

Four Hundred Years

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY.

BY

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ECONOMY FOR AMERICAN YOUTH," ETC.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION

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SELECTED HISTORIC FORCES.

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

THE Spanish historians tell us that it was not any of the wild and unknown animals or fruit or even the silver and gold of the new world, but the wild *man*, that concentrated the curiosity of the contemporaries of Columbus. And we all of us remember in the charming account of the prince of the Pelew Islands, brought in the last century into England, that what most of all the splendid shows of London fastened his eye with mystery of joy, was the mirror in which he saw himself. In like manner it is not the monster, it is not the remote and unknown, which can ever powerfully work on the human mind; the way to touch all the springs of wonder in us is to get before our eyes as thought, that which we are feeling and doing. The things that we do we think not. What I am I cannot describe any more than I can see my eyes. The moment another describes to me the man I am—pictures to me in words that which I was feeling and doing, I am struck with surprise. I am sensible of a keen delight. I be, and

This essay of Mr. Emerson's is not included in his published works, nor accessible to the general public. It was written by him as Introduction to "The Hundred Greatest Men in History" brought out by us in 1890, and is here inserted as aptly prefacing the record of selected or Red-Letter forces in American history.—F., H., & H.

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I see my being, at the same time. The soul glances from itself to the picture with lively pleasure. Behold what was in me, out of me ! Behold the subjective now objective. Behold the spirit embodied.

What does every earnest man seek in the deep instinct of society, from his first fellowship—a child with children at play—up to the heroic cravings of friendship and love—what but to find himself in another mind : because such is the law of his being that only can he find out his own secret through the instrumentality of another mind. We hail with gladness this new acquisition of ourselves. That man I must follow, for he has a part of me ; and I follow him that I may aquire myself.

The great are our better selves, ourselves with advantages. It is the only platform on which all men can meet. If you deal with a vulgar mind, life is reduced to beggary. He makes me rich, him I call Plutus, who shows me that every man is mine, and every faculty is mine—who does not impoverish me in praising Plato, but contrariwise is adding assets to my inventory.

An ethereal sea ebbs and flows, surges and washes hither and thither, carrying its whole virtue into every creek and inlet which it bathes. To this sea every human house has a water-front. Every truth is a power. Every idea from the moment of its emergence begins to gather material forces—after a little while makes itself known. It works first on thoughts, then on things ; makes feet, and afterwards shoes; first hands, then gloves; makes men, and so the age and its material soon after. The history of the world is nothing but a procession of clothed ideas. As certainly as water falls in rain on the tops of mountains, and runs down into valleys, plains, and pits, so does thought

fall first in the best minds, and runs down from class to class, until it reaches the masses and works revolutions.

The Universal Man is now coming to be a real being in the individual mind, as once the Devil was. All questions touching human life the daily press now discusses. I will not say that there is no darker side to the picture, or that what is gained in universality is not lost in enthusiasm. We have in the race the sketch of a man which no individual comes up to. I figure to myself the world as a hollow temple, and each several mind as an exponent of some sacred part therein; each a jet of flame affixed to some capital, or triglyph, or rosette, bringing out its significance to the eye by its shining.

We delight in heroes, but we can hardly call them a class: for the essence of heroism is that it takes the man out of all class. We call them providential men. They draw multitudes and nations after them, as the nation shares the idea that inspires them. I know the pure examples are few; a few benefactors scattered along history to make the earth sweet. For the most part, the mud of temperament clouds the purity, and we see this sheathed omnipotence in characters we cannot otherwise respect. They show their legitimate prerogative in nothing more than their power to misguide us. For the perverted great derange and deject us, and perplex ages with their fame.

The great men of the past did not slide by any fortune into their high place. They have been selected by the severest of all judges, Time. As the snow melts in April, so has this mountain lost in every generation a new fragment. Every year new particles have dropped into the flood, as the mind found them wanting in permanent interest, until only the Titans remain.

Nothing good, nothing grand has been withheld. The ages of Time, the resources of Being play into our tutelage. Here the world yields to us its soul. To our insight old sages live again. The old revolutions find correspondence in the experiences of the mind. Wonderful spiritual natures, like pryncedoms and potentates, stand bending around us. Each one of the century represents a department of life and thought.

R. W. Emerson.

PREFACE.

Elaborate histories of the United States have been ably written, while compends and school histories—well adapted to the place they are designed to fill—are numerous. Between these compends and the works extending from four to twelve volumes there is necessity, as well as room, for a history that shall be sufficiently elaborate to trace the direct influences that have had effect in moulding the character of the Nation and its institutions, moral and political—one that treats more fully of the “Inner Life” of the American people, and so constructed that the reader can obtain a clear conception of the forces that have made the Nation what it is. In accordance with this view, the present work is designed to present, as fully as is consistent with such a plan, those events which are interesting in themselves and characteristic of the times and people.

While the author has availed himself as much as possible of original authorities, and acknowledges his obligations to the many elaborate United States and State histories, his main effort has been to set forth our story in his own language, wrought into a consecutive narrative, confining himself to the *true elements* of history—that is, only to those events and principles that have had influence; making, as occasion requires, an informal summary of the less important facts or events, in order to keep perfect the

thread of the narrative. Among the motive forces, due recognition has been given to the influence of moral truths derived from the Bible, in leading the people to cherish liberty of speech, free institutions, and the general education of their children.

The reader has no reason to quarrel with the facts of History; but it is his privilege and duty to deduce from them his own inferences. In these latter days public documents are published to the world; thus the materials for writing history become accessible. By this means the leading facts of the late Civil War are as well known to-day as they ever will be. Some incidents and complications in the careers of individuals will be revealed only when the "Life and Times" of each comes to be written. This latter class of material, unfortunately often largely embellished and explained by, perhaps, unconscious apologies and after-thoughts, may throw light upon personal motives and actions, but will shed little upon the great events themselves. For in the late exciting period statesmen groped their way; no man saw the end from the beginning. An overruling Hand brought about the great result, not by the plannings of men, but in spite of them.

It is hoped that the intelligent reader will find in these volumes a succinct as well as a comprehensive view of the history of the American people, and of the influential elements that have gone to form their characteristics and their Government.

J. H. P.

NEW YORK CITY, June 1, 1892.

A SKETCH
OF THE
HISTORY, GREATNESS AND DANGERS
OF
AMERICA.

By JOHN LORD, LL.D.,
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It would be difficult to point out an event in the history of the world followed by more important results, certainly in a material and political aspect, than the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; and as centuries and years roll on, these results appear greater and grander, so that no human intellect can grasp the mighty issues which perpetually arise to view. How little did the great discoverer anticipate the consequences of his adventuresome voyages! How little conscious was he of the boon he rendered to civilization and the human race! It was too great to be measured by any ordinary human services.

Nearly a century passed away before the European mind began to appreciate the true import of the discovery. Columbus himself did not imagine the blessings which he had almost unconsciously bestowed. He had no idea even that he had given a new world to Ferdinand and Isabella. He supposed at first that he had reached the eastern shores of Asia—the Zipango of Marco Polo; that he had solved a great geographical problem of vast commercial importance, and was entitled to high reward. Yet it had been the Old and not the New that he was seeking; while it was the New, that has made memorable the year of our Lord 1492.

In taking this introductory glance at the history of

four hundred years, which Prof. Patton has told in detail, we wish but to mark a few of the great events, the great men and the great elements that have contributed to make that history most notable in the life of the modern world.

It was not long after Columbus, before the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the English, the Dutch and the French perceived that something strange had been discovered, and successive voyagers made it clear that a new continent had really been opened to the enterprise of European nations; that it was rich in mines of gold and silver; that they had only to take possession of it by hoisting a national flag. They found, as their explorations extended, that this new continent was peopled by entirely unknown races, in various stages of barbarism or savagery, whose languages no one could understand—tribes inclined to be friendly and peaceable, but revengeful and treacherous if treated unjustly and unkindly. All the various tribes from Mexico to Canada had the same general peculiarities of feature and color, different from any known type in Asia or Africa. What was the origin of this strange race? Were they aborigines, or did their remote ancestors come from Asia? Their whole history is involved in hopeless mystery.

Peaceful relations were not long kept up between the natives and the adventurers who sought the new world with the primary view of improving their fortunes. Hence the first century of American history is the record of conflicts with Indians, of injustice and cruelty, producing deadly animosities on both sides, until the natives were conquered and nearly exterminated.

There were few permanent settlements, but there was great zeal in explorations, in which Vespuccius, Ponce de Leon, the Cabots, Cartier, De Soto and other famous captains and navigators distinguished themselves, who, on their return home, reported lands of mineral wealth,

natural fertility and great beauty, but uncultivated and sparsely populated. This led to a great emigration of adventurers, chiefly for working the mines. The result was the enrichment of Spain, but not a healthy colonization on the part of that or any other European nation.

Nor was the second century of North American history fruitful in those movements and characters which have much interest to the present generation, except that it was the period of colonization.

Noting particularly the English and French settlements, the first in importance was that of Virginia under the patronage of James I of England. He gave to his favorites and courtiers immense territories. He also gave charters to companies of merchants and others more or less favored, who hoped to be enriched, not by mines of gold and silver, but by the culture of tobacco through African slaves. The first settlement was at Jamestown, 1607, made chiefly by sanguine adventurers, most of whom were broken-down gentlemen, or younger sons of noble families, who did not know how to work. They were so unfortunate also as to quarrel with the Indians. In consequence they were molested, discouraged and helpless, and their numbers dwindled away by sickness and famine. Though continually reinforced by new arrivals, the Colony did not thrive. In two years the able-bodied men numbered only about two hundred, and only forty acres of land were brought under cultivation. The Colonists were idle and dissolute. When John Smith, who led the first settlers, returned to England discouraged, there were only sixty men left out of the four hundred and ninety who had arrived at different times. In 1612, under Sir Thomas Gates, three hundred additional Colonists arrived, and year after year their number was again increased, and yet in twelve years the settlement contained no more than six hundred persons. At last the Company in England

sent over one hundred and fifty respectable young women who became wives of the Colonists, and a better day dawned. In 1619, the London Company granted to the people the right to make their own laws, and the House of Burgesses became the first legislative assembly in the New World, and enacted laws in favor of industry, virtue and good order. In a few years the population of the colony numbered nearly four thousand, chiefly employed in the cultivation of tobacco, then worth on the London docks six shillings a pound. But the people were not all voters. Only those who possessed a landed estate had the right of suffrage. The aristocratic organization of the Colony was not unfavorable to property, since the demand for tobacco continually increased. In a hundred years Virginia was the richest and most populous of the North American colonies; ruled by planters who resembled the county gentlemen of England in their habits, their sentiments and their pride. In religion they were Episcopalians, and in their social life they were aristocrats who disdained manual labor, which was done by African slaves.

The next event of importance in American Colonial history was the settlement of New England, by a different class of men, who sought a home in the wilderness to escape religious persecution. In 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth. I need not dwell on their lofty sentiments, their fervent piety, the privation and sufferings they cheerfully endured, exposed to innumerable dangers, which developed among them extraordinary self-reliance and the spirit of liberty. No rich soil, no crops of tobacco rewarded their hard labors. It was a struggle for existence during two generations. But they were brave, industrious, frugal and moral; they conquered nature when she was most unpropitious. Among them there were no distinctions of rank. They were too insignificant to excite the rapacity of royal govern-

ors. They were chiefly farmers, mechanics and fishermen who had few wants and ambitious aspirations, with a sprinkling of educated men who took their place naturally as leaders, but all animated by the same sentiments, among which the fear of God was pre-eminent—a noble race to lay the foundation of prosperity and power. Progress of settlement was slow but sure. There were no drawbacks, as in Virginia. The word sent back by the Plymouth Colony to their Puritan friends in England resulted in a further emigration in 1628, and the founding of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and the settlements spread. The Puritans were honest in their dealings with the Indians, with whom they remained at peace until jealousies among the Indians themselves incited war upon the settlers. Then the English fighting blood aroused and conquered a bloody peace, lasting for half a century. After that, expansion brought conflict, and the Indians were driven westward. The New England Colonists elected their own governor and magistrates, and in their town-meetings freely expressed their sentiments. For a hundred years they produced few distinguished men except ministers. They knew but little of what are called fine arts, either music, architecture or painting. No sciences received an impulse from them, and no literature except sermons. Socially they were not interesting, being narrow and bigoted and indifferent to amusements. But they all were taught the rudiments of education and independence of mind. In fervent religious life they never were excelled by any people on the face of the earth. Nor in individual sense of duty were they ever surpassed. The difficulty of earning a living on a sterile soil prevented the accumulation of property, and perhaps led them to attach undue value to money. Their frugality and poverty made them appear parsimonious. Their whole history is a refutation of the theories of Buckle,

as also is life in Scotland, Switzerland and Northern Germany.

The colonization of Canada (New France) by the French, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, by Dutch and English, resembled in the main that of New England rather than that of Virginia and the Carolinas. But all the colonists, north and south, were exposed to the same outward dangers in the hostility of the various Indian tribes. So far as they have a common history, it was incessant conflicts with the aborigines, on whose hunting grounds the white men encroached, until the Indians were exterminated or driven to the west—a sad record of injustice and wrong to be palliated only by seeming necessity. It was the old story of the warfare between barbarism and civilization. William Penn's experience in successful dealings with the Indians by means of just and equitable negotiation show that the whole black record of the white man's oppression of the Indian has been utterly needless—the outgrowth of greed.

It was not till the 18th century that the Colonies, whether French or English, can be said to have had any notable history, and even this is meagre—struggles with colonial governors, warlike expeditions through a pathless wilderness, religious persecutions, the extension of frontier settlements, theological quarrels, political theories, all of which favored growth and development, but which produced no historic names, except of theologians like Jonathan Edwards. No great character arose who gave a new political direction to colonial growth. There were no great events which either interest or instruct us until the Seven Years' War in Europe led to a contest between the English and French settlements, resulting in the fall of Louisburg, through the bravery of New England troops led by Sir William Pepperell, a Kittery merchant, and the conquest of Canada under the inspiration of William

Pitt, when James Wolfe was the hero. It was in this war that the colonists first distinguished themselves, fighting for the mother-country rather than for their own interests; that Washington, the greatest name in our history, first appeared upon the way, as an aide to the brave, but obstinate and unfortunate, General Braddock.

The result of this war was to destroy the prestige of English soldiers, and to fan a military spirit in the colonies. It taught the raw American militia self-reliance, and incited a passion for national independence. The colonists numbered now nearly four millions of people, wearied by English rule, ambitious to become a nation, and bound together by the ties of interest. As yet no lights in science had arisen except Benjamin Franklin, no distinguished literary men, no poets or historians, no great political writers, no lawyers even, except of local fame. Books were scarce and dear, and newspapers few. There was not a merchant in the country whom we now should consider rich, probably not a single millionaire from Portland to Charleston. The richest men were the planters of Virginia and South Carolina; and even the foundations of their prosperity were being undermined by negro slaves and the fall in the price of tobacco—the great staple of Southern industry. The ambitious residences of the planters, built in imitation of baronial halls, were falling into decay, and their vast estates were encumbered and mortgaged, which led to the rise of a class of lawyers for the collection of debts, such as Jefferson and Patrick Henry in their early career, and also to the increase of the yeomanry, neither rich nor poor, among whom was developed the passion for liberty and opposition to royal governors, as seen in the Virginia House of Burgesses.

Twenty years of peace followed the Seven Years'

War, but they were not years of rest. It was a period of agitation and discontent. Political theories interested every class, who now began to catch glimpses of the future extension of the country. It was also a period of great material prosperity. The fisheries of Newfoundland were a source of profit to the people on the New England coast, as well as a colonial trade. Lumber and fish were exchanged in the West India Islands for molasses and rum—a new enterprise, which demoralized as well as enriched. The population at the North rapidly increased. Land was cleared of forests and cultivated from the East coast towns to the Hudson River and beyond; and the population, chiefly consisting of farmers, who still remained poor, was yet independent and intelligent. Beautiful villages arose on the banks of every river and at the base of hills. The fear of Indians passed away. Some fine houses were built in the larger towns, and luxuries to some extent were enjoyed by country merchants and the professional classes. Colleges and academies arose, to which resorted the sons of prosperous farmers. Mechanics acquired skill, and some articles which were formerly imported were manufactured in a rough way.

But the most marked feature of the time was political agitation and a desire to be free from the mother-country. This, indeed, was not avowed nor everywhere desired; but there was a growing impatience of restraints imposed by the English Government, and the haughty tone of Colonial governors and judges who were appointed by the Crown. In town meetings the principles of liberty were discussed. Much was written on the imposition of taxes toward the support of the English Government, weakened by the Seven Years' War. The popular orators, like Samuel Adams, James Otis and Patrick Henry, declared that the people could not be taxed without their own consent. Some sup-

ported this doctrine from those abstract rights which appeal to consciousness, and others from the constitutional history of England. Nobody felt the burden of the taxes imposed, but everybody believed that the precedent of taxation would be abused until it became oppressive. Public sentiment, however, was nearly unanimous that taxation by Great Britain was an infringement on liberties and charters, which were to be defended assacred. But I am inclined to the belief that opposition to English taxation was based on the secret desire to be free from England altogether as much as on fear of oppression—at least, among the leaders of agitation, like John Adams, who clearly saw the inevitable extension and future power of the Colonies, especially if united. The spirit of the Colonists from north to south was aggressive, bold, independent, fearless, with a probable exaggeration of their military strength, natural to people who lived so far away from the great centres of civilization, and accustomed to self-reliance amid the dangers which had menaced them for more than a hundred years.

Hence arose the American Revolution, not merely the most important event thus far in American history, but one of the greatest events in the history of the world, in view of the remote consequences. The Colonists were very poorly prepared for a contest with the greatest power in Europe, but they rushed into it with the utmost enthusiasm; their earliest resistance was successful, and the British troops, mostly veterans, were driven from Boston, to the immense astonishment and chagrin of the English Government, who expected a ready submission. Yet resistance would not have been successful if the defence had been made in Europe, with its good roads and means of transportation for regular troops. It was so in America rather by reason of the impassable wilderness which skirted the settlements

than the military strength of the Colonists. Nor would independence probably have been then achieved had it not been for the transcendent abilities, patience and patriotism of the leader whom Providence pointed out for them. Though defeated in almost every battle, and driven from one position after another, leading almost the life of a fugitive, with a feeble band, like David in the wilderness, the heroic Washington persevered long after success had given way to crushing disaster, amid great obstacles, with treason among his followers, slanders and popular discontents; without money and with scarcely any military equipments for his raw militia, until his cause was won—and won more by his taking advantage of the difficulties which nature imposed on the enemy than by the skill and bravery of his own troops. Without him for a leader, with jealousies and rivalries on the part of generals and politicians, and growing apathy on the part of the people, who, as the war went on, tardily and reluctantly enlisted, and then only for short periods, the contest would have been at least prolonged, like that of the Greek revolutionists; and if France had not come to the rescue—not from sympathy with a struggling people so much as from the desire to cripple its ancient and implacable British foe—the cause might have been given up in despair until fought for again in a succeeding generation.

