstructed ; and after arriving in Philadelphia, they were joined by some other troops quartered in the barracks, so as to amount to about three hundred men.

They then marched in military parade, with fixed bayonets, to the state-house, where congress and the executive council of the state were sitting. After placing sentinels at all the doors, they sent in a written message, threatening the president and council of the state to let loose an enraged soldiery upon them, if their demands were not gratified in twenty minutes. Although the resentments of this banditti were not directed particularly against congress, the government of the union was grossly insulted, and those who administered it were blockaded for several hours by an insolent and licentious soldiery. After remaining in this situation about three hours, congress separated, having fixed on



Princeton as the place at which they should reassemble. On receiving information of this outrage, the commander-in-chief instantly detached 1500 men, under the command of Major-general Howe, to suppress the mutiny. The indignation which this insult to the civil authority had occasioned, and the mortification with which he viewed the misconduct of any portion of the American troops, were strongly marked in his letter written on that occasion to the president of congress.

"While," said he, "I suffer the most poignant distress in observing that a handful of men, contemptible in numbers, and equally so in point of service, if the veteran troops from the southward have not been seduced by their example, and who are not worthy to be called soldiers, should disgrace themselves and their country as the Pennsylvania mutineers have done, by insulting the sovereign authority of the United States, and that of their own; I feel an inexpressible satisfaction, that even this behaviour cannot stain the fame of the American soldiery. It cannot be imputable to, or reflect dishonor on, the army at large; but, on the contrary, it will, by the striking contrast it exhibits, hold up to public view the troops in the most advantageous point of light. Upon taking all the circumstances into consideration, I cannot sufficiently express my surprise and indignation at the arrogance, the folly, and the wickedness, of the mutineers; nor can I sufficiently admire the fidelity, the bravery, and patriotism, which must for ever signalize the unsullied character of the other corps of our army. For when we consider that these Pennsylvanian levies, who have now mutinied, are recruits, and soldiers of a day, who have not borne the heat and burden of the war, and who can have in reality very few hardships to complain of; and when we, at the same time, recollect that those soldiers, who have lately been furloughed from this army, are the veterans who have patiently endured hunger, nakedness, and cold, who have suffered and bled without a murmur, and who, with perfect good order, have retired to their homes, without a settlement of their accounts, or a farthing of money in their pockets; we shall be as much astonished at the virtues of the latter as we are struck with horror and detestation at the proceedings of the former: and every candid mind, without indulging ill-grounded prejudices, will undoubtedly make the proper discrimination."



Before the detachment from the army could reach Philadelphia, the disturbances were in a great degree quieted without bloodshed; but Major-general Howe was ordered by congress to continue his march into Pennsylvania, "in order that immediate measures might be taken to confine and bring to trial all such persons belonging to the army as have been principally active in the late mutiny, to disarm the remainder, and to examine fully into all the circumstances relating thereto."

The interval between the treaty with great Britain, and his retiring into private life, was devoted by the commander-in-chief to objects of permanent utility. The independence of his country being established, he looked forward with anxiety to its future destinies. These might greatly depend on the systems to be adopted on the return of peace; and to those systems much of his attention was directed. Among the various interesting subjects which at this period claimed the consideration of congress, was the future peace-establishment of the United States. As the experience of General Washington would certainly enable him to suggest many useful ideas on this important point, his opinions respecting it were requested by the committee to whom it was referred. His letter on this occasion, which, it is presumed, was deposited in the archives of state, will long deserve the attention of those to whom the interests of the United States may be confided. On a well regulated and disciplined militia during peace, his strongest hopes of securing the future tranquillity, dignity, and respectability of his country were placed; and his sentiments on this subject are entitled to the more regard, as a long course of severe experience had enabled him to mark the total incompetency of the existing system to the great purposes of national defence.

At length, on the 25th of November, the British troops evacuated New York, and a detachment from the American army took possession of that town. The guards being posted for the security of the citizens, General Washington, accompanied by Governor Clinton, and attended by many civil and military officers, and a large number of respectable inhabitants on horseback, made his public entry into the city, where he was received with every mark of respect and attention. His military course was now on the point of terminating; and, previous to divesting

himself of the supreme command, he was about to bid adieu to his comrades in arms.

This affecting interview took place on the 4th of December.

At noon, the principal officers of the army assembled at Frances' tavern; soon after which, their beloved commander entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them, and said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you: I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drunk, he added: "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each of you will come and take me by the hand." General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Incapable of utterance, Washington grasped his hand, and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. In every eye was the tear of dignified sensibility, and not a word was articulated to interrupt the majestic silence, and the tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light infantry, and walked to Whitehall, where a barge waited to convey him to Powles-hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and, waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu.

They paid him the same affectionate compliment, and after the barge had left them, returned in the same solemn manner to the place where they had assembled.

Congress was then in session at Annapolis in Maryland, to which place General Washington repaired, for the purpose of resigning into their hands the authority with which they had invested him.\* He arrived on the 19th of December. The next

\* On his way he stopped a few days at Philadelphia, for the purpose of settling his accounts with the comptroller. The following account of this part of his duty is extracted from Mr. Gordon. "While in the city, he delivered in his accounts to the comptroller down to December the 13th, all in his own hand-writing, and every entry made in the most particular manner, stating the occasion of each charge, so as to give the least trouble in examining and comparing them with the vouchers with which they were attended.

"The heads are as follows, copied from the folio manuscript paper book in the file of the treasury-office, No. 3700; being a black box of tin, containing, under lock and key, both that and the vouchers.

day, he informed that body of his intention to ask leave to resign the commission he had the honor of holding in their service, and requested to know whether it would be their pleasure that he should offer his resignation in writing, or at an audience.

To give the more dignity to the act, they determined that it should be offered at a public audience on the following Tuesday, December 23d, at twelve o'clock.

When the hour arrived for performing a ceremony so well calculated to recal to the mind the various interesting scenes which had passed since the commission now to be returned was grant-

|   |           |             |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| * Total of expenditures from 1775 to 1783, exclusive of provisions from commissaries and contractors, and of liquors, &c. |           | £. s. d.    |
| from them and others  | - - - - - | 3387 14 4   |
| Secret intelligence and service   | - - - - - | 1982 10 0   |
| Spent in reconnoitring and travelling   | - - - - - | 1874 8 8    |
| Miscellaneous charges   | - - - - - | 2952 10 1   |
| Expended besides, dollars according to the scale of depreciation  | - - - - - | 6114 14 0   |
|   |           | <hr/>       |
|   |           | 16,311 17 1 |

\* Two hundred guineas advanced to General M'Doughall are not included in the 1982l. 10s. not being yet settled, but included in some of the other charges, and so reckoned in the general sum.

\* Note, 104,364 of the dollars were received after March 1780, and although credited at forty for one, many did not fetch at the rate of a hundred for one; which 27,775 of them are returned without deducting any thing from the above account, and therefore actually made a present of to the public.

|  |           |             |
|--|-----------|-------------|
| * General Washington's account from June 1775 to the end of June 1783        |           | £. s. d.    |
| June 1783  | - - - - - | 16,311 17 1 |
| Expenditure from July 1st, 1783, to December 13th                            | - - - - - | 1717 5 4    |
| Added afterwards from that date to December                                  | - - - - - | 213 8 4     |
| Mrs. Washington's travelling expences in coming to the General and returning | - - - - - | 1064 1 0    |
|  |           | <hr/>       |
|  |           | 19,306 11 9 |

\* Lawful money of Virginia, the same as the Massachusetts, or - - - - - 14,479 18 9 $\frac{1}{2}$

"The general entered in his book, 'I find upon the final adjustment of these accounts, that I am a considerable loser, my disbursements falling a good deal short of my receipts, and the money I had upon hand of my own; for besides the sums I carried with me to Cambridge in 1775, I received monies afterwards on private account in 1777 and since, which, except small sums that I had occasion now and then to apply to private uses, were all expended in the public service. Through hurry, I suppose, and the perplexity of business (for I know not how else to account for the deficiency) I have omitted to charge the same, whilst every debt against me is here credited.

July 1st, 1783."

ed, the gallery was crowded with spectators; and many respectable persons, among whom were the legislative and executive characters of the state, several general officers, and the consul-general of France, were admitted on the floor of congress.

The representatives of the sovereignty of the union remained seated and covered. The spectators were standing and uncovered. The general was introduced by the secretary, and conducted to a chair. After a decent interval, silence was commanded, and a short pause ensued. The president (General Mifflin,) then informed him, that "the United States in congress assembled were prepared to receive his communications." With a native dignity improved by the solemnity of the occasion, the general rose, and delivered the following address.

"MR. PRESIDENT,

"The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself to them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States, of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven. The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to commend in particular, those who have continued in the service

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to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of congress.

“I consider it as an indispensable duty, to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

“Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

After advancing to the chair, and delivering his commission to the president, he returned to his place, and received, standing, the following answer of congress, which was delivered by the president.

“SIR.

“The United States in congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations.

“Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow citizens: but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages.

“We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those con-

fidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

“We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved, may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.”

This scene being closed, a scene rendered peculiarly interesting by the personages who appeared in it, by the great events it recalled to the memory, and by the singularity of the circumstances under which it was displayed; the American chief withdrew from the hall of congress, leaving the silent and admiring spectators deeply impressed with those sentiments which its solemnity and dignity were well calculated to inspire. Having laid down his military character, General Washington retired to Mount Vernon, to which place he was followed by the enthusiastic love, esteem, and admiration of his countrymen. Relieved from the agitations of a doubtful contest, and from the toils of an exalted station, he returned with increased delight to the duties and the enjoyments of a private citizen.

In the shade of retirement, under the protection of a free government, and the benignant influence of mild and equal laws, he indulged the hope of tasting that felicity which is the reward of a mind at peace with itself, and conscious of its own purity.

No sooner was peace restored by the definitive treaty, and the British troops withdrawn from the country, than the United States began to experience the defects of their general government. While an enemy was in the country, fear, which had first impelled the colonists to associate in mutual defence, continued to operate as a band of political union. It gave to the resolutions and recommendations of congress the force of laws, and generally commanded a ready acquiescence on the part of the state legislatures. Articles of confederation and perpetual union had been framed in congress, and submitted to the consideration of the states, in the year 1778. Some of the states immediately acceded to them; but others, which had not unap-

propriated lands, hesitated to subscribe a compact, which would give an advantage to the states which possessed large tracts of unlocated lands, and were thus capable of a great superiority in wealth and population. All objections however had been overcome, and by the accession of Maryland in March 1781, the articles of confederation were ratified, as the frame of government for the United States.

These articles however were framed during the rage of war, when a principle of common safety supplied the place of a coercive power in government; by men who could have had no experience in the art of governing an extensive country, and under circumstances the most critical and embarrassing. To have offered to the people, at that time, a system of government armed with the powers necessary to regulate and control the contending interest of thirteen states, and the possessions of millions of people, might have raised a jealousy between the states, or in the minds of the people at large, that would have weakened the operations of war, and perhaps have rendered a union impracticable. Hence the numerous defects of the confederation.

On the conclusion of peace, these defects began to be felt. Each state assumed the right of disputing the propriety of the resolutions of congress, and the interest of an individual state was placed in opposition to the common interest of the union. In addition to this source of division, a jealousy of the powers of congress began to be excited in the minds of people.

This jealousy of the privileges of freemen, had been roused by the oppressive acts of the British parliament; and no sooner had the danger from this quarter ceased, than the fears of people changed their object, and were turned against their own rulers.

In this situation, there were not wanting men of industry and talents, who had been enemies to the revolution, and who embraced the opportunity to multiply the apprehensions of people, and increase the popular discontents. A remarkable instance of this happened in Connecticut. As soon as the tumults of war had subsided, an attempt was made to convince the people, that the act of congress passed in 1778, granted to the officers of the army half pay for life, was highly unjust and tyrannical; and that it was but the first step towards the establishment of pensions, and an uncontrolable despotism. The act of congress, passed in 1783, commuting half pay for life for five years full

pay, was designed to appease the apprehensions of the people, and to convince them that this gratuity was intended merely to indemnify the officers for their losses by the depreciation of the paper currency; and not to establish a precedent for the granting of pensions. This act however did not satisfy the people, who supposed that the officers had been generally indemnified for the loss of their pay, by the grants made them from time to time by the legislatures of the several states. Besides the act, while it gave five years full pay to the officers, allowed but one year's pay to the privates; a distinction which had great influence in exciting and continuing the popular ferment, and one that turned a large share of the public rage against the officers themselves.

The moment an alarm was raised respecting this act of congress, the enemies of our independence became active in blowing up the flame, by spreading reports unfavorable to the general government, and tending to create public dissensions. Newspapers, in some parts of the country, were filled with inflammatory publications; while false reports and groundless insinuations were industriously circulated to the prejudice of congress and the officers of the late army. Among a people feelingly alive to every thing that could affect the rights for which they had been contending, these reports could not fail of having a powerful effect; the clamor soon became general; the officers of the army, it was believed, had attempted to raise their fortunes on the distresses of their fellow citizens, and congress become the tyrants of their country.

Connecticut was the seat of this uneasiness; although other states were much agitated on the occasion. But the inhabitants of that state, accustomed to order and a due subordination to the laws, did not proceed to outrages; they took their usual mode of collecting the sense of the state—*assembled in town-meetings—appointed committees to meet in convention, and consult what measures should be adopted to procure a redress of their grievances.* In this convention, which was held at Middletown, some nugatory resolves were passed, expressing a disapprobation of the half-pay act, and the subsequent commutation of the grant for five years whole pay. The same spirit also discovered itself in the assembly at their October session in 1783. A remonstrance against the acts in favor of the officers, was



framed in the house of representatives, and notwithstanding the upper house refused to concur in the measure, it was sent to congress.

During this situation of affairs, the public odium against the officers was augmented by another circumstance. The officers, just before the disbanding of the army, had formed a society, called by the name of the *Cincinnati*, after the Roman Dictator, Cincinnatus, which, it was said, was intended to perpetuate the memory of the revolution, the friendship of the officers, and the union of the states; and also to raise a fund for the relief of poor widows and orphans, whose husbands and fathers had fallen during the war, and for their descendants. The society was divided into state societies, which were to meet on the 4th of July, and with other business, depute a number of their members to convene annually in general meeting. The members of the institution were to be distinguished by wearing a medal, emblematical of the design of the society, and the honors and advantages were to be hereditary in the eldest male heirs, and in default of male issue, in the collateral male heirs. Honorary members were to be admitted, but without the hereditary advantages of the society, and provided their number should never exceed the ratio of one to four of the officers or their descendants.

Whatever were the real views of the framers of this institution, its design was generally understood to be harmless and honorable. The ostensible views of the society could not however screen it from popular jealousy. A spirited pamphlet appeared in South Carolina, the avowed production of Mr. Burke, one of the Judges of the supreme court in that state, in which the author attempted to prove, that the principles on which the society was formed, would, in process of time, originate and establish an order of nobility in this country, which would be repugnant to the genius of our republican governments and dangerous to liberty. This pamphlet appeared in Connecticut, during the commotions raised by the half-pay and commutation acts, and contributed not a little to spread the flame of opposition. Nothing could exceed the odium which prevailed at this time, against the men who had hazarded their persons and properties in the revolution.

Notwithstanding the discontents of the people were general,

and ready to burst forth in insurrection, yet men of information, viz. the officers of government, the clergy, and persons of liberal education, were generally opposed to the unconstitutional steps taken by the committees and convention at Middletown. They supported the propriety of the measures of congress, both by conversation and writing, proved that such grants to the army were necessary to keep the troops together, and that the expence would not be enormous nor oppressive. During the close of the year 1783, every possible exertion was made to enlighten the people, and such was the effect of the arguments used by the minority, that in the beginning of the following year, the opposition subsided, the committees were dismissed, and tranquillity restored to the state. In May, the legislature were able to carry several measures which had before been extremely unpopular. An act was passed granting the impost of 5 per cent. to congress; another giving great encouragement to commerce, and several towns were incorporated with extensive privileges, for the purpose of regulating the exports of the state, and facilitating the collection of debts.

The opposition to the congressional acts in favor of the officers, and to the order of the Cincinnati, did not rise to the same pitch in the other states as in Connecticut; yet it produced much disturbance in Massachussetts, and some others. Jealousy of power had been universally spread among the people of the United States. The destruction of the old forms of government, and the licentiousness of war had, in a great measure, broken their habits of obedience; their passions had been inflamed by the cry of despotism; and like centinels, who have been suddenly surprised by the approach of an enemy, the rustling of a leaf was sufficient to give them an alarm. This spirit of jealousy, which has not yet subsided, and which will probably continue visible during the present generation, operated with other causes to relax the energy of our federal operations.

During the war, vast sums of paper currency had been issued by congress, and large quantities of specie had been introduced, towards the close of the war, by the French army, and the Spanish trade. This plenty of money enabled the states to comply with the first requisitions of congress; so that during two or three years, the federal treasury was, in some measure, supplied. But when the danger of war had ceased, and the vast importa-

tions of foreign goods had lessened the quantity of circulating specie, the states began to be very remiss in furnishing their proportion of monies. The annihilation of the credit of the paper bills had totally stopped their circulation, and the specie was leaving the country in cargoes, for remittances to Great Britain; still the luxurious habits of the people, contracted during the war, called for new supplies of goods, and private gratification seconded the narrow policy of state-interest in defeating the operations of the general government.

Thus the revenues of congress were annually diminished; some of the states wholly neglecting to make provision for paying the interest of the national debt; others making but a partial provision, until the scanty supplies received from a few of the rich states, would hardly satisfy the demands of the civil list.

This weakness of the federal government, in conjunction with the flood of certificates or public securities, which congress could neither fund nor pay, occasioned them to depreciate to a very inconsiderable value. The officers and soldiers of the late army were obliged to receive for wages these certificates, or promissory notes, which passed at a fifth, or eighth, or a tenth of their nominal value; being thus deprived at once of the greatest part of the reward due for their services. Some indeed profited by speculations in these evidences of the public debt; but such as were under a necessity of parting with them, were robbed of that support which they had a right to expect and demand from their countrymen.

Pennsylvania indeed made provision for paying the interest of her debts, both state and federal; assuming her supposed proportion of the continental debt, and giving the creditors her own state notes in exchange for those of the United States. The resources of that state are immense, but she has not been able to make punctual payments, even in a depreciated paper currency.

Massachussetts, in her zeal to comply fully with the requisitions of congress, and satisfy the demands of her own creditors, laid a heavy tax upon the people. This was the immediate cause of the rebellion in that state, in 1786. But a heavy debt lying on the state, added to burdens of the same nature, upon almost every incorporation within it, a decline, or rather an ex-

tion of public credit; a relaxation and corruption of manners, and a free use of foreign luxuries; a decay of trade and manufactures, with a prevailing scarcity of money; and above all, individuals involved in debt to each other—these were the real, though more remote causes of the insurrection. It was the tax which the people were required to pay, that caused them to feel the evils which we have enumerated—this called forth all their other grievances; and the first act of violence committed, was the burning or destroying of a tax bill. This sedition threw the state into a convulsion which lasted about a year; courts of justice were violently obstructed; the collection of debts was suspended; and a body of armed troops, under the command of General Lincoln, was employed, during the winter of 1786, to disperse the insurgents. Yet so numerous were the latter in the counties of Worcester, Hampshire, and Berkshire, and so obstinately combined to oppose the execution of law by force, that the governor and council of the state thought proper not to intrust General Lincoln with military powers, except to act on the defensive, and to repel force with force, in case the insurgents should attack him. The leaders of the rebels, however, were not men of talents; they were desperate, but without fortitude; and while they were supported with a superior force, they appeared to be impressed with that consciousness of guilt, which awes the most daring wretch, and makes him shrink from his purpose. This appears by the conduct of a large party of the rebels before the magazine at Springfield; where General Shepard, with a small guard, was stationed to protect the continental stores. The insurgents appeared upon the plain, with a vast superiority of numbers, but a few shot from the artillery made the multitude retreat in disorder with the loss of four men. This spirited conduct of General Shepard, with the industry, perseverance, and prudent firmness of General Lincoln, dispersed the rebels, drove the leaders from the state, and restored tranquillity. An act of indemnity was passed in the legislature for all the insurgents, except a few leaders, on condition they should become peaceable subjects and take the oath of allegiance. The leaders afterwards petitioned for pardon, which, from motives of policy, was granted by the legislature.

But the loss of public credit, popular disturbances, and insurrections, were not the only evils which were generated by the

peculiar circumstances of the times. The emissions of bills of credit and tender laws, were added to the black catalogue of political disorders.

The expedient of supplying the deficiencies of specie, by emissions of paper bills, was adopted very early in the colonies. The expedient was obvious, and produced good effects. In a new country, where population is rapid, and the value of lands increasing, the farmer finds an advantage in paying legal interest for money; for if he can pay the interest by his profits, the increasing value of his lands will, in a few years, discharge the principal.

In no colony was this advantage more sensibly experienced than in Pennsylvania. The emigrations to that province were numerous—the natural population rapid—and these circumstances combined, advanced the value of real property to an astonishing degree. As the first settlers there, as well as in other provinces were poor, the purchase of a few foreign articles drained them of specie. Indeed for many years, the balance of trade must have necessarily been greatly against the colonies.

The advantages the colonies had derived from bills of credit, under the British government, suggested to congress, in 1775, the idea of issuing bills for the purpose of carrying on the war. And this was perhaps their only expedient. Money could not be raised by taxation—it could not be borrowed. The first emissions had no other effect upon the medium of commerce, than to drive the specie from circulation. But when the paper substituted for specie had, by repeated emissions, augmented the sum in circulation, much beyond the usual sum of specie, the bills began to lose their value. The depreciation continued in proportion to the sums emitted, until seventy, and even one hundred and fifty nominal paper dollars, were hardly an equivalent for one Spanish milled dollar. Still from the year 1775 to 1781, this depreciating paper currency was almost the only medium of trade. It supplied the place of specie, and enabled congress to support a numerous army; until the sum in circulation amounted to two hundred millions of dollars.\* But about the year 1780,

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\* A dollar in Sterling money is 4s. 6d. But the price of a dollar rose in New England currency to 6s. in New York, to 8s. in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, to 7s. 6d.; in Virginia, to 6s. in North Carolina, to 8s. in South Carolina and Georgia, to 4s. 8d. This difference, originating

specie began to be plentiful, being introduced by the French army, a private trade with the Spanish islands, and an illicit intercourse with the British garrison at New York. This circumstance accelerated the depreciation of the paper bills, until their value had sunk almost to nothing. In 1781, the merchants and brokers in the southern states, apprehensive of the approaching fate of the currency, pushed immense quantities of it suddenly into New England—made vast purchases of goods in Boston—and instantly the bills vanished from circulation.

The whole history of this continental paper is a history of public and private frauds. Old specie debts were often paid in a depreciated currency—and even new contracts, for a few weeks or days, were often discharged with a small part of the value received. From this plenty and fluctuating state of the medium, sprung hosts of speculators and itinerant traders, who left their honest occupations for the prospect of immense gains; in a fraudulent business, that depended on no fixed principles, and the profits of which could be reduced to no certain calculations.

To increase these evils, a project was formed to fix the prices of articles, and restrain persons from giving or receiving more for any commodity than the price stated by authority. These regulating acts were reprobated by every man acquainted with commerce and finance; as they were intended to prevent an effect without removing the cause. To attempt to fix the value of money, while streams of bills were incessantly flowing from the treasury of the United States, was as ridiculous as an attempt to restrain the rising of water in rivers amidst showers of rain.

Notwithstanding all opposition, some states framed and attempted to enforce these regulating acts. The effect was, a momentary apparent stand in the price of articles; innumerable acts of collusion and evasion among the dishonest; numberless injuries done to the honest; and finally, a total disregard of all such regulations, and the consequential contempt of laws, and the authority of the magistrate.

Industry likewise had suffered by the flood of money which had deluged the states. The prices of produce had arisen in

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between paper and specie, or bills, continued afterwards to exist in the nominal estimation of gold and silver.

*Franklin's Miscellaneous Works, p. 217.*

proportion to the quantity of money in circulation, and the demand for the commodities of the country. This made the acquisition of money easy, and indolence and luxury, with their train of desolating consequences, spread themselves among all descriptions of people.

But as soon as hostilities between Great Britain and America were suspended, the scene was changed. The bills emitted by congress had long before ceased to circulate; and the specie of the country was soon drained off to pay for foreign goods, the importations of which exceeded all calculation. Within two years from the close of the war, a *scarcity of money* was the general cry. The merchants found it impossible to collect their debts, and make punctual remittances to their creditors in Great Britain; and the consumers were driven to the necessity of retrenching their superfluities in living, and of returning to their ancient habits of industry and economy.

The change was however progressive and slow. In many of the states which suffered by the numerous debts they had contracted, and by the distresses of war, the people called aloud for emissions of paper bills to supply the deficiency of a medium. The depreciation of the continental bills, was a recent example of the ill effects of such an expedient, and the impossibility of supporting the credit of paper, was urged by the opposers of the measure as a substantial argument against adopting it. But nothing would silence the popular clamor; and many men of the first talents and eminence, united their voice with that of the populace. Paper money had formerly maintained its credit, and been of singular utility; and past experience, notwithstanding a change of circumstances, was an argument in its favor that bore down all opposition.

Pennsylvania, although one of the richest states in the union, was the first to emit bills of credit, as a substitute for specie. But the revolution had removed the necessity of it, at the same time that it had destroyed the means by which its former credit had been supported. Lands, at the close of the war, were not rising in value—bills on London could not so readily be purchased, as while the province was dependant on Great Britain—the state was split into parties, one of which attempted to defeat the measures most popular with the other—and the depreciation



of continental bills, with the injuries which it had done to individuals, inspired a general distrust of all public promises.