The whole conflict to a thoughtful and religious mind has the significance of a providential event, or of manifest destiny to those who claim to be philosophical and who cast their eyes on the immense resources which were sure to be developed at no distant day in the unsettled wilderness which stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

As we speculate on the results of this memorable contest, we are compelled to notice the special attractions which a free country has held out for emigrants from

the old States of Europe: the unbounded facilities for the poor man to earn a living and even to become rich; the increasing openings for enterprise of all kinds; the vast expanse of public lands to be entered upon; the legal facilities for acquisition, sale and purchase of land—diametrically opposite in policy to the conservative restrictions in the old countries; the unparalleled and rapid increase of population, doubling every twenty-five years; the resistless tide of emigration toward the Ohio and Mississippi, and finally to the Pacific Ocean; the universal sense of security in the new settlements, and the feeling of nationality which has animated and united the whole population.

With political unity and the advance of material interests leading to wealth and power, we do not see, it must be confessed, a corresponding progress in morals or eminent attainments in literature and science. The untoward influences retarding this higher growth began very early. The war of the Revolution relaxed the social restraints which Puritanism had favored. The disbanded soldiers were neither so temperate nor industrious as their fathers, and the vices of drunkenness and profanity became alarming even in the land of steady habits, to say nothing of the looseness in religious opinions. The old Calvinistic divines were succeeded in many parishes by more indulgent ministers who preached short sermons of ethical platitudes, forgot pastoral duties and had a keen eye to professional interests, while many a sturdy farmer added Jamaica rum to his supposed necessities, and ended by putting a mortgage on his paternal lands.

Scarcely had the United States started on their career of prosperity after their successful struggle with England when they were exposed to a new danger, from the reluctance of many States to adopt the Constitution which the wisest and greatest statesmen of the land had framed

in Philadelphia, in 1787. John Fiske has well called this "the critical period in American history." There were in the Constitutional Convention every variety of opinion, and incessant debates. There were fifty-five men in all, representing the different States. Among the more illustrious were Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, and Madison. Differences arose as to the ratio of representation, the mode of election of President and the powers to be delegated to him, the functions of the two legislative Houses and the election of members, the Federal courts and commercial regulations. There was an obvious antagonism between the North and South, and between the larger and smaller States, as to representation. There were angry discussions whether slaves should be considered property or persons. Some leaned towards a centralized government, after the manner of monarchical institutions, and others to extreme democracy. After four months of toilsome compromises the Constitution was signed, as the best that could be made under the circumstances. And although, at the time, it satisfied no one in all its parts, it has been characterized as the most admirably written constitution ever formulated, at once the simplest, the most elastic, the best adapted to the circumstances for which it was prepared.*

The next thing was to get it ratified,—but some of the States stood aloof, especially New York. This called out Jay, Hamilton and Madison in a series of able papers called *The Federalist*—an immortal State document, which seemed to turn the balance, and the Constitution was saved, subject to future amendments.

Then followed the election of President, and such was the universal veneration for Washington, respect for his

* "As the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."—W. E. GLADSTONE.

abilities and gratitude for his services, that he was unanimously elected—the wisest choice that could possibly be made, since the nation was safe under his guidance.

His administration was not marked by stirring events, but by great sagacity. It was memorable for the formation of the two great political parties which, under different names, have since divided the nation, the Federalists, and the Republicans or Democrats—the one led by Hamilton and the other by Jefferson. The Federalists aimed at greater centralization of Federal power; the Republicans—so-named after the French republican clubs—leaned to State sovereignty. The first party was composed chiefly of the professional and educated classes, merchants, and men of high social position; the second embraced the common people and their ambitious leaders who sought extension of the suffrage—a party which continually increased until political power fell into its hands, never afterward to be lost, until their democracy made itself a tool of the slave-holding aristocracy. Washington received a second election, and when his term of office closed he gladly retired to his beloved Mount Vernon, and in a few years died, leaving the most unsullied fame that any man of modern times has earned.

His successor, John Adams, had rendered great services, both before and during the Revolution, in advising and assisting his countrymen to shake off English domination; he had been an efficient, though not remarkable diplomatist in Holland, France and England; and was an honest and patriotic statesman, an industrious legislator, an effective public speaker, a brilliant conversationalist and letter writer, with the only drawback of a hasty, irascible and disputatious temper, and great personal vanity. He was a Federalist like Washington, and made few removals from office. He retired reluctantly from his high position and withdrew to Quincy to nurse his resentments, especially against Jefferson,

the successful rival who succeeded him in the Presidency, having been elected to it by the Republican or Anti-Federalist party.

The eight-years' administration of Jefferson, like those of Washington and Adams, was not fruitful in matters of historical interest, but was marked by great public prosperity. Jefferson was a philosopher and a man of peace, and although provoked almost beyond endurance by the injuries which France and England continued to inflict on American commerce, and by the impressment of seamen and hostility to the United States, yet he abstained from plunging the nation into war. He made a great mistake in his "embargo," which pleased only those who had no ships to rot on the wharves, without inflicting serious injury on British manufactures, and he made himself ridiculous by his gunboats as a means of national defence. With him anything was better than war. And here he was probably right, considering the defenceless state of the country with all its financial embarrassments. His great aim was to pay off the national debt, and develop industries. But he was hostile to a national bank and Federal tariffs on foreign goods for protection to domestic manufactures. He threw his influence into measures for the welfare of farmers rather than of manufacturers and merchants. As his party had acquired undisputed ascendancy, old political animosities died out. Although a Democrat (as the Republican party had come to be called), succeeding a Federalist administration, he made very few removals from office. His policy was pacific and conciliatory, and his popularity increased with the national prosperity. He was the most long-sighted of all American politicians, seeing that political power hereafter would be lodged with the common people, and he adapted himself to their wants, their prejudices and their aspirations.

Though born on a plantation, he was democratic in his

sympathies. He was no orator like John Adams; indeed, he could not make a speech at all; but he could write public documents with masterly abilities, and was fond of writing letters. His greatest feat was the purchase of Louisiana from France, but his administration was most memorable for departing from the policy of Washington and Adams, in breaking away from the courtly formality and dignity of official life and inaugurating an era of popular "republican simplicity." The day of strong central Federalism in government gave way to the reactionary Democracy. Jefferson was an original thinker and a natural opponent of authority, whether in politics or religion. For his own epitaph he described himself as "Author of the Declaration of Independence and of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom."

Jefferson bequeathed to his successor, Madison, the responsibility of settling the growing difficulties with Great Britain. Madison was the disciple, admirer and friend of Jefferson, through whose influence he had been weaned from Federalism, which originally he had adopted. He, too, one of the most able statesmen of the times, and one of the most enlightened, would have kept the country from drifting into war had that been in his power. He clearly saw that the nation was unprepared—that it had neither an army or navy of any size; but the unabated insults of the English government, the continual injuries it inflicted on American commerce, and its haughty and arrogant tone in all negotiations, were infuriating Congress and the American people. It became clear that war was simply a choice of evils—that the nation must either submit to humiliation and dishonor, or risk disaster, the defeat of armies and the increase of the national debt. The war of 1812 was without glory on the land, being a miserable series of blunders and misfortunes on the part of generals, and with-

out results at all gratifying to American pride. And it was also regarded as unnecessary by those who were most injured by naval depredations. It was popular only among those who lived in the interior, and who cherished the traditions of Bunker Hill and of Yorktown. Its calamities were indeed partially redeemed by naval successes, which shed renown on such captains as Decatur, Barron and Bainbridge. It might have been more successful if the whole people had been united in it, to accomplish a distinctive practical object, as in the French and Indian War when Canada was conquered, or in the Revolutionary struggle for liberty. But it had no specific aims except to vindicate national honor. As such it was not without important results. It convinced England, at least, that the Americans would no longer be trifled with, and that all future hostilities, whichever way they terminated, would inflict evils without corresponding benefits. The war doubtless gave a great stimulus to the infant manufactures of the country, and various kinds of industries, since the people were driven to them by necessity, and thus helped to build up New England in spite of its ruined commerce. The war also scattered wealth and inflated prices. All wars have this effect; but it demoralized the people like the Revolutionary War itself, notwithstanding the great bonus it bestowed.

Both countries were glad when the war terminated, for both were equal sufferers, and, to all appearances, gained but trifling advantages. In the peace which was consummated at Ghent, of which John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay were the chief negotiators, nothing was said about the injuries which provoked the contest, but they never were forgotten, and the United States were doubtless put on a better footing with foreign powers. From that time national progress was more rapid than before, and all classes settled down to peaceful prosperity and to improving their condition.

The only event of importance which occurred during Madison's administration, after the close of the war, was the cession of Florida to the United States in 1819, negotiated by John Quincy Adams, but opposed by Henry Clay. The latter great man had now become one of the most prominent figures in American politics, and his entrance upon the political arena marked the growing importance of Congress in the domestic affairs of the country at large. From this time the abler statesmen in the National Legislature obtained by their debates a greater prominence in the public eye than even the Executive itself.

This was true especially during the administration of Madison's successor, Monroe, who was more distinguished for respectability than eminent abilities—the last of the "Virginia dynasty." His name has been particularly associated with a declaration made in his message to Congress in March, 1822, that, "as a principle, the American Continents, by the free and independent position they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any foreign power." This is known as "the Monroe doctrine," although it should probably be credited to John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State.

During the times of "good feeling" and absence of party animosities which marked the administration of Monroe, two great men, Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, appeared in the halls of Congress destined to make a mark in the domestic history of the nation. And there was one event which happened during the same period, the political consequences of which were of great importance, the work of these rising statesmen rather than of the President. This was the famous Missouri Compromise, marking the first conflict between slavery and freedom—a question which thenceforward dwarfed all other

subjects of national interest. Thitherto the great question had been kept in the background, but in 1818 a bill was introduced into Congress proposing the admission of Missouri into the Union, which when it reached the Senate was amended by Mr. Tallmadge of New York, providing that slaves should not be further introduced into the State. Angry discussions followed, and although the amendment was adopted, the question was not lost sight of, but for two years engaged the intensest interest of Congress and the public, until in 1821 a compromise was effected by Henry Clay, by which slavery was forever excluded from United States territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ of latitude, and west of the western boundary of Missouri. This admitted Missouri as a slave State, but drew the line of demarcation at that.

The administration of John Quincy Adams, Monroe's successor, was unmarked by important political events, and he quietly continued the policy of his predecessor, making but few removals from office. He had been a Federalist, but swung round to the Republican or Democratic party. No one since Washington was so little of a partisan as this President, and no one was ever more conscientious in the discharge of the duties of his office. But he was not popular. Neither his habits nor opinions gained him friends, while they created many enemies, the most implacable of whom was General Jackson, who considered himself cheated out of the Presidency by a supposed coalition between Adams and Clay, on which he harped to the day of his death.

In 1829 the public career of John Quincy Adams apparently closed, but his best days were yet to come as the champion of human freedom in the House of Representatives. His most distinctive trait of character was moral heroism. He had a lofty self-respect which prevented him from conciliating foes, or rewarding friends; an old Puritan, sternly incorruptible, disdaining policy

in the inflexible sense of duty and personal dignity, learned without genius, eloquent without rhetoric, experienced without wisdom, and religious without orthodoxy, yet securing universal respect from his austere integrity and undoubted patriotism, the last of the great statesmen, except the military heroes, who reached exalted rank from the services he had previously rendered.

The elevation of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency was memorable for a new departure in the political history of the United States. He was a man of remarkable force. Born poor, he had, almost without friends, made his own way, becoming lawyer, Congressman, United States Senator, Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, volunteer militia officer, Major-General and Department Commander, and Governor of Florida. He had rendered undoubted services in the war of 1812, especially by his brilliant victory at New Orleans, and he also had shown considerable ability in conflicts with the Indians, which gave him great popularity. But he was accused of being ignorant, prejudiced, unscrupulous, and self-willed. He began his administration by making the members of his Cabinet his tools or clerks, and giving his confidence to a few unofficial admirers, called the "Kitchen Cabinet." So far as he was ruled at all it was by these "machine politicians," whose policy was a division of the spoils of office. At the start Jackson foolishly quarreled with nearly all the members of his Cabinet, because their wives would not associate with a woman of inferior social position who had married the Secretary of War. Next, he turned out most of the office-holders whom his predecessors had appointed, who were not his partisans, on the infamous doctrine: "To the victor belong the spoils," a movement which unfortunately became the policy of his successors of all parties, as a party measure. This course cannot be sustained by justice or by argument from experience, either in con-

serving party strength or advancing official efficiency in charge of the national interests. It causes intense hatreds and bitter disappointments. Jackson made ten times more removals in one month than all his predecessors had done before him, and this without regard to fitness for office, but avowedly to reward partisans, in a time of intense political partisanship.

It was not long after his inauguration before Jackson became involved in a quarrel with the United States Bank. The notes of this bank were as good as gold, and it had proved useful in the regulation of the currency, in fact, a necessity which had the confidence of business men throughout the country. Under the pretense that it was an engine of political corruption the President waged an uncompromising war until he effected his purpose of crippling it. I need not detail the financial troubles which ensued when the great central bank, the Federal balance-wheel of all money operations, was stopped, and when State banks—called “Pets”—sprung up everywhere, without sufficient capital, to which the public funds were intrusted until they all burst up together in the financial crash of 1837, and the general suspension of specie payments. In justice I must add that this crash was not caused wholly by the winding up of the United States Bank, but largely by an enormous inflation of paper money in the craze for universal speculation, to which everybody was tempted by the prosperity of the country, arising from its rapid settlement and development.

But more important than the President's war on the United States Bank was the compromise tariff of 1833, which led to the greatest series of debates ever seen before in the halls of Congress, and in which Clay, Webster, and Calhoun were the parliamentary giants. The United States Senate never has had such famous debaters as during the administration of General Jackson. He seemed

to call out all the bitter hostilities which had been buried since the times of Jefferson. The extraordinary ability which was developed at this time in both Houses of Congress, but especially in the Senate, was directed to everything of national interest. Into all political subjects did statesmen cast their fearless eyes—questions of finance, political economy, internal improvements, manufactures, commerce, and Indian difficulties. Congressional legislation during the memorable eight years of Jackson's rule is exceedingly interesting. The opposition was conducted by the Whig party, successors of the Federalists, friends of the United States Bank, of a tariff involving protection to infant industries, and generally of what the Democrats opposed. The Whig press was wonderfully active, not only in discussing public measures, but in caricaturing public men, especially the President himself, who acted from the counsels of his own will alone, while everybody approved or must submit to the penalty of his displeasure.

The debates on the tariff settled nothing. What question of political economy ever was settled, any more than doctrines of theology? For more than half a century our legislators have attempted to solve this puzzle—whether a tariff should be imposed for revenue only, or for the protection of various industries—but the question was probably never more ably discussed than by Clay, Calhoun and Webster at this period. They showed themselves to be statesmen, like Sir Robert Peel and Gladstone, rather than mere politicians such as have generally been elected to succeed them.

There is only one other Jacksonian subject to which the limits of this sketch will allow me to allude, and that is the nullification movement in South Carolina, which grew out of a jealousy of Northern growth and the tenacity of slave institutions, leading to that great parliamentary discussion in which Webster and Hayne were

the combatants. To the credit of General Jackson that movement was summarily put down. In this affair the imperious military president—who was patriotically devoted to the Union—rendered an important public service, the result of which was to stave off the slavery contest until the country was better prepared for it. Moreover, it must be admitted that, stormy as was the administration of Jackson, and high-handed as were some of his most important measures, the country was seemingly never more prosperous. His sturdy will was serviceable also in favorable settlements of outstanding disputes with foreign nations—France, Spain, Naples and Denmark, besides some important foreign treaties. Nor was the country ever marked by grander popular agitations leading to an enlightened public opinion on national issues. The whole land was aroused with the eloquence of popular orators on almost every subject of human interest, and remarkably separated from questions of mere material welfare—discussions and lectures without end on slavery, on peace and war, on temperance, and on every other social reform. The platform, for a time, seemed to be as great a power as the pulpit or the press. The popular discussions of that day prepared the way for the higher grade of intellectual speakers who not many years after began to appear—the period when great lecturers arose like Everett, Holmes, Emerson, Giles, Beecher, Greeley, Sumner, Phillips, followed by Chapin, Whipple, Curtis and a host of others whose literary disquisitions were nearly as exciting as harangues on political and social questions. For a generation the platform held its own as a great popular power, and then gradually passed away, like other fashions useful in their day, to be succeeded by magazines and periodicals whose highest triumph is at the present time assisted by pictorial art.

Concerning the strife of parties and the succession

of administrations after Jackson, I need say nothing. Ordinary political history, after all, is only a strand in the rope. True history embraces the development of agriculture and manufactures, of science, of art, of literature, of morals, and of religion as well—all social growth—a boundless field, which no historian can fully master.

The prominent element of interest in the history of the United States, from Jackson to Lincoln, is almost unwritten except in statistical tables, and that was, the marvellous expansion of the country in every respect. The tide of immigration set in from almost every European nation until it modified all forms of American life. Not merely the poor and the miserable, but the enterprising and adventurous sought the western continent to improve their condition, until the whole country was settled from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. The grain of mustard seed had become a tree for all the birds of the air. With the progress of emigration to the western States all kinds of industry had been developed. The country was getting rich; the national debt was paid off; colleges were being planted in every State; the primeval forests, where the red man had roved for a precarious support from his bow and arrows, had become fertile fields; cereals were exported to Europe to feed starving populations, while peace and plenty reigned in every section of the land. Never was a country more bountifully blessed. The reports of its wonderful fertility, its industrial resources, its mechanical inventions, especially in the application of steam to machinery, navigation and rapid transit, its philanthropical enterprises, its educational movements and its free institutions, reached every corner of the Old World and turned the eyes of suffering peoples to this poor man's paradise, where every facility was afforded for getting an honest living, unmolested by government enactments and the tyranny of caste.

The accidental discovery of gold in California in 1848

gave a fresh impulse to emigration, enterprise and ambition. Streams of western-bound transmigration crossed the Plains, passed the Rocky mountains and the great interior basin, and found lodgments all along the route, until the whole continent was opened up to colonists, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with mines of untold wealth and every variety of fruits and cereals known to civilization; for the expanse of territory provided every diversity of climate, from seaboard to mountain-top, from the tropics to the ice; and this vast continent was peopled by a few people, under a centralized but almost unfelt government at Washington, of whose power the makers of the Constitution had never dreamed. Material life assumed a new aspect, and gigantic fortunes arose far exceeding those known to ancient aristocracies.

But there was one dark cloud which, amid this general prosperity, arose upon the horizon, giving intense solicitude to statesmen in Congress and the people in their assemblies, and this was the agitation caused by the persistent growth of negro slavery. This, little by little, entered more and more deeply into the minds of the people, and at last became a new political force of extraordinary influence. The eyes of the more thrifty and intelligent part of the nation were opened to the most monstrous absurdity that ever confronted the human intellect:—that from three to five millions of people were ground down by hopeless and bitter slavery under a Constitution which proclaimed unbounded liberty; and, further, that this bondage was intolerable, cruel, inhuman, hopeless—that there was no apparent remedy for the most disgraceful injustice under the sun, and that the mere agitation of the subject created bitter animosities among freemen themselves, and threatened National disunion. Gradually all other subjects of legislation paled before the tremendous issues which became obvious to every thinking mind. Even tariffs and internal

improvements, which had been for forty years the leading subjects of discussion in Congress, lost their interest in comparison with the mighty evil which apparently was to divide the North from the South and make two rival and hostile nations instead of one united power. Congressional and even Presidential elections began to hinge on their connection with the slavery agitation. Those very men whom we now venerate as the most enlightened and philanthropic of patriots were maligned, slandered and persecuted, because they strove to enlighten the National conscience as to the evils of slavery. Animosities daily increased between statesmen from different sections of the country. The South looked with alarm and hatred upon all who advocated human rights, and with jealousy at the growing power of the free States, while the North beheld with astonishment and indignation the outrages which slave-owners inflicted on the most patient and gentle people who ever endured the yoke of bondage, and with apprehension saw them reaching out after more territory,—for, as the thriftless labor exhausted the soil, slavery must expand or die.

Such a state of things could not last amid the mighty commotions of the nineteenth century. The inevitable conflict must come. The blinded South would not listen to reason or humanity, and became the aggressor, with the main object of increasing slave territory and dividing the Union. In vain the eloquent memories of Clay and Webster, the adroitness of Douglas and Seward: Southern leaders, like Calhoun and Hayne, had prepared the Southern mind for disunion, under the plea of State sovereignty, which Southern politicians had ever advocated, foreseeing difficulties which they dared not openly discuss. The extension and intensification of the contest over Kansas and the new States, the disruption of the Missouri Compromise in the interest of slavery, the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment in the

North, and the election of Lincoln as President, were skilfully used to "fire the Southern heart" to overt rebellion; the guns of organized State treason at length fired upon the Federal Fort Sumter, and the mightiest contest of modern times was fairly opened.

It is not my object to present even the outline of that tremendous war, the details of which are narrated with accuracy and candor in the work before us, in the course of which such great names as Lincoln, Grant, Lee and others became prominent and immortal. What can be said in a few sentences of a contest which lasted four years and in which more than a million of men perished, and from five to eight thousand millions of dollars were expended? The sincere but misguided State patriotism of the South made a magnificent fight, and the triumph of the North was won not so much by superior genius and patriotic fervor as by its overwhelming strength, to which the Southern leaders had been blind because it was latent.

The life of any one of the prominent generals presents more material for history than the whole military career of Washington, and the short administration of Lincoln more than that of the united lives of all the previous Presidents. Who can present, within the narrow limits of an introductory essay, the patience, the fortitude, the sagacity and the patriotism of the man whom Providence raised up from humble life to guide the fortunes of a mighty nation? And who in a few lines can show the military genius of the great generals who brought the war to a successful issue?

What was this issue? It was the liberation of millions of slaves whose cries of despair had ascended to heaven. It was the wiping out of a National disgrace which insulted humanity. It was the preservation of a Union whose mission for good is infinite. It was the final elevation of the Southern half of the Anglo-Saxon popula-

tion of America to an equality with the triumphant North, and the development of resources which Southern politicians never dreamed of in the most prosperous period of their old-time power. It was the opening up of Southern territory to trade, manufactures and industries which have almost revolutionized it. It was the burial of a subject of contention which had kept forty millions of people in perpetual conflict, and the removal of which left them free to pursue their wonderful career.

With the close of the Civil War a renewed and still more marvellous expansion of energies took place in every part of the land, and in every conceivable form. The increase in wealth and industries was perfectly amazing. The mind is bewildered by their contemplation. It is like surveying the stars rather than the moon. No intellect can grasp the mighty development in mines, in agricultural wealth, in commerce, in manufactures, in inventions, in steam navigation, in railways, in the electrical applications of power, in education, in philanthropy, in the erection of churches, in the endowment of colleges and schools, in the spread of liberal ideas. Even Canada may practically become an integral part of this great Anglo-Saxon empire. The little mountain stream is now a mighty river whose tributaries fertilize millions of square miles of soil as rich as the Babylonian plains. The little sapling at Plymouth Rock is now a tree whose branches conceal the heaven itself. Where is the end to be? What country has such sublime destinies? A generation has not passed away since the war without seeing the population of the country doubled, and its wealth, real and personal, increased to more than sixty thousand millions of dollars.

Thus are all events overruled for good. The war, which some thought would exhaust and ruin the country, opened channels of unexpected development. Thus

is Providence prodigal of the sufferings and the lives of men, and still more of their wealth, to bring forth, out of disaster, blessings which could never be foreseen. This is the most impressive lesson which history teaches, seen alike in the struggles of ancient Greece and the conflicts of most modern nations—the everlasting burning of the world-phoenix to send forth undying hopes and bring about perpetual progress.

All this is the bright side of the picture. There is, alas! another side, fraught with great peril, bringing solicitude to every thoughtful mind.

All countries have peculiar dangers and difficulties to contend with, which sap the foundations of true National prosperity. In the old Roman world disproportionate fortunes, slavery, egotism and social vices undermined the moral health and prepared the way for violence. There was no material on which conservative forces could work. In modern Europe another class of evils give grave solicitude to thinking men. In one country we see hard military despotism, vast standing armies, perpetual preparations for war which divert industry from its legitimate channels. In another country there are popular discontents, socialism, communism, nihilism, threatening the war of classes and the overthrow of established institutions. We see in other quarters combinations of labor against combinations of capital, fearful to behold, the end of which no mortal can predict. We notice in some nations an intolerable religious despotism, paralyzing energies and destroying all individual independence of mind, and in other countries the opposite evil—rampant infidelity, the destruction of religious faith, lax morality, and an insensibility to religious impressions. Some countries are nearly ruined by intemperance, and others by disgraceful licentiousness. Wherever we turn our eyes, there is something pregnant with dangers, and, seemingly, almost impossi-

ble to eradicate—all fatal to healthy development ; seeds of ruin ; sources of despair.

In the United States, with their wonderful growth, unbounded energies, and intense life, there are some peculiar perils which, unless averted, may undermine what is most to be valued ; and they are all the more to be dreaded because they make but little impression on the common mind.

One of these is the inordinate value attached to mere material wealth. If you discuss the destinies of America with a boastful optimist he will be very apt to speak of the inexhaustible mines of gold, silver, iron and other metals, enough to buy the industries of the whole world, and make the country rich, even if no wheat or cotton were exported to Europe. Or he may point to the vast plains under cultivation, producing grain enough to supply the wants of Europe, after using all we need for ourselves. Or he may enumerate the miles of railway—ten times more than would circle the whole earth, bringing every conceivable product of the land to the seaboard. He might enumerate the millions of hogs slaughtered in Cincinnati, Chicago and Kansas City, the innumerable cattle which Texas sends to the East, the hogsheads of wine and brandy which enable California to compete with the vineyards of Europe. Everything centres in his eye on material wealth, and the luxuries which wealth secures. When a foreigner travels in this country it is the vast and undeveloped resources of the West which most astonish him. The common eye sees chiefly the colossal production of the country, and glories in the boundless results which are sure to reward miners, agriculturists, and manufacturers alike. It is this material life in which an immense majority seem to glory as the highest object of desire. Hence the adoration of rich men, the only aristocrats whom society here recognizes, and in whom power seems to be centralized. There

are philanthropists who found colleges; but even colleges are being more and more utilized for science to develop material forces—adapting their supply of learning to the material demands of the age. There are religious people who build churches; but these must be so expensively constructed and so splendidly decorated that poor people cannot afford to worship in them. Everybody is ambitious to live in a fine house, and the wealthy rival the ancient Romans in the luxury of their tables and the gorgeousness of their furniture. It is these things to which most people “point with pride,” as the political party platforms phrase it. Even political aspiration is cast aside for money. This unconscious admiration of material power is nearly universal, and is demoralizing, because we put our trust in it as being our happiness and strength. We lean on money more than on friends. In short, it is with most people the object of idolatry; and the further we go from the old seats of ancestral pride, the more universal, the more offensive, and the more vulgar is this worship, permeating all thoughts, and animating existence itself.

I would not declaim against what is as great an evil in Europe as in America, and was always an evil among all nations. Nor do I suppose that we shall be ruined and wiped out like the ancient Babylonians and Romans. What unknown barbarians can conquer us? We shall neither be depopulated nor exhausted, come what will. The danger is, that we shall be demoralized; that we shall lose that fervid faith in unseen realities that animated the best of the early settlers; that the real grandeur of life will be lost sight of; that we shall become commonplace, and that the noblest efforts of philanthropists and thinkers will be paralyzed by this undue appreciation of physical development. No doubt the spirit of enterprise, the thirst for accomplishing great deeds, exultation in the power to bring things to pass, is

chiefly the conscious motive of American efficiency ; but men easily deceive themselves. The idol is soon worshiped rather than the god it stands for ; the letter is valued above the spirit that created it ; and America is in peril of losing aspiration in sordidness.

Now, if the discovery of America was intended *merely* to open a new field for the development of material forces, then Columbus crossed the unknown ocean in vain ; he only opened the way for a renewal of the same old experiments which ruined the ancient world. Doubtless America is destined to eclipse all other nations in the splendor of its civilization, and it is also probable that the seat of political power will be in those new States which were a wilderness even fifty years ago. No one can exaggerate the material glories which will blaze in the valley of the Mississippi and away over the prairies, and beyond the mountains to the farther sea.

And what then ? Grant the most indefinite expansion of wealth and power. Is it to be the old story of Babylon, Egypt, Rome ? What is the uniform lesson of all the ages ? Industry ; wealth ; corruption ; decay ; ruin. No matter how broad and how splendid a mere material civilization may be, it is built upon the sand. What is the body of a man ? His soul only—himself—it is, that is precious and immortal. Whatever degrades the soul is a poison which destroys the body. Material glories are likely to blind us as to our true and higher destinies. Make New York a second Carthage, Philadelphia a second Antioch, Chicago a second Babylon, and Washington a second Rome, and we simply repeat the old achievements which ended in dismal failure. There is no reason, drawn from human experience, why this country should escape the fate of all other nations, not in the extinction of *their population*, but in the extinction of *their glories*—unless spiritual forces shall arise which will counteract the downward tendency in morals and

spiritual life. If America has a great mission to fulfill she must put forth those agencies and proclaim those ideas which elevate the soul, and which will save other nations also. No stretch of territory, no richness of mines, no fertile fields of corn, no money-making mills, are anything, in the loftiest aspect, if true life has fled.

And hence it is emancipating ideas and enlightened modes of education at home, and Christian missions to extend our best good to needy nations abroad, which should be the objects of highest aim, if America is to fulfill its peculiar privilege in promoting the elevation and happiness of mankind. The final value of the discovery and settlement of America must be established not so much in feeding uncounted millions, to pass away like the leaves of the forest, as in creating new institutions and social conditions, which shall spread throughout the world. Thus only can we even conserve the glories of which we boast.

Another subject of solicitude to a patriotic American is the problem of what shall be done for the emancipated colored people of the South. That is a question peculiar to ourselves, and which we alone can solve. The rapid increase of the colored population may not endanger our institutions or affect the prosperity of the East and West. On the contrary, the unfortunate people whom we freed from bondage, and to whom we, perhaps unwisely, gave political rights, may yet be scattered throughout the land; and they will inevitably find the political and industrial level to which they become adapted, although social intermixture with the whites seems neither possible nor desirable; nor will they weaken the resources of the South, but will rather develop them. Yet their condition is most pitiable. Even Fred Douglass, in a lecture on their sad life, intimated, in my hearing, that, in spite of all that had been gained by many of them, the condition of the great mass was not substantially im-

proved by emancipation—that they were still largely in the power of the whites; that they were still often oppressed, and miserable, ignorant and degraded, and might hereafter, with their rapid increase, become a dangerous element in our civilization.

Something ought to be done for a people who have been subjected to so great injustice. There is no apparent remedy for the increasing cloud of portentous evil but in their education, to make them citizens whom we fear not; and who is to educate them? They must be taught by those who are stronger and wiser. The Southern whites are slow to teach and help them, but at times even insult and isolate the philanthropic teachers who come to save them; although in many localities these old prejudices are passing away as the whites begin to see the higher worth of intelligent laborers. This is marked, for instance, with regard to the Hampton Institute for Negroes and Indians, some of the best friends of which are Southern men. The material wealth of the Nation must be utilized in their favor—must be turned in a channel of goodness and benevolence. No feeble charity, no pittance of superfluous wealth, will avail anything. Donations large and free, not only of private but of public moneys—not thousands of dollars but millions—should be contributed to give them common schools, industrial training-schools and colleges; not directly to teach the masses of ignorant and depraved humanity, but especially to educate the better class of them, to raise up colored teachers who can best instruct their fellow-sufferers.

The boon which Abraham Lincoln conferred upon the slaves as a war measure will not turn out so great a blessing as was supposed, until some National aid for their further emancipation from ignorance and brutality shall be appropriated to their education by our National Legislature, as a National necessity.

Much the same line of thought applies to the remnants of our aboriginal Indian tribes who, as "Wards of the Nation," might well accuse us of a gross and gigantic breach of trust. The efforts making to educate the Indians, both in private and Governmental schools in the West and in the Hampton and Carlisle institutions in the East, give most encouraging results. They promise to fit these people for a reasonable use of the freedom and responsibility that will be theirs when the Government divides their lands to them in individual severalty instead of by tribes, and when they put their nobler qualities of truthfulness and self-respect to work in the sphere of American citizenship.

We should not too harshly criticise our uncivilized "inferior races," for we ourselves have much to learn in the practice of Christianity, honesty and common fair dealing, when our Government, legislative and executive together, unites in making a "Chinese exclusion law," in plain contravention of existing treaties. That has been done in the year of our Lord 1892.

I allude to but one more evil, threatening to sap the moral health of the Nation, and reducing our boasted liberty to a scandal and a failure—especially in cities, to which the people are more and more flocking with alarming eagerness—and that is, corruption and venality in elections. I will not dwell on this disease, since I see no remedy until the whole moral tone of society is raised, and that is not to be done by machinery. If the integrity of popular elections is destroyed we must be ruled by demagogues and bosses controlling the votes of ignorant foreigners. No combinations of capital and occasional bursts of indignant eloquence can remove the evil. It is the most deeply seated and fatal calamity that can possibly threaten the friends of Constitutional liberty. If Thomas Jefferson, who was among the first and was the most potent to open the door to universal suffrage, could

now see the results of his policy, his bones would rattle in his coffin. All elective governments are liable to this misfortune; but here the intelligent voters and taxpayers are on the one hand so devoted to their private enterprises, and on the other such blind worshipers of the party fetich, that the unscrupulous politician has become a professional worker and power. Bribery is nowhere so unblushing and disgraceful as in this country, in consequence of which we have incompetent and dishonest rulers, with their eyes open, not to good which they might do and evils which they might remove, but to the spoils of office. This subject is too painful to enlarge upon, but is, nevertheless, mixed up with American destinies. It will never be eliminated till intelligent Americans take again a lively interest in public affairs and refuse to be herded at the polls by ambitious party leaders. A beginning of betterment has been made, in the adoption of the Australian method of secret balloting at elections, in many of the States. Public opinion is slowly awakening, and the true citizen may hope for a gradual emancipation from corrupt elections; but let no one boast of our material triumphs while this abomination exists in the very citadel of our liberties.

The dangers which some deplore in immigration, in Mormonism, and in Roman Catholicism I fail to see, at least to any alarming extent. Immigration planted the West and developed its industries. Why should not the poor and miserable of foreign lands have a share in a boundless inheritance? It is not necessary that they should always be ignorant. They are as civilized as our own remote ancestors, and they have as noble aspirations. They have already largely amalgamated with the Anglo-Saxon race. Mormonism is only a spot upon a sun, and must fade away with advancing light unless more deeply impregnated with evil than I am inclined to believe; while Catholicism has a mission to fulfill among people

still enslaved by the dogmas and superstitions of the Middle Ages. Grasping as the Catholics are of political power, it is because they had none in the countries from which they came, and their new privileges are all the dearer from their former political insignificance. Every succeeding generation becomes more enlightened and more impressible by grand ideas. They are still the most religious, and in some respects the most moral, of all our colonists; and their priests are the most hard-worked and most self-denying of all our clergy—teaching, with all their prejudices and ecclesiastical bondage, the cardinal principles of the Christian religion. The Catholics may become a very powerful and numerous religious party, but they never can become a dominating power while faith remains in the agencies which have produced so wonderful a civilization as this, nor could the Pope encroach largely on civil freedom in this utilitarian age, even were he so disposed. Indeed, his recent utterances, as to both French and American affairs, seem to show a sagacious sympathy with the political tendencies of the day.