Notwithstanding a part of the money was loaned on good landed security, and the faith of that wealthy state pledged for the redemption of the whole at its nominal value, yet the advantages of specie as a medium of commerce, especially as an article of remittance to London, soon made a difference of ten per cent. between the bills of credit and specie. This difference may be considered rather as an appreciation of gold and silver, than a depreciation of paper; but its effects, in a commercial state, must be highly prejudicial. It opens the door to frauds of all kinds, and frauds are usually practised on the honest and unsuspecting, especially upon all classes of laborers.

This currency of Pennsylvania is receivable in all payments at the custom-house, and for certain taxes, at its nominal value; yet it has sunk to two-thirds of this value, in the few commercial transactions where it is received.

North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, had recourse to the same wretched expedient to supply themselves with money; not reflecting that industry, frugality, and good commercial laws are the only means of turning the balance of trade in favor of a country, and that this balance is the only permanent source of solid wealth and ready money. But the bills they emitted shared a worse fate than those of Pennsylvania; they expelled almost all the circulating cash from the states; they lost a great part of their nominal value, they impoverished the merchants, and embarrassed the planters.

The state of Virginia had too much wisdom to emit bills; but tolerated a practice among the inhabitants of cutting dollars and smaller pieces of silver, in order to prevent it from leaving the state. This pernicious practice prevailed also in Georgia.\*

Maryland escaped the calamity of a paper currency. The house of delegates brought forward a bill for the emission of bills of credit to a large amount; but the senate firmly and successfully resisted the pernicious scheme. The opposition between the two houses was violent and tumultuous; it threatened the state with anarchy; but the question was carried to the people, and the good sense of the senate finally prevailed.

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\* A dollar was usually cut in five pieces, and each passed by toll for a quarter; so that the man who cut it gained a fifth,



New Jersey is situated between two of the largest commercial towns in America, and consequently drained of specie. This state also emitted a large sum in bills of credit, which served to pay the interest of the public debt; but the currency depreciated, as in other states.

Rhode Island exhibited a melancholy proof of that licentiousness and anarchy which always follows a relaxation of the moral principles. In a rage for supplying the state with money the legislature passed an act for making 100,000 pounds in bills; a sum much more than sufficient for a medium of trade in that state, even without any specie. The merchants in Newport and Providence opposed the act with firmness; their opposition added fresh vigor to the resolution of the assembly, and induced them to enforce the scheme by a legal tender of a most extraordinary nature. They passed an act, ordaining that if any creditor should refuse to take their bills, for any debt whatever, the debtor might lodge the sum due, with a justice of the peace, who should give notice of it in the public papers; and if the creditor did not appear and receive the money within six months from the first notice, his debt should be forfeited. This act astonished all honest men; and even the promoters of paper-money-making in other states, and on other principles, reprobated this act of Rhode Island, as wicked and oppressive. But the state was governed by faction. During the cry for paper money, a number of boisterous ignorant men were elected into the legislature, from the smaller towns in the state. Finding themselves united with a majority in opinion, they formed and executed any plan their inclination suggested; they opposed every measure that was agreeable to the mercantile interest; they not only made bad laws to suit their own wicked purposes, but appointed their own corrupt creatures to fill the judicial and executive departments. Their money depreciated sufficiently to answer all their vile purposes in the discharge of debts—business almost totally ceased, all confidence was lost, the state was thrown into confusion at home, and was execrated abroad.

Massachusetts Bay had the good fortune, amidst her political calamities, to prevent an emission of bills of credit. New Hampshire made no paper; but in the distresses which followed her loss of business after the war, the legislature made horses, lumber, and most articles of produce a legal tender in the fulfil-

ment of contracts. It is doubtless unjust to oblige a creditor to receive any thing for his debt, which he had not in contemplation at the time of the contract. But as the commodities which were to be a tender by the law of New Hampshire, were of an intrinsic value, bearing some proportion to the amount of the debt, the injustice of the law was less flagrant, than that which enforced the tender of paper in Rhode Island. Indeed a similar law prevailed for some time in Massachusetts; and in Connecticut it is a standing law, that a creditor shall take land on an execution, at a price to be fixed by three indifferent freeholders; provided no other means of payment shall appear to satisfy the demand. In a state that has but little foreign commerce, and but little money in circulation, such a law may not only be tolerable, but, if people are satisfied with it, may produce good effects. It must not however be omitted, that while the most flourishing commercial states introduced a paper medium, to the great injury of honest men, a bill for an emission of paper in Connecticut, where there is very little specie, could never command more than one-eighth of the votes of the legislature. The movers of the bill have hardly escaped ridicule; so generally is the measure reprobated as a source of frauds and public mischief.

The legislature of New York, a state that had the least necessity and apology for making paper money, as her commercial advantages always furnish her with specie sufficient for a medium, issued a large sum in bills of credit, which support their value better than the currency of any other state. Still the paper has raised the value of specie, which is always in demand for exportation, and this difference of exchange between paper and specie, exposes commerce to most of the inconveniences resulting from a depreciated medium.

Such is the history of paper money thus far; a miserable substitute for real coin, in all countries; and which produces in the ultimate result, consequences of the most ruinous nature.

While the states were thus endeavouring to repair the loss of specie by empty promises, and to support their business by shadows, rather than by reality, the British ministry formed some commercial regulations that deprived them of the profits of their trade to the West Indies and to Great Britain. Heavy duties were laid upon such articles as were remitted to the London

merchants for their goods, and such were the duties upon American bottoms, that the states were almost wholly deprived of the carrying trade. A prohibition, as has been mentioned, was laid upon the produce of the United States, shipped to the English West India Islands in American built vessels, and in those manned by American seamen. These restrictions fell heavy upon the eastern states, which depended much upon ship-building for the support of their trade; and they materially injured the business of the other states.

Without a union that was able to form and execute a general system of commercial regulations, some of the states attempted to impose restraints upon the British trade that should indemnify the merchant for the losses he had suffered, or induce the British ministry to enter into a commercial treaty, and relax the rigor of their navigation laws. These measures however produced nothing but mischief. The states did not act in concert, and the restraints laid on the trade of one state operated to throw the business into the hands of its neighbour. Massachusetts, in her zeal to counteract the effect of the English navigation laws, laid enormous duties upon British goods imported into that state; but the other states did not adopt a similar measure; and the loss of business soon obliged that state to repeal or suspend the law. Thus when Pennsylvania laid heavy duties on British goods, Delaware and New Jersey made a number of free ports to encourage the landing of goods within the limits of those states; and the duties in Pennsylvania served no purpose, but to create smuggling.

Thus divided, the states began to feel their weakness. Most of the legislatures had neglected to comply with the requisitions of congress for furnishing the federal treasury; the resolves of congress were disregarded; the proposition for a general impost to be laid and collected by congress was negatived first by Rhode Island, and afterwards by New York. The British troops continued, under a pretence of a breach of treaty on the part of America, to hold possession of the forts on the frontiers of the states, and thus commanded the fur trade. Many of the states individually were infested with popular commotions or iniquitous tender laws, while they were oppressed with public debts; the certificates or public notes had lost most of their value, and circulated merely as the objects of speculation; congress lost their

respectability, and the United States their credit and importance.

In the midst of these calamities, a proposition was made in 1785, in the house of delegates in Virginia, to appoint commissioners, to meet such as might be appointed in the other states, who should form a system of commercial regulations for the United States, and recommend it to the several legislatures for adoption. Commissioners were accordingly appointed, and a request was made to the legislatures of the other states to accede to the proposition. Accordingly several of the states appointed commissioners, who met at Annapolis in the summer of 1786, to consult what measures should be taken to unite the states in some general and efficient commercial system. But as the states were not all represented, and the powers of the commissioners were, in their opinion, too limited to propose a system of regulations adequate to the purposes of government, they agreed to recommend a general convention to be held at Philadelphia the next year, with powers to frame a general plan of government for the United States. This measure appeared to the commissioners absolutely necessary. The old confederation was essentially defective. It was destitute of almost every principle necessary to give effect to legislation.

It was defective in the article of legislating over states, instead of individuals. All history testifies that recommendations will not create laws, and compulsion cannot be exercised over states, without violence, war and anarchy. The confederation was also destitute of a sanction to its laws. When resolutions were passed in congress, there was no power to compel obedience by fine, by suspension of privileges, or other means. It was also destitute of a guarantee for the state governments. Had one state been invaded by its neighbour, the union was not constitutionally bound to assist in repelling the invasion, and supporting the constitution of the invaded state. The confederation was further deficient in the principle of apportioning the quotas of money to be furnished by each state; in a want of power to form commercial laws, and to raise troops for the defence and security of the union; in the equal suffrage of the states, which placed Rhode Island on a footing in congress with Virginia; and to crown all the defects, we may add the want of a judiciary power, to define the laws of the union, and to recon-

cile the contradictory decisions of a number of independent judiciaries.

These and many inferior defects were obvious to the commissioners, and therefore they urged a general convention, with powers to form and offer to the consideration of the states, a system of general government that should be less exceptionable. Accordingly in May, 1787, delegates from all the states, except Rhode Island, assembled at Philadelphia; and chose General Washington for their president. After four months deliberation, in which the clashing interests of the several states appeared in all their force, the convention agreed to recommend the plan of federal government which we shall hereafter lay before the reader.

As soon as the plan of the federal constitution was submitted to the legislatures of the several states, they proceeded to take measures for collecting the sense of the people upon the propriety of adopting it. In the small state of Delaware, a convention was called in November, which, after a few days deliberation, ratified the constitution, without a dissenting voice.

In the convention of Pennsylvania, held the same month, there was a spirited opposition to the new form of government. The debates were long and interesting. Great abilities and firmness were displayed on both sides; but on the 13th of December, the constitution was received by two-thirds of the members. The minority was dissatisfied, and with an obstinacy that ill became the representatives of a free people, published their reasons of dissent, which were calculated to inflame a party already violent, and which, in fact, produced some disturbances in the western parts of the state. But the opposition has since gradually subsided.

In New Jersey, the convention which met in December were unanimous in adopting the constitution; as was likewise that of Georgia.

In Connecticut there was some opposition; but the constitution was, on the 9th of January, 1788, ratified by three-fourths of the votes in convention, and the minority peaceably acquiesced in the decision.

In Massachusetts, the opposition was large and respectable. The convention, consisting of more than three hundred delegates, were assembled in January, and continued their debates,

with great candor and liberality, about five weeks. At length the question was carried for the constitution by a small majority, and the minority, with that manly condescension which becomes great minds, submitted to the measure, and united to support the government.

In New Hampshire, the federal cause was, for some time, doubtful. The greatest number of delegates in convention were at first on the side of the opposition; and some, who might have had their objections removed by the discussion of the subject, instructed to reject the constitution. Although the instructions of constituents cannot, on the true principles of representation, be binding upon a deputy, in any legislative assembly, because his constituents are but a *part* of the state, and have not heard the arguments and objections of the *whole*, whereas his act is to affect the *whole* state, and therefore is to be directed by the sense or wisdom of the whole, collected in the legislative assembly; yet the delegates in the New Hampshire convention conceived, very erroneously, that the sense of the freemen in the towns, those little districts where no act of legislation can be performed, imposed a restraint upon their own wills\*. An adjournment was therefore moved and carried. This gave the people opportunity to gain a farther knowledge of the merits of the constitution, and at the second meeting of the convention, it was ratified by a respectable majority.

In Maryland, several men of abilities appeared in the opposition, and were unremitting in their endeavours to persuade the people, that the proposed plan of government was artfully calculated to deprive them of their dearest rights; yet in convention it appeared that five-sixths of the voices were in favor of it.

In South Carolina, the opposition was respectable; but two-thirds of the convention appeared to advocate and vote for the constitution.

In Virginia, many of the principal characters opposed the ratification of the constitution with great abilities and industry. But after a full discussion of the subject, a small majority, of a numerous convention, appeared for its adoption.

In New York, two-thirds of the delegates in convention were, at their first meeting, determined to reject the constitution.

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\* This pernicious opinion has prevailed in all the states, and done infinite mischief.

Here therefore the debates were the most interesting, and the event extremely doubtful. The argument was managed with uncommon address and abilities on both sides of the question. But during the session, the ninth and tenth states had acceded to the proposed plan, so that by the constitution, Congress were empowered to issue an ordinance for organizing the new government. This event placed the opposition on new ground; and the expediency of uniting with the other states—the generous motives of conciliating all differences, and the danger of a rejection, influenced a respectable number, who were originally opposed to the constitution, to join the federal interest. The constitution was accordingly ratified by a small majority; but the ratification was accompanied here, as in Virginia, with a bill of rights, declaratory of the sense of the convention, as to certain great principles, and with a catalogue of amendments, which were to be recommended to the consideration of the new congress, and the several state legislatures.

North Carolina met in convention in July, to deliberate on the new constitution. After a short session they rejected it, by a majority of 176 against 76. This is the first state that has, in a formal manner, rejected the constitution. Upon what principle they did it, it is difficult to tell, and delicate to conjecture. The miseries that will probably arise from their separation from the union, and their internal divisions, may eventually occasion a reconsideration. It is certain that their rejection of the new plan of government, will have no effect in impeding its organization and establishment between the ratifying states.

Rhode Island was doomed to be the sport of a blind and singular policy. The legislature, in consistency with the measures which had been before pursued, did not call a convention, to collect the sense of the state upon the proposed constitution; but in an unconstitutional and absurd manner, submitted the plan of government to the consideration of the people. Accordingly it was brought before town-meetings, and in most of them rejected. In some of the large towns, particularly in Newport and Providence, the people collected and resolved, with great propriety, that they could not take up the subject; and that the proposition for embracing or rejecting the federal constitution, could come before no tribunal but that of the *State* in convention or legislature.



From the moment the proceedings of the general convention at Philadelphia transpired, the public mind was exceedingly agitated, and suspended between hope and fear, until nine states had ratified their plan of a federal government. Indeed the anxiety continued until Virginia and New York had acceded to the system. But this did not prevent the demonstrations of their joy, on the accession of each state.

On the ratification in Massachusetts, the citizens of Boston, in the elevation of their joy, formed a procession in honor of the happy event, which was novel, splendid and magnificent. This example was afterwards followed, and in some instances improved upon, in Baltimore, Charleston, Philadelphia, New Haven, Portsmouth and New York successively. Nothing could equal the beauty and grandeur of these exhibitions. A ship was mounted upon wheels, and drawn through the streets; mechanics erected stages, and exhibited specimens of labor in their several occupations, as they moved along the road; flags with emblems, descriptive of all the arts and of the federal union, were invented and displayed in honor of the government; multitudes of all ranks in life assembled to view the majestic scenes; while sobriety, joy and harmony marked the brilliant exhibitions, by which the Americans celebrated the establishment of their Empire.



HISTORY  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA.



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, SOIL, &c.

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SECTION IV.

BOUNDARIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE boundaries of the United States were determined by the treaty of peace of 1783, which confirmed the independence of the Republic.

*Northern Boundary.*—According to the second article of this treaty, the northern boundary extends from the source of the St. Croix river, which falls into the Bay of Fundy, northward, to the elevated ridge of mountains which separate the waters that run into the river St. Lawrence, from those that empty themselves into the Atlantic Ocean, along this same ridge to the most north-western source of Connecticut river, and thence along its current to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude: from this point the line runs due west on this parallel to the river Iroquois, or Cataraquis, along the channel of this river to the Lake Ontario, through the middle of this lake and that of Erie, Huron and Superior, following the line of water communication between each, and through this last lake, in a northern direction, to the isles Royales, or Philippeaux, to and across Long Lake, and the Lake of the Woods, as far as the most north-western point of the latter, thence by a due west line to the river Mis-

Mississippi. From this point the *Western Boundary* extends along the middle of this river to the thirty-first degree of north latitude.

*Southern Boundary.*—From the place where the thirty-first parallel intersects the Mississippi, by a line running due east to the river Apalachicola, or Catahouche, following the stream of this river to its junction with Flint River; thence in a direct line to St. Mary's, and along the middle of this river to the Atlantic Ocean. The *Eastern Limit* passes along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean northward, till it reaches the mouth of the river St. Croix, in the Bay of Fundy, and thence to its source; including all islands within twenty leagues of the American coast, except those within the limits of the British province of Nova Scotia. Louisiana, which was afterwards ceded to the United States, and more than doubled their original extent, was so imperfectly known at the date of this treaty, that its western boundaries were considered as indefinite. On the north, according to the treaty of Utrecht, it was considered as joining Canada in the forty-ninth parallel of latitude.

These boundaries appeared to be marked with sufficient precision, but doubts afterwards arose on various points. The river St. Croix, which runs into Passamaquoddy Bay, was designated as the eastern limit; but this river having three distinct branches, it became a subject of discussion which of these led to its true source; and the matter being submitted to the decision of commissioners appointed by the two contending powers, was settled, by treaty, in 1794. The north-western limits of the district of Maine, which approach near to the river St. Lawrence, remained undetermined, and being considered as very important, in a military point of view, they were brought under consideration during the late negotiations at Ghent, when it was agreed to leave the subject to the decision of commissioners appointed by the respective parties. The commissioners are also to determine to whom the several islands of right belong, which are situated near the mouth of the St. Croix River in the St. Lawrence, and the Western Lakes,\* and which are claimed both by England

\* In these lakes, through the middle of which the line of demarkation runs, there are no less than fifty-seven islands; namely, twelve in Lake Erie, nine in Lake Huron, twenty-four in Ontario, five in St. Clair, and seven in Lake Superior.

and the United States. By the same treaty of 1783, part of the northern boundary is marked by a line running due west from the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods to the river Mississippi. But it has since been ascertained by the geographical observations of Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Thomson,\* that this river does not extend so far north, by two degrees; the north-western extremity of the lake being in latitude  $49^{\circ} 37'$ , and longitude  $94^{\circ} 31'$  west from London, and the source of the most-northern branch of the Mississippi in latitude  $47^{\circ} 30'$  north, and  $95^{\circ} 6'$  of west longitude. This western line will not even touch the Missouri; for the great northern bend of this river is in  $47^{\circ} 32'$  of north latitude, and  $101^{\circ} 25'$  west longitude from London. If the line of limits, therefore, as observed by Major Pike, were to run from the head of the Lake of the Woods to the source of the Mississippi, taking a direction nearly south, it would give to Britain the upper part of Red River, and nearly two-thirds of the territory of Louisiana; but if carried due west, it will cross Red River nearly at its embouchure, and probably strike the Western Ocean at Birch Bay in Queen Charlotte Sound. Though a long period must elapse before this remote territory be permanently occupied by a civilized population, it is already of some value for the fur trade; and it appears from Major Pike's statements, that the British North-West Company have trading establishments on the south side of Lake Superior, and at other places within the American limits, by which the United States have been defrauded of duties to the amount of 26,000 dollars. It will be seen, therefore, that the proper settling of these limits, desolate as the country is, involves interests of considerable importance. The survey agreed upon by the treaty of 1794 was never executed. The subject was, however, reconsidered in the negociations at Ghent, and by the treaty signed there on 24th December 1814, the contracting parties agreed, that the boundary line of the United States should extend twenty leagues from the shore; that the claim of each to the islands situated in the Bay of Passamaquoddy be referred to the decision of two commissioners; the St. Croix river to be surveyed to its source; the point of Highlands at the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, and the north-west head of Connecticut river, to be determined; the islands in the lakes to

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\* Astronomer to the English North-West Company.

be surveyed, and also the line of boundary to the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, from the forty-fifth degree of latitude.

A line passing along the thirty-first parallel of latitude, was fixed as the boundary between the United States and Florida. As the latter country, however, when held by Britain, extended as far north as the river Yazoo, Spain, at first, refused to give the United States possession of the intervening track; but she afterwards abandoned her claim to it, and, in the treaty of 1795, recognized the boundaries fixed at the peace of 1783.

By the treaty of the 30th April 1803, Louisiana was ceded by France to the United States, with the same extent as when in possession of Spain or France, and such as it should be according to treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states; in consequence of which it was taken possession of, and united with the American Republic, on the 20th of December next, after the date of the above treaty.

The terms of this treaty left the extent and boundaries of Louisiana to be ascertained from a variety of anterior circumstances and agreements. A great part of the country was, indeed, at the time, unexplored and unknown; but the information since obtained, and the changes that have been gradually taking place, have raised the importance of the question regarding its limits, which have latterly been made the subject of much inquiry and negotiation between the parties interested. Louisiana, as ceded to the United States, taken even in its most limited extent, includes a surface equal to the whole of Europe, exclusive of Russia; and this not of poor or useless land, but, for the greater part, of a soil remarkably rich, situated in the most favored climate in the world, intersected every where with navigable streams, and possessing, in an unequalled degree, all the other advantages requisite to facilitate its settlement. Besides, the rapid increase in the population of the United States, and the results which the laws that regulate this increase enable us to anticipate, show, that the occupation of the region west of the Mississippi by a civilized population, is not a very distant event. A great part of it is yet but a wilderness, inhabited by a few savages; but the shifting of a boundary a little the one way or the other, in so great a field, will take or give a space equal to one or two European kingdoms, in extent, and which, at no dis-

tant period, may be the seat of industry and wealth. Both Spain and the United States have felt the weight of these considerations, and the question as to boundaries has been discussed with a degree of interest which the present situation of the territory would scarcely seem to justify. For the sake of those who may wish to understand the controversy, we shall here state briefly the grounds upon which the claims of the United States rest, so far as they have been determined by treaties and agreements; sub-joining, in a note, those which are derived from historical facts and other circumstances.\*

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\* As the United States by this treaty entered into the same rights which the French enjoyed, considerable pains have been taken by officers acting under the Federal Government, to trace out the facts and circumstances connected with the discovery and settlement of the country, especially those parts of it which have been the subject of dispute. The following details embrace the substance of the information collected, so far as it relates to discovery, and priority of occupation, or shows the understanding of the parties themselves at early periods, with regard to the limits of their possession.

It appears that Delasalle and his party, in the years 1680, 1681, 1682, and 1683, explored the country from the Canadian lakes to the Mississippi, and this river, from the falls of St. Anthony to its outlet in the Gulf of Mexico; made treaties with the Indian tribes which then occupied it, and established the forts *Crevecœur* and *Prud'homme*, on the Illinois river, and that of *St. Louis* on the Mississippi. Proceeding by sea, Delasalle disembarked in the Bay of St. Bernard in 1685, about 150 leagues to the west of the mouth of the Mississippi, near that of the small river *Aux Cannes*, and advancing towards the former, across the country of the *Cenis*, and other Indian tribes, he fell a victim to the perfidy of his own men.

In 1699, Ibberville transported troops and inhabitants to Louisiana by the mouth of the Mississippi river, erected a fort and formed an establishment in the Bay of Biloxi, near the Pascagoulas river, and afterwards entered Mobile Bay; where, in 1701, a fort was erected, and a new establishment formed. The year following, Fort Dauphine, to the south of the bay, was established and fortified, and afterwards Fort Louis, or Mobile, at the distance of sixteen leagues from Dauphine Isle: in 1702, Fort Tombaché, fifty leagues north of the former, and Fort Toulouse, sixty leagues higher on the north-eastern branch.

Major Stoddart, in his *Sketches of Louisiana*, p 136, states, "that Ibberville, the first royal governor of Louisiana, planted a colony at the mouth of the river Perdido, in 1699, where he built a fort and mounted twelve pieces of cannon."

The same year, Bienville, brother to Ibberville, ascended on the western side of the Mobile towards its sources, through the villages of the Chittas or Flatheads, and to those of the Chickasaws. He also ascended Red River to Natchitoches, without finding any Spanish settlements; but this nation, jealous of those of the French, afterwards formed a settlement in the coun-

France having lost her possessions in Canada by the war of 1756, ceded to Great Britain the territory south of the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and extending to the river Perdido, on the east side of the Mississippi; and Spain, who had been her unfortunate ally, exchanged all her possessions in Florida,

try of the Assinai, and erected a fort near the place where stood that of Delasalle, but did not claim the country eastward of the Rio Bravo, except for commercial purposes. We find in 1712, that in the letters patent to Crozat, all the rivers were included which run into the Mississippi, and all the lands, coasts, and islands situated in the Gulf of Mexico, between Carolina on the east, and Old and New Mexico on the west. These countries did not extend east of the Rio Bravo, from which the newest Spanish settlement was 150 miles remote, at the date of this grant. The first Spanish fort on the western side of the river St. John Baptist was erected in 1714, when the province of Texas was created, but not inhabited.

In 1719, Bernard La Harpe, with a body of troops, penetrated up Red River, 400 miles beyond Natchitoches, to the Cadoques villages, in latitude  $35^{\circ} 55'$ , and constructed the Fort St. Louis de Carleuette. The same year a garrison was established by an officer named Berenger, in the Bay of St. Bernard, in latitude  $27^{\circ} 45'$ , 390 miles to the west of the Mississippi, which was afterwards destroyed by the Indians.

In consequence of the establishments at Natchitoches, the Spaniards erected a military post, seven leagues to the south-west of this place at the Adayas, which was afterwards transferred to Nazodoches; but before the establishment of La Salle, in the Bay of St. Bernard, in 1685, no part of the territory east of the Rio Norte was occupied by the Spaniards, for their nearest settlement to the mouth of the Mississippi river was St. Augustine.

In 1720, the Missouri post was established on the river of the same name. In 1717, the French erected Fort Crevecoeur on a branch of the Apalachicola river, which empties itself into the Bay of St. Joseph, but abandoned it in the following year, on the representations made by the governor of Pensacola, that this bay belonged to his Catholic Majesty.

Dupratz, the historian of Louisiana, defines its boundaries as follows: "Louisiana, situated in the northern part of America, is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico; on the east by Carolina, an English colony, and a part of Canada; on the west, by New Mexico; on the north, by a part of Canada; the rest has no bounds, and extends to the unknown lands adjoining to Hudson's Bay. Its breadth extending between the English and Spanish establishments, is about 200 leagues. Its length is undetermined, because it is unknown. Nevertheless, the source of the Mississippi will throw some light on this head." The Map of Dupratz, which accompanies his work, includes all that part of Louisiana now known by the name of West Florida, and the whole country to the *Rio Bravo* or *Del Norte*.

De la Harpe describes Louisiana as extending from the bay which he entered in 1721, in latitude  $29^{\circ} 12'$  longitude,  $282^{\circ}$  east from Ferro, or  $95^{\circ}$  from Greenwich, to the river Perdido, including about 160 marine leagues of coast.

According to D'Anville, a good authority in all geographical matters, the

including St. Augustine and Pensacola, for the port of Havana, which had been taken by the English. This treaty, of which the preliminaries were signed at Fontainebleau on the 3d of November 1762, was ratified at London on the 10th of February 1763. By a separate act of the former date, France

western limits of Florida extend no farther than the Rio Perdido, and a line running north to the Apalachian mountains. His map was published in 1746, at a moment when this country was considered as of little interest to France; and this most scrupulous geographer described the western line as commencing on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, at the Cabo del Norte, (on modern maps called *Pointe de la Chenière au Tigre*;) passing between the Presidio des Adayes and Fort Natchitoches, and separating the Rio Mexicano, or Mermentas, from the Red River of Natchitoches and its branches, which are within Louisiana.

In "the Account of the first Discovery and Natural History of Florida," by William Roberts, illustrated by a general map, and geographical description of that country, by Jeffreys, geographer to his Majesty, this river is also described as the most western boundary on the coast of Florida, towards Louisiana. The publisher has also inserted a letter written by Captain Robinson, who visited that coast in 1754, and who resided for some time at Villa Rica, in which he states, "that Pensacola is most excellently situated as a barrier to cover the Spanish territories in that quarter, which extended no farther than to the river Perdido." In the description of Louisiana, contained in the history of the British Empire in North America, it is observed, "that the coast which was first inhabited extends from the river Perdido to the Lake St. Louis." According to the map and historical journal of Yentel, one of the party of La Salle, the first disembarkation was made at the mouth of a small river situated in 28° 17' north latitude, and 277° of longitude, and the first habitation established on an arm of this river, which runs into the bay of St. Louis, near which it forms an islet. On the map, the confluence of this river is between the entry of the Bay of St. Louis, and the river Del Oro. The second habitation was erected on the south-west side of the Boeuf River, above its junction, from which La Salle and his party proceeded, to near the union of its two great branches, where they crossed this river, the Aux Cannes, and all the others to the fork of the Akansas, where they found a house marked R. inhabited by two Frenchmen. There embarking, they descended to the river Mississippi, which they afterwards ascended, to the junction of the Illinois. Bellin, engineer of the French department of marine, and of the depot of maps, &c. who, in 1744, published a map of Louisiana for the history of New France, by Charlevoix, remarks that the coast of Louisiana extends, on the Gulf of Mexico, the space of at least 160 leagues from the Bay of Mobile to that of St. Bernard or St. Louis. According to the map of Delille, (member of the Royal Academy of Sciences,) entitled *Carte de la Louisiane, et du Cours du Mississippi avec les Colonies Anglaises*, revised, corrected, and considerably augmented, in 1782; the *Rio del Norte*, or Bravo, is the western, and the Mobile the eastern boundary. In another, published in 1785, for the use of the king, by Dezauche, successor of his first geographer Delille, and Buache, examined and approved



ceded to Spain all Louisiana, west of the river Mississippi, including the city and island of New Orleans. This cession was never published, but is referred to in the letter of the French king to D'Abbadie, director-general and commandant of this colony, dated the 21st of April 1764. The country thus ceded under the name of Florida, extended, by the Spanish accounts, according to the most accurate observations, from about  $25^{\circ} 6'$  to  $39^{\circ} 38'$  north latitude; and its most eastern coast lies in about  $81^{\circ} 30'$  west longitude from London; its whole length being nearly a thousand English miles. It is separated from Louisiana on the west by the Rio Perdido. In the year 1764, when

by the Royal Academy of Sciences, the Perdido is the eastern boundary; and the western, the Rio Bravo or del Norte, to its eastern branch, the Rio Salado, and along this stream to near the  $40^{\circ}$  of latitude; and thence, in a westerly direction, across the upper branch of the Rio del Norte to the Rio Colorado river; on the north to near the  $45^{\circ}$  of latitude, including the supposed sources of the Missouri river. This map is entitled *Carte d'Amérique, dressée pour l'usage du Roi, par Gull. Delisle et Phil. Buache, Premier Géographes du Roi, et de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, par Dezauchie Géographe*, 1785. Le Rouge, geographer to the king, published his American Atlas in 1778, and, in his map of North America, Louisiana has the same boundary on the west and north; on the east, the Perdido river. This map is entitled, *L'Amérique suivant le R. P. Charlevoix, et M. de la Condamine, et plusieurs autres nouvelles observations*, Paris, 1774. The Mobile is the eastern line of demarkation between Florida and Louisiana on the French marine charts contained in the work entitled *Hydrographie Française*, executed by orders of the French government. In a map published in 1778, by the instructions of Sartine, the French minister and secretary of state, the river Tensas is the eastern boundary. In a map of Homan of Nuremberg, published in the year 1687, and entitled "*Amplissima Regionis Mississippi, seu Provinciae Ludoviciana, à R. P. Ludovico Hennepin Francisc. Miss. in America Septentrionali, anno 1687 delicto*;" the western limits of Louisiana is the Rio del Norte to its great eastern branch; the Rio Salado de Apaches de los Sieta river, now St. Paul's river and along this stream to the thirty-fourth parallel of latitude; thence in a north-easterly direction across the Rio de San Marco, or Colorado, or Aux Cannes, to the chain of parallel mountains; thence north-west to the great stream of the Rio del Norte in  $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of latitude. The eastern boundary is the Mobile Bay, and thence along the river Alabama, which enters therein to near its south-eastern bend, and from this part eastward to the river Des Chattaux, or Apalachicolas, and to the mountains. The establishment of Lasalle, in 1685, is marked on the south-west side of the little river Aux Cannes, near its junction with the great river of the same name, on the Bay of St. Louis. The Spanish establishment, made in 1689, is a little to the north-west towards the river Guadeloupe or Madeleine, and their route thither is traced from the *Rio Salinas de Madadores* of the Del Norte at the point of junction of the southern branch.



Great Britain took possession of this country, they gave the name of East Florida to all the country situated on the eastern side of the Apalachicola river, and south of the St. Mary, to the extremity of the Peninsula, and of West Florida to that extending from the former river to the Mississippi, and south of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. Spain having, at the solicitation of France, taken a friendly part in the American Revolution, seized the opportunity of regaining her possessions, which was effected in the years 1779 and 1780; and by the treaty of peace of 1783 between Great Britain and the United States, the former ceded to the latter that part of Louisiana situated on the east side of the Mississippi, and north of the thirty-first parallel of latitude; and the country below this line, known by the name of West and East Florida, was guaranteed to Spain, who agreed to evacuate all her posts above the thirty-first degree of latitude, which formed her northern, and the river Mississippi, her western boundary. By another treaty between the United States and Spain of 1795, this was formally acknowledged as the line of boundary. Spain, however, continued to keep possession of the country above the thirty-first parallel, and refused to acknowledge the free navigation of the Mississippi and the right of deposit at New Orleans. In consequence of this, an armed force was preparing on the Ohio to take possession of this place, when Spain, thus menaced, sold the colony to the French Republic on 21st March 1801. The Representative Assembly of this country ordered an army of 25,000 men to be embarked in Holland for the purpose of taking possession of Louisiana; but the port of embarkation was so well blockaded by an English squadron, that the project was abandoned; and Louisiana was ceded by treaty to the United States on the 30th of April 1803, with the same extent it then had in the hands of Spain, and when possessed by France, and such as it should be under the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and the United States. In the same terms this province had been ceded to France by Spain, by the treaty of St. Ildephonso, in the year 1800, which was confirmed by that of Madrid in 1801. The general phraseology of this treaty, and especially of the term "retrocession," has given rise to a claim on the part of Spain, to that tract of country situated to the east of the rivers Mississippi and the Iberville, which had been

ceded by France to Great Britain in 1763; by the latter to Spain in 1783, and which she pretends is not included in the country that Spain had received from France. It is evident that the words of this treaty embrace Louisiana in its whole extent on each side of the Mississippi; but it is to be regretted that the real boundaries were not described. The boundary between Louisiana and the province of Florida, when the former belonged to France, and the latter to Spain, was acknowledged to be the river Perdido by the respective authorities; and the United States claiming this line of boundary, took possession of the country in 1812, except the port of Mobile, on Mobile Bay, which surrendered to their arms the following year. The entrance of the harbour of Mobile is about twelve miles to the eastward of the Perdido, and sixty from Mobile Bay. In 1719, the town was taken by the French, retaken by the Spaniards, who were afterwards driven out by the former, to whom it was confirmed in 1722; and the Perdido, both before and after this period, was always considered as the line of demarkation between these two powers. Louisiana was retroceded to France "with the same extent it then had in the hands of Spain;" and the territory in question, by whatever name Spain chose to call it, was then substantially in her hands. Louisiana was retroceded to the United States "with the same extent that it had when France possessed it;" and not only was the territory between the Mississippi and the Perdido part of Louisiana when France possessed it, but she never held this country a single day without that territory as part of it. For, as has been stated, she ceded on the same day the eastern part of Louisiana to England, and the western part to Spain. Louisiana was retroceded, "such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and the other States;" and Spain never had, since she acquired Louisiana in 1762, made any treaties relative to this country but that of 1783 with Great Britain, and that of 1795 with the United States. She had entered into no treaty whatever which affected Louisiana west of the Mississippi. The fine tract of country called *Texas*, lying to the south of the waters of Red River, being also claimed by Spain, who had formed an establishment there posterior to the occupation of Louisiana by the French, it was mutually agreed between her and the United States in 1806, that till this was settled, the Spaniards

should not cross the Sabinas, nor the Americans extend their settlements, or claim of jurisdiction, to the borders of this river; and to prevent disputes, the officers of the United States had instructions not to survey any of the public lands lying to the west of a meridian passing by Nat-hitoches. The ports of Matagorda and Galvestown, situated in this province, were taken possession of in September 1816, in the name of the Mexican Republic, by Joseph Manuel de Herrera. The country traversed by Lewis and Clarke has been claimed to the Pacific Ocean by right of discovery. The Spaniards, however, have a permanent establishment on the south side of the bay of St. Francisco, in latitude  $37^{\circ} 42'$ , and  $132^{\circ}$  west longitude from London, (about 600 miles from the mouth of the Columbia river,) to which point they claim possession. The boundaries of Louisiana, therefore, as claimed by the American Government, are as follows: *North*, by the  $49^{\circ}$  of latitude, which, according to the treaty of Utrecht, was the ancient line of limits between the English possessions and Louisiana. *South*, by the Gulf of Mexico. *East*, by the river Perdido. *West*, by the Rio Colorado of Texas, (which was also the boundary according to the treaty of Utrecht;) from the mouth of this river in the Bay of St. Bernard to its source; thence along the chain of mountains which separates the waters that flow into the Rio del Norte, from those that fall into the Mississippi and Missouri. According to these boundaries, Louisiana is more extensive than the rest of the United States, containing about 1,030,192 square miles.

#### OF THE GENERAL ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY, ITS EXTENT, AND THE NATURE OF THE SOIL.

*General Aspect of the Country.*—The south-eastern side of the American continent, from the extremity of Maine to Florida, was naturally divided by the Indian inhabitants into three regions; the Lowlands, or flats, the Highlands, and the Mountains. The first, in their language termed *Ahkynt*, extends from the Atlantic Ocean to the falls of the great rivers that run through them, a breadth of nearly ninety miles. The Highlands called *Ahkontshack*, stretch from those falls to the foot of the great range of mountains. These Mountains, called by the northern Indians *Alleghany*, by those towards the south *Apala-*

ches, or Pamontinck, and by the Spaniards *Apaloki*, from the nation Apaloken, run through the midst of the Continent from north-east to south-west.

*Apalachian Mountains.*—These form the most remarkable feature of the country, traversing it from the river St. Lawrence to Georgia, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-second degree of north latitude, in a direction nearly parallel with the Atlantic coast, the highest ridge separating the waters which descend towards the Atlantic, from those which run in an opposite direction to the western country, and to the rivers of St. Lawrence and Mississippi. The whole length of this chain may be estimated at 900 miles. The mean breadth at 110, though it varies from 60 to 200. The highest, or Alleghany ridge, preserves nearly an equal distance of 250 miles from the Atlantic shore, and an almost uniform elevation above it of about 3000 feet. These mountains, however, are separated into two distinct chains, the eastern and western. The first known by the name of Blue Ridge, or Blue Mountains, runs in a north-easterly direction, across the states of Virginia, Pennsylvania, the western parts of North Carolina, the northern parts of New Jersey, and southern angle of New York, to the Hudson river at West Point, where, under the name of *Green Mountains*, it takes a northerly direction, through the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont, towards the Bay of Chaleur in Canada, dividing the waters of the Connecticut river from those of the Hudson and Lake Champlain. The distance of this chain from the general line of sea-coast is from 130 to 200 miles, and is greatest towards the southern extremity. On the western side this ridge rises gradually to the summit; and also on the eastern, except at West Point, where the rocks are more rugged and steep. The plain here is 180 feet, and the most elevated point (New Beacon) 1585 feet above the level of the Hudson river. Near the borders of Virginia and Carolina, this ridge unites with the great western chain. Its base along the level of the western waters is found to be higher than on the eastern, or Atlantic side, by 800 or 1000 feet. This chain is crossed nearly at right angles by several of the larger rivers in their passage to the sea.

*Western Chain.*—The western chain, near the southern extremity, is known by the name of Cumberland and Gauley mountains, and afterwards by that of Alleghany. It is broader and

more elevated than the former, and particularly in Virginia and Pennsylvania, where it separates the waters of the Kenhawa, and the Monongahela and Alleghany branches of the Ohio, (which flows into the Mississippi,) from those of James River, the Potomac, and Susquehannah, that run into the Atlantic Ocean. From the northernmost and less elevated spurs of this chain the Genessee river, which flows into Lake Ontario, takes its rise, as do also some of the northern branches of the Susquehannah, which traverse the highest parts in their passage to the main stream. Above this river the chain takes a more eastwardly direction to its termination, under the name of the Catskill Mountains, near the Mohawk branch of the Hudson, where it gives rise to the Delaware river, which empties itself into the bay of the same name in the Atlantic Sea. The Blue Mountains, united by a transverse ridge with the western chain, on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina, become more elevated than the former, and, by spurs running irregularly, send into the Atlantic the waters of the Roanoke, Pedee, Santee, and Savannah, in an eastern direction; in a southern, some of those of the Alabama, which are discharged into the Gulf of Mexico; and, in a western, those of Broad River, which traverses the Alleghany chain to join the Holstein branch of the Tennessee, that empties itself into the Ohio.

*Height of different Points of this great Chain.*—The mean elevation of the western ridge, as has been already stated, is about 3000 feet above the level of the sea; but, at particular parts, it falls much below, and rises much above this. The height of different peaks, as ascertained by means of the barometer, or from trigonometrical mensuration, is as follows:

The *Green Mountains* extend from Canada through Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, from north north-east, to south south-west, 400 miles in length, and from ten to fifteen in breadth. They have a peak in the State of Vermont, known by the name of Killington, which, according to actual mensuration, is elevated 3454 feet above the level of the ocean, and 3184 above the level of Lake Champlain, at the mouth of Otter Creek. According to the barometrical observations of Captain Partridge, (of the corps of engineers, professor of Mathematics in the military academy at West Point,) Killington Peak is elevated 3924

feet above the sea, and 2994 above its base, the difference being 930 feet.

The *White Mountains* of New Hampshire, according to the barometrical observations of the same professor, have their highest point, Mount Washington, elevated 6600 feet above the sea, and 4712 above its base.

|  |           |                     |
|--|-----------|---------------------|
| The next, situated to the south of the former, | - - -     |                     |
| - - - - -                                      | - - -     | 5623 above the sea. |
| The 3d. do.                                    | - - - - - | 5393                |
| The 4th,                                       | - - - - - | 5190                |
| The 5th,                                       | - - - - - | 5025                |
| The 6th,                                       | - - - - - | 4646                |

The height of the base of these mountains above the sea is 1888.

By the more recent barometrical calculations of Dr. Cutler and Professor Peck, their elevation above the level of the sea does not exceed 7000 feet; and, by the last calculation made by Professor Bigelow and others, they do not much exceed 6000 feet. The altitude of the most elevated of Catskill mountains, in the State of New York, town of Windham, and county of Green, has been ascertained from barometrical observations by Captain Partridge. The point called *Round Top* is 3804 feet above the level of the sea, and 3105 above its base. The base of this range is 699 feet above the sea. Schooley's Mountain in New Jersey, which projects in a southern direction from the great ridge, rises 600 feet above its base, which itself is 500 above tide-water. According to the barometrical observations of Captain Partridge, the greatest height of the Never Sink Hills, near Sandy Hook, does not exceed 300 feet.

The height of some of the most elevated parts of the mountains in Virginia above tide-water, ascertained by Colonel Williams, President of the United States' Military Philosophical Society, &c. was as follows:

|  |           |            |
|--|-----------|------------|
| The highest point of the Blue Ridge near Rock Pit Gap,   | -         |            |
| - - - - -  | - - -     | 1908 feet. |
| The foot of the Blue Ridge on the western side,          |           | 895        |
| The summit of the first mountain near the warm springs,  | - - - - - | 2018       |
| The summit of the second mountain near the warm springs, | - - - - - | 2380       |

The summit of the Alleghany ridge about six miles east of the sweet springs, - - - 2998

*Highest Mountains of South Carolina.*—*Table Mountain*, situated a little westward of the south fork of Saluda River, and between four and five miles from the northern boundary of the state, is elevated above its base 3168 feet, according to the trigonometrical observation, and is supposed to be 4300 feet above the level of the Atlantic Ocean.

*Highest Mountains of Georgia.*—*Canawhee Mountain*, the southern extremity of the Blue Ridge, about sixty miles from the northern boundary of the state, is elevated 1500 feet above the level of the sea. Mr. Williamson remarks, that the general height of the Apalachian mountains is found to be near 1100 yards. In some parts, they rise three quarters of a mile above the common surface of the earth; but in many places, they do not exceed half a mile.

The double chain of the Alleghanies, as already observed, separates the streams that flow into the Mississippi from those that run to the Atlantic Ocean; and the direct distance in miles, from four of the sea-ports to the nearest branch of the four great western rivers beyond the mountains, is as follows:—From Philadelphia to the confluence of the Canemaugh and Loyalhannen branches of the Alleghany, 220 miles. From the city of Washington to the confluence of the Monongahela and Cheat rivers, 150 miles. From Richmond to Morris, on the Kanhawa, below all the falls of that river, 210 miles. From Savannah or Charleston to any navigable branch of Tennessee, the distance is nearly 300 miles. The upper navigation of the rivers of the Atlantic corresponding with these western points being susceptible of considerable improvement, the distance between them is not exactly ascertained. Between the waters of the Patomac and those of the Monongahela, the shortest portage from West Port on the former to a point just below the falls of Cheat river, is about fifty miles in a straight line. On account of the navigation of the Potomac, a longer route has been preferred, extending from Cumberland to Brownville, (Red Stone old fort,) a distance of 72 miles. Between the north fork of the Juniata branch of the Susquehanna and the corresponding waters of the river Alleghany, the portage is somewhat shorter. Between Pattenborough, on James River, and the falls of the Kanhawa, it exceeds



100 miles. The lower falls of the Atlantic rivers are formed by a ridge, rising about 130 feet above tide-water, and extending from the Hudson to beyond James River, after which it recedes from the sea, pursuing a southerly direction, nearly parallel to the mountains, leaving a longer and better navigation between the tide and the falls. In all this distance the granitic ridge forms a barrier to the tide, which does not approach nearer than 30 miles to the eastern chain; but, in the north, or Hudson's River, it passes through the Blue Ridge at West Point, and ascends above the eastern termination of the Catskill, or Great Western Chain, to Albany, 160 miles above New York, affording a fine navigation throughout all this distance for vessels of 80 tons.

#### *Geological Structure and Nature of the Soil.*

The soil, in relation to its interior structure, has been divided by Volney into five regions.

*Granitic Region.*—This region extends from Long Island, in the Atlantic Ocean, to the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, is bounded by that river to the place called the Thousand Isles, and thence proceeding to the source of the Mohawk, and along this stream to its confluence with the Hudson, and down that river to Long Island. Granite is traced along the coast of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. It forms the great body of the White Mountains, and, with some exceptions, is the bed or stratum on which the superficial soil reposes throughout all this space. Descending towards the south-west, it appears to form a great part of the mountains on the Susquehannah, between Harrisburgh and Sunbury, and also of the south-west chain in Virginia, particularly on the borders of the Rivannah.

The strata of a different nature interspersed throughout the north-eastern granitic region are—1. Long Island, which contains no granite, except a small space near Hell Gate, the ridge of hills which run across it being composed of limestone, sand, gravel, and loam. 2. Cape Cod, which is formed of sand, deposited by the current of the Gulf of Mexico and the Bahamas. 3. Above Poughkeepsie the rocks are schistus, composing a calcareous stratum, of which there is a mass of 800 acres near



Claverack, on the banks of the Hudson, 140 miles from the sea. 4. The summit of the Catskill mountains is argillaceous or siliceous. 5. The valley of Fort George, some of the islands of the lake of the same name, and a tract of several miles round the great falls of the Hudson are of limestone. 6. The rocks of Ticonderoga are of sandstone. 7. The bed of the cataract or falls of the Cohoez is of serpentine. 8. The banks of Lake Champlain, and the rocks which form the isle on which stands the city of Montreal, are calcareous. According to the mineralogical reports of Dr. Mitchell, the bed of the Mohawk does not separate the granite from the sandstone country; for on the eastern side of Hudson River towards the north, there is no granite except on the tract called the Western Line of Connecticut. He further remarks, that from Stockbridge to Vermont the rock is calcareous: that the bed of the river Cohoez is of slate; of which substance are also the rapids of Fort Millar and Fort Edward, and the bed of the Kyaderossa stream near the Battstown springs. According to M. Maclure, the region of primitive rocks, after crossing the Hudson, is much diminished in breadth throughout the middle states, but is enlarged in the southern, and again diminishes towards its apparent extremity near the Tombigbee River, where commences the alluvial soil: after crossing the Hudson River, its north-western boundary, it passes ten or fifteen miles eastward from Easton on the Delaware, a few miles eastward of Reading on the Schuylkill, and of Middleton on the Susquehannah, where it joins the Blue Ridge, along which it continues to Magothy Gap, and thence in a south-westerly direction to its extremity. It varies in breadth from 20 to 150 miles, and includes within it a range of transition and secondary rocks from 15 to 25 miles in breadth, and about 300 miles in length, though with some interruptions. The former extend from Rhode Island to Boston: they again appear to the south-west side of the Delaware; and traversing Lancaster, &c. stretch to the upper branches of the great Pedee River in North Carolina; forming a deposit of great length, varying in breadth from two to fifteen miles. The secondary rocks extend on the western side of Connecticut River from Newhaven to Northampton, again appear south-west of the Hudson, cross the Delaware, where their breadth is diminished; pass a few miles west of York in Pennsylvania, and crossing the transition

rocks near Fredericktown in Maryland, they terminate a little south-west of the Rappahanock River. A bed of coal, twenty miles in length, and ten in breadth, superposed on the primitive rock, commences twelve miles from Richmond. This substance is mixed with whitish sand-stone, and argillaceous schistus, and exhibits vegetable impressions. The transition rocks are composed of fine grained limestone of various hues, mixed with silex, white grained marble, calcareous spar, cubical pyrites, galena, &c. The secondary rocks are composed of sandstone, limestone, agglomerated flints, and *wacke*, which generally covers the sandstone on the heights. The strata of the primitive region, which contains a great variety of minerals and metals, incline to the south-east at a greater angle than 45 degrees, and are sometimes almost vertical. The grit, or sandstone region, comprises all the mountainous country of the Blue Ridge, Alleghany, and Laurel Hill, the sources of the great Kanaway, and the knot or bow of the Alleghany to Georgia. It does not appear in the state of Tennessee, and the Cumberland mountains. Towards the north and north-east, it is bounded by the sources of the Susquehannah and the Genessee; and the right bank of the Mohawk and the Hudson, where commence the slaty schist and blue marble, which appear to form the beds of the lakes Genessee, Ontario, and Erie. It was traced by Mr. Guilanard, from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, by the way of Sunbury, as far as the western side of the Alleghany chain, except in some vallies of a calcareous structure; by M. Volney, across ten or twelve ridges in Virginia, from Charlottesville to the river Gauley, except in the vallies of Staunton and Green Briar, which are also calcareous. In some places it is blended with grey and white quartz. It sometimes appears in the granitic and calcareous region, and is most extensive in Massachussetts, in the county of Worcester; between Green Briar and Gauley rivers, and from above the sources of the Potomac to those of the Yohogany, in the track known by the name of the *Green Glades*, where there is a most brilliant verdure.

*The transition rocks* form a long and narrow zone, from 20 to 40 miles in breadth, which extends from beyond the Green Mountains, in the state of New York, the north-eastern side of the Hudson, to the south-western borders of the Tombigbee. The strata generally dip to the north-west, and, in many places,

the inclination is less than forty-five degrees. Among these rocks are found limestone of various colors, breccias, siliceous, and calcareous rocks, greywacke, siliceous slate, amygdaloid, &c.