No picture can be true which does not show the shadows as well as the lights. We have had to look at some dark ones. But it is to be remembered that America is not a completed country. Much of the great prospect is chaotic, confused, unsightly, showing piles of dirt and accumulations of refuse material—like the building-ground of a huge edifice during construction. Such rapid advancement in nation-building was never made before on the earth, because all classes have been free and interested workers. We are in a transition stage, and even approximate perfection is a long way off. We may take courage, however, in the knowledge that not only is our edifice well founded—"broad-based upon a nation's will"—but that, counteracting against the infelicities and tendencies to danger, is a new force

arising among the builders—the thoughtful and the devotional alike—which is making more of conduct than of creed, more of piety than of institutional religion, more of individual character than of ecclesiastical form. This leaven is spreading with wholesome infection, and must find its sphere of work in arousing the multitude of individual consciences of American freemen to loftier standards of life and aspiration, in business, in all kinds of manual labor, in politics, in law-making and law-keeping—briefly, in good citizenship. It is much that a land has been found large and rich enough to raise its people out of the degradation of poverty to a higher plane of physical and social life, for morals and intelligence follow that. And there is great hope in the new popular movements in favor of education,—the Chautauqua Circles for home culture, the University Extension for giving collegiate instruction to non-collegiate youth, the libraries and reading clubs, the societies for political, literary and socialistic discussion, the literature-classes among women, and a great number of local associations for self-improvement and for the helping of others, from which radiate newer and better and loftier influences into all ranks of our people—even the very lowest. For among these a fresh zeal of Christian effort, aided by common sense, is carrying the light of physical cleanliness and comfort, together with moral and spiritual light. Moreover, the ancient civilizations, whose material greatness toppled them to their ruin, lacked two things that we rely on, *free schools* and an *untrammelled press*. Frequent political revolt tends to avert the more destructive armed rebellion; and the growing intelligence of our youth, with the atmosphere of free discussion into which they come up, will prove, under the influence of Christianity, a vital force to throw off evil as well as to propagate good.

I have but a word more to say, and that is on the dig-

nity and utility with which the history of this great nation is invested. It will not be long before every university of Europe will have a chair to study and teach the development of our civilization. Such a wonderful progress in a hundred years cannot pass unnoticed by the students of the Old World. Even now the best treatises on our political institutions have been written by a Frenchman, a German and an Englishman, and are used as text-books in our own colleges. The field of American history cannot be exhausted any more than our mines of coal. Everyone who writes a school-book or an elaborate survey of the changes through which we have passed, everyone who collates a statistical table, or writes a treatise or a popular epitome of leading events, is a benefactor. Everyone who paints and analyzes a great character makes an addition to our literature. Even the honest and industrious expert who drags out of oblivion the driest and most minute details, is doing something to swell the tide of useful knowledge in this great country. Especially useful to the hard-pushed student or the busy man must be any reasonably compact record of American life which presents the essential forces and facts that have produced results. Such a work should not only show the annals of political, military and industrial growth, but should note the characteristics of the various groups of colonists and the social, religious and civic elements that entered with influence into the formative periods of our composite national character. It should give at successive points analyses of the principles of republican government and their American applications—from the town-meeting to the highest Federal departments. It should, in brief, show not only the results and processes, but the reasons for them, and thus offer wholesome stimulant to the reader's mind.

The excellent book to which this is a merely suggestive introduction, while it does not startle us by brilliant

creative generalization nor enter upon critical speculations on disputed points, makes admirable use of accepted facts. It is clear in style, condensed though interesting in narrative, lofty in tone and truthful in statement. It is rather remarkable for its discriminating selection of events and influential elements to be set forth and for its lucid presentation of them. Professor Patton's account of our Four Hundred Years of American History should have a wide circulation, for it is a valuable contribution to the cause of education and popular instruction.

JOHN LORD.

Stamford, Conn., June, 1892.

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A CONCISE HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE.

LIEF ERICSSON,

AND OTHER NORSE ADVENTURERS.

ABOUT five hundred years before Columbus landed on Guanahani, one of the Bahama Islands, Lief Ericsson, a Scandinavian, sailed from Brattahlid, now New Herrnhut, in Greenland, in a due south direction, and after passing over sixteen degrees of latitude, or about 1,100 statute miles, sighted Newfoundland, and thence sailing southwest along the coast reached Cape Cod. Afterward other adventurous Northmen made voyages occasionally along the same coasts, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. These explorers landed at several places; and records show that they attempted to found a colony in a region which they named Vinland.

The place selected for the settlement is supposed to have been somewhere within the boundaries of the present States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, but every trace of the colony disappeared long before the advent of the English upon the same territory.

Meanwhile, an Icelandic collection of legends or sagas, which treat of these early discoveries, shows that explorations were made even as far south as Florida, in the vicinity of where St. Augustine now stands.

No marked influence was exerted by these discoveries and partial explorations, however, unless it may have been, as generally supposed, that an account of the voyages of Ericsson and others reached Columbus and stimulated him in his efforts to obtain the means of making an expedition of discovery toward the West.

CHAPTER I.

COLUMBUS.

His Discoveries, Misfortunes, and Death.—Amerigo Vespucci, and the name America.

FOR nearly fifteen hundred years after the birth of our ^{CHAP.}
Saviour, the great Western Continent was unknown to ^{I.}
the inhabitants of the Old World. 1492

The people of Europe had looked upon the Atlantic Ocean as a boundless expanse of water, surrounding the land and stretching far away they knew not whither. This vast unknown, their imaginations had peopled with all sorts of terrible monsters, ever ready to devour those who should rashly venture among them. But the cloud of mystery and superstition that hung over this world of waters was now to be dispelled—a spirit of discovery was awakened in Europe.

The Azores and Madeira Isles were already known. Mariners, driven out by adverse winds, had discovered them. Tradition told of islands still further west, but as yet no one had gone in search of them. Even though the bold Norsemen did find and touch upon Western shores, the knowledge of them was neither published nor utilized. The attention of the people of maritime Europe was turned in the opposite direction; they wished to find a passage by water to the eastern coasts of Asia. The stories told by those early travellers, Sir John Man-

CHAP. I.
1492. deville and Marco Polo, had fired their imaginations; they believed that among those distant regions of which they wrote, so abundant in precious stones, diamonds, and gold, was the veritable land of Ophir itself. Their intense desire to obtain the treasures of India led to a result most important in the world's history—a result little anticipated, but which was to have a never-ending influence upon the destinies of the human family—the discovery of America.

There appeared at this time a remarkable man—Christopher Columbus. He was a native of Genoa, one of the great commercial cities of Italy. He had been from his childhood familiar with the sea, and had visited the most distant portions of the world then known. His time and talents were devoted to the study of navigation, geography, and astronomy. He read also many books of travel, and it is now thought that he had seen in Iceland or elsewhere the accounts of land visited in the west by the Norsemen, as mentioned in our Introduction. He began to astonish his countrymen with strange notions about the world. He boldly asserted that it was round, instead of flat; that it went around the sun instead of the sun going around it; and moreover, that day and night were caused by its revolution on its axis. These doctrines the priests denounced as contrary to those of the church. When he ventured to assert that by sailing west, he could reach the East Indies, they questioned not only the soundness of his theory, but that of his intellect. For years he labored to obtain the means to explore the great western ocean, to prove that it was the pathway to the coveted treasures of the East.

He applied first to John the Second, king of Portugal, to aid him in his enterprise, but without success; he then applied to Henry the Seventh, king of England, with a similar result. After years of delay and disappointment,

his project having been twice rejected by the Spanish court, and he himself branded as a wild enthusiast, he succeeded in enlisting in its favor the benevolent Isabella, Queen of Spain. She offered to pledge her private jewels to obtain means to defray the expenses of the expedition. Thus the blessings, which have accrued to the world from the discovery of America, may be traced to the beneficence of one of the noblest of women.

CHAP
I.
1492

After numerous delays and many disappointments, on Friday, the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus sailed from the little port of Palos, in Spain.

He confidently launched forth upon the unknown ocean. His three little vessels were mere sail-boats compared with the magnificent ships that now pass over the same waters. He sailed on and on, day after day, and at length came within the influence of the trade winds, which without intermission urged his vessels toward the west. The sailors began to fear—if these winds continued, they never could return. They noticed the variation of the compass ; it no longer pointed to the pole,—was this mysterious, but hitherto trusty friend, about to fail them ?

Ten weeks had already elapsed, and the winds were still bearing them farther and farther from their homes. It is true, there were many indications that land was near ; land birds were seen ; land weeds, a bush with fresh berries upon it, and a cane curiously carved, were found floating in the water. Again and again, from those on the watch, was heard the cry of land, but as often the morning sun dispelled the illusion ; they had been deceived by the evening clouds that fringed the western horizon. Now, the sailors terror-stricken, became mutinous, and clamored to return. They thought they had sinned in venturing so far from land, and as a punishment were thus lured on to perish amid the dangers with which their imaginations had filled the waste of waters.

Columbus alone was calm and hopeful ; in the midst

CHAP. of all these difficulties, he preserved the courage and noble
 I. self-control that so dignifies his character. His confidence
 1492. in the success of his enterprise, was not the idle dream of
 a mere enthusiast ; it was founded in reason, it was based
 on science. His courage was the courage of one, who, in
 the earnest pursuit of truth, loses sight of every personal
 consideration. He asked only for a little more time, that
 he might prove to others the truth of what he himself so
 firmly believed. When lo ! the following night the land
 breeze, fragrant with the perfume of flowers, greeted them ;
 never was it more grateful to the worn and weary sailor.
 The ships were ordered to lie to, lest they should run upon
 rocks. Suddenly the ever watchful eye of Columbus saw
 a light, a moving light ! The alternations of hope and
 fear, the visions of fame and greatness, or the higher aspi-
 rations that may have filled his soul on that eventful night,
 are more easily imagined than described.

Frid., The next morning, they saw lying before them in all
 Oct. its luxuriant beauty an island, called by the natives Guan-
 12. ahani, but renamed by Columbus, San Salvador, or Holy
 Saviour.

With a portion of his crew he landed. Falling on
 their knees, they offered thanksgivings to God, who had
 crowned their labors with success.

Columbus raised a banner, and planted a cross, and
 thus took formal possession of the land in the names of his
 sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. The awe-stricken
 natives watched the ceremony from amid the groves ; they
 thought the white strangers were the children of the sun,
 their great deity. Alas ! the cross did not prove to them
 the emblem of peace and good-will !

Columbus explored this island—one of the Bahama
 group—and discovered others, now known as the West
 Indies. Thus he spent three months ; then taking with
 him seven of the natives, he sailed for home. On the 15th
 1493. of March he arrived at Palos. From that port to the court

at Barcelona, his progress was a triumphal procession. He was graciously received by the King and Queen, who appointed him Viceroy or Governor of all the countries he had or should discover. They conferred upon him and his family titles of nobility, and permission to use a coat of arms. The day he made his discovery, was the day of his triumph; this day was the recognition of it by his patrons and by the world. His past life had been one of unremitting toil and hope deferred; but in the future were bright prospects for himself and his family. But his title, the object of his honorable ambition, proved the occasion of all his after sorrows. The honors so justly conferred upon him, excited the jealousy of the Spanish nobility.

CHAP.
I.

1493

From this time his life was one continued contest with his enemies. He made more voyages, and more discoveries in the West Indies. On his third voyage he saw the mainland at the mouth of the Orinoco. It seems never to have occurred to him, that a river so large must necessarily drain a vast territory. He supposed the lands he had discovered were islands belonging to Cathay, or Farther India; from this circumstance the natives of the New World were called Indians. It is more than probable Columbus died without knowing that he had found a great continent.

1498

After a few years his enemies so far prevailed, that on a false accusation he was sent home in chains from the island of Hispaniola. Isabella, indignant at the treatment he had received, ordered them to be taken off, and all his rights and honors restored. Ferdinand promised to aid her in rendering him justice, and in punishing his enemies; but, double-dealing and ungenerous, he did neither. To the misfortunes of Columbus was added the death of Isabella, his kind and generous patroness. And now he was openly maligned and persecuted. Their work was soon done; in a short time he died, worn out by disease and

CHAP. disappointment. His last words were : " Into thy hands,
I O Lord, I commend my spirit."

1506. His body was deposited in a convent in Spain. Ferdinand, it is said, ordered a monument to his memory. The justice he had denied him in life he was willing to inscribe upon his tomb,—it was to bear the inscription : " Columbus has given a world to Castile and Leon."

The body of Columbus was afterwards conveyed to Hispaniola. After a lapse of almost three hundred years that island passed into the hands of the French. Generations had come and gone, but the Spanish nation remembered that Columbus had " given a world to Castile and Leon ; " and they wished to retain his remains within their own territories. They disinterred them, and with imposing ceremonies transferred them to Havana in the
1795. island of Cuba, where they still remain.

About seven years after the first voyage of Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, visited the West Indies, and also landed on the eastern coast of South America. On his return he published a glowing description of the newly discovered countries. From this circumstance the name **AMERICA** was given to the New World by a German writer on Geography, who may have been ignorant of the claims of Columbus.

CHAPTER II.

THE ABORIGINES.

IN the earliest ages of the world the ancient inhabitants of America may have come from Asia. The proximity of the two continents in the vicinity of Behring's Straits and the Aleutian Isles, renders such an emigration comparatively easy. There is reason to believe the people found here by Europeans, were not the original inhabitants of the land.

CHAP.
II.

Throughout the continent, more especially in the valley of the Mississippi, are found monuments of a race more ancient,—mounds and enclosures of great extent,—the work, not of roving savages, but of a people who lived in settled habitations, it may be, as prosperous and peaceful cultivators of the soil. To build these immense monuments, the materials of which were frequently brought from a distance, required the labor and toil of a numerous population. Perhaps in the vicinity of these works, villages and cities once stood. The enclosures were used either as places of defence, or for purposes of worship, and perhaps for both; the mounds evidently as places of burial for kings or chiefs.

The antiquary finds here no inscriptions, which, like those found on the plains of Shinar or in the valley of the Nile, can unfold the mysteries of bygone centuries. He finds only the scattered remnants of vessels of earthen-

CHAP.
II

ware, rude weapons of warfare, axes made of stone, and ornaments worn only by a people rude and uncultivated.

How much of happiness or of misery this ancient people experienced during those many ages, none can tell. In an evil hour came some dire calamity. It may have been civil war, which in its path spread desolation far and wide ; blotted out their imperfect civilization, and drove the more peaceful inhabitants further south, where they founded the empires of Mexico and Peru ; while those who remained degenerated into roving savages, and converted those fertile plains into hunting-grounds. Or may we not rather suppose that centuries after the first emigration, there came another from the same mother of nations, Asia ;—that the latter were warlike savages, who lived not by cultivating the soil but by hunting ;—that these invaders drove the peaceful inhabitants of that beautiful region to the far south, and took possession of the conquered land as their own home and hunting-ground ?

Travellers have noticed the near resemblance of the aborigines of North America to the people of north-eastern Asia, not only in their customs but in their physical appearance. “The daring traveller Ledyard, as he stood in Siberia with men of the Mongolian race before him, and compared them with the Indians who had been his old play-fellows and school-mates at Dartmouth, writes deliberately that, ‘universally and circumstantially they resemble the aborigines of America.’ On the Connecticut and the Obi, he saw but one race.”¹

More than two thousand years ago, Herodotus wrote in his history, that the Scythians practised the custom of scalping their enemies slain in battle ; that the warrior preserved these scalps as the evidence of his bravery, and used them to decorate his tent and the trappings of his horse. The wonderful skill of these Scythians in han-

¹ Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. III., page 318.

Using the bow and arrow was proverbial in ancient times. Who can tell but the ancestors of the aborigines of America came from Scythia, and brought with them their skill in using the bow and arrow, and the singular custom of scalping?

Of the North American Indians there were four general divisions; these occupied as many separate portions of the United States and Canada. The Algonquin branch, with its various tribes, claimed the territory extending from the north of Maine to Cape Fear, thence to the Mississippi, and north of the great lakes to the vicinity of Hudson Bay; their territory completely encircled that claimed by their enemies, the powerful Huron-Iroquois, whose central portion was along the north shores of the Lakes Erie and Ontario, beyond Georgian bay of Lake Huron, and almost to the Ottawa river, and south of the same lakes to the waters of the Ohio and the Susquehanna, and from the west end of Lake Erie to Lake Champlain and the Hudson. The Mobilian branch extended from Cape Fear to the south point of Florida; west along the north shores of the Gulf of Mexico to the Mississippi; north as far as the Tennessee river and the southern spurs of the Cumberland mountains. West of the Mississippi were the roving tribes of the Dahcotahs, or Sioux.

As the natives of these different portions of the continent closely resembled each other in physical constitution and personal appearance, the first explorers supposed they were one and the same people; but when their languages became better known, ethnologists classified them as different branches of the same great family. In earlier ages they may have been one people, speaking the same language; afterward, revengeful wars, unrelentingly waged for ages, separated them. Each little tribe or family wandered alone; as differing circumstances and necessities required, they added new words to the original language; thus were formed dialects, which philologists have par-

CHAP. tially traced, and which apparently lead to the same mother
II. tongue.

Their mode of living, customs, and religious belief were also similar ; their houses, or wigwams, were formed of poles placed in the ground, and bent toward each other at the top, and covered with birch or chestnut bark ; they dressed in the skins of animals ; wore as ornaments the feathers of the eagle and the claws of the bear,—trophies of their skill as hunters,—and valued more than all the scalps of their enemies ; proofs of their bravery and success in war.

They believed in a Great Spirit that pervaded all things ; their heaven lay away beyond the mountains of the setting sun : it was a land of bright meadows and crystal springs, a happy hunting-ground stocked with wild animals, where the Indian hunter after death enjoyed the chase, and never suffered cold, nor thirst, nor hunger more.

NOTE.—As the several tribes of Indians come within the scope of this history they will be further noticed.

CHAPTER III.

SPANISH DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS.

South Sea.—First Voyage round the World.—Ponce de Leon.—Florida, Discovery and Attempt to settle.—Vasquez de Ayllon.—Conquest of Mexico and Peru.

IN a few years the Spaniards subdued and colonized the most important islands of the West Indies. The poor timid natives were either murdered or reduced to slavery. Unheard-of cruelties in a short time wasted, and almost exterminated the entire race.

CHAP
III.
—
1506.

Not satisfied with the possession of these islands, the Spaniards made further discoveries from time to time around the Gulf of Mexico ; they explored the southern part of the peninsula of Yucatan ; they planted a colony on the narrow Isthmus of Darien. Until this time, no settlement had been made on the Western Continent.

1510.