The *Calcareous, or Limestone Region*, includes all the western or back country, extending between the Apalachian mountains and the great lakes of Canada, in one direction, and from the Hudson to the Mississippi, in another, descending as low as Natchez. It forms the beds of all the rivers of Kentucky, from the Kanhaway to the rapids of the Ohio. The limestone, disposed in horizontal layers from one to several inches in thickness, is of a close texture, and generally, of a grey color. Sometimes the layers undulate with the inequalities of the land. In this region, which occupies a surface of from 200 to 500 miles in width, coal abounds from the sources of the Ohio to those of the Tombighee; also gypsum and sal gem. The only metals which it contains are pyrites and argillaceous iron. Without the track of limestone above described, veins of the same mineral exist in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New York, along the extern side of the Blue Ridge. In Ulster county, the hills above Kingston consist of limestone, in regular forms of crystalization. It is remarked, that the strata on the eastern side are more irregular, generally of a deep blue color, interspersed with veins of white quartz. At Stockbridge, Staunton, Fredericktown, York, and Lancaster, and as far as Nazareth, the inclination is commonly from forty to fifty degrees. The cataract of Niagara is formed of a limestone rock, which extends into the Genessee county. This great stratum of limestone is covered with black mould, which, on the slopes and heights, is but a few inches in depth, but in the vales and bottoms increases, in some places, to fourteen or fifteen feet.

*Region of Sea Sand.*—This fourth region comprises all the maritime plains, from Sandy Hook, opposite Long Island, to Florida, between the granitic ridge and the ocean, running from south-west to north-east, and elevated about 130 feet above tide-water, of which it forms the limits, occupying a breadth of from 30 to 100 miles. It strikes the Delaware at Trenton; the Schuylkill six miles above Philadelphia; the Susquehanna above the mouth of Octoraro; Gunpowder Creek above Jappa; the Patapsa above Elkridge; the Potomac above Georgetown; the Rappahanock above Frederickburgh; the Pamunky below its

two branches, fifty miles above Hanover; James River at Richmond; the Apamatox above Petersburg; and the Roanoke above Halifax. Throughout all this extent the sand is about twenty feet in depth, and of a black color; it resembles that of the adjacent sea, except at the mouths and on the borders of rivers, where, in many places, there is a rich stratum of clay and vegetable soil deposited by the waters in their descent from the mountains. Pownall observes, "that this reef, which forms a regular curve, was the ancient maritime boundary of America; and that the land between this and the sea may be denominated the *lower plains*, which, when not penetrated by rivers, are a white sea sand, about twenty feet deep, and perfectly barren; but the borders of rivers are rendered fertile by the soil washed down by the floods."

The *Alluvial Soil* extends, in an undulating surface, from the granitic ridge to the foot of the mountains, including the whole coast, from 10 to 200 miles in breadth. Its line of boundary, on the north-west, passes near Amboy, Trenton, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Frederickburgh, Richmond, a little west of Halifax, and Fayetteville, in North Carolina, and of Camden in South Carolina; near Columbia, Augusta on the Savannah, and thence taking a westerly direction, crosses the Ogeehee, Oakmulgee, Alibama, and Tombigbee rivers, and passes to Natchez on the Mississippi. From the Hudson to the Mississippi river, this track gradually enlarges towards the latter, extending up both its banks as high as the confluence of the Illinois, nearly on an equal level, and rising insensibly towards the Alleghany. From the foot of the mountains to the sea, there is a gradual descent of above 1800 feet: a similar inclination is observable from the valley of Natchez to the Bay of Mexico, down which immense masses of earthy matter and trees are annually borne by numerous rivers of great dimensions, which sometimes swell to the height of twenty or thirty feet above the ordinary level. Proceeding from Georgia to New York, the elevation of this soil above the level of the sea gradually diminishes. It is formed of horizontal layers of black vegetable mould, peat, gravel, sand, clay. On the more elevated parts are found pudding stone of a round form; in the lower parts bog-iron and tufa. It contains marine shells and animal remains, of which there are immense beds in the Carolinas and Georgia, twenty or thirty

miles from the borders of the sea, and at the depth of eighteen or twenty feet. In Maryland, a ridge of sandstone runs in a parallel direction to the primitive ridge, and at the distance of fifteen miles south. The banks of the Mississippi, to the distance of more than 300 miles from the sea, are formed of trunks of trees cemented by mud, which have gradually risen from twelve to sixteen feet above the adjacent land. The valley of Natchez, which is thirty miles wide, has been formed by the deposits of the Mississippi. This soil, at the town of Natchez, is a hundred feet above the level of the sea. "On the shores of York river," says the author of the *British Spy*, "the bones of whales abound, and in washing the sand beach of that river, during the recess of the tide, and looking up at the high cliff or bank above, we find strata of sea shells in perfect preservation, of the same kind as those which lie on the beach under the feet, interposed with strata of earth, (the joint result, no doubt, of sand and putrid vegetables,) exhibiting at once a sample of the manner in which the adjacent soil had been formed, and proof of the comparatively recent subsidence of the waters." In the district of Columbia, near the capital, mineralized wood, and trunks in a natural state, have been dug up from the depth of forty-five or fifty feet. In cutting the Santee canal, in South Carolina, several teeth of the shark were found, one of which is four inches long, and its base three and three quarters. On the banks of the Meherim River, in North Carolina, the skeleton of a shark, forty feet in length, has been lately discovered; one of the vertebra weighs twelve pounds and a half, a tooth sixteen ounces. The great rise of James River, in September 1816, when its waters covered the wharfs six or seven feet in depth, gave rise to the following calculation: allowing the river here (Richmond) to be 2000 feet in width, and the water, on an average, to be six feet deep, the waters moving at the rate of ten feet a second, (a calculation within the bounds of reality,) then 7,200,000 cubic feet, or 200,000 tons pass every minute. The water is very yellow, probably a twenty-fifth part is earth; supposing this, when deposited, to weigh double the same bulk of water, there would be 663,000 square feet; now, by extracting the cube root, we have the cubic bulk, which is only eighty-six feet, which would cover a square mile about one-third of a square inch. This deposition, though slow in its progress, will

yet, in process of time, make great encroachments on the Atlantic. Mr. Melish, estimating the Mississippi at two miles in breadth, twenty feet in depth, and its mean velocity four miles an hour, found the discharge of water to be 94,000,000 of gallons per second. But Mr. Bradbury, who has since considered this subject, remarks that, according to these data, the quantity is only 18,537,325 gallons, and that this estimate was made on the dimensions of this river near its mouth, without considering the water which escapes by the different *bayous*. That the depth is also greater than forty feet; for in no place, from Orleans to its mouth, is it less than thirteen fathoms, or seventy-eight feet; and that the mean state of the river, when it maintains its full magnitude, from below Red River to the Bayou Chiffalie, a distance of three miles, is perhaps about 60,000,000 gallons per second. (p. 239.) In the southern states the rivers often change their beds, and the land, in many parts, has, within a short period of time, encroached upon the ocean. On the coast of North Carolina, at Cape Lookout, there was a harbour, which in 1771, was capable of receiving a hundred sail, and now the whole is solid ground. Dr. Mitchell remarks, that from the Bay of New York to the Gulf of Mexico is a low, flat, sandy beach; the soil, for a great distance from it, sandy and barren, in which nothing is to be found, either on the surface or in the bowels of the earth, but beds of sea-shells instead of stones, metals, and other minerals.

*Lakes that have disappeared.*—Mr Volney is of opinion, that the chain of Blue Mountains was once entire, and the great valley to the west a lake or internal sea, which became dry by openings that gradually deepened, and afforded passage to the great rivers. He remarks, that this operation would not be difficult, as this ridge is not entire, but composed of separate blocks of various dimensions, the interstices of which are filled with earth. In proportion as these openings were made the waters sunk, forming small lakes, by the heights or ridges which rose above the level of the bottom of the primitive gaps, and at last became dry by the deepening of the beds of the rivers. The waters of the Hudson were shut up by the transverse ridge called the Highlands, and raised thereby to a considerable height, and probably connected with lakes George and Champlain. The formation of the Cohoez took place after the disruption at West

Point. The Ohio, dammed up by a ridge at Silver Creek, or by some other eminence, would form a lake of vast extent, for the land lying between the Ohio and the great lakes is so level, that a mound 200 feet in height, placed at the above creek, would not only spread the waters towards Lake Erie, but extend them from the rampart of the Alleghany to the north of Lake Superior. The beds of coal, in the vale of the Ohio, were, most probably, formed by the trees deposited by the rivers flowing from the Alleghany and Laurel ridges. An examination of some of the fossil shells of this country led Lamark to the same opinion, that it must have been once covered with water. Of this the salines afford another proof, the richest of which contains one-eighteenth of the whole weight in salt, while the northern seas contain but one-thirty-second, and those within the tropics one-twelfth part. Dr. Brown, in his essay on the medical topography of the country watered by the Mohawk, is of opinion, that the tract west of the little falls, from five to fifteen or twenty miles on each side of the river, has been once a lake. The appearance of the hills, of the limestone, shells, and loose stones, confirm his opinion; and, nearly a mile below the present falls, the rock in several places, is excavated in large, circular, and smooth cavities, from twenty to forty feet above the highest water.

*Earthquakes.*—On the maritime coast earthquakes have been numerous since the arrival of the first English colonists, in 1628. The first is thus described in the history of the earliest establishments, entitled, *Wonder-working Providence*, (page 131.) This year, (1638,) the first day of the fourth month, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the Lord caused a great and terrible earthquake, which was general throughout all the English plantations. The motion of the earth was such, that it caused divers men, (that had never known an earthquake before,) being at work in the fields, to cast down their working tools, and run, with ghastly terrified looks, to the next company they could meet withal. It came from the western and uninhabited part of this wilderness, and went the direct course. In the course of 150 years from that period, mention is made of forty-five; and Mr. Volney remarks, that the line of this subterraneous fire runs north-west and south-west, affecting very much the direction of the sea and Lake Ontario, the bed of which lake he supposes to

be the crater of an extinguished volcano. This opinion is strengthened by its circular form ; by its fathomless depth, even near the shores, and by volcanic substances found therein. In 1812, New Madrid, on the Mississippi river, was nearly destroyed by an earthquake.

*Of the extent and quality of the land susceptible of cultivation.*—According to the calculations of Hutchins, the boundary of the United States, as defined by the peace of 1783, circumscribed a surface of about 1,000,000 of English square miles, or 640,000,000 acres, 51,000,000 of which are covered with the water of lakes, rivers, and bays, as exhibited in the following table made by computation, and not by actual survey :

|  |           |                   |
|--|-----------|-------------------|
| Lake Superior,                             | - - - - - | 21,952,780 acres. |
| Lake of the Woods,                         | - - - - - | 1,133,800         |
| Rain Lake,                                 | - - - - - | 165,200           |
| Red Lake,                                  | - - - - - | 551,000           |
| Lake Michigan,                             | - - - - - | 10,368,000        |
| Bay Puan,                                  | - - - - - | 1,216,000         |
| Lake Huron,                                | - - - - - | 5,009,920         |
| Lake St. Clair,                            | - - - - - | 89,500            |
| Lake Erie, (western part of,)              | - - - - - | 2,662,800         |
| Sundry small lakes and rivers,             | - - - - - | 301,000           |
| Lake Ontario,                              | - - - - - | 2,390,000         |
| Lake Champlain,                            | - - - - - | 500,000           |
| Chesapeak Bay,                             | - - - - - | 1,700,000         |
| Albemarle Bay,                             | - - - - - | 330,000           |
| Delaware Bay,                              | - - - - - | 630,000           |
| All the rivers within the thirteen states, | - - - - - | 2,000,000         |

51,000,000 acres.

The name of western country, now extending to Louisiana, includes the state of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama territory, and state of Mississippi, to the south of the Ohio river ; on the north, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and the north-west territory, all situated on the east of the Mississippi, and on the north and west of the Ohio. The state of Louisiana and the Missouri territory, of great extent, lie on the western side of the Mississippi. This region, extending from the Alleghany mountains on the east, and from the Gulf of Mexico on the south, to



the great lakes on the north, and on the west to the high chain called Rocky, or Snowy Mountains, contains nearly a thousand millions of acres. This immense surface is intersected by innumerable rivers and streams, some of which far surpass the greatest of Europe, and afford an internal navigation for ships and boats of more than fifty thousand miles. In spring, during the rise of the waters, those of Lake Michigan form a communication with the Illinois river, and afford an uninterrupted passage for boats by this channel to the falls of the Missouri river. No plan has yet been adopted by the general or state government, for ascertaining the proportions of soil capable of cultivation, through the mode of fixing the value of lands by assessors, for the purpose of levying the direct tax, will, in a short time, afford materials for this calculation. From the Atlantic to the bottom of the great chain of mountains, the country is generally cultivated and settled, though there are many tracts of sandy or meagre soil which do not admit of a thick population. The mountains themselves are, in general, too steep and rugged for agricultural purposes, except in some parts of Virginia, where they terminate in an almost even surface of considerable extent. The vallies formed by the great ridges are generally fertile; and the immense country to the west of the Apalachian, or endless chain, forming an elevated plain extending to the great lakes, is supposed to contain a greater proportion of arable surface than any country of Europe, covered with fine forests, here and there intersected by natural meadows of remarkable fertility. The climate is so mild that the labors of the plough are seldom interrupted by the frost. There are few steep hills, rocks or stones. The deep vegetable mould reposes on a bed of limestone. The country is every where intersected by rivers and streams. These advantages, so important in the formation of agricultural establishments, first struck the attention of some individuals in the year 1775, who established themselves in Kentucky, and the migration thither was thenceforth so considerable, that, in the course of ten years, the population, though constantly annoyed by the neighbouring Indians, increased to the number of 30,000. In 1810, it was found to be 406,511, at which period that of the new territories on the other side of the Ohio were increasing nearly in the same ratio.

This country, formerly called the "*territory north-west of the*

Ohio," from the situation with regard to this river, extending to the Mississippi on the west, and on the north to the line of boundary running through the great lakes, contained, according to Hutchins, 263,040,000 acres, of which 43,040,000 are water, leaving 220,000,000 of acres of soil. The country on the west side of the Mississippi, known by the name of Louisiana, is less fertile than on the eastern side. The lands of this territory belonging to the United States have been computed at 400,000,000 of acres, one half of which has been said to be uninhabitable. This opinion, however, is grounded on the want of timber for buildings, fuel, and fences, without considering how this article may be dispensed with by the substitution of others which the country affords. Beds of coal have been seen in several places near the surface; and the subsoil almost every where consists of a tenacious clay of which bricks may be manufactured, or mud walls made like those of Ireland. Besides, trees may be planted, which, in a short time, will supply all the necessary uses of timber in relation to domestic and agricultural life. Mr. Bradbury is of opinion, that the Prairie will, in the course of time, be peopled and cultivated, and be one of the most beautiful countries in the world. If, says he, I may be permitted to judge from travelling nearly 500 miles through it, I must pronounce the soil to be excellent, and in almost every part where I saw it in a state of nature, it was covered with the finest verdure imaginable. (p. 272.) Towards the borders of Mexico there is an immense plain of sand, almost without any vegetable productions; and, in general, the country is very thinly wooded, whereas, on the eastern side of the Mississippi river, the whole surface, from the Apalachian mountains to the great lakes, is covered in its natural state with immense forests, except those tracts known by the name of Prairies, or natural meadows, which are remarkable for their great fertility. In general, the soil from the Nevesink hills in Jersey, to the extremity of Georgia, between the lower falls and the sea, 40 or 50 miles in breadth, consists of sand, except along the borders of rivers, which are rendered extremely fertile by the soil washed down by the floods. From this ridge to that chain of hills called the South Mountain, a distance of from 50 to 70 miles, which may be denominated the *Upland*, there are stripes of different kinds of soil, and subsoil, for some scores of miles in length, and in

some places overlaid with little ridges and chains of hills. The declivity of the whole gives great rapidity to the streams, and the violent gusts of rain have washed it all into gullies, and carried down the soil to enrich the borders of the rivers in the *lower plains*. These inequalities render half the country now easily capable of culture, and impoverish it when turned with the plough, by the constant washing away of the richer mould that covers the surface. Between the South Mountain and the higher chain of the *Endless mountains*, there is a valley of pretty even good land, eight, ten, or twenty miles wide, which is the most considerable quantity of valuable land on the eastern side, and runs through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

The soil of New England is most fertile in the southern and south-eastern parts, consisting of a black mould on a red loam, or clay. Some tracts are stony, some sandy, and others clayey. The low lands afford fine meadows and pasture; and there is a great diversity of soil, almost the whole of which, in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, has been cleared, except spots reserved for fuel, and the sides and summits of the mountains. The soil of New York in general exceeds that of Maryland: on the coast it is sandy; but at some distance from the sea it swells into fine hills, many of which have a rich deep soil. Between these there are fine vallies, with a rich black mould, red loam, or friable clays; all covered in the natural state, with fine forest trees. The Hudson River passes through a fine, dry and low country, and its banks, now covered with plantations and farms, exhibit a wonderful variety of situations and scenery. Vast tracts in the western parts are yet unsettled. The lands along the Mohawk River are excellent, as are also those in the Genessee country, where large tracts, without woods, are so covered with grass as to conceal an ox from the sight at the distance of thirty feet from the path. In Jersey the soil in general is sandy or marshy, and inferior to that of New York. On the Rariton and other streams the soil is richer; the country variegated, and almost entirely cultivated. In Pennsylvania there is every kind of soil. The soil in the maritime parts generally consists of a light sandy loam: in the back parts there are immense tracts of a rich loam, or black mould. The meadows along the Delaware and Schuylkill are covered with a lux-

eriant herbage. In Maryland and Virginia, the surface along the sea-coast, for above 100 miles, is low, flat, and sandy, spread with marshes and swamps, except along the banks of the rivers, where there is a fine black mould of more than a foot deep. In the next 100 miles, and at the distance of from 100 to 150 miles from the coast, the country rises with an unequal surface, to meet the range of Alleghany mountains; and presents a beautiful appearance, spread with fine forests, and intersected with navigable rivers. It is also very fertile throughout all the back parts. The summits of the mountains in Virginia, between Green Briar and Gauley Rivers, elevated 2400 feet above the sea; and all the high country, known by the name of the *Green Glades*, extending from the heads of the Potomac to those of Yoghogheuy, are covered with fine woods and herbage. But the Gauley Ridge, and Laurel Hill are dry and stony, with not more than one tenth part capable of cultivation.

The states of Ohio and Kentucky are the most fruitful in North America. The lands have a greater depth and fertility. Natural meadows of great extent furnish fine pasture. The climate is favorable to the culture of the vine, the mulberry tree, and silk worm. In many parts of Kentucky, the soil is so fertile as to be too rich for wheat. On the tributary streams of the Ohio, there are large natural meadows from 20 to 50 miles in circuit, of which the soil is extremely rich; and there is but a small proportion of waste land, for most of the hills admit of cultivation to the very summit. The soil in the maritime parts of North Carolina is flat and sandy, except along the borders of the rivers, and swampy places, which are very unhealthy. In the back parts the soil is a rich black mould, and very fertile. In South Carolina, the maritime parts, to the distance of a hundred miles from the coast, consist of a white dry sand, covered with pines, intersected by narrow stripes of a black rich sand, which run between the swamps and the pine barrens, and between the latter and the creeks or rivers. The first poor soil occupies nearly four-fifths of the surface. The sand hills, which extend from twenty to forty miles in breadth, from Savannah River to the upper part of Pedee River, and thence into North Carolina, are in general unproductive: but the hilly country, extending to the Apalachian Mountains, is covered with pine trees, or spreading into extensive meadows, with a dry, rich, and deep

soil. The climate is also mild, healthy and agreeable. The soil of Table Mountain, the most elevated in this state, situated about four or five miles from the northern boundary, is described to be peculiarly good, and abundantly covered with the Papaw and other shrubs, and with a profusion of excellent grass. The soil of the other mountains is more sterile and stony: but fine rivulets spring almost from their summits, which are bordered with beautiful shrubs. The soil of Georgia, in the maritime and inland parts, resembles that of South Carolina. The flat country extends to the distance of about 200 miles from the sea, and thence to the Apalachian Mountains; 100 more, there is a high dry surface with waving hills, equal, if not exceeding in fertility, the back parts of South Carolina. The soil of Tennessee is in general fertile on the Mississippi and Cumberland rivers; it consists of light black earth with a mixture of sand. The whole country of Louisiana, from the sea to the mouth of Red River, 350 miles in length and 90 in breadth, is intersected by lakes and morasses, except along the water courses, and a small ridge below Coupee. All Lower Louisiana has been evidently formed from the sea. The basis of the soil is a fine white sand, and trees and marine shells, buried at the depth of twenty feet, are found at the distance of 100 leagues from the gulf. The state of Mississippi, in the maritime parts, resembles the southern countries, consisting of sandy tracts covered with white pine, swamps, and marshes, except along the banks of the rivers, which are extremely fertile. The new state of Indiana and the Illinois territory rank among the most fruitful and most agreeable in the United States, abounding in high, dry, and hilly tracts.

HISTORY  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA.



STATISTICAL VIEW of the UNITED STATES.

SECTION V.

MASSACHUSETTS.

*SITUATION.*—Between  $41^{\circ} 13'$ , and  $42^{\circ} 52'$  north latitude and  $3^{\circ} 20'$ , and  $6^{\circ} 55'$  east longitude from Washington.

*Extent.*—It extends from the Atlantic Ocean on the east, to the state of New York on the west, and its length, computed by the northern boundary, which separates it from Vermont and New Hampshire, is 130 miles; by the southern boundary, which separates it from Connecticut and Rhode Island, 190. Its general breadth is about 50 miles; its greatest breadth 100; and near Cape Cod it contracts to about 15 miles.

*Area.*—6250 square miles.

*Mountains.*—Different ridges of mountains intersect the western parts, one of which, named Hoosack mountain, has an elevation of 3500 feet above the level of the ocean; and Saddle mountain, the highest point of land in the state, rises to 4000 feet. Between these ridges the country is hilly, and, in many parts, incapable of cultivation. The western side of mount Holyoke, three miles from Northampton, is composed of basaltic columns, resembling those of the Giants' Causeway in Ireland, extending to the distance of ten or twelve rods, and rising to the

height of from sixty to a hundred feet. The diameter of the prisms, which are truly hexagonal, is from two to five feet.

*Soil.*—The predominating soil of the hills and mountains is a brown loam, mixed with sand, gravel and clay. That of the plains covered with white pine is a light loam; and in those covered with yellow pine, it consists of sand and gravel. The valleys which have a rich soil are the only tracts free from loose stones and gravel. In general, the soil of the south-eastern counties is light and sandy, and not so favorable to the purposes of agriculture as the northern, middle, and western parts. The valley of the Connecticut river, from two to twenty miles in breadth, is exceedingly fertile.

*Temperature.*—The climate of Massachusetts is much warmer in summer and colder in winter than in the same parallel of Europe; and the changes of temperature are more rapid. At Salem the difference during the year, is nearly  $115^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit; while at Rome it is but  $84^{\circ}$ , at Marseilles  $69^{\circ}$ , and at Padua  $88^{\circ}$ . The mean monthly variation is about  $50^{\circ}$  in January, and  $34^{\circ}$  in July. The daily variation in winter is about  $8^{\circ}$ ; in summer  $12^{\circ}$  or  $13^{\circ}$ . The mean temperature, or that of deep wells or caverns, has been ascertained to be nearly  $49^{\circ}$ . The winter commences about the middle of December, and terminates about the middle of March. During this period the ground is covered with snow, which, in the mountainous parts, is from three to four feet in depth. The thermometer (Fahren.) ranges generally between  $43^{\circ}$  and  $10$ , and the mercury has sometimes fallen to  $20^{\circ}$  below zero. On the 12th of February, 1817, in some places, it sunk, even to  $30^{\circ}$ , at sun-rise. The ice of the rivers is sufficiently strong to bear loaded waggons; and sometimes the sea is frozen to a considerable distance from the coast. In 1807 the ice that floated down the Deerfield river was two feet nine inches in thickness, and the level ground, near the village of the same name, was frozen to the depth of three feet. This great degree of cold was owing to the prevalence of the north-west winds, which pass over an extensive uncultivated and frozen country. The spring season is of short duration, terminating before the close of May; but during this period the progress of vegetation is uncommonly rapid. The heat of summer is often so great, that the mercury, for more than a month, at the commencement of the solstice, remains above  $77^{\circ}$ ; some-

times it rises to  $86^{\circ}$  and  $90^{\circ}$ , and in the year 1811 was observed, at Cambridge, at the height of  $101\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . The temperature, both in summer and winter, and particularly near the sea coast, is liable to great changes. In the months of January and February it sometimes varies from  $14^{\circ}$  to  $28^{\circ}$ , in the course of twenty-four hours. Similar changes take place in summer. At noon the mercury is sometimes at  $90^{\circ}$ ; the ensuing night it falls to  $60^{\circ}$ . From the 1st of June to the 1st of October the weather, in common seasons, is sufficiently warm to render fires unnecessary. The autumn affords six weeks of a delightful temperature, and closes frequently with a period of two or three weeks of south-west winds, which has been called the Indian summer.

*Minerals.*—There are *iron ores* in different parts of the state; particularly in the counties of Plymouth, Bristol, and Berkshire. In the former *bog ore* forms the bed of several ponds. *Copper ore* is found at Leverett, in the county of Hampshire, and at Attleborough, in Bristol. *Galena*, or *lead ore*, is found at Southampton, in the county of Hampshire, and is wrought by a company, associated at Boston for that purpose. The vein is from six to eight feet in diameter, and extends from Montgomery to Hatfield, a distance of twenty miles. The produce of lead is from 50 to 60 per cent. *Black lead* has been discovered at Brimfield in Hampshire; *sulphuret of antimony* near South Hadley; and *barytes* (sulphate) at Hatfield and Northampton. Marble of various colors, and rather coarse texture, has been found in Berkshire county, in Lanesborough, Sheffield, Dalton, and Pittsfield. At the last mentioned place a species of elastic marble has been lately discovered, a specimen of which, presented to the New York Philosophical Society, was four feet in length, three inches in breadth, and one in thickness. Another, afterwards procured by Dr. Mitchell, was twenty-two inches in breadth, five feet in length, and two inches in thickness, containing a mass of 2640 cubic inches. The color is of a snowy whiteness, and so great is its elasticity, that, when supported at the two extremities, it bends down by its own weight, and forms a segment of a circle, the depth of which is two inches. Exposed to heat, it loses its flexibility, which it recovers when plunged in water, according to the report of Dr. Mead, by whom this property was first discovered.

*Slate.*—There is a quarry in Bernardstown, in Franklin coun-



ty, which is chiefly employed for tombstones. *Soapstone*, or *stearite*, exists in Middlefield, in the county of Hampshire, twenty-one miles west of Connecticut river, and is found in regular strata of five feet in depth. When taken from the quarry, it may be sawn with as much facility as hard timber. It is employed for building houses; and also for chimneys and stoves, being found to resist a common fire heat for many years.

*Limestone* abounds in the county of Berkshire, and is manufactured into lime for building and manure. Sand, of a white color, is found in extensive beds, on a high hill in Cheshire, and is used for the manufacture of glass. Mixed with lime, it forms an excellent mortar for building. *Serpentine*, near Newbury port, of a deep or blackish green, and very beautiful. It is found in beds of granular limestone. *Turkey*, or *whitstone*, is found at Dorchester, presenting alternate strata of white and brownish red. *Ochres*, yellow and red, and pipe-clay, have been found at Martha's Vineyard. *Anthracite*, or *blind-coal*, which is used as a pigment, is found near Worcester.

*Mineral Waters*.—Those in the town of Sym, in the county of Essex, are most frequented. The mineral waters in Boston and in Brighton, about five miles distance from each other, are said to possess qualities similar to those of Ballstown. None of these waters have been properly analyzed.

*Vegetable Kingdom*.—*Forest Trees*.—The hilly and mountainous country produces oak, walnut, pine, birch, maple, ash, cedar, cherry, chestnut, poplar, bitternut, and boxwood. The pine is almost the only tree that grows on the plains. The valleys and banks of the rivers produce elm, cherry, maple, buttonwood, aspen, and bitternut. The red cedar is found on a dry, gravelly, and almost barren soil; the white species, in low marshy situations, called *Cedar swamps*. In 1736, a white pine was cut, a little above Dunstable, near Merrimack river, the thick end of which was seven feet eight inches diameter. Colonel Dudley, in his surveys of new townships, about 50 or 60 miles inland, observed white ash trees straight and without branches, for about 80 feet, and about three feet diameter at the thick end.

*List of the Principal Forest Trees.*

Ash, mountain, - - - - *Sorbus aucuparia*.  
 —white, - - - - *Fraxinus Americana*, Mich.

|                                 |                                  |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Aspen, American, - - -          | <i>Populus tremuloides.</i>      |
| Beech tree, - - -               | <i>Fagus ferruginea, Ait</i>     |
| Beaver tree, - - -              | <i>Magnolia glauca, L.</i>       |
| Birch, common white, - -        | <i>Betula populifolia, Ait.</i>  |
| —black, or mahogany, -          | — <i>lenta, L.</i>               |
| Butternut, oilnut, - - -        | <i>Juglans cinerea, L.</i>       |
| Cedar, red, - - -               | <i>Juniperus Virginiana.</i>     |
| —white, - - -                   | — <i>thioides, L.</i>            |
| Cherry, wild, - - -             | <i>Prunus Virginiana, L.</i>     |
| Chestnut tree, - - -            | <i>Castanea Vesca, Wild.</i>     |
| Cornel, dwarf, - - -            | <i>Cornus Canadensis.</i>        |
| —white berried, - - -           | — <i>alba.</i>                   |
| —broad leaved, - - -            | — <i>circinata.</i>              |
| Dogwood tree, - - -             | — <i>florida, L.</i>             |
| Elm, common, - - -              | <i>Ulmus Americna, L.</i>        |
| Hazel, common, - - -            | <i>Corylus Americana, Walt.</i>  |
| Hickory, or white walnut, -     | <i>Juglans alba, Wild.</i>       |
| —shell bark, - - -              | <i>Juglans squamosa, Mich.</i>   |
| Iron Wood, or hop hornbeam,     | <i>Ostryia Virginica.</i>        |
| Larch, red, - - -               | <i>Laryx Americana, L.</i>       |
| Lime tree, or bass wood, -      | <i>Tilia Americana.</i>          |
| Maple, red or swamp, - - -      | <i>Acer rubrum, L.</i>           |
| —rock or sugar, - - -           | — <i>saccharinum, L.</i>         |
| Oak, white, - - -               | <i>Quercus ulba, L.</i>          |
| —black, - - -                   | — <i>tinctoria, East.</i>        |
| —scarlet, - - -                 | — <i>coccinea, Mich.</i>         |
| —red, - - -                     | — <i>rubra, L.</i>               |
| —shrub, - - -                   | — <i>banisteri, Mich.</i>        |
| Pine, pitch, - - -              | <i>Pinus rigida, L.</i>          |
| —white, - - -                   | — <i>strobus, L.</i>             |
| —black, or double spruce,       | — <i>nigra, Mich.</i>            |
| —hemlock spruce, - - -          | — <i>Canadensis, L.</i>          |
| Plane tree, buttonwood, or Sy-  |                                  |
| camore, - - -                   | <i>Platanus occidentalis, L.</i> |
| Tupelo tree, or swamp hornbeam, | <i>Nyssa villosa, Mich.</i>      |

ANIMAL KINGDOM.

*Quadrupeds.*—The panther, wild cat, wolves, and bears, have retreated to the mountains, and seldom appear in the low country. In 1814, a male and female wolf visited Springfield, and

some neighbouring towns, where they destroyed a hundred and fifty sheep; but no circumstance of this kind had before occurred during half a century. The wood-chuck burrows in the ground, and destroys the crops. The grey, striped, and flying squirrels are numerous.

*Fishes.*—The bays and rivers abound with salmon, mackerel, and other kinds of excellent fish. The salmon are daily becoming more rare, and have disappeared in some rivers, owing to the erection of dams and mills. The shell-fish on the coast are the lobster, (*Cancer harrarus*, L.,) scollop, (*Ostrea pectines*,) and the clam, (*Venus mercenaria*.) There is a species of shell-fish known by the name of horse shoe, or king's crab, which is sometimes a foot in breadth.

The whale fishery occupies most of the inhabitants of Nantucket. In 1811, the number of sailors amounted to 1200, and there were established on the island from 15 to 20 manufactories of oil and candles.

The whales, of which great numbers were formerly taken in the bay, have become rare; but a species of this genus, called the *black fish*, weighing about nine tons, arrives there in shoals, and yielding an oil resembling that of the whale. By means of boats they are driven on the flats, where, left by the tide, they fall an easy prey to their pursuers. Cod and haddock, pollock, mackerel, and herring, frequent the inner coast of the bay. The two first are taken with the hook; the others with the seine. Cod, halibut, sturgeon, shad, herring, bass, eels, and other fishes, swarm around Nantucket islands.

*Insects.*—Among the insects injurious to agricultural productions, is a species of grasshopper, known by the name of locust, which in May 1817, overran some counties, destroying every kind of herbage. It was of the size of a grain of rye, it had a black head, was from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch in length, and was supposed to be the migratory locust of Linnæus, (*Gryllus*.)

#### POPULATION.

|       |         | <i>Progress of Population.</i> |                   |
|-------|---------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| In    |         |                                | Including blacks. |
| 1731, | - - - - | 120,000                        | —                 |
| 1742, | - - - - | 164,000                        | —                 |
| 1753, | - - - - | 220,000                        | —                 |
| 1763, | - - - - | 241,024                        | 5214              |
| 1784, | - - - - | 357,510                        | 4977              |

STATISTICAL VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES. 451

|                     |   |         |      |
|---------------------|---|---------|------|
| 1790, by the census | - | 378,787 | 5468 |
| 1800, - - - -       | - | 422,845 | 6452 |
| 1810, - - - -       | - | 472,040 | 6737 |

This table gives an increase, in these last ten years, of 49,195 only, or  $11\frac{5}{100}$  per cent. nearly. The smallness of this increase is attributed to the emigration to the state of New York, and the western country, which is greater from this than from any other state. Massachusetts, in 1810, was the fourth state in point of population; in 1790, it was the second.

|  |   |                           |         |
|--|---|---------------------------|---------|
| Free white males under 10 years of age, in 1810, | - | -                         | 68,930  |
| Females,   | - | -                         | 66,881  |
| Males of 10, and under 16,                       | - | -                         | 34,964  |
| Females,   | - | -                         | 33,191  |
| Males of 16, and under 26,                       | - | -                         | 45,018  |
| Females,   | - | -                         | 46,366  |
| Males of 26, and under 45,                       | - | -                         | 45,894  |
| Females,   | - | -                         | 49,229  |
| Males of 45 and upwards,                         | - | -                         | 34,976  |
| Females,   | - | -                         | 39,894  |
|  |   | Males,                    | 229,742 |
|  |   | Females                   | 239,561 |
|  |   | Excess of Females,        | 9,819   |
|  |   | The number of slaves was, | 6,737   |

*Diseases.*—Notwithstanding the great extremes of heat and cold, and the sudden changes of temperature, the climate is not unfavorable to health and longevity. The inhabitants are of a good stature, and have a healthy complexion. The farmers lead an industrious and frugal life, though, of late, the use of spirituous liquors has increased, to the great injury of health. The consumption of cider, molasses, and spruce beer, is still, however, greater in this than in any other state. The dress and manner of living, in all classes of society, resemble those of the corresponding classes in England. That of females, in winter, is too light for the climate; and is probably the great cause of the increase of consumption. Small pox and dysentery are said to have decreased; and yellow fever has not appeared for twenty years past. A part of the state, by its natural position, is free from this afflicting disease, which has never existed above the 43° of latitude. Diseases are much more frequent than formerly. The following is a copy of the bill of mortality, in Boston, for the year 1814, when the population was 34,000.

|                            |       |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Deaths, - - - - -          | 727   |
| Age under 1 year - - - - - | 161   |
| 1 to 2 - - - - -           | 76    |
| 2 to 5 - - - - -           | 33    |
| 5 to 10 - - - - -          | 28    |
| 10 to 20 - - - - -         | 35    |
| 20 to 30 - - - - -         | 114   |
| 30 to 40 - - - - -         | 87    |
| 40 to 50 - - - - -         | 56    |
| 50 to 60 - - - - -         | 33    |
| 60 to 70 - - - - -         | 25    |
| 70 to 80 - - - - -         | 27    |
| 80 to 90 - - - - -         | 21    |
| 90 to 100 - - - - -        | 1     |
|                            | <hr/> |
|                            | 727   |

Of this number 399 were males and 328 females. The greatest number of deaths was in October, amounting to 100; the least, in June, 40.

The diseases, and the number of persons who died of each, were as follows: consumption 193, typhus fever 77, other fevers 44, infantile diseases 208, old age 39, still born 32.

*Habits and Character.*—The growth of population and intercourse with other people have effaced much of that severity of character which long distinguished the people of New England. The nubile state of the female sex is from sixteen to twenty years. That of men from eighteen to twenty-five; and the marriage vows are religiously observed. The amusements of winter are balls and sleighing. Those of summer are fishing, walking in the evening, or riding on horseback. Tea parties are held at an early hour, and, like the Italian *conversazioni*, are extremely social and interesting. In the upper circles they are of late years more fashionable, and seldom commence before eight or nine o'clock.

The people of this state are strict in their attention to religious worship, which is considered as an affair of conscience, with which no authority has a right to interfere. How different was the character of the first colonists, who expelled from the province all those who refused to adhere to the tenets of the ecclesiastical court. Anabaptists, Jesuits, and Quakers, in 1644, were banished as “incendiaries of the commonwealth, the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, and the troublers of churches, in all places where they have been.” “Every per-

son who imported, dispersed, or concealed Quakers' books, or writings concerning their devilish opinions, forfeited £5 of lawful money, for open contempt of God's word. The offender was obliged to pay this sum to the public treasury, or to stand two hours, upon a block, or stool, four feet high, on a lecture day, with a paper fixed to his breast, written in capital letters, "*An open and obstinate contemner of God's holy ordinances!*" Nobody is forced to go to church; but greater respect is paid to those who do. The English is the only language in use.

*Eminent Persons.*—Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Hancock, General Knox, General Lincoln, and Fisher Ames, all natives of this state, have added to its celebrity by their superior talents and patriotic virtues.

Mr. Dickinson, in his View of this state, observes, "that from the almost equal division of the two political parties, the asperities of language and disposition attending political conflicts, have existed in a high degree, and been represented by strangers as having extensively undermined the confidence of society, and laid waste most of the blessings of private life; but this representation," he observes, "must be understood with great limitations, as, notwithstanding, personal merit is duly estimated; and among those of opposite sentiments there are intermarriages, and a free interchange of relative duties."

Capital crimes are rare; and it is stated by Dr. Morse, that, "in 1812, the number of prisoners in the states' prison or penitentiary did not amount to 200. In a Massachusetts prison  $\frac{1}{2}$  of those it contains are said to be foreigners."

In 1786 the new plan of taxation furnished a pretext for insurrection, which was chiefly confined to the western counties, particularly that of Hampshire. The leader was Daniel Strays, who, the ensuing year, surrendered to General Shepherd, the commander of the militia employed to suppress the revolt.

*Constitution.*—In the year 1684 the first charter of Massachusetts Bay was granted by King James the Second, by which the people, in virtue of a judgment in chancery, were empowered to elect all their own officers, except those of the admiralty and customs. In the third year of King William and Queen Mary, another was obtained, which reserved to the crown the appointment of the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, the officers of the admiralty and customs. The governor, with the consent

of the council, appointed the judges and other officers of the courts of justice, and of the council; others were appointed by the council and assembly. The upper house of legislature, or house of representatives, elected by the freeholders, chose the speaker and council. The general court consisted of the governor, council, and the house of representatives; and was a legislative court, a court of equity and appeals.

The republican form of government was published, and had the force of law in the year 1780, (2d March.) The legislative power consists of a Senate and House of Representatives, which united form the General Assembly, or General Court of Massachusetts.

*Senators.*—The senators, forty in number, are elected annually in districts, by the male inhabitants of twenty-one years of age and upwards, living and having a freehold estate within the commonwealth, of the annual income of three pounds, or any estate to the value of sixty pounds. No person can be elected a senator who is not possessed of a freehold estate to the value of three hundred pounds, or of personal and freehold property worth twice this amount.

*Representatives.*—The representatives are also elected annually by voters, who have the same qualification as for senators, and by corporate towns in proportion to the number of inhabitants. A representative must have resided one year in the town he represents, and there possess a freehold of a hundred pounds, or two hundred of any rateable estate. When a town is found to contain 150 rateable polls, it is entitled to one representative; when the number increases to 375, it has a right to two; and to an additional member for every 225 additional polls.

The *Executive power* is vested in a governor, lieutenant governor, and nine councillors. The two first officers are chosen annually, on the first Monday of April, by persons qualified to vote for senators and representatives. The councillors are also chosen annually, by the joint ballot of the two houses, from among the persons returned as councillors and senators; and the place of those who refuse to serve is supplied from the mass of the people.

The supreme executive magistrate, or *governor*, who has the title of *excellency*, must have a freehold property in the state of a thousand pounds, and declare his sincere belief of the Chris-

ian religion; he must also have resided in the state seven years immediately preceding his election. The governor is commander-in-chief of the naval and military forces of the state; and, with the advice and consent of the council, which he can assemble at discretion, he is empowered to appoint the attorney and solicitor-general, and other judicial officers; also to grant pardon for offences, except such as have been tried and decided before the senate, by an impeachment of the house. All commissions are signed by him, and attested by his secretary.

The *lieutenant-governor*, who is a member of the council, and styled his "honor," has the same qualifications as the governor, as to religion, property, and residence; and, when the chair of governor is vacant by death or absence, he has also the same powers and authority.

The members of the council are next in rank to the lieutenant-governor; not more than two are chosen in the same district. The governor assembles them at his discretion, and five, with him, make a board. The powers and authority of the governor and lieutenant-governor, in case of death, absence, or other cause, devolve upon the councillors. The legislature assemble twice a-year, in May and January. A bill cannot be passed into a law without the assent of the governor, unless, after his refusal, it be reconsidered and approved of by two thirds of both houses.

The constitution contains a declaration of rights, consisting of thirty articles, which embrace all the great principles of civil and religious freedom.

Slavery, declared to be unjust, was abolished by this instrument, and afterwards by an act of the legislature. Though the proprietors of slaves were not compelled to set them free, there have, for a long course of years, been no slaves in New England.

*Judiciary.*—The judges are appointed by the governor and council, and, for misbehaviour, are liable to removal from office by the authority from which they hold their commission, if demanded by both houses of legislature. There is a supreme judicial court, and three circuit courts of common pleas. All the English provincial laws are preserved, except such as were found to be in opposition to the rights and liberties established by the new government. The opinion of the supreme court, on any



important question, may be demanded by either branch of the legislature, or by the governor and council. *Justices of the peace* are appointed for the term of seven years by the council; and if they are found to have faithfully discharged the duties of the office, their commission may be renewed. Appeals from the *judges of the probate of wills* go to the superior court, and are there finally judged.

The judiciary officers of the United States, for the state of Massachusetts, are:—a district judge, with a salary of a thousand dollars; an attorney, with 200; a marshal, with 200; a clerk, with fees.

*Finances.*—The revenue is principally derived from an annual tax on real and personal estates, and a capitation tax on all male persons, of sixteen years and upwards. Six per cent. is paid on the actual value of all rateable estates, both real and personal, except wild or uncleared lands, on which the rate is two per cent.

*Internal government.*—The state is divided into districts or townships of unequal size, the largest six miles square, each of which has a local jurisdiction with regard to the management of its own affairs. The municipal police is exercised by magistrates, called select men, who are bound to attend to every thing which concerns the safety and welfare of the citizens. Town officers are elected by the male citizens of twenty-one years and upwards, who pay taxes, and have resided one year in the town in which they vote.

*Public Instruction.*—Great praise is due to the inhabitants of this state for the liberal spirit manifested in their scientific and literary institutions, and particularly for the organization and support of free schools, where poor children of both sexes may be instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic. Every town having fifty householders is obliged to provide a school of this description; and when the number increases to two hundred families, the town or district is obliged to establish another for the instruction of youth in the Latin, Greek, and English language. Neglect of this statute (of 29th June 1789.) is punished by a pecuniary fine, proportioned to the time of neglect and number of inhabitants, at the rate of ten pounds currency for every fifty families; so that the penalty for one hundred and fifty families is thirty pounds. The limits of school districts are de-

terminated by town meetings; and the assessment and collection of taxes, for the support of such schools, is provided for by a law of the 28th February 1800.

*Religion.*—The public ordinances of religion are generally well attended to; though it is stated by Mr. Beecher that there is a deficiency of 178 competent religious instructors.

The constitution has secured the free exercise of religious worship. The Congregationalists, the most numerous denomination, have 390 churches; the Baptists are next in point of numbers; according to the report of the general convention of this body, held in Philadelphia in May 1817, the number of churches was 91; of members, 7731. The Episcopalians have 14 churches and 8 ministers; the other sects are the Methodists, Universalists, and a few Quakers.

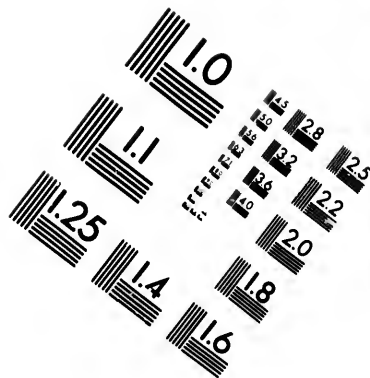
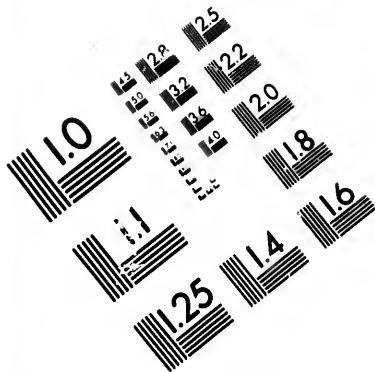
*Agriculture.*—The agricultural art has been carried on to great perfection in this state, owing to the increased value of lands, and their equal partition among all the children of every family. The farms generally consist of from one to two hundred, and rarely exceed three hundred acres. A part is cultivated, another is reserved for meadow and pasturage, and from five to twenty acres for wood.

The principal agricultural productions are Indian corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, buck wheat, potatoes, hemp, flax, hops, and pumpkins.

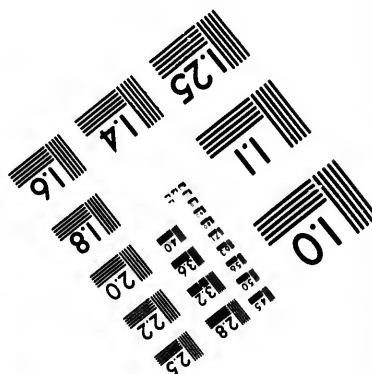
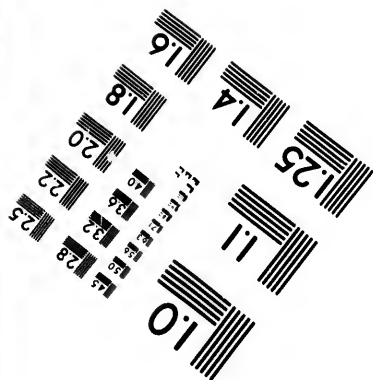
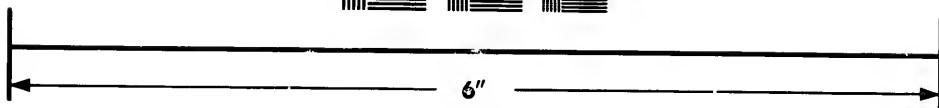
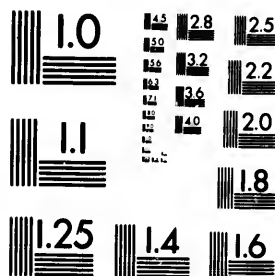
The principal grain is Indian corn, the average crop of which is about 28 bushels per acre, and the interval lands, well cultivated, yield from 60 to 80 bushels. It is planted in rows at the distance of three feet from each other, in the latter part of April and beginning of May; it is hoed three times, and arrives at maturity in the beginning of October. The stalks and envelope of the grain are dried in bundles, and, for cattle and sheep, are equal to the best hay. An acre yields about half a ton. This grain is superior to all others for fattening cattle, hogs, and poultry. The flour mixed with rye, in the proportion of a third, constitutes the common brown bread of perhaps four-fifths of the inhabitants.

*Rye*, also much cultivated, is sown in September, and the average produce per acre is about 12 bushels. *Wheat* is now little cultivated, being subject to blight, especially near the sea, and also to the ravages of an insect called the Hessian fly. The





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average crop is about 15 bushels per acre; in good soils, about 20; on old lands, it is generally sown in spring; on those newly cultivated, in autumn.

*Oats* are cultivated for horses; and in some places are sown with pease; ground with Indian corn, they constitute an excellent food for cattle. Of rye, the average produce is 15 bushels per acre; that of the best soil, from 25 to 35 bushels. In 1817, the premium of 40 dollars, proposed by the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, for the greatest crop of wheat, was awarded to a farmer of Worcester county, who raised  $36\frac{1}{6}$  bushels from an acre and four roods. A premium to the same amount, for the greatest quantity of potatoes, was given to a farmer of Dedham, who raised 450 bushels from an acre. *Pease*, when sown early, have been lately attacked by a bug, but when sown after the middle of June, they escape its ravages. *Beans* are raised in great quantity for domestic consumption, and sea provision. *Barley* and *buck wheat* are not much cultivated. Of *potatoes*, most farmers plant from half an acre to four acres, for family use, and also as food for domestic animals; the average produce of good lands is about 200 bushels per acre. *Pumpkins* are cultivated between the rows of Indian corn, and afford nourishment to cattle and swine till the 1st of January, after which it is difficult to preserve them. *Hops* are raised in the interior of the state for domestic and foreign consumption. *Flax* is cultivated for family use; and the value of the seed for exportation is considered as equal to the expence of cultivation. *Hemp* has been, of late years, much cultivated on low tracts called *bottoms*, where the produce is found even greater than in Europe, and the quality not inferior to that of Russia. In Deerfield, Franklin county, 23 cwt. 2 qrs. 16 lbs. were produced from three acres of rich interval land, and this quantity, at the ordinary price of  $13\frac{1}{2}$  dollars, amounted to 319 dollars. The land was purchased in 1801 for 200 dollars, so that this crop exceeded in value that of both the land and the labor. *Clover*, and other grasses employed for forage, thrive well, except in a few districts, where their growth is retarded by the upright *crownfoot*, and *eye daisy*; the former, except in a dry state, is said to be injurious to cows. Timothy, or *herds grass*, or *fox-tail grass*, (*Phleum pratense*,) is generally cultivated, and is often mixed with *common spear grass*, (*Poa pratensis*,) and *annual spear grass*, (*Poa annua*.)

The low lands yield from two to four tons per acre. The cattle are large, and resemble those of the north of France, especially in the four western counties. The ox is more used than the horse in agricultural labors. Cattle are housed seven months in the year. Of horses, there were originally three distinct races, which, by crossing the breed, have lost much of their original form and qualities. The Narragan breed, supposed to be of English origin, is nearly extinct. The others are the English courser, and the Norman horse, of which the qualities are much deteriorated. The horses of Massachusetts, being little employed in works of agriculture, have been neglected, and are inferior to those of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The *swine* are of a large size, and excellent quality. The rearing of sheep has lately become an object of great interest. In July 1815, the number of sheep, belonging to gentlemen residing within a mile of the centre of the town of Pittsfield, was found to be 8478, of which, 435 were of full blood or merinos, 852 of common breed, and the remainder of a mixed kind. A difficulty attending the rearing of sheep is, the facility with which they leap over the stone fences; and owing to this circumstance, a breed called the otter breed is now propagated, which, owing to their particular conformation, cannot leap a fence or wall, while their flesh and wool are not inferior to those of others. Gardening is now much attended to, and every farmer has an orchard, containing from one hundred to three hundred apple trees. The fruits most cultivated are apples, peaches, pears, quinces, plums, and cherries. The orchards are generally kept in grass.