When in search of gold, Nunez de Balboa, the governor of this colony, made an exploring tour into the interior, he ascended a high mountain, and from its top his eyes were greeted with the sight of a vast expanse of water extending away to the south, as far as the eye could reach. He called it the South Sea. But seven years later, Magellan, a Portuguese mariner in the service of Spain, passed through the dangerous and stormy Straits which bear his name ; and sailing out into the great field of waters, found it so calm, so free from storms, that he called it the Pacific or peaceful ocean. Magellan died on the voyage, but his ship reached the coast of Asia, and thence returned home

1520

CHAP.
III.

to Spain by the Cape of Good Hope, thus realizing the vision of Columbus, that the world was a globe, and could be sailed round.

1512.

Juan Ponce de Leon, a former governor of Porto Rico, fitted out at his own expense three ships to make a voyage of discovery. He had heard from the natives of Porto Rico that somewhere in the Bahama Islands, was a fountain that would restore to the vigor of youth all those who should drink of its waters or bathe in its stream. This absurd story many of the Spaniards believed, and none more firmly than De Leon. He was an old man, and anxious to renew his youthful pleasures ; with eager hopes he hastened in search of the marvellous fountain.

He did not find it, but in coasting along to the west of the islands, he came in sight of an unknown country. It appeared to bloom with flowers, and to be covered with magnificent forests. As this country was first seen on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, he named it Florida. With great difficulty he landed to the north of where St. Augustine now stands, and took formal possession of the country in the name of the Spanish sovereign. He sailed to the south along the unknown and dangerous coast, around the extreme point, Cape Florida, and to the south-west among the Tortugas islands. He received for his services the honor of being appointed Governor of Florida by the King of Spain,—rather an expensive honor, being based on the condition that he should colonize the country.

A year or two afterward, he attempted to plant a colony, but found the natives exceedingly hostile. They attacked him and his men with great fury—many were killed, the rest were forced to flee to their ships, and Ponce de Leon himself was mortally wounded. He had been a soldier of Spain ; a companion of Columbus on his second voyage ; had been governor of Porto Rico, where he had oppressed the natives with great cruelty ; he had sought

an exemption from the ills of old age ; had attempted to found a colony and gain the immortality of fame. But he returned to Cuba to die, without planting his colony or drinking of the fountain of youth. CHAP
III.
1512

About this time was made the first attempt to obtain Indians from the Continent as slaves to work in the mines and on the plantations of Hispaniola or St. Domingo. The ignominy of this attempt belongs to a company of seven men, the most distinguished of whom was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. They went first to the Bahama Islands, from these they passed to the coast of the present State of South Carolina, landing at or near St. Helena Sound.

The natives of this region knew not as yet what they had to fear from Europeans. They were, however, shy at first, but after presents had been distributed among them, they received the strangers kindly. They were invited to visit the ships. Curiosity overcame their timidity, and they went on board in crowds. The treacherous Spaniards immediately set sail for St. Domingo, regardless of the sorrows they inflicted upon the victims of their cruelty and avarice. Thus far their plot was successful ; soon however a storm arose, and one of the ships went down with all on board ; sickness and death carried off many of the captives on the other vessel. Such outrages upon the natives were common ; and instead of being condemned and punished, they were commended. Vasquez went to Spain, boasting of his expedition as if it had been praiseworthy. As a reward, he received from the Spanish monarch a commission to conquer the country. 1520

When he had expended his fortune in preparations, he set sail, and landed upon the coast. Bitter wrongs had been inflicted upon the natives, and their spirit was roused. They attacked him with great vigor, killed nearly all his men, and forced him to give up the enterprise. It is said that grief and disappointment hastened the death of Vasquez.

CHAP.
III.

- The Spaniards were more successful elsewhere. The explorers of the west coast of the Gulf had heard of the famed empire of Mexico and its golden riches. As evidence of the truth of these marvellous stories, they exhibited the costly presents given them by the unsuspecting natives. Under the lead of Fernando Cortez, six hundred and seventeen adventurers invaded the empire ; and though they met with the most determined resistance, in the end Spanish arms and skill prevailed. Defeated at every point, and disheartened at the death of their emperor, Montezuma, the Mexicans submitted, and their empire became a province of Spain. Just three hundred years from that time, the province threw off the Spanish yoke, and became a republic.

- Rumor told also of the splendor and wealth of a great empire lying to the south, known as Peru. Pizarro, another daring adventurer, set out from Panama with only one hundred foot soldiers and sixty-seven horsemen to invade and conquer it. After enduring toil and labors almost unparalleled, he succeeded ; and that empire, containing millions of inhabitants, wealthy, and quite civilized, was reduced to a province. Pizarro founded Lima, which became his capital. He oppressed the natives with great cruelty, and accumulated unbounded wealth drawn from mines of the precious metals, but after a rule of nine years he fell a victim to a conspiracy.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH DISCOVERIES

John Cabot discovers the American Continent.—Enterprise of his son Sebastian.—Voyages of Verrazzani and Cartier.—Attempts at Settlement.

WHILST these discoveries, conquests, and settlements were in progress in the South, a series of discoveries was going on in the North. CHAP
IV.
1497.

John Cabot, a native of Venice, residing, as a merchant, in Bristol, in the West of England, made application to Henry VII., the reigning sovereign, for permission to go on a voyage of discovery. The king gave to Cabot and his three sons a patent, or commission, granting them certain privileges. This is said to be the most ancient state paper of England relating to America.

As Henry VII. was proverbially prudent in money matters. he would not aid the Cabots by sharing with them the expense of the expedition, but he was careful to bind them to land, on their return, at the port of Bristol, and pay him one-fifth part of the profits of their trade. They were, in the name of the king, to take possession of all the territories they should discover, and to have the exclusive privilege of trading to them.

Bristol, at this time, was the greatest commercial town in the West of England, and had trained up multitudes of hardy seamen. These seamen had become habituated to the storms of the ocean, by battling tempests in the Northern seas around Iceland, in their yearly fishing excursions. It is quite probable they had there heard the

CHAP. tradition, that at a remote period the Icelanders had discovered a country to the west of their island.
IV.

1497. Cabot and his son Sebastian sailed almost due west, and before long discovered the American continent, it is supposed near the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude. What must have been their surprise to find, in the latitude of England, a land dreary with snow and ice, barren rocks, frowning cliffs, polar bears, and wild savages ! This discovery was made more than a year before Columbus, on his third voyage, saw the South American coast, at the mouth of the Orinoco.

Thus the Western continent was discovered by private enterprise alone. The next year a voyage was undertaken for the purposes of trade, and also to ascertain if the country was suitable for making settlements. The king now ventured to become a partner in the speculation, and defrayed some of the expense. Sebastian Cabot sailed, with a company of three hundred men, for Labrador, and landed still further north than at his first voyage. The severity of the cold, though it was the commencement of summer, and the barrenness of the country, deterred him from remaining any length of time. He sailed to the South and explored the coast, till want of provisions forced him to return home. The family of the Cabots derived no benefit from their discovery, as the trade to those barren regions amounted to nothing.

It is a matter of regret that so little is known of the many voyages of Sebastian Cabot. Around his name there lingers a pleasing interest. He is represented as being very youthful, not more than twenty years of age, when he went on his first voyage. Mild and courteous in his manners ; determined in purpose, and persevering in execution ; with a mind of extraordinary activity ; daring in his enterprises, but never rash or imprudent ; he won the hearts of his sailors by his kindness, and commanded their respect by his skill. Such was the

man who, for more than fifty years, was the foremost in maritime adventure. He explored the eastern coast of South America ; sailed within twenty degrees of the North Pole, in search of the North-Western passage ; and at different times explored the eastern coast of this continent, from Hudson's straits to Albemarle sound.

CHAP
IV.

1497

The Cabots had noticed the immense shoals of fish which frequented the waters around Newfoundland. The English prosecuted these fisheries, but to no great extent, as they continued to visit the Icelandic seas. French fishermen, however, availed themselves of the way opened by their rivals, and prosecuted them with great vigor. Plans for planting colonies in those regions were often proposed in France, yet nothing was done beyond the yearly visits of the fishermen. Francis I. was finally induced to attempt further explorations. For this purpose he employed Verrazzani, a native of Florence, in Italy, a navigator of some celebrity, to take charge of an expedition. This was the first voyage, for the purpose of discovery, undertaken at the expense of the French government.

1524

Verrazzani sailed south to the Madeira Isles, and thence due west, in quest of new countries. On the passage he battled a terrible tempest, but at length saw land in the latitude of Wilmington, North Carolina. No good harbor could be found as he coasted along to the south for one hundred and fifty miles. Then turning north, he cast anchor from time to time and explored the coast. The surprise of the natives and that of the voyagers was mutual ; the one wondered at the white strangers, their ships and equipments ; the other at the "russet color" of the simple natives ; their dress of skins set off with various rude ornaments and gaudy-colored feathers. The imagination of the voyagers had much to do with the report they made of their discoveries. The groves, they said, bloomed with flowers, whose fragrance greeted them far from the shore,

CHAP. reminding them of the spices of the East ; the reddist
IV. color of the earth was, no doubt, caused by gold.

1524. The explorers examined carefully the spacious harbors of New York and Newport ; in the latter they remained fifteen days. They noticed the fine personal appearance of the natives, who were hospitable, but could not be induced to trade, and appeared to be ignorant of the use of iron. They continued their voyage along the then nameless shores of New England to Nova Scotia, and still further north. There the natives were hostile ; they had learned, by sad experience, the cruelty and treachery of white men. Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese, some years before, had visited their coast, stolen some of their friends, and sold them into slavery. They were willing to trade for instruments of iron or steel, but were very cautious, fearful of being again entrapped.

After his return, Verrazzani published a narrative of his voyage, giving much more information of the country than had hitherto been known. On the ground of his discoveries, France laid claim to the territory extending from South Carolina to Newfoundland.

1584. Ten years after, an expedition was sent, under James Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, to make further discoveries, with the ultimate design of founding a colony. His voyage was very successful ; he reached Newfoundland in twenty days ; passed through the Straits of Belleisle ; sailed to the south-west across a gulf and entered a bay ; which, from the extreme heat of the weather, he named Des Chaleurs. Coasting along still further west, he landed at the inlet called Gaspé, where he took formal possession of the country, in the name of his sovereign. This he did by planting a cross, surmounted by the lilies of France, and bearing a suitable inscription. Continuing his course still further west, he entered the mouth of a great estuary, into which he ascertained flowed an immense river, larger by far than any river in Europe. These explorations were

made during the months of July and August. It was now necessary for him to return home. CHAP.
IV.

His account of the climate as "hotter than that of Spain," and of the country as "the fairest that can possibly be found;" of its "sweet-smelling trees;" of its "strawberries, blackberries, prunes and wild corn;" its "figs, apples and other fruits," together with his description of the great gulf and noble river, excited in France the most intense interest. 1584.

Immediately plans were devised to colonize the country. The court entered into the scheme. Some of the young nobility volunteered to become colonists. By the following May the arrangements were completed. Cartier, "who was very religious," first conducted his company to the cathedral, where they received the bishop's blessing, then set sail, with high hopes of founding a State in what was then called New France.

After a somewhat stormy passage, he reached the northern part of the gulf, on the day of St. Lawrence the Martyr, in honor of whom it was named—in time, the name was applied to river also. 1535

The strangers were received hospitably by the natives. Cartier ascended the river in a boat to an island, on which was the principal Indian settlement. It was in the mild and pleasant month of September. He ascended a hill, at the foot of which lay the Indian village; he was enraptured by the magnificent scene; the river before him evidently drained a vast territory; the natives told him "that it went so far to the west, that they had never heard of any man who had gone to the head of it." He named the hill Mont-Real, Royal-Mount; a name since transferred to the island, and to the city.

This country was in the same latitude with France; he thought its climate must be equally mild, its soil equally fertile; and that it might become the home of a happy and industrious people, and this beautiful island the centre of

CHAP. an almost unbounded commerce. He did not know that
 IV. God had sent the warm waters of the south through the
 1535. Gulf Stream to the west of Europe; that they warmed
 the bleak west winds, and made the delightful climate of
 his native France different from that in the same latitude
 in North America.¹

A rigorous winter dissipated his visions. His honest narrative of the voyage, and of the intense coldness of the climate, deterred his countrymen from making further attempts to colonize the country. There was no gold nor silver to be found—no mines of precious stones. What inducement was there for them to leave their fertile and beautiful France, with its mild and healthful climate, to shiver on the banks of the St. Lawrence?

1540. Thus it remained for four years. Among many who thought it unworthy a great nation not to found a State on the shores of the magnificent gulf and river of the New World, was a nobleman of Picardy, Francis de la Roque, lord of Roberval. He obtained a commission from Francis I. to plant a colony, with full legal authority as viceroy over the territories and regions on or near the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence. These were to be known in history under the ambitious name of Norimbega.

Cartier was induced by Roberval to receive a commission as chief pilot of the expedition. They did not act in concert; both were tenacious of honor and authority, and they were jealous of each other.

1540. Cartier sailed the following spring, passed up the river, and built a fort near where Quebec now stands. To establish a prosperous colony, virtue, industry, and perseverance must be found in the colonists. The first enterprise, com-

¹ "The quantity of heat discharged over the Atlantic from the waters of the Gulf Stream in a winter's day, would be sufficient to raise the whole column of atmosphere that rests upon France and the British Isles, from the freezing point to summer heat."

Maury's Physical Geography of the Sea, v 51.

posed of young noblemen and amateur colonists, failed, as might have been expected. In the second attempt they went to the other extreme,—the colonists were criminals, drawn from the prisons of France. CHAP.
IV.
1542

During the winter Cartier hung one of them for theft ; put some in irons ; and whipped others, men and women, for minor faults. In the spring, just as Roberval himself arrived with a reinforcement, he slipped off to France, heartily disgusted with his winter's occupation. Roberval remained about a year, and then returned home, perfectly willing to resign the viceroyalty of Norimbega, and retire to his estates in Picardy. After a lapse of fifty years, a successful attempt was made by the French to colonize the same territory.

CHAPTER V.

DE SOTO AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

CHAP. **V.** **THE** name Florida was given by the Spaniards to the entire southern portion of the United States. Their attempts to conquer this territory had hitherto failed. For some unexplained reason, the most exaggerated stories were told of the richness of the country ; there was no evidence of their truth, yet they were implicitly believed.

The success of Cortez in conquering Mexico, and of Pizarro in conquering Peru, excited the emulation of Ferdinand de Soto. He had been a companion of Pizarro ; had gained honor by his valor, and, in accordance with the morals of the times, had accumulated an immense amount of wealth by various means of extortion. Still it must be said in his favor, that he was, by far, the most humane of any of the Spanish officers who pillaged Mexico and Peru. Foreseeing the endless quarrels and jealousies of the Spaniards in Peru, he prudently retired to Spain with his ill-gotten gains.

Ambition did not permit him to remain long in retirement. He panted for a name, for military glory, to surpass the two conquerors of the New World. He asked permission to conquer Florida, at his own expense. The request was graciously granted by the Emperor, Charles V. He also received an honor much more grateful to his ambition ; he was appointed Governor of Cuba, and of all the countries he should conquer.

The announcement that he was about to embark on this enterprise, excited in Spain the highest hopes,—hopes of military glory and of unbounded wealth. Enthusiastic men said these hopes must be realized ; there were cities in the interior of Florida as rich, if not richer than those of Mexico or Peru ; temples equally splendid, to be plundered of their golden ornaments. Volunteers offered in crowds, many of noble birth, and all proud to be led by so renowned a chief. From these numerous applicants De Soto chose six hundred men, in “the bloom of life.” The enthusiasm was so great, that it appeared more like a holiday excursion than a military expedition.

CHAP.
V.
1589

He sailed for Cuba, where he was received with great distinction. Leaving his wife to govern the island, he sailed for Florida, and landed at Espiritu Santo, now Tampa bay. He never harbored the thought that his enterprise could fail. He sent his ships back to Cuba ; thus, in imitation of Cortez, he deprived his followers of the means to return. Volunteers in Cuba had increased his army to nearly one thousand men, of whom three hundred were horsemen, all well armed. Every thing was provided that De Soto's foresight and experience could suggest ; ample stores of provisions, and for future supplies, a drove of swine, for which Indian corn and the fruits of the forest would furnish an abundance of food. The company was provided with cards, that they might spend their “leisure time in gaming ;” a dozen of priests, that the “festivals of the church might be kept,” and her ceremonies rigidly performed ; chains for the captive Indians, and bloodhounds, to track and tear them in pieces, should they attempt to escape ;—incongruities of which the adventurers seemed unconscious.

They now commenced their march through pathless forests. The Indian guides, who had been kidnapped on former invasions, soon learned that they were in search of gold. Anxious to lead them as far as possible from the

CHAP.
V.

1540.

neighborhood of their own tribes, they humored their fancies, and told them of regions far away, where the precious metal was abundant. In one instance they pointed to the north-east, where they said the people understood the art of refining it, and sent them away over the rivers and plains of Georgia. It is possible they may have referred to the gold region of North Carolina.

When one of the guides honestly confessed that he knew of no such country, De Soto ordered him to be burned for telling an untruth. From this time onward the guides continued to allure the Spaniards on in search of a golden region,—a region they were ever approaching, but never reached.

At length the men grew weary of wandering through forests and swamps; they looked for cities, rich and splendid, they found only Indian towns, small and poor, whose finest buildings were wigwams. They wished to return; but De Soto was determined to proceed, and his faithful followers submitted. They pillaged the Indians of their provisions, thus rendered them hostile, and many conflicts ensued. They treated their captives with great barbarity; wantonly cut off their hands, burned them at the stake, suffered them to be torn in pieces by the bloodhounds, or chained them together with iron collars, and compelled them to carry their baggage.

They moved toward the south-west, and came into the neighborhood of a large walled town, named Mavilla, since Mobile. It was a rude town, but it afforded a better shelter than the forests and the open plains, and they wished to occupy it. The Indians resisted, and a fierce battle ensued. The Spanish cavalry gained a victory,—a victory dearly bought; the town was burned, and with it nearly all their baggage.

Meantime, according to appointment, ships from Cuba had arrived at Pensacola. De Soto would not confess that he had thus far failed; he would send no news until he

had rivalled Cortez in military renown. They now directed their course to the north-west, and spent the following winter in the northern part of the State of Mississippi. From the Indian corn in the fields they obtained food, and made their winter quarters in a deserted town. When spring returned, a demand was made of the Chickasaw chief to furnish men to carry their baggage. The indignant chief refused. The hostile Indians deceived the sentinels, and in the night set fire to the village and attacked the Spaniards, but after a severe contest they were repulsed. It was another dear victory to the invaders; the little they had saved from the flames at Mobile was now consumed. This company, once so "brilliant in silks and glittering armor," were now scantily clothed in skins, and mats made of ivy.