*Of the Value of Lands and Houses.*

|   | <i>Dollars.</i> |
|---|-----------------|
| In 1799, the lands were valued at - - - - -               | 59,445,642      |
| The houses at - - - - -                                   | 24,546,826      |
|   | 83,992,468      |
| <br>In 1814, the value of both houses and lands was - - - | <br>149,253,514 |
| Increase in 15 years - - - - -                            | 65,261,046      |

According to the valuations made in 1814, the average value of lands *per acre*, including all the buildings thereon, was 13 dollars and 75 cents.

*Industry.*—Domestic manufactures have lately increased to an

amazing extent. Ship-building is prosecuted with more ardor than in any other state. The eastern shore, which has fine harbours for shipping, and rich fisheries, likewise abounds in seamen, the most hardy, intelligent, and enterprising, perhaps, that ever the world produced.

*Products of Mineral Substances.*

|  | <i>Dollars.</i> |
|--|-----------------|
| 25,295,000 bricks, - - - - - value                   | 139,067         |
| Buttons, - - - - -                                   | 20,000          |
| 446 clocks and watches, - - - - -                    | 16,185          |
| Glass, - - - - -                                     | 36,000          |
| 12,976 pounds of brass guns, - - - - -               | 7,136           |
| 32,159 do. of copper, - - - - -                      | 22,828          |
| 20,845 do. of bells, - - - - -                       | 8,555           |
| 99,288 do. of brass and pewter, - - - - -            | 41,700          |
| 251,503 do. of composition, - - - - -                | 109,781         |
| 37 forges, 978 tons of bar iron, - - - - -           | 121,980         |
| 440 do. of anchors, - - - - -                        | 92,712          |
| 2340 do. of hollow ware, - - - - -                   | 132,200         |
| Wrought iron, - - - - -                              | 521,718         |
| Edge tools, - - - - -                                | 44,000          |
| Yearly amount of jewellery, - - - - -                | 161,625         |
| Lead mines, - - - - -                                | 200             |
| 8 factories, 19,095 muskets, - - - - -               | 229,085         |
| 16 mills, 89,400 feet of marble, - - - - -           | 38,000          |
| 36 factories, 5,218 tons of wrought nails, - - - - - | 69,235          |
| 2,925 do. cut do. - - - - -                          | 644,990         |
| Small do. - - - - -                                  | 1,360           |
| Ores, ochre, and nitre beds, - - - - -               | 1,350           |
| Soap stone, - - - - -                                | 1,300           |
| Spectacles, - - - - -                                | 10,000          |
| 20 tons of manufactured steel, - - - - -             | 4,000           |
| 23,600 pounds of salt-petre, - - - - -               | 9,303           |
| 118,757 bushels of salt, - - - - -                   | 79,526          |
| 334,238 pounds of Glauber's salts, - - - - -         | 13,369          |
| 2,777 dozen of steel thimbles, - - - - -             | 10,000          |
| 11,000,000 tacks or small nails, - - - - -           | 2,000           |
| Tin plate work, - - - - -                            | 72,015          |
| Earthenware, - - - - -                               | 18,700          |
| Wire factories - - - - -                             | 24,912          |

A manufacture of chemical and medicinal articles was established at Salem in 1812.

At Springfield, in the county of Hampden, the United States have an extensive establishment for the manufacture of arms; in 1810, the number of workmen employed was 220; the muskets manufactured 10,240.



*Products of Vegetable Substances*

|  | <i>Dollars.</i>   |
|--|-------------------|
| Shipping, 49,410 tons, . . . . .                                     | valued at 656,095 |
| Cabinet wares, . . . . .   | 318,622           |
| Chairs, 1609 dozen, . . . . .  | 96,060            |
| Coopers' wares, 37,995 casks, . . . . .                              | 69,318            |
| Rakes, 11,000 in number, . . . . .                                   | 1,870             |
| Wooden ware, unnamed, . . . . .                                      | 31,000            |
| Oil, 46,460 gallons, . . . . .                                       | 49,982            |
| Spirits from grain and fruit, 540,510, ——— from molasses 2,472,000   | 1,735,526         |
| Beer, ale, and porter, 24,400 barrels of 31½ gallons each, . . . . . | 86,450            |
| Spruce, essence, 1250 pounds, . . . . .                              | 2,500             |
| Oil of turpentine, &c., 6000 gallons, . . . . .                      | 18,000            |
| Paper, 99,029 reams, . . . . .                                       | 306,951           |
| Sugar refined, 422,000 pounds, . . . . .                             | 82,400            |
| Tobacco and snuff, 118,400, . . . . .                                | 37,281            |
| Cables and cordage, 3432 tons, . . . . .                             | 1,302,644         |
| Playing cards, to the value of . . . . .                             | 97,900            |
| Chocolate, 255,500 pounds, . . . . .                                 | 73,100            |
| Corn brooms, 70,000 in number, . . . . .                             | 4,000             |
| Musical instruments, to the value of . . . . .                       | 17,880            |
| Straw bonnets, . . . . .   | 551,988           |
| Flour and meal ground, 509,530 bushels, . . . . .                    | 386,169           |
| Saw mills, 11,215,000 feet sawed, . . . . .                          | 87,335            |
| Pot and pearl ashes, 123 tons, . . . . .                             | 20,619            |
| Carriages, (Maine,) . . . . .  | 9,000             |
| ————— (Massachusetts,) 733, . . . . .                                | 122,674           |

The oak is chiefly employed for ship timber. The white pine for masts and boards. The white cedar for boards and shingles. Red cedar for posts fixed in the earth. The common chestnut for rails. The wood of the birch tree for cabinet work. The hornbeam and buttonwood trees for windlasses, blocks, and turnery work. The fir of the low lands yields a balsam of great medicinal value. A decoction of the young branches of the yellow pine, mixed with a sufficient quantity of molasses, constitutes spruce-beer, a pleasant beverage in the summer months. The bark of the hemlock fir and common birch serve to cover the cabin of the poor laborer and fisherman. The bark of the oak and yellow birch is employed in tanning. Of hemp, there is a great consumption for the cordage of vessels. The blue berry, an agreeable fruit, is eaten at breakfast, and with tea in the evening. The bread in common use is made of mixture of Indian corn and rye; of the former is made a dish called *hasty-pudding*, which is eaten with butter.

*Products of Animal Substances.*

|                                     | <i>Dollars.</i> |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Mackerel, 5,400 barrels, . . . . .  | valued 44,550   |
| Horn combs, 49,905 dozen, . . . . . | 80,624          |
| Whips, 7,050 do. . . . .            | 7,980           |
| Catgut, . . . . .                   | 2,000           |

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*Dollars.*  
139,067  
20,000  
16,185  
36,000  
7,136  
22,828  
8,555  
41,700  
109,781  
121,980  
92,712  
132,200  
521,718  
44,000  
161,625  
200  
229,085  
38,000  
69,235  
644,990  
1,360  
1,350  
1,300  
10,000  
4,000  
9,303  
79,526  
13,369  
10,900  
2,000  
72,015  
18,700  
24,912  
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|                                     | <i>Dollars.</i> |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Tallow candles, 1,496,550 pounds    | 217,060         |
| Spermaceti, 465,000 do.             | 178,500         |
| Gloves, 4,875 dozen,                | 14,625          |
| Boots, 65,307 pair,                 | 412,500         |
| Men's shoes, 844,861 do.            | 973,043         |
| Women's shoes, 1,310,500 do.        | 816,250         |
| Saddlery, harness, and jockey caps, | 188,226         |
| Oil, spermaceti, 77,696 gallons,    | 68,832          |
| — whale, 240,728 do.                | 171,688         |
| — mills, 44,400 do.                 | 46,982          |
| Hard soap, 2,043,720 pounds,        | 289,697         |
| Soft soap, 4,190 barrels,           | 18,400          |
| Woollen stockings, 57,051 pair,     | 28,453          |
| Morocco skins, 251,800 do.          | 139,660         |

*Tanneries.*

|                      | <i>Dollars.</i> |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| Hides, 174,596       | 1,092,661       |
| Calves skins, 65,888 | 129,078         |
| Do.                  | 9,100           |
| Sheep skins, 62,536  | 52,140          |
| Whips, 7,050         | 7,900           |

In the island of Nantucket there are from fifteen to twenty manufactories for lamp oil and spermaceti candles. A great number of vessels are there fitted out yearly for the whale fishery in remote seas.

Salted cod fish is a favorite dish in Massachusetts throughout the year. It is kept several hours in fresh water before it is boiled, and is eaten with fresh melted butter. The skins of squirrels, particularly those of the striped species, are dressed and sold as furs.

The whole amount of the manufactures in Massachusetts, in 1810, was 18,536,933 dollars, including articles considered as of a doubtful nature in relation to manufactures, to the amount of 687,043 dollars. These are flour and meal, saw-mills, sugar, bricks, saltpetre, pot and pearl ashes.

## COMMERCE.

*Domestic Articles of Export.*—Flour, corn, rice, cotton, tobacco, breadstuff, beef, pork, bacon, lard, butter, cheese, pickled and dried fish, oil, spermaceti, whalebone, lumber, naval stores, beans, peas, potatoes, apples, candles, soap, New Orleans sugar, loaf-sugar, hops, wax, furniture, beer, boots, shoes, New England rum, gin, linseed oil, spirits of turpentine, cables and cordage, nails, iron, clover seed, cotton yarn, onions, vinegar, and manufactures of various kinds.

*Foreign Articles Imported,* of which a great quantity are sent

to a foreign market.—Dye woods; English, India, German, Russian, French, Scotch, and Irish piece goods and hardware, wines, spirits, teas, sugars, coffee, cocoa, fruits, spices, molasses, indigo, cotton, cochineal, manufactures of lead, paints, cordage, hemp, porter, segars, cheese, candles, nails, iron, iron hoops, &c. &c. In 1809, the exports of rice, cotton, flour, tobacco, staves, and naval stores, principally the produce of the southern states, amounted to 2,294,109 dollars. In 1810, the whole amount of exports was 13,013,048 dollars, of which 7,251,277 were of foreign, and 5,761,771 of domestic produce. The net amount of the duties on imports, in 1810, amounted to 2,542,338 dollars.

The tonnage, in 1807, was 321,032 tons, viz.

|   |                    |           |               |
|---|--------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Registered,   | permanent,         | . . . . . | 190,550 tons. |
| Do.   | temporary,         | . . . . . | 19,248        |
| Enrolled and licensed,  | permanent,         | . . . . . | 92,170        |
| Do.   | temporary,         | . . . . . | 3,305         |
| Licensed under 20 tons,   | coasting trade,    | . . . . . | 1,476         |
| Do.   | cod fishery,       | . . . . . | 5,280         |
|   |                    |           | 321,032       |
| Proportion of the enrolled and licensed tonnage employed in the |                    |           |               |
|   | coasting trade,    | . . . . . | 51,712        |
|   | The whale fishery, | . . . . . | 127           |
|   | The cod fishery,   | . . . . . | 43,635        |

In 1807, 693 vessels cleared out at the office of the district of Boston and Charlestown, for different ports, as follows:

37 for France.

73 for Spain, Italy and the Mediterranean.

51 for Hoiland, Germany, and the Hanse towns.

18 for England, Scotland, and Ireland.

229 for ports of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the north-west coast.

The sale of English prizes near the close of the year 1813, brought into the port of Salem, amounted to 675,695 dollars. The value of privateers from this port captured by the English, was estimated at 164,100 dollars.

*Banks.*—In Massachusetts Proper there are 16 banks, of which the capital, in 1812, amounted to 10,250,000 dollars. The banks of this commonwealth are incorporated on the following conditions, required by the statutes: 1. Any loss or deficiency arising from the official mismanagement of the directors, is made up by the stockholders in their individual capacity, but not for a greater sum than the amount of stock actually held by

each. 2. When the act of incorporation expires, the stockholders are bound to pay, in their individual capacities, all bills issued by them which then remain unpaid, in proportion to the stock respectively held by each. 3. One tenth of the whole funds of each bank is appropriated to loans made to citizens, in relation to the agricultural and manufacturing interests. 4. Each corporation is liable for the payment of the original amount of any bank note altered to a greater amount in the course of its circulation, and this payment is due to the *bona fide* holder. 5. A tax of one half of one per cent. on the amount of the original stock actually paid in, is paid to the treasurer of the commonwealth for public use, within ten days after each semi-annual dividend. 6. The commonwealth, when authorized by a law of legislature, may subscribe a sum not exceeding one half of the capital stock of each corporation. 7. If required by the legislature, each corporation is obliged to lend to the commonwealth any sum of money not exceeding ten per cent. of the amount of the capital stock actually paid in at any one time, reimbursable at five annual instalments, or at a shorter period, if convenient, with the annual payments of interest, not exceeding five per cent. per annum.

*A Table of the Banks in Massachusetts Proper, 18 in number.*

| Name of Banks.    | Counties. | Towns.       | Date of In-<br>corporation. | Time of<br>Expiration. | Capital.              |
|-------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| State             | Suffolk   | Boston       | 1811                        | 1831                   | Dollars.<br>3,000,000 |
| Massachusetts     | —         | —            | 1812                        | 1831                   | 1,600,000             |
| Union             | —         | —            | —                           | —                      | 1,200,000             |
| Boston            | —         | —            | —                           | —                      | 1,800,000             |
| Merchants         | Essex     | Salem        | 1811                        | —                      | 300,000               |
| Essex             | —         | —            | 1799                        | 1819                   | 400,000               |
| Salem             | —         | —            | 1812                        | 1831                   | 200,000               |
| Gloucester        | —         | Gloucester   | —                           | —                      | 120,000               |
| Marblehead        | —         | Marblehead   | —                           | —                      | 120,000               |
| Beverly           | —         | Beverly      | —                           | —                      | 160,000               |
| Mechanic          | —         | Newbury Port | —                           | —                      | 200,000               |
| Newbury Port      | —         | —            | —                           | —                      | 350,000               |
| Plymouth          | Plymouth  | Plymouth     | —                           | —                      | 100,000               |
| Taunton           | Bristol   | Taunton      | —                           | —                      | 100,000               |
| Bedford           | —         | New Bedford  | —                           | —                      | 200,000               |
| Phoenix           | Nantucket | Nantucket    | —                           | —                      | 100,000               |
| Nantucket Pacific | —         | —            | —                           | —                      | 100,000               |
| Worcester         | Worcester | Worcester    | —                           | —                      | 200,000               |

*Bridges.*—The number of toll bridges is very considerable, and some are remarkable for their construction and extent. *Malden bridge*, across Mystic river, connecting Charlestown with Malden, is 2420 feet in length, and 32 in breadth. The *Charles river bridge*, which connects Boston with Charlestown,

built on 75 piers, is 1503 feet in length, and 43 in width. On each side there is a railing for the protection of foot passengers; and, by means of a drawbridge, vessels pass through the channel, without being retarded in their course. *West Boston bridge* is 3500 feet in length. Two other bridges, *Craigie's* and *South Boston*, are no less remarkable. Across Connecticut river there are twenty-two bridges, six of which are in Massachusetts; and several, of an elegant and novel construction, have been erected across the Merrimack river.

*Canals.*—The *Middlesex canal*, completed in 1804, extends from the harbour of Boston to the river Merrimack, in the town of Chelmsford, a distance of 25 miles, and opens a communication with the state of New Hampshire. *Concord river*, which is the reservoir of this canal, is 21 feet higher than the Merrimack, and 107 feet above the full tide in Boston harbour. The locks, three in number, are of freestone. That nearest the river is 90 feet in length, and 12 in breadth. It is navigated by long boats of 24 tons, which are drawn by two horses, at the rate of three miles an hour. The expence of this work amounted to 550,000 dollars. The tolls have not produced more than 17,000 dollars a-year. Two other canals extend along the eastern bank of Connecticut river. The upper, called the *Montague Canal*, in Franklin county, opened in 1800, saves a land-carriage of six miles. The canal extends three miles through a light sandy plain, and the only descent is 65 feet. There are eight locks, each 75 feet long, 20 in width, and 12 in depth, supported by walls of stone. The lower, or *South Hadley Canal*, in the county of Hampshire, is two miles in length, twenty feet in width, and draws three feet water. The whole descent is forty feet, and the canal saves a land-carriage of six miles. The five lower locks are each twenty feet in breadth, and seventy-five in length, except the upper one, which is a hundred and fifty feet long. The *Essex Canal* runs along the Patucket falls of the Merrimack, of which the descent is thirty-four feet. The canal with three locks is four miles in length, and is sufficiently deep for boats drawing three feet and a half water.

Several other canals, along different parts of the Merrimack, have been projected. The stock of the two companies concerned in these canals is divided into 1008 shares, one half of which belongs to Hollanders. 200,000 dollars were expended in 1812,

On the Middlesex canal there is a steam-boat for the conveyance of passengers, which moves at the rate of between seven and eight miles an hour.

*Public Carriages.*—The mail stage-coach, common to all the states, is a light carriage, drawn by two or four horses, and fitted for the accommodation of nine passengers, whose trunks or luggage are placed behind, by means of a leathern strap, or fixed under the seats. The driver is not separated from the passengers, to which no objection is made, as he is often the son of a farmer, proprietor of the stage. In summer this carriage is agreeable, but in winter uncomfortable; as there is no other protection against the weather than a curtain of leather, often fastened in a negligent manner to the posts which support the roof. But some of the stages in this state are nearly as good as those in England.

*Roads in Massachusetts.*

|                                 | <i>Miles.</i>            |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| From Boston to Gloucester       | 30                       |
| do. to Portsmouth               | 61 upper road.           |
| do. to Haverhill                | 41                       |
| do. to Amherst                  | 61                       |
| do. to Groton                   | 33 on the turnpike road. |
| do. to Winchendon               | 68                       |
| do. to Brattleborough           | 116                      |
| do. to Pomfret                  | 57                       |
| do. to Newport                  | 65 turnpike road         |
| do. to Provincetown             | 122                      |
| do. to Chatam                   | 94                       |
| do. to Nantucket                | 123                      |
| do. to Holmeshole               | 91                       |
| From Sandwich to Holmeshole     | 24                       |
| From Middleborough to Newport   | 41                       |
| From Worcester to Providence    | 42                       |
| do. to Lancaster                | 20                       |
| From Leominster to Greenfield   | 47                       |
| From Rutland to Northampton     | 35                       |
| From Springfield to Stockbridge | 31                       |
| From Williamston to Salisbury   | 38                       |

OF THE DISTRICT OF MAINE,\*

*Which forms a Part of the State of Massachusetts.*

*Situation and Extent.*—This district, situated between the

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\* So called by way of compliment to the Queen of Charles I. who had a private estate of the same name in France, her native country.

43° and 47° of north latitude, is bounded on the north by Lower Canada, the highlands forming the line of separation; on the east by New Brunswick, the boundary being the St. Croix River, and a line running north from its source to the highlands; on the south-east and south by the Atlantic Ocean; on the west by the Piscataqua River, for a distance of forty miles, and thence by a line running due north, separating this state from New Hampshire. The *length* on the eastern frontier is about 210 miles; on the northern 280. The greatest length from north to south is 225 miles. The greatest breadth from east to west 195. It extends along the sea-coast 240 miles, for 180 of which there is a good road leading from Piscataqua to the St. Croix River.

*Area*.—32,628 square miles, or 20,882,354 acres.

*Soil*.—Near the sea-coast the soil is light and poor, but in the interior, and particularly between the Kennebeck and Penobscot Rivers, it is as fertile as in the western parts of New England, producing good crops of grain and grass. The whole surface is divided by Mr. Greenleaf into three sections, the soil and products of which are distinctly marked; the first extends along the whole sea-coast, and to the distance of from ten to twenty miles therefrom, with an intermixture of sandy, gravelly, clayey, and loamy soil, which in many places is tolerably fertile, producing Indian corn, rye, barley, grass, &c. The second, lying to the north of the former, and extending fifty miles from the sea in the western, and ninety in the eastern parts, has a similar composition of soil, but more uniform, and more fertile; it produces good crops of grass, Indian corn, wheat, barley, rye, flax, &c. In the third or last section, which is yet but little known, there is a great diversity of soil, fitted, as is believed, for the culture of wheat, barley, flax, and hemp, and particularly for the first, which it is supposed will succeed better here than in other parts.

Concerning the interior parts yet unpeopled, Mr. Greenleaf has furnished the following information. The soil, in the western side, extending east to the Kennebeck, and north to the heads of the Chaudiere River, is mountainous and rugged, but towards the Penobscot, and northward to the source of its eastern branch, the soil is well adapted for agricultural purposes. On the eastern side of this river, and south of Passamaquoddy and Schoodich Lakes, it is less fertile; but it is watered by rivers which afford an easy communication with the sea. Between the

Passadumkeay and Mitawumkeay, there is a large proportion of good land; but to the north of those waters, and to the extent of fifty miles on the latter, it is low and swampy. On the east and west are large tracts of good soil. The country watered by the St. John is generally fertile, and particularly along its border. There is not more waste land in this district than in any part of New England of the same extent. The lands of the interior which we have just described, are estimated at 16,031,000 acres, of which 4,352,000 belong to different persons, and 11,779,000 to the state. The whole of this extent does not contain a population of more than *fifteen hundred families*.

**RIVERS.**—1. The river *St. John*, the largest in the district, issues from the highlands, and runs about half its course in Maine. 2. The *Kennebeck* River rises in the north-western parts of the state, and empties itself into the Atlantic to the east of Casa Bay. It is navigable for large vessels forty-six miles from the sea, where the falls commence, known by the name of Teconic and Karatunk, the latter of which are the largest. The outlet of the Kennebeck forms a considerable bay. At the distance of twenty miles from the sea it receives the Androscoggin River, a large western branch, which rises in New Hampshire. 3. The *Saco* River issues from the White Mountains in New Hampshire, and flows into *Saco* Bay, from which it is navigable to the distance of six miles. 4. The *Piscataqua* River, which forms the boundary of Maine on the west, runs through part of New Hampshire, and afterwards crosses Maine to its outlet in the ocean, thirty miles from the head of Cape Ann. 5. *York River* is navigable for vessels of 250 tons to the distance of six or seven miles from the sea.

**Temperature.**—The winter is very severe from the 1st of November to the 1st of April. During this period the ground is covered with snow, the rivers and lakes with ice. Vegetation is several days later in the northern than in the southern parts. In regard to climate, Mr. Greenleaf observes, that the whole district may be divided into four sections: In the first, extending about twenty miles from the sea, there are sudden transitions from heat to cold, and from drought to fogs and rain; in the winter, from cold and snow, to thaws and storms of rain. In the south-west part, where the surface is more cleared of woods and cultivated, the summers are warmer, and the winters are



less regular than in the north-eastern parts. The second division, extending about twenty miles farther into the country, has a more regular temperature throughout the year. In the third section, which includes all the settlements yet formed, the winter is long and colder; the summer more uniform, cooler, less subject to droughts, or to long and heavy rains. Towards the western extremity, the frosts continue longer, and come on earlier than near the opposite side; and the north-west winds are more frequent and violent.

Of the fourth, or last section, very little is known, except that, at the French settlement in the river St. John, the summer is favorable to the cultivation of most of the agricultural plants.

The opinion concerning the climate and soil of this country was for a long time so unfavorable, that, until the commencement of the American revolution, most of the bread consumed by its inhabitants was imported from the middle states. The climate, notwithstanding the great degree of cold which prevails in winter, is found to be very healthy, and the soil is adapted to the purposes of agriculture. Vegetation is later than in the more southern parts of New England; but it is more rapid. Indian corn, which constitutes the principal food of the inhabitants, thrives well, except near the northern extremity, where the heat is not sufficiently great to bring it to maturity, if it were not also liable to be injured or destroyed by the frosts of spring and autumn. It appears that the climate of this region is not materially different from that of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, or Vermont, and, like these, will become less rude in proportion as the surface is cleared of the woods and marshes. Of this there is a remarkable proof, towards the centre, or middle parts, in a strait containing about 400,000 acres, where the trees, levelled by a hurricane in 1798, were afterwards burnt by the Indians and other hunters, and the soil exposed to the influence of the sun, which has created so great a change of temperature, that the vegetation is from two to three weeks earlier in spring; and the weather is warmer, particularly during the night, than in any part of the surrounding country, to the distance of forty or fifty miles.

The *wolf* and *bear* are still numerous, but are not dangerous, except when pressed by hunger, or closely pursued. The *beaver*,

*fox*, and *squirrel*, are numerous. The *rattlesnake* is the only poisonous serpent in the district.

The *mosquito* is the only insect which annoys during the summer heats.

*Population*.—It is stated by Douglas, that the militia, or fencible men, at the breaking out of the French war, amounted to 2485 : in 1750, the population was 10,000 by estimate ; 1790, 96,540 ; 1800, 151,719 ; 1810, 228,705.

*Religion*.—The religious denominations are Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, Episcopalians, Catholics, and Universalists. The first are the most numerous, having 91 churches. In May 1817, the number of Baptist churches, according to the report of the general convention, held in Philadelphia, was 112 ; that of numbers, 6287. Mr. Bescher states, that one-half of the population have not the advantage of religious instruction.

*Agriculture*.—The crops generally cultivated consist of wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, hemp, and flax. Hops grow spontaneously. Mr. Greenleaf states, that, in the settled parts of the district, of each 1000 acres, 838 consist of improveable lands, 102 of waste lands, 47 of water, and 13 are occupied by roads. According to the return of the assessors, the average product of *bread stuff* per acre, from the lands in tillage, is about seventeen bushels ; but this is a low valuation, and the lands under a more improved system of husbandry would give a greater produce. That of wheat on the sea-board land is from seven to twelve bushels per acre ; in the interior from fifteen to forty. In the most northerly settlements, near the north-eastern parts, thirty-three bushels, and in Penobscot from forty to sixty bushels, of Indian corn ; in the eastern parts, from twenty to thirty bushels ; in the western, from thirty to forty. The country is well adapted for grazing, and produces large stocks of neat cattle. The coast furnishes a marine vegetable called *rock-weed*, which is found to be an excellent manure, in the proportion of ten loads to an acre. It has been estimated that there are 4000 acres on the coast, each of which yields annually twenty loads of this article.

*Public Lands*.—A large extent of surface, called Eastern Lands, still belong to the state in 1795. The legislature sold a portion to the amount of 269,000 dollars, and contracted for the sale of 2,839,453 acres, of which 103,680 have been retained

for the ship masts, leaving at the disposal of the legislature about 8,700,000 acres, of which a considerable portion has been since allotted for the encouragement of literature, and other useful purposes. The lands in incorporated towns and plantations amount to 4,850,356 acres, valued at 27 dollars an acre, with an average population of twenty persons to a square mile. The wild lands sell from one half to two dollars, and upwards, according to their situation and quality.

*Manufactures.*—The manufactures, which consist chiefly of coarse cloth and farming utensils, amounted, in 1810, according to the marshal's return, to 2,135,781 dollars. The white pine and spruce trees afford a great quantity of masts, boards, and shingles. Yellow birch is much used for cabinet work, on account of the fine polish it receives; the layers of the outer bark serve as a substitute for paper.

*Price of Labor.*—Farm laborers have from 9 to 12 dollars a month, with food and clothing, and half a pint of rum per day, and 20 dollars without provisions. A day laborer has a dollar, with provisions; carpenters a dollar and a half; mechanics a dollar and a quarter per day.

*Commerce.*—The exports consist chiefly of dried fish, white pine boards, ship timber and lumber, potash, beef, pork, and grain. A portion of the trade is carried on through Massachusetts and other states. The imports consist of colonial produce from the West Indies, manufactured articles, and salt, hemp, iron, from Europe. The inhabitants of Portland carry on a considerable foreign trade.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*Situation and Extent.*—This state is situated between  $42^{\circ} 42'$  and  $45^{\circ} 13'$  north latitude, and  $4^{\circ} 23'$  and  $6^{\circ} 10'$  east longitude from Washington. The Atlantic Ocean washes eighteen miles of its coast, from which it extends to Lower Canada. Its length, from north to south, is 168 miles, and its greatest breadth, on the 43d parallel, is about 90; but it gradually decreases as it runs northerly, being only 55 miles on the forty-fourth degree of latitude, and at the northern extremity not more than 19.

*Boundaries.*—North by Lower Canada; south by Massachusetts; east by the province of Maine and the Atlantic Ocean; west by Vermont. The area is about 9491 square miles, 6,074,240 acres, of which nearly 100,000 are covered with water.

*Aspect of the Country, and Nature of the Soil.*—The country, to the distance of twenty or thirty miles from the sea shore, is generally level; then rising gradually, it swells into hills; and lastly, into a chain called the "White Mountains," the highest parts of which are elevated 3000 feet above the level of the sea. The soil of the lower hills, vallies, and banks of the rivers, is very fertile, and produces excellent grain of every kind. The most valuable lands are along the borders of the large streams. These being annually overflowed, are enriched with a fat substance brought down from the hills, and there deposited. They are notwithstanding, better calculated for pasture than tillage. The shores are sandy, but in some places produce large crops of what the natives call "salt hay," of which the cattle are very fond. In the town of Rye there are 150 acres of this description, formerly covered with fresh water, and since the year 1719, regularly overflowed by the tide.

*Temperature.*—The cold weather generally sets in about the middle of September, and continues till the close of May, during all which time fires are kept up in every house, though sometimes the necessity for them ceases after the 1st of April. The frosts are light in September and October. In November the weather is variable; the frosts are moderate, but not lasting. In December the frost becomes intense and durable. The snow

falls to the depth of from two to four feet before the close of February; and if a thaw takes place in January, which often happens, it is generally followed by a very severe frost. March is blustering and cold, but the snow sensibly sinks under the influence of the sun. In April it disappears in the open country. In winter the prevailing wind is from the north-west, which never blows in summer except after thunder, accompanied with rain. The greatest change of weather ever known in this state was in January 1810. On the 18th of that month, the thermometer, at noon, stood at  $42^{\circ}$ , and on the following day at the same hour, it had fallen  $12^{\circ}$  below 0; and from the 19th to the 22nd, it fluctuated between  $7^{\circ}$  and  $14^{\circ}$  below 0, indicating a greater degree of cold than was ever before experienced in the state.

*Rivers.*—The chief rivers are: 1. The *Connecticut*, which bends its course along the western side, above a hundred and seventy miles. It annually swells after the melting of the snow, ten feet above its summer level, and sometimes, after a sudden thaw and copious rains, it has been known to double this elevation. 2. The *Merrimac*, formed of the waters of the Pemigewasset and Winipiseogee streams, which issue from a mountain west of the White Hills; after their union, the course of the river is sixty-five miles south-east, and thirty-five north-east, to its outlet in the ocean at Newbury Port. It receives several streams; the principal of which are from the west. *Contoocook*, which joins it above Concord, is from sixty to seventy miles in length. 3. The *Piscataqua* river issues from a pond in the township of Wakefield, and runs in a south-eastern direction to the sea, a distance of about fifty miles, forming the boundary line between this state and the province of Maine. A branch of this river, called the *Swanscal*, has sufficient depth of water for vessels of five hundred tons. The navigation of all these rivers, at different distances from the sea, is interrupted by frequent and rapid cascades.

*Animals.*—The moose deer have become scarce. The black bear is numerous, and makes great havock in the fields of Indian corn when it is nearly ripe. The racoon lives in hollow trees, and is also destructive to this grain. The wolf is very common, and commits great ravages among the sheep. A bounty of twenty dollars is given for the head of this animal.

He is taken by means of long traps, into which he is decoyed by a bait. The red and grey fox are common in the woods not far remote from population. Their skin is valuable, and they are often entrapped and taken. The wild cat is pursued for its skin, which is also valuable, especially the black kind. The beaver has become rare. The black squirrel is rare; but the grey, striped, and flying, are common. The forests abound with game. The partridge, quail, and wild pigeon, are the same as in Massachusetts. The wild turkey has retired to the inland mountainous country. The grouse, or heath-bird, is rarely seen except on the high mountains. The bays and rivers abound with cod, salmon, shad, eels, trouts, &c. The first, dried and salted near the Isle of Shoals, is called dumb-fish, and is highly valued. It is taken near the coast in all seasons, and on the Piscataqua River in spring and fall. The largest fish is the halibut, some of which have been known to weigh 500 pounds. The bass and salmon have forsaken the rivers since the erection of dams.

*Population.*

|                             |         |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| In 1749 it was estimated at | 30,000  |
| 1767                        | 52,700  |
| 1775                        | 82,200  |
| 1790                        | 141,885 |
| 1800                        | 183,858 |
| 1810                        | 214,460 |

The increase per cent. in the last ten years was about 16½.

This population, which is most considerable along the fertile borders of rivers, and on the sea-coast where commerce is most active, gives about twenty-two individuals to a square mile. New Hampshire ranks as the fourteenth state of the Union in point of population. The rapid increase is partly owing to emigration from the neighbouring states, and from different countries of Europe. Londonderry, an inland town, was peopled chiefly by natives of Ireland, who introduced there the manufacture of linen.

*Longevity.—Diseases.*—The robust form and florid complexion of the inhabitants indicate the salutary influence of the climate. Several instances of longevity are recorded, the most remarkable of which is that of a baker, Robert Macklin, a native of Scotland, who died in 1787, at the age of 115; and when more than eighty he walked in one day from Portsmouth to Boston, a distance of 66 miles, and returned the next. In

the bill of mortality of Portsmouth for 1810, then containing 6934 inhabitants, the number of deaths was 111.

*Character.*—Dr. Belknap observes, “That firmness of nerve, patience in fatigue, intrepidity in danger, and alertness in action, are to be numbered among the native and essential characteristics of the people of New Hampshire.” Marriage is so general, that in the country it is rare to find an unmarried man of thirty years of age. Many women are grandmothers at forty, and it is not uncommon to see the mother and daughter suckle children at the same time, and the father, son, and grandson, working together in the same field. The women spin and weave their own flax and wool. Dancing is a favorite amusement, and the young people often assemble for this purpose, particularly at the time of military musters, sittings of the courts of justice, the erection of wooden houses, the launching of ships, the ordination of ministers, and the husking of Indian corn. Indulgence in spirituous liquors increases; but the common drink is cyder, or a fermented liquor made of spruce twigs boiled in maple juice.

The political character of this state has hitherto resembled that of the other states of New England. Two years after the adoption of the constitution, the scarcity of money and clamor for paper currency, united with other minor causes of popular complaint, led to open insurrection; and the rioters, finding their petition rejected by the assembly, placed centinels at the doors, and held the members prisoners till the evening, when they were dispersed by the militia of Exeter. The leaders were afterwards taken and tried for treason, but received pardon from the court, on giving security for their future allegiance,

*Constitution.*—The legislative power now resides in a senate and house of representatives, which together form the General Court, or Assembly; and each branch has a negative on the other. Money bills originate in the house of representatives, but may be amended by the senate, by which impeachments are tried. The senators, thirteen in number, are elected annually, by citizens paying taxes. The qualifications for a candidate are these: 1st, To be thirty years of age. 2d, To be seized of a freehold estate, of the value of two hundred pounds, within the state. 3d, To have been an inhabitant of the state seven years immediately preceding his election; and an actual resident of

the district for which he is chosen. The house of representatives is composed of delegates from the different towns, the number of which is proportioned to the population, as in Massachusetts, at the rate of one representative for every 150 rateable male polls of twenty-one years of age, two for 450, and so on, at the rate of one representative for every additional 300. The election is by ballot, and no person can be a candidate who has not an estate within his district of a hundred pounds value, one half of which is a freehold in his own right; he must also be an inhabitant of the district at the time of his election, and of the state, two years previous thereto. Every male inhabitant, of twenty-one years of age, (except paupers, and persons exempted from paying taxes by their own request,) has a right to vote for senators and representatives. The executive power is invested in a governor and five councillors.

The governor is chosen annually by the electors, as above described; and, if two persons have an equal number of votes, one of the two is chosen by the joint ballot of the assembly. No person is eligible to the office of governor unless he be thirty years of age, and have been an inhabitant of the state seven years next preceding his election. He must also be the proprietor of an estate of the value of five hundred pounds, one half of which must consist of a freehold in his own right, within the state. The governor, as president of the council, has the same powers and privileges as those of the governor of Massachusetts. Councillors are elected by ballot, by the freeholders, and the same qualifications are required for this office as for that of governor, except that three hundred pounds or more of the estate must be a freehold in his own right. The secretary, treasurer, and commissary-general, are chosen by the joint ballot of the senators and representatives. The treasurer of the county and register of deeds are elected by the inhabitants of the several towns. Representatives to congress are chosen by the inhabitants in town meetings; and the votes of each are returned to the secretary's office, and laid before the general court. In the same manner are chosen the electors for president and vice president. The two senators in congress are elected by the general court.

*Internal Government.*—The *police*, or protection of persons and property, is under the same regulations as in Massachusetts.



Every township is a distinct corporation, in which officers are chosen for managing its affairs, and raising money, by taxes, for the support of ministers, schools, paupers, bridges and highways, and other public purposes. The general superintendence is intrusted to three or five select men, by whom the taxes are laid, if not voted by the inhabitants. The observance of the Sabbath, and the execution of the laws relating thereto, is under the direction of tything men in the several towns.

*Manners, Religion, and Laws.*—When a marriage is to be celebrated, the intention of the parties is published three different times in the town of their residence. The ceremony may be performed within the limits of the county by either ministers of the gospel or justices of the peace, and the act is recorded by the town-clerk. Any other person, except a Quaker, against whom there is proof of having performed this ceremony, is subjected to a fine of £100. Liberty in matters of religion is declared to be a natural and unalienable right; and no person is to be molested on account of his religious sentiments; no subordination of sect can be established by law. All unnecessary travelling, loitering, or indecent behaviour on the Sabbath, is forbidden under certain penalties. The religious denominations in this state are—Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, Congregationalists, and Universalists. According to the report of the general convention of Baptists, held in Philadelphia in May 1817, the number of churches at this Epoch was 53; that of members, 3738. There is a society of Sandemanians at Portsmouth, and another of Shakers at Enfield. It has been ascertained, that about one-third of the population is unprovided with regular religious instruction. The people, however, in general, profess the christian religion. Slavery is not prohibited by any express law, but there are few slaves. Some purchased their freedom by serving three years in the Revolutionary war; others have received it from their masters. Those who remain slaves are well fed, and treated like white servants. They are also under the protection of a law, 4th George I., still in force, namely, that, “if any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man or maid servant, or otherwise maim or disfigure them, he shall let him or her go free from his service, and shall allow such farther recompence as the court of quarter-sessions shall adjudge;

also, that, if any person kill his Indian or Negro servant, he shall be punished with death."

*Agriculture.*—The great business of life in this state is agriculture. The banks of the rivers and vallies produce fine crops of wheat, corn, and rye; also flax, hemp, and culinary plants. The soil is favorable to the grazing of cattle, and the produce of the dairy is excellent. In good lands the first crops of hay average about a ton an acre, and two tons of clover. The low lands along the large rivers produce from forty to fifty bushels of wheat per acre, the uplands half this quantity. The new lands produce good crops of Indian corn and winter rye. Of the former the produce is from thirty to forty bushels an acre. Barley, oats, pease, and flax, thrive best on land that has been under cultivation for some years. In the western parts of the state agriculture has made great progress. Every agriculturist has an orchard, where the apple and pear tree furnish great abundance of excellent fruit. The farm-houses and farm-yards are neat and commodious. The quality of lands is indicated by the natural growth of the trees. Chesnut, walnut, and beech, are found on the best soils. Alder indicates good meadow ground. Of plants injurious to agriculture the Canada thistle (*Serratula arvensis*, Lin.) is the most difficult to eradicate. It has spread over the loamy and sandy soil of the middle and northern parts, where it grows from three to six feet in height. Cattle are housed from the beginning of November till the 21st of May, except when there is a scarcity of fodder, in which case they feed on the young grass, which shoots up about the beginning of May. Land is cleared of the trees by girdling them in summer. By this operation the vegetation is destroyed. The ground between them is sowed in August with winter rye and grass seed, and the next year it yields a good pasture; or the trees are all cut down in June, when the sap is in circulation, and burnt in the ensuing spring. Indian corn is then sown in holes made with a hoe. If the trees be destroyed late in summer, wheat or rye is sown on the new land, mixed with grass, and raked with an iron-toothed rake, or with the hoe. Sometimes a crop of Indian corn is raised the first year, and the second year a crop of rye or wheat, sown with grass seed, which is employed for pasture or mowing the third year. When the soil is good, the two first crops will pay the expence of all the labor, and it is

customary for the proprietor of lands to let them on this condition, he paying for felling the trees, and purchasing the grass seed, especially husbandmen, who fatten cattle for the market. It is found, that all esculent roots are larger and sweeter in the new than in the old soil. Light frosts sometimes take place in June and August, and destroy the crops of Indian corn. The only manure employed is that of the stables and cow-houses, which is spread over the fields in spring, or put into the holes where corn and potatoes are planted. The neat cattle of New Hampshire are of a large breed, of which the first, of a yellow color, were procured from Denmark, and sent thither in 1633, by Captain John Mason and his associates, for the purpose of drawing lumber. The breed of horses has been neglected, as this animal is little used for draught. The proportion of horses to neat cattle is not more than one to twenty. Asses have been lately introduced. There are great numbers of sheep and swine. The latter are suffered to run in the woods in summer; after harvest they are shut up, and fattened on Indian corn.

*Manufactures and Products of the Soil in 1810.*—The inhabitants generally prepare their own clothing, and various manufactures have been lately established, some for the purpose of exportation. Those of tow cloth are very extensive. In 1810 there were ninety looms in the township of Hanover. Iron works at Exeter produce sufficient iron for the consumption of the state. Bricks and pottery are made in different places. Of gunpowder 1000 pounds are manufactured, value 750 dollars. Spirits, 20,560 gallons, value 22,160 dollars; 135,950 gallons of brewed liquors, from fruit and grain, value 74,450 dollars. Pot and pearl ashes. The number of brushes made in this state in 1810 was 1666, valued at 5000 dollars. At Exeter there is a manufactory of sadlery, a duck manufactory, six saw-mills, and a paper-mill. White pine for masts, yards, and planks of vessels. The masts are the finest in the world, being from 140 to 150 feet in length, and so durable, that, if protected from moisture, they will last twenty years. The roots of this tree are employed for fences, and it is said will last for a century. Hoops, from the saplings of white oak and hickery. Staves, from white and red oak. Cyder, one barrel of which is obtained from ten to twelve bushels of apples, and gives about four gallons of proof spirits. Charcoal, of which one cord of wood, eight feet in

length, four feet in breadth, and four in depth, yielded from forty to fifty bushels. One acre of wood-land yields fifty cords of wood.

*Commerce.*—The staple commodities are ships, lumber, provisions, fish, horses, pot and pearl ashes, flax seed.

*Exports.*—Indian corn, live stock, beef and pork, pickled fish, whale oil, ship timber, tar, lumber, pot and pearl ashes, tow cloth, butter and cheese, flax seed, and bricks, which are carried to different ports, according to the cheapness and facility of transport,—to Boston, Portsmouth, Portland, Hartford, and New York.

*Amount of Exports.*

|          |   |                  |
|----------|---|------------------|
| In 1795, | - | 230,000 dollars. |
| 1799,    | - | 361,000          |
| 1810,    | - | 234,650          |

*Imports.*—West India rum, gin, molasses, wine, sugars, tea, coffee, cotton, cheese, salt, nails, sea-coal, steel, lead, and grindstones. About 27 schooners, and 20 boats, exclusive of those belonging to the Isles of Shoals, are employed in the fisheries, which, in 1791, produced 25,850 quintals. From a memorial of the ship-owners and persons concerned in foreign commerce, assembled at Portsmouth in February 1817, it appears, that the commerce of this state has of late greatly declined. During the year 1806, 103 vessels cleared for the West Indies; in 1816 the number was but 44.

*Tonnage Registered and Enrolled.*

|                        |              |
|------------------------|--------------|
| In 1798 it amounted to | 19,220 tons. |
| 1806 - - -             | 22,798       |
| 1810 - - -             | 28,820       |
| 1816 - - -             | 30,861       |

In 1817 no vessel was building in the state. The following observations are from the address of the governor to the people, dated the 5th of June 1817.

“In New Hampshire the balance of trade is against us. Our imports from foreign countries, and from the southern section of our own country, exceed our exports. This order of things must necessarily drain off our money, and tend to produce a state of dependance on other nations, and other states, injurious to our

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AMERICAN COINS.



*J. Topham Sculp.*

*Leeds. Published by Davies & Booth.*

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interest, and dangerous to our freedom and independence. For it is with a state as with an individual, he that continues to buy much more than he sells, must be involved in debt, and sooner or later become poor. We may increase the number of our banking institutions, but they will not increase our wealth; the precious metals will be sent to other countries to purchase goods we do not want, or such as we can make ourselves. For these evils we may apply a gradual but effectual remedy, by the increase of agriculture and of manufactures."

*Canals.*—By means of locks and a canal, the Merrimac River affords a direct communication between Concord and Boston. There are two canals on Connecticut River, within the limits of New Hampshire. Along Amos Reag Falls in the Merrimac, and others farther up, short canals have been opened. A canal runs eight miles through the marshes of Hampton and Salisbury, and meets the Merrimac opposite Newbury Port.

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## VERMONT.\*

VERMONT, situated between  $42^{\circ} 44'$  and  $45^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and  $3^{\circ} 38'$  and  $5^{\circ} 27'$  east longitude from Washington is a mountainous and inland country. The boundary line that separates it from Canada on the north, is ninety miles long, and from Massachusetts on the south, forty miles. It has New York on the west, and New Hampshire on the east, and its mean length, from north to south, is 157 miles. The distance from the ocean to the nearest point of this state is about 80 miles. Area, 10,237 square miles, or 6,551,680 acres.

*Aspect of the Country, and Nature of the Soil.*—The Green Mountains,† from ten to fifteen miles in breadth, traverse this

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\* The name Vermont, or Green Mountain, is descriptive of the natural growth of the trees of this soil, many of which are evergreens, hemlock, pine, spruce, &c.

† This chain begins in Canada, near the bay of Chateau, and passes through Massachusetts into Connecticut, near Newhaven. The height of Killington Peak in Sherburne, was found by actual mensuration, to be 3454 feet above the ocean, and 3184 above the level of Lake Champlain, at the mouth of Otter Creek.

state in a direction from north to south. These mountains, which run nearly parallel with the course of Connecticut River, are intersected by numerous vallies, the soil of which is deep, rich and loamy. That of the hilly parts is also well adapted to pasturage, and other agricultural purposes. The most level tract is on the borders of Canada. Adjoining the rivers are fine plains and meadows; and between the banks of Lake Champlain and the mountains, there is a valuable tract of arable land, extending 100 miles in length, and thirty in breadth. The whole surface in its natural state is thickly wooded. Along the banks of the river, the white oak, beech, and elm, are abundant. The higher parts are covered with white oak, sugar-maple, butternut, ash, birch, &c., and the mountains are clothed with evergreens to their very summit.

*Temperature.*—The climate is nearly similar to that of New Hampshire. The snow lies from the middle of December to the middle of March, during which period it is customary to travel in sledges. On the sides of the hills it is often from two to four feet in depth. It disappears about the middle of April, except on the highest parts of the mountains, where it lies till May. It is generally permanent from the 10th or 12th of December to the beginning of April, when it suddenly dissolves by the influence of a warm sun. In the low grounds it is from one to two and a half feet deep, and remains till about the 20th of March. The temperature of deep wells is about forty-three one-half throughout the year, which corresponds with the mean degree of heat deduced from thermometrical observations. The trees and shrubs put forth their buds from the 6th to the 20th of April, and flower from the first to the close of May. Wheat and oats are sown about the middle of April, and are reaped about the middle of August. The frosts commence from the middle of September to the first of October, and cease about the 20th of April or beginning of May. Notwithstanding the severity of winter, which is ten or eleven degrees colder than in the same latitude of Europe, young trees are seldom killed by the frost, and the cattle live in the woods. The weather during this season is generally fair and constant, and rain seldom falls, though hail is not unfrequent. Where there is little or no snow, the frost is found to penetrate to the depth of between three and four feet. The ice of lakes and stagnant waters, in the severest



winter, seldom exceeds thirty inches in thickness; that of running streams is somewhat less. It generally dissolves in the last days of March. In April and May the weather is mild and pleasant, with frequent showers. The heat of summer, in the middle of the day, is often uncomfortable, but the evenings and nights are cool and pleasant. The most agreeable season is from the beginning of September to the middle of October, after which, to the close of November, there are frequent rains, winds, and snow. Thunder and lightning are common in the months of May, June, July, and August. The extreme heat is  $94^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit; the extreme cold  $27^{\circ}$  below zero, the mean heat  $43\frac{1}{2}$ . The north, north-west, and west winds, which are the most prevalent, are dry, elastic, and invigorating; those from the south, and south-west, are warm and relaxing.

*Rivers.*—The rivers descend from the Green Mountains, and run on the east side into Connecticut River, on the west into Lake Champlain, except some few which, having a northerly direction, flow into Lake Memphremagog, and through the river St. Francis into that of St. Lawrence. Of these the most considerable are, Otter Creek, Onion River, Lamoille, and Michiscoui, on the west side; on the east, Waniastic, or West River, White River, and Süssunsick. *Otter Creek*, which flows in a northern course, nearly ninety miles, is navigable from its source for large vessels to the Falls of Vergennes, eight miles from its mouth in Lake Champlain, and between these and other falls at Rutland, Pitsford, and Middleburg, it has water for the largest boats. *Winouski*, or Onion River, rises in Cabot, runs first south-west twenty miles, and afterwards north-west sixty to Lake Champlain; it is navigable for small vessels five miles from its mouth, and higher up for boats between the different falls and cataracts. The river Michiscoui rises in Belvidere, passes through a part of Canada, re-enters the state at Richford, and runs in a western course to Michiscoui Bay, a distance of seventy-five miles. It is navigable for large boats to Swanton, seven miles from its mouth. The Lamoille issues from a pond in Glover, and runs in a north-west course of seventy-five miles to Lake Champlain. White River, so called from the color which its waters derive from the white stones and gravel of its bed, rises near the centre of the state, and empties itself into the Connecticut River four miles below Hanover. Its width, to some

distance from its mouth, is from 100 to 150 yards. Oupompansuck, which empties itself into the same river at Norwich, is forty or fifty yards wide, and on account of its rapidity, is unnavigable. Passumpsick is about 100 yards in width, but its course is short and rapid. Wild's River is forty yards across, its course is also short and rapid. The navigation of the other rivers is obstructed by numerous falls and rapids.

*Minerals.*—Iron ore exists in great abundance on the west side of the Green Mountains, and near Lake Champlain. The mines are worked at Tinmouth, Shaftesbury, Rutland, Shoreham, Monkton, and Milton. The Bog ore at the north end of Lake Champlain, the brown hematites, at Monkton, and the magnetic ore on the west side of the lake, are worked at the Vergennes furnaces. Ores of lead at Thetford, and Sunderland, of copper, of ochre, red and yellow.

Flint is found on Mount Independence in Orwell. Jasper of a beautiful red color has been lately discovered; Kaolin, or porcelain clay, is found at Monkton, which retains its white color in the fire.