CHAP.
V.
1540

Again they commenced their weary wanderings, and before many days found themselves on the banks of the Mississippi. De Soto expressed no feelings of pleasure or of admiration at the discovery of the magnificent river, with its ever-flowing stream of turbid waters. Ambition and avarice consume the finer feelings of the soul; they destroy the appreciation of what is noble in man and beautiful in nature. De Soto was only anxious to cross the river, and press on in search of cities and of gold. A month elapsed before boats could be built to transport the horses. At length they were ready, and white men, for the first time, launched forth upon the Father of Waters.

1541

The natives on the west bank received the strangers kindly, and gave them presents. The Indians of southern Missouri supposed them to be superior beings—children of the sun—and they brought them their blind to be restored to sight. De Soto answered them, "The Lord made the heavens and the earth: pray to Him only for whatsoever ye need." Here they remained forty days; sent out explorers further north, who reported that buffaloes were so numerous in that region that corn could not be raised;

CHAP. that the inhabitants were few, and lived by hunting
 V. They wandered two hundred miles further west ; then
 1541. turned to the south, and went nearly as far, among Indians who were an agricultural people, living in villages, and subsisting upon the produce of the soil.

In this region another winter was passed. It was now almost three years since De Soto had landed at Tampa bay. With all his toil and suffering, he had accomplished
 1542. nothing. In the spring, he descended the Wachita to the Red river, and thence once more to the Mississippi. There he learned that the country, extending to the sea, was a waste of swamps, where no man dwelt.

His cup of disappointment was full ; his pride, which had hitherto sustained him, must confess that his enterprise had been a failure. He had set out with higher hopes than any Spanish conqueror of the New World ; now his faithful band was wasted by disease and death. He was far from aid ; a deep gloom settled upon his spirit ; his soul was agitated by a conflict of emotions ; a violent fever was induced ; and when sinking rapidly, he called his followers around him, they, faithful to the last, implored him to appoint a successor : he did so. The next day De Soto was no more. His soldiers mourned for him ; the priests performed his funeral rites ; with sad hearts they wrapped his body in a mantle, and, at the silent hour of midnight, sunk it beneath the waters of the Mississippi.

His followers again wandered for awhile, in hopes of getting to Mexico. Finally they halted upon the banks of the Mississippi ; erected a forge ; struck the fetters off their Indian captives, and made the iron into nails to build boats ; killed their horses and swine, and dried their flesh for provisions. When the boats were finished they launched them upon the river, and floated down its stream to the Gulf of Mexico.

1672. After the lapse of one hundred and thirty years, the Mississippi was again visited by white men of another nation

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORMATION AND ITS EFFECTS.

FROM this period we find interwoven with the early history of our country a class of persons who were not mere adventurers, seekers after gold or fame—but who sought here a home, where they might enjoy civil and religious liberty, and who held the principles of which we see the result in the institutions of the United States, so different in some respects from those of any other nation. This difference did not spring from chance, but was the legitimate effect of certain influences. What has made this younger member of the great family of governments to differ so much from the others? What were the principles, what the influences, which produced such men and women as our revolutionary ancestors? The world has never seen their equals for self-denying patriotism; for enlightened views of government, of religious liberty, and of the rights of conscience.

CHAP.
VI.
1517

When great changes are to be introduced among the nations of the earth, God orders the means to accomplish them, as well as the end to be attained. He trains the people for the change. He not only prepared the way for the discovery of this continent, but for its colonization by a Christian people. Fifty years before the first voyage of Columbus, the art of printing was invented—and twenty-five years after the same voyage, commenced the Reformation in Germany under Martin Luther. The art of printing, by multiplying books, became the means of diffusing

CHAP. knowledge among men, and of awakening the human mind
 VI. from the sleep of ages. One of the consequences of this
 1517. awakening, was the Reformation. The simple truths of
 the Gospel had been obscured by the teachings of men.
 The decrees of the church had drawn a veil between the
 throne of God and the human soul. The priesthood had
 denied to the people the right of studying for themselves
 the word of God. The views of the Reformers were the
 reverse of this. They believed that God, as Lord of the
 conscience, had given a revelation of his will to man, and
 that it was the inherent right and privilege of every human
 being to study that will, each one for himself. They did
 not stop here: they were diligent seekers for truth; the
 advocates of education and of free inquiry. Throwing
 aside the traditions of men, they went directly to the
 Bible, and taught all men to do the same.

On the continent, the Reformation began among the
 learned men of the universities, and gradually extended to
 the uneducated people. In England, the common people
 were reading the Bible in their own language, long before
 it was the privilege of any nation on the continent.* Thus
 the English were prepared to enter into the spirit of the
 Reformation under Luther. Soon persecutions of the Re-
 formers arose; with civil commotions and oppressions
 involving all Europe in war. These troubles drove the
 Huguenot from France and the Puritan from England, to
 seek homes in the wilderness of the New World.

From the Bible they learned their high and holy prin-
 ciples; fiery trials taught them endurance. They brought
 with them to our shores the spirit of the Reformation, the
 recognition of civil rights and religious liberty. These
 principles have been transmitted to us in our national
 institutions and form of government.

* D'Aubigné's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. V

CHAPTER VII.

THE HUGUENOTS IN THE SOUTH.

**Their settlement destroyed.—The Colony of St. Augustine.—De Gourgues.
Settlements in New France.—Champlain and his Success.**

WHILE these contests were going on in Europe between the friends of religious liberty and the Roman Catholics, Coligny, the high-admiral of France, a devoted Protestant, conceived the idea of founding a colony in the New World, to which his persecuted countrymen might flee, and enjoy that which was denied them in their native land; the inestimable privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience, enlightened by his holy word.

CHAP
VII.

1562

The French government took no interest in the matter. Those influences were then at work, which a few years later produced their dire effect in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Coligny, however, easily obtained a commission from Charles IX. Preparations were soon made, and the expedition sailed under the direction of John Ribault, a worthy man, and a sincere Protestant.

1572

They knew the character of the country and of the climate in the latitude of the St. Lawrence, and they wished to find a region more fertile and a climate more genial. They made land in the vicinity of St. Augustine, Florida; then continued further north along the coast, and landed at Port Royal entrance. They were delighted with the country, its fine climate, its magnificent forests, fragrant

May

CHAP.
VII.

1562.

with wild flowers ; but above all with the capacious harbor, which was capable of floating the largest ships. Here it was determined to make a settlement : a fort was built on an island in the harbor, and in honor of their sovereign called CAROLINA. Leaving twenty-five men to keep possession of the country, Ribault departed for France, with the intention of returning the next year with supplies and more emigrants. He found France in confusion ; civil war was raging with all its attendant horrors. In vain the colonists looked for reinforcements and supplies—none ever came. Disheartened, they resolved to return home ; they hastily built a brigantine, and with an insufficiency of provisions, set sail. They came near perishing at sea by famine, but were providentially rescued by an English bark. Part of these colonists were taken to France, and part to England,—there they told of the fine climate and the rich soil of the country they had attempted to colonize. We shall yet see the effect of this information in directing English enterprise.

Two years after, there was a treacherous lull in the storm of civil discord in France ; Coligny again attempted to found a colony. The care of this expedition was intrusted to Laudonnière, a man of uprightness and intelligence, who had been on the former voyage. The healthfulness of the climate of Florida was represented to be wonderful : it was believed, that under its genial influence, human life was extended more than one-half, while the stories of the wealth of the interior still found credence. Unfortunately proper care was not exercised in selecting the colonists from the numerous volunteers who offered. Some were chosen who were not worthy to be members of a colony based on religious principles, and founded for noble purposes.

They reached the coast of Florida, avoided Port Royal,
1564. the scene of former misery, and found a suitable location for a settlement on the banks of the river May, now called

the St. Johns. They offered songs of thanksgiving to God for his guiding care, and trusted to his promises for the future. They built another fort, which like the first they called Carolina. The true character of some of the colonists soon began to appear,—these had joined the enterprise with no higher motive than gain. They were mutinous, idle, and dissolute, wasting the provisions of the company. They robbed the Indians, who became hostile, and refused to furnish the colony with provisions.

CHAP.
VII.
—
1564
June

Under the pretext of avoiding famine, these fellows of the baser sort asked permission of Laudonière to go to New Spain. He granted it, thinking it a happy riddance for himself and the colony. They embarked, only to become pirates. The Spaniards, whom they attacked, took their vessel and made most of them slaves; the remainder escaped in a boat. They knew of no safer place than Fort Carolina. When they returned Laudonière had them arrested for piracy; they were tried, and the ringleaders condemned and executed;—a sufficient evidence that their conduct was detested by the better portion of the colonists.

Famine now came pressing on. Month after month passed away, and still there came no tidings—no supplies from home. Just at this time arrived Sir John Hawkins from the West Indies, where he had disposed of a cargo of negroes as slaves. He was the first Englishman, it is said, who had engaged in that unrighteous traffic. Though hard-hearted toward the wretched Africans, he manifested much sympathy for the famishing colonists; supplied them with provisions, and gave them one of his ships. They continued their preparations to leave for home, when suddenly the cry was raised that ships were coming into the harbor. It was Ribault returning with supplies and families of emigrants. He was provided with domestic animals, seeds and implements for cultivating the soil. The scene was now changed; all were willing to remain, and

Aug

CHAP. the hope of founding a French Protestant State in the
VII. New World was revived.

1564. Philip II., the cruel and bigoted King of Spain, heard that the French—French Protestants—had presumed to make a settlement in Florida ! Immediately plans were laid to exterminate the heretics. The king found a fit instrument for the purpose in Pedro Melendez ; a man familiar with scenes of carnage and cruelty, whose life was stained with almost every crime. The king knew his desperate character ; gave him permission to conquer Florida at his own expense, and appointed him its governor for life, with the right to name his successor. His colony was to consist of not less than five hundred persons, one hundred of whom should be married men. He was also to introduce the sugar-cane, and five hundred negro slaves to cultivate it. The expedition was soon under way. Melendez first saw the land on the day consecrated to St. Augustine ; some days after, sailing along the coast, he discovered a fine harbor and river, to which he gave the name of that saint. From the Indians he learned where the Huguenots had established themselves. They were much surprised at the appearance of a fleet, and they inquired of the stranger who he was and why he came ; he replied, “ I am Melendez, of Spain, sent by my sovereign with strict orders to behead and gibbet every Protestant in these regions ; the Catholic shall be spared, but every Protestant shall die ! ”

Sept. The French fleet, unprepared for a conflict, put to sea ; the Spaniards pursued but did not overtake it. Melendez then returned to St. Augustine. After a religious festival in honor of the Virgin Mary, he proceeded to mark out the boundaries for a town. St. Augustine is, by more than forty years, the oldest town in the United States.

His determination was now to attack the Huguenots by land, and carry out his cruel orders. The French supposing the Spaniards would come by sea, set sail to meet them. Melendez found the colonists unprepared and de-

fenceless ; their men were nearly all on board the fleet. A short contest ensued ; the French were overcome, and the fanatic Spaniards massacred nearly the whole number,—men, women, and children ; they spared not even the aged and the sick. A few were reserved as slaves, and a few escaped to the woods. To show to the world upon what principles he acted, Melendez placed over the dead this inscription :—" I do not this as unto Frenchmen, but as unto heretics." Mass was celebrated, and on the ground still reeking with the blood of the innocent victims of religious bigotry and fanaticism, he erected a cross and marked out a site for a church—the first on the soil of the United States.

CHAP.
VII.

1504

Among those who escaped, were Laudonnière and Le Moyne, an artist, sent by Coligny to make drawings of the most interesting scenery of the country ; and Challus, who afterward wrote an account of the calamity. When they seemed about to perish in the forests from hunger, they questioned whether they should appeal to the mercy of their conquerors. " No," said Challus, " let us trust in the mercy of God rather than of these men." After enduring many hardships, they succeeded in reaching two small French vessels which had remained in the harbor, and thus escaped to France. A few of their companions, who threw themselves upon the mercy of the Spaniards, were instantly murdered.

While these scenes of carnage were in progress, a terrible storm wrecked the French fleet ; some of the soldiers and sailors were enabled to reach the shore, but in a destitute condition. These poor men when invited, surrendered themselves to the promised clemency of Melendez. They were taken across the river in little companies ; as they landed their hands were tied behind them, and they driven to a convenient place, where at a given signal they were all murdered. Altogether nine hundred persons perished by shipwreck and violence. It is the office of

- CHAP. VII.
 1564. history to record the deeds of the past—the evil and the good ; let the one be condemned and avoided, the other commended and imitated. May we not hope that the day of fanatic zeal and religious persecution has passed away forever ?

The French government was indifferent, and did not avenge the wrongs of her loyal and good subjects ; but the Huguenots, and the generous portion of the nation, were roused to a high state of indignation at such wanton, such unheard-of cruelty. This feeling found a representative in Dominic de Gourges, a native of Gascony. He fitted out, at his own expense, three ships, and with one hundred and fifty men sailed for Florida. He suddenly came upon the Spaniards and completely overpowered them.

1568. Near the scene of their former cruelty he hanged about two hundred on the trees ; placing over them the inscription, “ I do not this as unto Spaniards and mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers ! ” Gourges immediately returned to France, when the “ Most Christian ” king set a price upon his head ; and he who had exposed his life, and sacrificed his fortune to avenge the insult offered to his country, was obliged to conceal himself to escape the gallows. Thus perished the attempt of the noble Coligny and the Huguenots to found a French Protestant State in the New World.

After the unsuccessful expeditions of Cartier and Roberval, French fishermen, in great numbers, continued to visit the waters around Newfoundland. As the government had relinquished its claim to Florida, the idea was once more revived of colonizing on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

1567. The Marquis de la Roche obtained a commission for this purpose. His colonists, like those of Roberval, were criminals taken from the prisons of France : like his, this enterprise proved an utter failure. The efforts of some mer-

chants, who obtained by patent a monopoly of the fur-trade, also failed. CHAP.
VII.

At length, a company of merchants of Rouen engaged in the enterprise with more success. That success may be safely attributed to Samuel Champlain, a man of comprehensive mind, of great energy of character, cautious in all his plans; a keen observer of the habits of the Indians, and an unwearied explorer of the country. 1608.

In the latter part of this same year, a patent, exclusive in its character, was given to a Protestant, the excellent and patriotic *Sieur De Monts*. The patent conferred on him the sovereignty of the country called Acadie—a territory extending from Philadelphia on the south, to beyond Montreal on the north, and to the west indefinitely. It granted him a monopoly of the fur-trade and other branches of commerce; and freedom in religion to the Huguenots who should become colonists. It was enjoined upon all idlers, and men of no profession, and banished persons to aid in founding the colony.

The expedition was soon under way in two ships. In due time they entered a spacious harbor on the western part of Nova Scotia, which they named Port Royal, since Annapolis. The waters abounded in fish, and the country was fertile and level—advantages that induced some of the emigrants to form a settlement. Others went to an island at the mouth of the St. Croix, but the next spring they removed to Port Royal. This was the first permanent French settlement in the New World; and these were the ancestors of those unfortunate Acadiens whose fate, nearly a century and a half later, forms a melancholy episode in American history. 1607.

Among the influences exerted upon the Indians was that of the Jesuits, who, a few years afterward, were sent as missionaries to the tribes between the Penobscot and the Kennebec in Maine. These tribes became the allies of the French, and remained so during all their contests

- CHAP. with the English. De Monts explored the coast and rivers
VII. of New England as far south as Cape Cod, intending
1608. somewhere in that region to make a settlement ; but disaster followed disaster, till the project was finally abandoned.

Meantime, Champlain, whose ambition was to establish a State, had founded Quebec, that is, it was the centre of a few cultivated fields and gardens. Huguenots were among the settlers ; they had taken an active part in the enterprise ; but there were also others who were of the Catholic faith. Soon religious disputes as well as commercial jealousies arose, which retarded the progress of the colony. Champlain, the soul of the enterprise, was not idle ; he made many exploring expeditions, and discovered
1609. the beautiful lake which bears his name. In spite of the quarrels between the Jesuits and the Huguenots, and the restlessness of the Indians and disappointments of various kinds, the persevering Champlain succeeded in establishing a French colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence.
1684. For one hundred and twenty years it remained under the dominion of his native France, and then passed into the hands of her great rival.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLISH ENTERPRISE.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert.—The Fisheries.—St. Johns, Newfoundland.—Sir Walter Raleigh.—Exploring Expedition.—Virginia; failures to colonize.—Contest with Spain.—Death of Sir Walter.

CHAP
VIII.

ENGLAND never relinquished her claims to North America; they were based upon the discovery and explorations of Sebastian Cabot. According to the received rules of the times, she was right, as he was undoubtedly the first discoverer. For many reasons, she was not prepared to avail herself of these claims, till nearly ninety years after that discovery. This time was not passed by the English sailors in maritime idleness. During the reign of Henry VIII., intercourse was kept up with the fisheries of Newfoundland, that school of English seamen, in which were trained the men who gave to that nation the supremacy of the ocean,—the element upon which the military glory of England was to be achieved. The king cherished his navy, and took commerce under his special protection.

The reign of Mary, of bloody memory, saw the struggle commence between England and Spain for the supremacy on the ocean. She married Philip II., the most powerful monarch of the age: he designed to subject the English nation to himself, and its religion to the church of Rome. When this became known, the Protestant spirit rose in opposition. This spirit pervaded the entire people:

CHAP. they exerted their energies to the utmost. Instead of sub-
VIII. mitting to the dictation of Spain, England boldly assumed
 1570. the position of an antagonist. There was a marked contrast between the two nations. The navy of the one was immense, that of the other was small, but brave and efficient: the one drew her wealth from mines of gold and silver in the New World—the other obtained hers by the slow process of industry and economy. The one became proud and indolent, luxurious and imbecile—the other may have become proud, but certainly not indolent; luxurious, but certainly not imbecile.

On her accession, Queen Elizabeth pursued the policy of her father Henry VIII., towards her navy and commerce. While some of her subjects were trading by land with the east, others were on the ocean cruising against the Spaniards: some were prosecuting the fisheries around Newfoundland and in the seas northwest of Europe; some were exploring the western coast of America, and the eastern coast of Asia: others were groping their way among the islands of the extreme north, in a vain search for the north-west passage.

From
1549

Explorers were still haunted with the idea that mines of exhaustless wealth were yet to be found in the New World. Great was the exultation when a “mineral-man” of London declared that a stone brought by an English sailor from the Polar regions, contained gold. England was to find in the region of eternal snow mines of the precious metal, more prolific than Spain had found in Mexico. Soon fifteen vessels set sail for this northern island, where there was “ore enough to suffice all the gold-gluttons of the world.” They returned laden, not with golden ore, but

1578.

with worthless yellow stones. Meanwhile, the fisheries around Newfoundland had become a certain, though a slow source of wealth. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a gentleman of distinction and of upright principles, obtained a commission from the Queen to

plant a colony in the vicinity of these fisheries. He landed at St. Johns, Newfoundland, and there in the presence of the fishermen of other nations, took formal possession of the territory in the name of his sovereign. He then passed further south, exploring the coast—but losing his largest ship with all on board, he found it necessary to sail for home. Only two vessels remained, one of which, the Squirrel, was a mere boat of ten tons, used to explore the shallow bays and inlets. The closing acts of Sir Humphrey's life afford proofs of his piety and nobleness of character. Unwilling that the humblest of his men should risk more danger than himself, he chose to sail in the boat rather than in the larger and safer vessel. A terrible storm arose; he sat calmly reading a book—doubtless that book from which he drew consolation in times of sorrow and trial. To encourage those who were in the other vessel, he was heard to cry to them, “we are as near to heaven on sea as on land,”—the reality of this cheering thought he was soon to experience. That night, those on the larger vessel saw the lights of the little boat suddenly disappear.

CHAP
VIII.Aug.,
1578.

The next attempt at colonization was made by Gilbert's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the noblest of that age of noble spirits: gallant and courteous in his manners; a scholar, a poet, a benefactor of his race; his name should ever be held in grateful remembrance by the people of this country. He studied the art of war with Coligny, the high admiral of France. When in that country, he determined to plant a colony in those delightful regions from which the Huguenots had been driven by the hand of violence. He had learned from them of the charming climate, where winter lingered only for a short time,—where the magnificent trees and fragrant woods bloomed during nearly all the year,—where the gushing fountains, noble rivers, and fertile soil invited the industrious to enjoy the fruits of their labor. When Sir Walter returned home from France, he found the people prepared to enter upon schemes of

1594

CHAP.
VIII.

1584.

colonization in the south. They, too, had heard of those "delightful regions" from the Huguenots, who at sea had been rescued from death, and brought to England. Raleigh without difficulty obtained a commission, granting him ample powers, as proprietor of the territories he was about to colonize. He first sent an exploring expedition, consisting of two ships, under Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, to obtain more definite information of the country. They sailed the usual route, by the Canaries and the West Indies, came first upon the coast of North Carolina, landed upon one of the islands forming Ocracock inlet, and took formal possession of the country. They partially explored Albemarle and Pamlico sounds, and the islands and coast in the vicinity, and then sailed for home. They took with them two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo; the latter was afterward very useful to the colonists as an interpreter. Amidas and Barlow on their return, confirmed what the Huguenots had reported of the excellence of the country. They saw it in the month of July. They described the unruffled ocean, dotted with beautiful islands; the clearness of the atmosphere; the luxuriant forests vocal with the songs of birds; the vines draping the trees, and the grapes hanging in clusters. This sunny land, in all its virgin beauty, appeared to these natives of foggy England, as the very paradise of the world. Elizabeth, delighted with the description, named the country Virginia, in honor of herself, as she took pride in being known as the Virgin Queen.

April,
1585.

It was not difficult now to obtain colonists; soon a fleet of seven vessels was equipped, containing one hundred and eight persons, who intended to form a settlement. Sir Richard Grenville, a friend of Raleigh, and a man of eminence, commanded the fleet, and Ralph Lane was appointed governor of the colony. After a tedious voyage, they landed, in June, fifteen hundred and eighty-five, on an island called Roanake, lying between Albemar

and Pamlico sounds. Before long they excited the enmity of the Indians. On one of their exploring expeditions, a silver cup was lost or stolen. The Indians were charged with the theft; perhaps they were innocent. Because it was not restored, Grenville, with very little prudence and less justice, set fire to their village and destroyed their standing corn. Little did he know the train of sorrow and death he introduced by thus harshly treating the Indians and making them enemies. A few weeks after the fleet sailed for England, unlawfully cruising against the Spanish on the voyage. Governor Lane now explored the country, noticed the various productions of the soil, and the general character of the inhabitants. The colonists found many strange plants;—the corn, the sweet potato, the tobacco plant, were seen by them for the first time. Lane was unfit for his station; he became unreasonably suspicious of the Indians. With professions of friendship, he visited a prominent chief, and was hospitably received and entertained; this kindness he repaid by basely murdering the chief and his followers. Men capable of such treachery were necessarily unfit to found a Christian State. Provisions now began to fail and the colonists to despond.

CHAP
VIII.June,
1585.

1586

Just at this time Sir Francis Drake, on his way home from the West Indies, called to visit the colony of his friend Raleigh. Though they had been but a year in the country, the colonists begged him to take them home. Drake granted their request. They were scarcely out of sight of land, when a ship, sent by Raleigh, laden with supplies, arrived. The colonists could not be found, and the ship returned to England. In a fortnight Grenville appeared with three ships; not finding the colonists he also returned home, unwisely leaving fifteen men to keep possession of the territory.

Though disappointed Raleigh did not despair. The natural advantages of the country had failed to induce the

CHAP. first company to remain. It was hoped, that if surrounded
 VIII. by social and domestic ties, future colonists would learn to
 1586. look upon it as their true home. Sir Walter's second
 company was composed of emigrants with their families,
 who should cultivate the soil, and eventually found a State
 for themselves and their posterity. Queen Elizabeth pro-
 fessed to favor the enterprise, but did nothing to aid it
 The expedition was fitted out with all that was necessary
 to form an agricultural settlement. Raleigh appointed
 Jan., John White governor, with directions to form the settle-
 1587. ment on the shores of Chesapeake bay.

They came first to the Island of Roanoke, there to be-
 hold a melancholy spectacle—the bleaching bones of the
 July, men whom Grenville had left. All had become a desert.
 Doubtless they had been murdered by the Indians. Fer-
 nando, the naval officer in command of the fleet, refused
 to assist in exploring the shores of the Chesapeake, and
 the colonists were compelled to remain on the Island of
 Roanoke. The scene of two failures was to be the witness
 of a third. The Indians were evidently hostile. The
 colonists becoming alarmed, urged the governor to hasten
 Aug. to England and speedily bring them assistance. Previous
 to his leaving, Mrs. Dare, his daughter, and wife of one of
 his lieutenants, gave birth to a female child,—the first
 child of English parentage born on the soil of the United
 States ; it was appropriately named Virginia.

White on his return found England in a state of great
 excitement. The Pope had excommunicated Queen Eliza-
 beth, and had absolved her subjects from their allegiance
 to her throne ; at the same time promising her kingdom
 to any Catholic prince who should take possession of it.
 The revengeful Philip, of Spain, that good son of the
 Church, had been for three years preparing an immense
 army and fleet, with which he intended to invade and con-
 quer England. The fleet was boastfully named the Invin-
 1588. cible Armada. The English naval commanders flocked

home from every part of the world to defend their native land, and to battle for the Protestant religion. English seamanship and bravery completely triumphed. From that hour the prestige of Spain on the ocean was gone—it passed to England. It is not strange that in such exciting times the poor colonists of Roanoke were overlooked or forgotten. As soon as the danger was passed, aid was sent ; but it came too late : not a vestige of the colony was to be found ; death had done its work, whether by the hand of the savage, or by disease, none can tell. What may have been their sufferings is veiled in darkness. Eighty years after, the English were told by the Indians that the Hatteras tribe had adopted the colonists into their number. The probability is that they were taken prisoners and carried far into the interior. A few years before Sir Francis Drake had broken up the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine. Thus, one hundred years after the first voyage of Columbus, the continent was once more in the possession of the Red Men.

Sir Walter Raleigh had now expended nearly all his fortune ; yet, when he saw no prospect of ever deriving benefit from his endeavors, he sent several times, at his own expense, to seek for the lost colonists and to render them aid. Sir Walter's genius and perseverance prepared the way for the successful settlement of Virginia ; he had sown the seed, others enjoyed the harvest. The remainder of his life was clouded by misfortune. On the accession of James I., he was arraigned on a frivolous charge of high treason ; a charge got up by his enemies, never substantiated, and never believed by those who condemned him. On his trial he defended himself with a dignity and consciousness of innocence that excited the admiration of the world and put to shame his enemies. His remaining property was taken from him by the king, and for thirteen years he was left to languish in the Tower of London ;

CHAP. James not yet daring to order the execution of the patriot
VIII. statesman, who was an ornament to England and the age

in which he lived. After the lapse of sixteen years the
1588. hour came, and Sir Walter met death on the scaffold with
the calmness and dignity of an innocent and Christian
man.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

London and Plymouth Companies.—King James' Laws.—The Voyage and Arrival.—Jamestown.—John Smith; his Character, Energy, Captivity, and Release.—Misery of the Colonists.—New Emigrants.—Lord Delaware.—Sir Thomas Gates.—Pocahontas; her Capture and Marriage.—Yeadley.—First Legislative Assembly.

THE bold and energetic Elizabeth was succeeded by the timid and pedantic James I. To sustain herself against the power of Spain, she had raised a strong military force, both on sea and land. But James had an instinctive dread of gunpowder, he was in favor of peace at all hazards, even at the expense of national honor. He disbanded the greater portion of the army, and dismissed many of those employed in the navy. These men, left without regular employment, were easily induced to try their fortunes as colonists in Virginia. They were not good material, as we shall see, but they prepared the way for better men, and ultimately for success. Sir Walter Raleigh having sacrificed his fortune in fruitless attempts to found a colony, had induced some gentlemen to form a company, and engage in the enterprise. To this company he had transferred his patent, with all its privileges, on very liberal terms. The company manifested but little energy: they had neither the enthusiasm nor the liberality of Sir Walter.

CHAP
IX.
1606.

England claimed the territory from Cape Fear, in North Carolina, to Newfoundland, and to the West indefinitely

CHAP. IX. This territory King James divided into two parts : South Virginia, extending from Cape Fear to the Potomac ; and
1606. North Virginia, from the mouth of the Hudson to Newfoundland. There were now formed two companies : one known as the London Company, principally composed of "noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants," residing in London ; the other the Plymouth Company, composed of "knights, gentlemen, and merchants," living in the West of England. To the London Company James granted South Virginia, to the Plymouth Company North Virginia. The region between the Potomac and the mouth of the Hudson was to be neutral ground, on which the companies were at liberty to form settlements within fifty miles of their respective boundaries. The London Company was the first to send emigrants.

King James was enamored of what he called kingcraft. He believed that a king had a divine right to make and unmake laws at his own pleasure, and was bound by no obligation,—not even to keep his own word. In maintaining the former of these kingly rights, James sometimes found difficulty ; he was more successful in exercising the latter. He took upon himself the authority and labor of framing laws for the colony about to sail. These laws are a fair specimen of his kingcraft. They did not grant a single civil privilege to the colonists, who had no vote in choosing their own magistrates ; but were to be governed by two councils, both appointed by the king,—one residing in England, the other in the colony. In religious matters, differences of opinion were forbidden ; all must conform to the rites of the church of England. The Indians were to be treated kindly, and if possible, converted to Christianity.

1607 Three ships were sent with one hundred and five emigrants ; of the whole number, not twenty were agriculturists or mechanics,—there was not a family nor a woman in the company. The great majority were gentlemen, a

term then applied to those who had no regular employment, but spent their time in idleness and dissipation.

CHAP
IX.

The names of those who were to form the governing council, together with their instructions, were, by order of the king, foolishly sealed up in a box, there to remain until they were ready to form a government. Thus when dissensions arose on the voyage, there was no legal authority to restore harmony.

1607.

Captain Newport, who commanded the expedition, came first upon the coast of North Carolina, intending to visit the island of Roanoke, the scene of Raleigh's failures, but a storm suddenly arose, and fortunately drove him north into Chesapeake bay. The little fleet soon entered a large river, and explored its stream for fifty miles—then on *the thirteenth of May, one thousand six hundred and seven*, the members of the colony landed, and determined to form a settlement. The river was named James, and the settlement JAMESTOWN, in honor of the king ; while the capes at the entrance of the bay, were named Charles and Henry, in honor of his sons.

May
18.

In every successful enterprise, we observe the power of some one leading spirit. In this case, the man worthy the confidence of all, because of his knowledge, and natural superiority of mind, was Captain John Smith, justly styled the "Father of Virginia." Though but thirty years of age, he had acquired much knowledge of the world. He had travelled over the western part of Europe, and in Egypt; had been a soldier in the cause of freedom in Holland ; had fought against the Turks in Hungary, where he was taken prisoner, and sent to Constantinople as a slave. He was rescued from slavery by a Turkish lady, conveyed to the Crimea, where he was ill-treated ; his proud spirit resisted, he slew his oppressor and escaped, wandered across the continent, and returned to England just as plans were maturing to colonize Virginia. He entered into the enterprise with his habitual energy. His cool courage, his

CHAP.
IX.

1607.

knowledge of human nature, civilized and savage,—but above all, his honesty and common sense, fitted him for the undertaking.

The superiority of Smith excited the envy and jealousy of those who expected to be named members of the council, when the mysterious box should be opened. On false and absurd charges he was arrested and placed in confinement. The box was opened—the king had appointed him one of the council. An effort was made to exclude him, but he demanded a trial ; his accusers, unable to substantiate their charges, withdrew them, and he took his seat. Wingfield, an avaricious and unprincipled man, was chosen president of the council and governor of the colony.

When these difficulties were arranged, Newport and Smith, accompanied by some twenty men, spent three weeks in exploring the neighboring rivers and country. They visited Powhatan, the principal Indian chief in the vicinity—"a man about sixty years of age, tall, sour, and athletic." His capital of twelve wigwams, was situated at the falls of James river, near where Richmond now stands. His tribe seems to have been fearful and suspicious of the intruding white men from the very first—impressed, it may be, with a foreboding of evil to come.

June. Soon after, Newport sailed for home, leaving the colonists in a wretched condition. Their provisions nearly all spoiled, and they too idle to provide against the effects of the climate—much sickness prevailed, and more than half the company died before winter. To add to their distress, it was discovered that Wingfield had been living upon their choicest stores, and that he intended to seize the remainder of their provisions, and escape to the West Indies. The council deposed him, and elected Ratcliffe president. The change was not for the better ; he was not more honest than Wingfield, and mentally less fit for the station. In this emergency the control of affairs passed by tacit consent into the hands of Smith. He knew

from the first what was needed for the colony. As it was now too late in the season to obtain food of their own raising, he had recourse to trading with the Indians for corn. Toward the close of autumn, an abundance of wild fowl furnished additional provisions. The colony thus provided for, Smith further explored the neighboring rivers and country. In one of these expeditions he ascended a branch of the James river, and leaving the boat in care of his men, took with him his Indian guide, and struck out into the forest. Finding himself pursued by the Indians, he fastened his guide to his arm as a shield against their arrows, and defended himself with great bravery, but at length sinking in a swamp, he was taken prisoner. His captors regarded him with strange wonder; his cool courage and self-possession struck them with awe. He, aware of the simplicity and inquisitiveness of the savage character, showed them his pocket compass. They wondered at the motion of the needle, and at the strange transparent cover, which secured it from their touch. Was their captive a superior being?—was he friendly to themselves?—how should they dispose of him?—were questions that now perplexed them. They permitted him to send a letter to Jamestown. The fact that he could impress his thoughts upon paper, and send them far away, they regarded as strong proof of his superiority. He was led from place to place, to be gazed at by the wondering natives of the forest. For three days they performed powwows, or religious ceremonies, in order to learn from the spirit world something of his nature and intentions. Finally, he was sent to Powhatan, to be disposed of as he should decide. The Indian chief received him with a great display of savage pomp, but decided that he must die. Preparations were made, but the eventful life of Smith was not destined to be closed by the war-club of the savage. The heart of Pocahontas, a young daughter of Powhatan, a girl of ten or twelve years of age, was touched with sympathy and

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1607.

Dec.

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1608. pity. She pleaded with her father for his life. She clung tenderly to him as he bowed his head to receive the fatal stroke. Her interposition was received by the savages as an indication of the will of heaven, and the life of Smith was spared. Her people have passed away—most of their names are forgotten, but the name of Pocahontas, and the story of her generous deed, will ever be honored and remembered.

Jan. The Indians now wished to adopt Smith into their number : they strove to induce him to join them against the English. He dissuaded them from an attack upon Jamestown, by representing to them the wonderful effects of the “big guns.” After an absence of seven weeks, he was permitted to return. He had obtained much valuable information of the country, of its inhabitants, their language and customs.

He found the colony reduced in number to forty—in want of provisions, and in anarchy and confusion, while some were making preparations to desert in the pinnace ; this he prevented at the risk of his life. The famishing colonists were partly sustained through the winter by the generous Pocahontas, who with her companions almost every day brought them baskets of corn.

In the spring, Newport returned with another company of emigrants ; like the first, “vagabond gentlemen,” idlers, and gold-hunters. These gold-hunters lighted upon some earth, glittering with yellow mica ; they thought it golden ore. Every thing else was neglected ; the entire company engaged in loading the ships with this useless earth. What a blessing to England and the colony that it was not gold !

While the people of Jamestown were thus foolishly employed, Smith explored the harbors and rivers of Chesapeake bay, and established friendly relations with the Indians along its shores. From them he learned of the Mohawks, who “made war upon all the world.” On his

return, he was, for the first time, formally elected President of the Council. Industry was now more wisely directed ; but in the autumn came another company of idle and useless emigrants. Smith, indignant that his efforts to improve the colony should thus be frustrated, wrote to the council to send him but a few husbandmen and mechanics, and "diggers up of trees' roots," rather than a thousand such men as had been sent. The complaint was just. During two years they had not brought under cultivation more than forty acres of land, while the number of able-bodied men was more than two hundred. The energetic arm of Smith was soon felt. The first law he made and enforced was, that "He who would not work should not eat ;" the second, that "Each man for six days in the week should work six hours each lay."