*Limestone.*—Marble of a fine grain, white and clouded, extends from Bennington to the Michiscoui River. It is worked at Middleburg, Pittsford, and other places. Some of it is as white as the Carara marble. Soapstone (steatite) is found at Oxford, Grafton, Athens, &c. Slate is found in strata nearly vertical at Dummarstown, also at Rockingham and Castleton, where it is of a pale red color. Turkey, or whitestone, is found at Thetford; ore of Manganese at Monkton; clay for bricks, pipe-clay in Rutland; and millstones and marl in several places. Pyrites are found in Shrewsbury. A natural stone bridge, seven or eight rods in length, affords a passage over the river Lamoille.

*Mineral Waters.*—There are two chalybeate springs, one at Orwee, near Mount Independence, another at Bridport, the waters of which are said to contain Epsom salt in great quantity; another was discovered in 1770 in the low lands, near the great Ox Bow, or bend of the Connecticut River. It has a strong sulphureous smell, and the surface, when not agitated, is covered with a thick yellow scum. It throws up continually a whitish sand; and is said to disappear in one place and spring up in another, at intervals of two or three years.

*Vegetable Kingdom.*—The pine, maple, buttonwood, elm,

hemlock, oak, basswood, ash, and birch, are from three to six feet in diameter, and from a hundred to two hundred in height. The most common trees are hemlock, elm, spruce, sugar maple, and beech. On the summit of the highest mountains, the trees, which are chiefly spruce, hemlock, and pine, do not grow to more than two or three feet in height, and their branches are interwoven, so as to form an impenetrable thicket. It is remarkable, that there is a much greater proportion of evergreen trees on the western, than on the eastern side of the mountains.

*Quadrupeds.*—The quadrupeds enumerated by Dr. Williams are thirty-six in number; of these the most remarkable are the bear, black-cat, wild-cat, catamount, deer; fox, red, grey, cross, and black; hare, martin, ermine, mole, mouse, porcupine, rabbit, racoon, skunk; squirrel, grey, black, red, striped, and flying; weasel, wolf, and wood-chuck. In the rivers, ponds, and lakes, are the beaver, mink, musk-rat, and otter. Among the early settlers of this state these animals were so valuable for their flesh or fur, that they were constantly pursued, and, in many parts, several of them have entirely disappeared. The right of hunting, fishing, and fowling, is common to all, and at all seasons. The deer, which cannot be pursued during the two last months of the year, is the only animal that finds protection.

*Population.*—It is stated by Dr. Williams, that, in Rutland, one of the principal towns, the deaths, in the years 1789,-90,-91, were to the births, as one to four. Hence it seems, that the population doubled in a period of little more than nineteen years. In the town of Cavendish, the ratio of deaths to that of births, during seven years, was as one to seven, which gives a still more rapid increase.

*The number of Inhabitants amounted in*  
 1790 to 85,589, including 271 free blacks.  
 1800 - 154,465, ——— 557 ———  
 1810 - 217,895, ——— 750 ———

which gives upwards of twenty persons to a square mile; from which it appears, that this state is the thirteenth in point of population. From the year 1790 to 1800, the increase was 68,860; during the next ten years it amounted to 63,446.

According to the census of 1810, the males under 16 years were 56,429  
 Females under 16 . . . . . 53,962

Total, 110,391

|                                |         |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Males between 16 and 45 years, | 40,469  |
| Females,                       | 41,775  |
|                                | <hr/>   |
| Total,                         | 82,244  |
| <br>                           |         |
| Males 45 years and upwards,    | 13,053  |
| Females,                       | 11,457  |
|                                | <hr/>   |
| Total,                         | 24,510  |
| <br>                           |         |
| Number of males,               | 109,951 |
| Females                        | 107,194 |
|                                | <hr/>   |
| Excess of males,               | 2,757   |

*Character and Manners.*—The people of Vermont have a florid complexion, are well formed, active, and robust. Their clothing is adapted to the climate, which, though very cold in winter, is regular, and not subject to those great and sudden changes, which on the sea-coast are found to be so injurious to health. The pursuits of agriculture, in which all are more or less engaged, are favorable to temperate habits, and diseases are rare.

*Constitution.*—The declaration of rights, which forms a part of the constitution, states, that men have the right of enjoying liberty of conscience; of publishing their opinions; of trial by jury; freedom of election; freedom from search or seizure in relation to their houses, papers, and possessions, unless by a warrant on oath for the purpose; that they are not liable to transportation, for trial, out of the state, for any offence committed therein; nor obliged to give evidence against themselves; that all power being derived from the people, the people have a right to establish their own government, and to reform or abolish it for the common benefit. The legislative power resides in a general assembly, composed of the representatives of the people, chosen annually by ballot, on the first Tuesday in September, by the male taxable citizens of twenty-one years, of a quiet and peaceable behaviour, who have resided in the state during the year preceding the election. Every town having eighty taxable inhabitants, at the expiration of seven years from the date of the constitution, is entitled to two representatives; and during this interval, each inhabited town is entitled to one. A representative must have resided two years in the state, and the last in the town for which he is elected.

The legislature assembles on the second Thursday in October,

and two-thirds of the whole number form a quorum. The supreme executive power, is vested in a governor, lieutenant-governor, and twelve counsellors, chosen by the freemen on the day of the election of representatives. The governor is commander-in-chief of the forces of the state, but cannot command in person without the advice and approbation of the council. The lieutenant-governor, by virtue of his office, is second in authority. The council have power to judge cases of impeachment and murder, to remit fines and grant pardons, except in capital cases. During the recess of the legislature, they may grant reprieves, and they have power to lay embargoes, or prohibit the exportation of any commodity for the space of thirty days. All bills are submitted for their revision and concurrence; and, though not vested with a negative authority, they may suspend their execution until the next session of the legislature. A particular feature of this constitution is the "council of censors," thirteen in number, chosen every seven years, (commencing with the year 1785,) by the people, whose duty it is to examine the conduct of public officers, with regard to the expenditure of public monies, taxes, and the regular execution of the laws; to ascertain whether the representatives and superior officers have performed their duty as the guardians of public rights. For these purposes, they are empowered to examine persons and papers; to order impeachments, and to recommend the repeal of all laws contrary to the constitution. They are also empowered to call a convention, for the purpose of revising or amending the constitution, and to meet within two years after their sitting, having published the proposed alterations six months before the election of delegates, none of whom can be of the council or assembly.

*Judiciary.*—The judges are chosen annually by the council and assembly, and, if impeached by this authority, are subject to removal by the governor and council. The common law of England, and the statute laws by which it is explained or altered prior to the year 1760, have been adopted, except when repugnant to the constitution, or to legislative acts. Of a hundred and sixty crimes punishable with death by the English criminal code, nine only are subjected to this punishment by the laws of Vermont.

*Religion.*—In the declaration of rights it is stated, "that no

man can be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments, or peculiar mode of religious worship; and that no authority can, or ought to be vested in, or assumed by any power whatever, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control the rights of conscience, in the free exercise of religious worship." In the plan of government of 1786, a religious test was imposed upon legislators, which was annulled by that of 1792. In the grants of townships, the first settled minister, of any denomination, has a grant of land, which becomes his property; another is reserved for a parsonage right, or the support of a regular minister, whose salary is regulated by a formal and voluntary contract with his church, which has the force and obligation of other contracts, in virtue of an act passed in 1787. In the towns established under grants from New Hampshire, 114 in number, 330 acres were reserved for the first settled minister; another portion, to the same extent, called a right, as a glebe for the church of England; a third for the support of a school; and a fourth for the propagation of the gospel, by means of an organized society. Under the grants made by Vermont, one right was reserved for a university, one for a town, one for a county grammar school, and one for the support of religion. The actual number of the different churches is as follows:

|                                    |     |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Congregational churches, . . . . . | 89  |
| Baptists, . . . . .                | 23  |
| Presbyterians, . . . . .           | 2   |
| Episcopalians, . . . . .           | 2   |
| Universalists, . . . . .           | 1   |
| Friends, . . . . .                 | 1   |
|                                    | —   |
|                                    | 118 |

*Education.*—The legislature, sensible that the diffusion of knowledge is the best means of promoting the good of mankind, have made provision in land, exceeding 80,000 acres, for the support of common schools in every town; and, in 100 of the townships, tracts of 350 acres each, estimated at about 33,000 in all, have been allotted for the use of grammar schools. In every county there are grammar schools, and in most of them one or two academies. So great has been the attention paid to this object, that it is rare to find a person in the state who cannot read and write.

*Slavery.*—In the bill of rights it is declared, that no male

born in the country, or introduced from beyond sea, can be held in bondage after twenty-one, nor a female after eighteen years of age.

*Agriculture.*—Agriculture, which affords the most easy and comfortable means of existence, is the occupation of nearly the whole population. Property in the soil is easily acquired. One hundred acres of land, in a new township, do not cost the purchaser more than he can spare from the wages of one or two years as a laborer; and the first crop of wheat will pay all the expences of clearing, sowing, and fencing, while the value of his lands is thereby increased to eight or ten times the original cost. An acre, which in its natural state, costs but half of the price of a day's labor, will produce from fifteen to twenty-five bushels of wheat, or other grain of equal value; and, in the course of some few years, the cultivator may acquire for himself and family a comfortable and independent subsistence. The soil is well adapted to wheat, rye, barley, corn, oats, peas, flax, hemp, and culinary plants. Potatoes thrive well without manure. Spring wheat, barley, oats, and peas, are sown from the 16th to the 20th of April. The first is ripe about the middle of August; barley the 1st of that month; oats about the 20th; and peas the first of July. Indian corn is sown about the middle of May, and is ripe towards the first of October. Hay is cut about the beginning of July. Red and white clover, Timothy, and other grasses, are sown in May and September. The hay is cut in July. The natural pasture is excellent; the beeves sent to market are esteemed the best in the United States, though when young they have no other nourishment than what the woods afford. In winter, when grown, they are fed with hay, clover, turnips, pumpkins, &c. and the milch cows with wheat, bran, oats, and Indian corn.

*Manufactures.*—The whole value of manufactures in 1810 was 4,325,824 dollars, not including those of a doubtful nature, amounting to 286,537 dollars, and consisting of maple sugar, pot and pearl ashes, and yellow ochre.

*Commerce.*—The exports consist of grain, flour, bar iron, nails, pot and pearl ashes, live cattle, horses, beef, pork, cheese and butter, lumber, peltry, and flax, which are sent to Montreal in Canada, and by the cheapest river communication, to the cities and towns of New York, Portland, Hartford, and Boston.

Flocks of cows and sheep are driven to the neighbouring states. The imports across Lake Champlain into Lower Canada consist of oak and pine, square timber and boards, staves, pearl ashes, provisions, &c. which, before the embargo in 1808, amounted to £160,000 sterling; the exports from Lower Canada, through the same channel, to about one half of that value, and consisting chiefly of peltry and salt.

*Canals.*—In 1785, the English employed Captain Twist, one of their engineers in Canada, to ascertain the expence of a canal from the river St. Lawrence to Lake Champlain. By actual survey and level, extending from the rapids of St. John's, along the river Sorrel, to Chamble, it appeared, that a canal, sufficient for the navigation of a ship of 200 tons, would cost the sum of £27,000 sterling. It was observed, that this canal, when opened, would extend the navigation 180 miles into a fertile country. A company was, some years ago, incorporated for the purpose of improving the navigation of the Connecticut river, by establishing locks at Bellow's Falls; and this work was to be completed within the space of four years from the date of the act.

## RHODE ISLAND.

*Situation and Extent.*—This state lies between  $41^{\circ} 22'$  and  $42^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and between  $5^{\circ}$  and  $5^{\circ} 50'$  east longitude. It is bounded on the north by Massachussetts; south by the Atlantic Ocean; east by Massachussetts; west by Connecticut. It extends forty-nine miles from the Atlantic on the south to the Massachussetts line of boundary on the north, and the greatest width is 37 miles. It stretches along the west coast of the bay twenty-two miles, and five along the eastern coast, containing about 1580 square miles, of which 190 are covered with water, and 90 consist of islands.

*Surface and Soil.*—This small territory, which includes Rhode Island\* and Providence plantations, has a low surface, except in

\* Called Isle of Rhodes by the first settlers, who in 1638, purchased it from an Indian chief for a pair of spectacles.



the north-western parts, and the township of Bristol, where Mount Haup is situated, formerly the seat of the Indian king Philip. The soil is interspersed with rocks and stones, and, though not fertile, it has been adapted by improvement for the reception and growth of all the vegetable produce common to the climate of New England. The s<sup>t</sup>ure is generally fine, and more particularly in the Narraganset country, situated between South Kingston and the Connecticut line of boundary. The land of South Kingston, near the sea-coast, and Narraganset Bay, is very fertile and productive, consisting of a deep rich loam, with a very small portion of sand or gravel; and the temperature is so mild, that it is seldom injured by drought or frost. The most barren parts are towards the north-west.

*Temperature.*—Extending on the south along the shore of the ocean, and embracing towards the east considerable islands, the climate of this state, owing to its particular situation, is somewhat milder than that of Massachusetts, situated to the north and east. The cold of winter, though nearly of the same duration, is less intense, and the heat of summer is not so oppressive. For many years Newport has been the resort of the rich southern planters during autumn, which season, always unhealthy in the low lands of the Carolinas, is here delightful, from the first of September to the close of October. A late writer observes, “that, were he to select the most favorable spot in America as the place of his abode, his choice would fall upon the southern point of Rhode Island.” Another writer observes, “that, in point of climate and productions, as well as of appearance, Rhode Island is perhaps the most similar to Great Britain of any state in the Union. The winters are somewhat longer, and more severe; the summers, perhaps, a little warmer; but it resembles Great Britain in some measure in the defects of the climate, being from its situation subject to a moister atmosphere than many of the other states.” The month of April is generally cold and rainy; May is temperate, regular, and favorable to rapid vegetation. The heat generally prevails during three months—June, July, and August. The winter is cold and rigorous during four months—from the first of November to the first of March. The snow falls from the first to the middle of December, and sometimes at an earlier period. The air, throughout the year, is pure and wholesome, especially in the Narraganset

track, where no destructive disease has ever been known to prevail. The Narragansets were distinguished for their sacrifices. They had a spacious temple, and stated times for their public assemblies. A fire was kindled in the temple, into which the Powacks cast the most valuable riches of the people, voluntarily brought by them, as skins, beads, hatchets, and knives. The Indians farther north, though not disposed to imitate their example, admired their piety, imagining that this was the reason why the plague or yellow fever, which had depopulated their country, had not raged there.

*Rivers.*—The chief rivers are Providence and Taunton, both of which empty themselves into Narraganset Bay. The former, which has one of its sources in Massachusetts, is navigable for ships of nine hundred tons, to the town of Providence, thirty miles from the sea. Taunton river, which also rises in Massachusetts, is navigable for small vessels to the town of the same name, where the rise of the common tide is about four feet.

*Islands.*—In the bay of Narraganset, which is from two to fifteen miles in breadth, and thirty-three in length, there are several islands, of which the principal are, 1. Rhode Island, from which the state takes its name, fifteen miles in length, and nearly five in its greatest breadth, contains about fifty-two square miles, including three townships; Newport, Portsmouth, and Middleton. It is called the Eden of America, being considered as superior to all other places, in point of situation, soil, and climate. 2. The next in point of magnitude is Block Island, or Manasses, which is seven miles in length, and four in breadth, containing about twenty square miles. It lies seven miles to the south of Charleston, and fifteen south-west from Point Judith. The fuel of the inhabitants of this island is peat or turf. 3. The next in size is Cannonicut Island, situated three miles west of the first; it is ten miles in length, and one in breadth. The soil of this and the first is rich, and the pasture is very favorable to the growth of cattle and sheep. 4. Prudence Island, situated to the north of the river, and to the west of Rhode Island, is about six miles in length, and one in breadth. There are several other smaller islands interspersed throughout the gulf.

*Minerals.*—Iron ore is here abundant and rich; that lying in a valley at the distance of seven miles west of the town of Pro-

vidence, formerly belonging to Mr. Brown gave fifty per cent. of iron at the first fusion. Some of the ore is of a black color, containing small pieces of galena, and mixed with ochre. Copper ore, with magnetic iron ore, is found in Cumberland, near Diamond Hill. Limestone is plentiful in Providence county. Marble is there frequent, and of a good quality. Serpentine, near Newfort. Loadstone has been discovered in small quantities in the township of Cumberland. Coal has been lately found, of a good quality, on the north-west end of Rhode Island, opposite the mouth of Providence river. Blind-coal, or anthracite, at Portsmouth.

*Population.*—The enumeration or census for the year 1730 was, whites, 15,302; blacks, 1648; Indians, 985; in all, 17,935.

| Increase of Population.       | Including Blacks. |                                |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| In 1730 it amounted to 17,935 | 2,633             |                                |
| 1748                          | 32,778            | 4,373                          |
| 1761                          | 40,636            | 4,697                          |
| 1774                          | 59,678            | 5,243                          |
| 1783                          | 51,699*           | 3,361                          |
| 1790                          | 68,825            | 948 Slaves. 3,407 Free Blacks. |
| 1800                          | 69,122            | 380 3,304                      |
| 1810                          | 76,931            | 108 3,609                      |

This last enumeration gives forty-nine persons to a square mile. The increase per cent. in ten years was nearly eleven three-tenths. The remains of the native Indians reside chiefly in the township of Charleston, speak the English language, and are treated with great civility. Their number, a few years ago, was about 500.

The principal part of agricultural labor was formerly executed by negro slaves, which accustomed white children to idle habits, and thus retarded the progress of the country. In the erection of churches, schoolhouses, and every species of useful and ornamental improvement, the people of this state are at least thirty years behind their neighbours in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Their general appearance indicates health and strength, and bears evidence to the salubrity of the climate. The women especially have been long celebrated as among the finest in the United States.

\* This diminution was occasioned by the war. See American Museum, Vol. 1. p. 305.

*Diseases.*—Endemical disease is rare. The dysentery has sometimes prevailed in and after the warm season, owing probably to an immoderate use of fruit, and the neglect of warm clothing, at the first approach of cold. Pulmonary consumption has made terrible ravages among females about the age of marriage; young women, however, are still more numerous than men of the same age, owing to the great number of seamen which this state sends out, and the emigration of young men, who go to find an easier subsistence in the new states and territories of the western country. The yellow fever prevailed in some parts of the year 1797.

*Political Character.*—The Rhode Islanders supported the revolutionary war with great gallantry, but they persisted till the year 1790 in refusing to ratify the new federal constitution, though established with the consent of the other states in 1787. They were accused of refusing to assist in suppressing the rebellion in Massachusetts, and of having given a free asylum to the offenders; for which reason the place for some time received the injurious name of Rogue's Island. They deserve great praise, however, for abolishing the slave trade, which had enriched many of the people in Newport. This was done some years ago, by an act of the legislature, prohibiting the trade between Africa and the West India islands. Rhode Island has the honor of having produced one of the most distinguished heroes of the revolutionary war, Nathaniel Green, and the misfortune of having given birth to the noted traitor Benedict Arnold, who attempted to deliver into the hands of the enemy the commander-in-chief of the republican forces.

*Constitution.*—The charter of incorporation, granted by Charles II. in the fifteenth year of his reign, was to the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in the name of the Governor and Company, to be holden of him, his heirs, and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich in Kent, in free and common sockage. The king reserved to himself, as an acknowledgment of his sovereignty, the fifth part of the gold and silver ore that should be found within the territory. This charter forms the basis of the present form of government, which consists of a council of twelve members and house of representatives, chosen by the freemen. The former, which includes the governor and deputy-governor, is chosen annually;

the latter, by the citizens twice a year. Each township has one representative. In his legislative capacity the governor has but one voice, and cannot give a negative to any act of the two houses. All judicial and executive officers are annually elected by the governor and company, or by the upper and lower house of assembly. Every process is issued in the name of the governor and company. The oaths of office and allegiance are made conformable to the principles of the revolution.

*Religious Professions.*—All men professing a belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, are equally protected by the laws, which leave the support of clergymen to the voluntary contributions of individuals. There are no days set apart for public fasting, as in some of the other states, but there is an annual thanksgiving, authorized by a proclamation from the governor. The religious denominations are: Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Episcopalians, Moravians, and Jews. The first, the most numerous, have five churches in the towns of Newport and Providence. According to the report of the general convention of Baptists, held in Philadelphia, in May 1817, the number of churches was fifty-seven; that of members 5945. The second sect have the same number, in the same places; the Quakers and Episcopalians each two; the Moravians one; the Jews a synagogue. In the western parts, including a surface of thirty miles in breadth and fifty in length, and embracing one half of the population, there is but one minister of a regular classical education.

*Humane Societies.*—The slave trade has greatly interested the humanity of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, who have established a society, not only for its abolition, but also for the improvement of the African race. A Marine Society has been established at Newport, for the relief of the widows and orphans of seamen.

*Literature.*—It was a favorite tenet among the first clergymen of Rhode Island, “that human learning is no way necessary to a Gospel preacher,” and this unfortunate opinion has probably operated against literary institutions, for which no great zeal is yet manifested. Dr. Morse observes, “that in the whole region west of the bay, scarcely a meeting-house or school-house is to be seen. Only a small part of the people have a Bible in their houses, and a very great proportion of them are unable to read or write. The college, founded in 1764, at Warren, and re-

moved to Providence in 1770, was broken up during the revolutionary war, the edifice being occupied as an hospital and barracks by the French and American troops. In 1804 it received the name of Brown University, in honor of Nicolaus Brown, who enriched the institution by a donation of 5000 dollars. The building, a brick structure of four stories, containing forty-eight rooms, is 150 feet in length, and forty-six in width. The library contains about 3000 volumes, and the philosophical apparatus is valuable. There are a president, five professors, two tutors, and a librarian. The professorships are, of law, of moral philosophy, and metaphysics, of materia medica and botany, of anatomy and surgery, of chemistry. This seminary is under the direction of a board of trustees, and a board of fellows of twelve members. The last includes the president, who, with seven of this number, must be Baptists. This board have the power of conferring degrees. The former consists of thirty-six trustees, of whom twenty-two are Baptists, five Friends, five Episcopalians, and four Congregationalists. In the passing of collegiate acts and regulations, both boards must concur. The president is professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. The professors and tutors may be of any religious denomination. There are three vacations; the first of three weeks, beginning with the college commencement, the first Wednesday in September; the second of eight weeks, from the last Wednesday in December; the third of two weeks, from the third Wednesday in May. The number of students, in 1815, was 130; the number of graduates 47.

*Agriculture.*—Though the soil be light, it produces considerable crops of Indian corn, rye, barley, and oats. Wheat is also cultivated, but not in sufficient quantity for the wants of the inhabitants. Culinary plants are in great abundance. The pasture, owing to the maritime situation and mildness of the winter, is of an excellent quality, especially in Hancock and Washington counties, where neat cattle have grown to the enormous weight of sixteen, and even eighteen hundred pounds. There are numerous dairies, and the butter and cheese is of an excellent quality. The number of sheep reared upon the island is, upon an average, about 30,000. Fruit thrives here extremely, especially the apple, of which more cider is made than is required for a home consumption, particularly at Cranston, Johnston, and

Smithfield. The farms and dairies of the Narraganset country were celebrated before the revolutionary war; but during this period they suffered greatly. The English troops in possession of Rhode Island cut down the fruit trees for fuel, ravaged the plantations, and seized the cattle for their own use. Of several thousand head there remained but 300 in 1786. The Narraganset tract, which terminates on the bay of the same name, produces a breed of pacing horses remarkable for their speed and vigor.

*Products of Mineral and Vegetable Substances.*—This state, since the commencement of the late war, has made a wonderful progress in manufactures. As early as the year 1796, there were established at North Providence a slitting-mill, three anchor forges, two machines for cutting nails, one grist mill, one oil mill, three snuff mills, three fulling mills; and the number of each has since greatly increased. In 1810 the annual produce of salt was 800 bushels, value 600 dollars. In 1809, in the town and vicinity of Providence, there were seventeen cotton mills, with 14,296 spindles, yielding 510,000 pounds of yarn from 640,000 pounds of cotton; and seven additional mills were then erecting. The weaving looms amounted to 1100. The cloths manufactured, consisting of bed-ticking, shirting, counterpanes, stripes, checks, and ginghams, were considered equal to any imported goods of the same kind.

|                               |          |           | <i>Dollars.</i> |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Flax seed oil,                | gallons, | 9,560     | value 11,950    |
| Spirits from grain and fruit, | do.      | 1,193,398 | do. 848,240     |
| Currant wine,                 | barrels, | 75        | do. 4,990       |
| Bark,                         | mills,   | 2         | do.             |
| Paper,                        | reams,   | 14,625    | do. 53,297      |
| Cable and cordage,            | tous,    | 545       | do. 163,500     |
| Paper stamped,                | pieces,  | 8,000     | do. 8,000       |
| Straw bonnets,                | dozens,  | 7,260     | do. 25,800      |
| Grist mills,                  |          | 22        |                 |
| Saw mills,                    |          | 28        |                 |

There are woollen manufactures at Warwick and Portsmouth. The number of hats manufactured in 1809 amounted to 50,000. The average value of each five dollars. The rivers and bays abound with fish, which are constantly used as an article of food; and the fishery gives employment to a great number of hands.

*Manufactures.*—The whole amount of manufactures, in 1810,

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was 3,079,556 dollars, besides articles of a doubtful nature, viz. grist and saw mills, 58,000, in all, 3,138,356 dollars. This return of the marshal was stated to fall short of the real amount by twenty-five or thirty-five per cent.

*Commerce.*—This state, favored with excellent harbours, and an easy access to the ocean, is admirably fitted for foreign commerce, in which upwards of 600 vessels are employed. The exports consist of barley, grain, flax seed, spirits, horses, cattle, sheep, beef, pork, fish, poultry, cheese, and cider; of cotton and linen goods, sail cloth, paper, bar and sheet iron, nails, anchors, and the iron work of vessels. The present imports are West India produce, logwood from Honduras Bay, and the manufactures of Europe and of India.

*Banks.*—There are thirteen banks, of which the capital, in 1813, amounted to 1,895,000 dollars.

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