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1608.

In England, about this time, an unusual interest was manifested in the colony ; subscriptions were made to its stock, and the charter materially changed. The council was now chosen by the stockholders of the company, instead of being appointed by the king. This council appointed the governor, but he could rule with absolute authority. Not a single privilege was yet granted the colonist : his property, his liberty, his life were at the disposal of the governor ; and he the agent of a soulless corporation, whose only object was gain. The company had expended money, but the course they themselves pursued prevented their receiving a return. Instead of sending the industrious and virtuous, they sent idlers and libertines ; instead of farmers and mechanics, they sent gold-seekers and bankrupt gentlemen. Instead of offering a reward to industry they gave a premium to idleness, by making the proceeds of their labor go into a common stock.

May,
1609.

The new charter excited so great an interest in the cause, that a fleet of nine ships was soon under way, containing more than five hundred emigrants, and, for the

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first time, domestic animals and fowls. Lord Delaware, a nobleman of excellent character, was appointed governor for life. As he was not prepared to come with this company, he nominated Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Newport, to act as his commissioners until his own arrival. Seven of the vessels came safely, but the ship on which the commissioners embarked, with another, was wrecked on one of the Bermuda islands.

This company of emigrants appears to have been worse than any before. As the commissioners had failed to reach the colony, these worthies refused to submit to the authority of Smith, the acting President, contending that there was no legalized government. But these men, who "would rule all or ruin all," found in him a determined foe to disorder and idleness; he compelled them to submit. Unfortunately, just at this time, he was injured by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, and obliged to return to England for surgical aid. He delegated his authority to George Percy, a brother of the Duke of Northumberland. And now the man who had more than once saved the colony from utter ruin, bade farewell to Virginia forever; from his arduous labors he derived no benefit, but experienced at the hands of the company the basest ingratitude.

Oct.

During the administration of Smith the Indians were held in check; he inspired them with confidence and respect. When the colonists "beat them, stole their corn, and robbed their gardens," they complained to him, and he protected their rights. After his departure, they formed a plan to cut off the white men at a single blow; but Pocahontas, that good genius of the English, came at night, in a driving storm, to Jamestown, revealed the plot, and saved the colony.

1610.

What the Indians failed to do, vice and famine nearly accomplished. In six months after the departure of Smith, of the four hundred and ninety colonists only sixty were

living, and they would have perished in a few days had they not obtained relief. Sir Thomas Gates, and those who were wrecked with him, found means to build a small vessel, in which, at this crisis, they reached James river. They were astonished at the desolation. They all determined to abandon the place and sail to Newfoundland, and there distribute themselves among the fishermen. They dropped down the river with the tide, leaving the place without a regret. What was their surprise the next morning to meet Lord Delaware coming in with more emigrants and abundance of supplies. They returned with a favoring wind to Jamestown the same night.

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1611.
May
26.

From this tenth day of June, one thousand six hundred and eleven, the colony began, under more favorable circumstances, to revive. Other influences moulded their characters. They acknowledged God in all their ways, and their paths were directed by His providential care. Under the just administration of the excellent Delaware, factions were unknown ; each one was disposed to do his duty. Before they commenced the labors of the day, they met in their little church to implore the blessing of heaven. The effects were soon visible in the order and comfort of the community. They cheered their friends in England : " Doubt not," said they, " God will raise our state and build his Church in this excellent clime." In about a year, failing health compelled Lord Delaware to return to England. He left Percy, Smith's successor, as his representative.

1611.

The next year Sir Thomas Gates arrived, with six ships and three hundred emigrants ; a majority of whom were of a better class, temperate and industrious in their habits. A measure was now introduced which produced the greatest effect on the well-being of the colony : to each man was given a portion of land, which he was to cultivate for himself. The good result of this was soon seen in the abundance of provisions. The colony became so pros-

Aug.
1612

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perous that some of the neighboring tribes of Indians wished to be "called Englishmen," and to be subjects of King James. Some of the colonists, however, manifested neither gratitude nor justice toward the natives. A neighboring chief was won by the gift of a copper kettle to betray into the hands of Captain Argall, Pocahontas, that faithful friend of the colony. Argall had the meanness to demand of her father a ransom. For three months the indignant Powhatan did not deign to reply. Meantime Pocahontas received religious instruction: her susceptible heart was moved, she became a Christian and was baptized; she was the first of her race "who openly renounced her country's idolatry." John Rolfe, a pious young man, of "honest and discreet carriage," became interested in the youthful princess; he won her affections and asked her in marriage. Powhatan was delighted. This marriage conciliated him and his tribe, and indeed gave general satisfaction, except to King James, who was greatly scandalized that any man, but one of royal blood, should presume to marry a princess. Rolfe took his wife to England, where she was much caressed. She never again saw her native land. Just as she was leaving England for Virginia she died, at the early age of twenty-two. She left one son, whose posterity count it an honor to have descended from this noble Indian girl.

Sir Thomas Dale introduced laws, by which private individuals could become proprietors of the soil. The landholders directed their attention almost exclusively to the raising of tobacco, which became so profitable an article of export, that it was used as the currency of the colony. At one time, the public squares and streets of Jamestown were planted with tobacco, and the raising of corn so much neglected, that there was danger of a famine.

1616. After a rule of two years, Dale resigned and returned to England, leaving George Yeardley as deputy-governor. During his administration, industry and prosperity con-

tinued to increase. Under the influence of a faction, Yeardley was superseded by the tyrannical Argall, but in two years his vices and extortion, in connection with frauds upon the company, procured his dismissal, and the people once more breathed freely under the second administration of the benevolent and popular Yeardley.

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IX.Jan.,
1619.

Although the colony had been in existence twelve years, it contained not more than six hundred persons, and they appeared to have no settled intention of making the country their permanent home. Efforts were still made to send emigrants, twelve hundred of whom came in one year, and every means were used to attach them to the soil. At different times the company sent over more than one hundred and fifty respectable young women, who became wives in the colony, their husbands paying the expense of their passage. This was paid in tobacco, the cost of each passage varying from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds. It was deemed dishonorable not to pay a debt contracted for a wife; and to aid the husbands, the government, in giving employment, preferred married men. Thus surrounded by the endearments of home and domestic ties, the colonists were willing to remain in the New World.

Governor Yeardley was "commissioned by the company" to grant the people the right to assist in making their own laws, for which purpose they could hold an Assembly once a year. In July, one thousand six hundred and nineteen, met the House of Burgesses, consisting of twenty-two members chosen by the people. A peculiar interest is attached to this first Legislative Assembly in the New World. The laws enacted exhibit the spirit of the people. "Forasmuche," said the Assembly, "as man's affaires doe little prosper when God's service is neglected, we invite Mr. Bucke, the minister, to open our sessions by prayer,—that it would please God to sanctifie all our proceedings to his owne glory and the good of this plantation." They passed laws against vices, and in favor of

- CHAP. IX. industry and good order. "In detestation of idleness," the idler was "to be sold to a master for wages till he shewe apparent signes of amendment." Laws were made against playing of dice and cards, drunkenness, and other vices ; and to promote the "planting of corne," of vines, of mulberry trees, and the raising of flax and hemp. They made provision "towards the erecting of the University and College." This was designed for the education of their own children, as well as for "the most towardly boyes in witt and graces" of the "natives' children." The governor and council sat with the Assembly, and took part in its deliberations. It was granted that a "generall Assembly should be held yearly once," "to ordain whatsoever laws and orders would be thought good and profitable for our subsistence."¹
- 1619.

This right of the people to have a voice in making their own laws, was rigidly maintained until it found its full fruition in the institutions established one hundred and fifty years afterward by the Revolution. Emigration from England was greatly stimulated ; in a few years the population numbered nearly four thousand, while the inducements to industry and general prosperity increased in the same proportion. The company granted a written constitution, under which the people could have a legislative assembly of their own choosing. It was necessary that the laws passed by the colonial legislature should be sanctioned by the company in England. As a check to royal interference, no laws emanating from the court could be valid, unless ratified by the House of Burgesses. Thus it continued until the dissolution of the London company, when King James arbitrarily took away its charter.

¹ Art. IX., Vol. III., Part I. *Second Series of Collections* of the New York Historical Society. The "Reporte" of the proceedings of this "First Assembly of Virginia," was discovered among the papers of the British State Paper Office. All trace of it had been lost for perhaps more than two centuries ; at length a search, instituted by Bancroft the historian, was successful.

CHAPTER X.

COLONIZATION OF NEW ENGLAND.

First voyages to.—Plymouth Company.—Explorations of John Smith.—**The Church of England.**—The Puritans.—Congregation of John Robinson.—“Pilgrims” in Holland.—Arrangements to emigrate.—The Voyage.—A Constitution framed on board the *May-Flower*.—Landing at Plymouth.—Sufferings.—Indians, Treaties with.—“Weston’s Men.”—Thanksgiving.—Shares of the London Partners purchased.—Democratic Government.

THE usual route to America had been by the Canaries and the West Indies. Bartholomew Gosnold was the first navigator who attempted to find a shorter one, by sailing directly across the Atlantic. His effort was crowned with success : after a voyage of seven weeks, he came upon the coast in the vicinity of Nahant. Coasting along to the south, he landed upon a sandy point, which he named Cape Cod ; and passing round it he discovered Martha’s Vineyard, and several other islands in the vicinity. While he explored the coast he also traded with the natives, and when he had obtained a cargo of sassafras root, which in that day was much valued for its medicinal qualities, he sailed for home. The voyage consumed but five weeks, thus demonstrating the superiority of the new route.

Gosnold, who saw the country in the months of May and June, was enraptured with its appearance—its forests blooming with shrubs and flowers; its springs of pure fresh water, and little lakes; its beautiful islands nestling among equally beautiful bays along the coast. His description,

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CHAP. together with the shortness and safety of the voyage, led
 X. to many visits and minor discoveries by Martin Pring and
 1607. others, all along the coast of New England.

The Plymouth Company, of which mention has been made, attempted to form a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec in Maine. The rigors of a severe winter, and the death of their president, so discouraged the colonists, that they abandoned the enterprise, and returned to England.

A few years afterward, Smith, whose valuable services we have seen in Virginia, undertook to explore the country. He constructed a map of the eastern portion, and noted the prominent features of the territory. The country he named New England—a name confirmed by the Prince of Wales, afterward Charles I. After Smith left for England, his associate, a captain named Hunt, treacherously enticed twenty-seven of the natives with their chief, Squanto, on board his ship, then set sail. He sold these victims of his avarice into slavery in Spain. A few of them were purchased by some friars, who kindly taught them, in order to send them back as missionaries to their countrymen. Among this number was Squanto.

In this age, we are unable to appreciate fully the trials and sufferings experienced by the explorers and first settlers of this continent. When we remember the frailty of the vessels in which their voyages were made, the perils of the unexplored ocean, the dangers of its unknown coasts, the hostility of the wily savage, the diseases of an untried climate, the labor of converting the primitive forests into cultivated fields, we may well be astonished that such difficulties were ever overcome.

We have now to narrate the causes which led to the settlement of New England. Previous to the time of Henry VIII. the clergy and government of England had been in religious matters the implicit subjects of the church of Rome. While this may be said of the clergy it was different with great numbers of the people. The spirit of

religious truth was pervading their minds and moulding their character. They read the Bible in their own language, discussed freely its truths, and compared them with the doctrines and practices of the Romish church. The Pope claimed to be the temporal and spiritual head of the church, and by virtue of this claim to depose princes or absolve subjects from their allegiance. Henry wished to be divorced from his queen in order to marry another ; but the Pope, to whom he applied, as the highest authority, hesitated to dissolve the marriage. The angry king, when threatened with excommunication, repudiated the Pope and his authority, and declared the English church independent of that of Rome. Parliament afterward confirmed by law what the king in a fit of anger had done, and recognized him as the head of the church in his own dominions. Thus England, by the act of her own government, became Protestant. True reformation in religion does not apply so much to its external form, as to its effect upon the hearts and consciences of men. That portion of the English people who had learned this truth from the Word of God, recognized no human being as the head of his church ; they received Christ alone as the Head of his own church, and they refused to acknowledge the pretensions of the king. For the maintenance of this belief they were persecuted through a series of years : during the reign of Henry for not admitting his authority in spiritual matters ; during the reign of his daughter Mary, still more fiercely, for denying the authority of the church of Rome. Many at the stake sealed their faith with their lives, and many fled to foreign lands.

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1558

After the death of Mary the persecuting fires were extinguished, and the accession of Elizabeth was the signal for the exiles to return home. They came back with more enlightened views of the rights of conscience and of free inquiry. Of these some were Presbyterians, some Congregationalists, and others members of the Established

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Church. They demanded a more pure and spiritual worship than that of the church of England. For this they were in derision called PURITANS—a name which they soon made respected, even by their enemies. Elizabeth was a Protestant, but she was far from being a Puritan. She wished to have a church that should reconcile all parties, whose ceremonies should be a happy medium between the showy church of Rome and the simple form of worship asked for by the Puritans. She contended strenuously for her headship of the church, while the Puritan rejected the presumptuous doctrine. She demanded of her subjects implicit obedience to her in religious matters: the Puritan took the high ground that it was his right to worship God according to his own conscience.

Severe laws were passed from time to time, and they were enforced with unrelenting cruelty. All were enjoined to conform to certain ceremonies in worship. Those who did not comply were banished; if they returned without permission, the penalty was death. The person accused was compelled to answer on oath all questions, whether pertaining to himself or to his fellow-worshippers. Ministers who would not comply with these laws were driven from their parishes; the members of their congregations were “beset and watched night and day;” if they were detected in listening to their deprived ministers, or were absent a certain length of time from the services of the Established Church, they were fined and imprisoned, and punished in various ways. To avoid the effects of such intolerable laws, many bade farewell to their native land, and Holland and Switzerland became the asylum of some of the noblest men and women of England.

Thus the contest had raged for nearly forty years, when, in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, the Puritans began to hope that the dark clouds of persecution which had so long overshadowed the land would be dispelled under her successor, James I., who was edu-

cated in Scotland, principally under Presbyterian influence. They had reason to believe he would protect them in the exercise of their form of worship. They were grossly deceived, and cruelly disappointed. When it was for his interest, James professed to be very favorable to the Reformation, and more especially to the Puritan form. Upon one occasion, standing with his hands lifted up to heaven, he "praised God that he was king of such a kirk—the purest kirk in all the world ;" adding, "As for the kirk of England, its service is an evil said mass." Such was the language of James just before he became king. The moment he ascended the throne he threw off the mask, and openly proclaimed his famous maxim, "No bishop, no king." The Puritans humbly petitioned him for a redress of grievances ; he treated them with the greatest contempt. Said he to his bishops : "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else worse : only hang them—that's all."

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1603

During all these years they hoped for better times, and were unwilling to separate from the church of their fathers ; but suffering and persecution at length brought that hour. Hitherto individuals and families had gone into exile ; but now, in the north of England, a pastor, with all his congregation, determined to leave their homes and flee to Holland, where there was already a church of English exiles. This was the congregation of John Robinson. These poor people were harassed by the minions of the king and clergy, and subjected to the petty annoyances dictated by religious intolerance. Preparations were made for them to leave. As they were about to sail, the officers of the government, with the connivance of the captain of the ship, came on board the vessel, and arrested the whole company ; searched their persons, took possession of their effects, and carried them to prison ; men, women, and children. In a short time most of them were released ; only seven persons were brought to trial. They also

1603

CHAP. X. were liberated. The court could not convict them of crime.

1608. The members of the congregation persevered ; and soon they engaged a Dutch captain to take them from an unfrequented common. The women and children were to be taken to the place of embarkation in a small boat, the men to go by land. The latter reached the ship, and were taken on board. The boat containing the women and children was stranded, and before it could be got off they were seized by a party of their enemies. The captain, lest he should become involved in difficulties with the English authorities, sailed immediately, taking with him the men, overwhelmed with grief for their defenceless wives and children in the hands of their cruel oppressors. The poor women and helpless children were dragged, suffering from cold, hunger, and fear, before a magistrate, as if they had been guilty of crime. They were treated very harshly, but were finally permitted to join their husbands and fathers in Holland.

Now they were PILGRIMS indeed, strangers in a strange land ; “but they lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits.” They remained about a year at Amsterdam ; not satisfied, however, they removed to Leyden. Their integrity and industry, their piety and self-denial, in what they believed to be the cause of truth, elicited the respect of the Dutch. The government officers would have treated them with marked favor, but they feared to offend King James. From year to year they received accessions from their brethren in England. They were still surrounded by evils, which made it necessary for them again to change their homes. Their labors were severe ; though frugal and industrious, they obtained a support with great difficulty. The desecration of the Sabbath, the dissolute morals of the disbanded soldiers and sailors among whom they were thrown, caused them to fear for

their children. Holland could not be their permanent home. It dawned upon the minds of the more intelligent, that it was their duty to seek some other land. Their thoughts were directed to the wilderness of the New World. They express not a wish in regard to worldly comfort, but a desire to consecrate all to the great cause of promoting Christianity.

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Though they had been so harshly treated by England, they loved her still, and were not willing to accept the offers made them, to colonize under the protection of the Dutch. They had heard of the fine climate and the settlement of Virginia, and resolved to apply to the London Company for permission to emigrate to their territory. For this purpose they sent two of their number, John Carver and Robert Cushman, to confer with the company. Their proposition was favorably received by the excellent Sir Edwin Sandys, the secretary. Their request, signed by the greater part of the congregation, was afterward sent to the company. In it they made a summary of their principles, and a statement of their motives of action. They said, "We verily believe that God is with us, and will prosper us in our endeavors ; we are weaned from our mother country, and have learned patience in a hard and strange land. We are industrious and frugal ; we are bound together by a sacred bond of the Lord, whereof we make great conscience, holding ourselves to each other's good. We do not wish ourselves home again ; we have nothing to hope from England or Holland ; we are men who will not be easily discouraged."

1617

1618

They were to emigrate under the sanction of the company ; but owing to dissensions in the company itself, the plan was not carried out. At this time the king was oppressing their brethren in England more and more ; the only favor the Pilgrims could obtain from him was a half promise that he would not molest them in the wilds of America. In truth, James wished to be freed from those

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of his subjects who had any just notions of human rights. Said he, "I would rather live like a hermit in the forest, than be a king over such people as the pack of Puritans that overrule the House of Commons!"

1619.

There was yet another difficulty. The Pilgrims were poor—poor indeed; in their persecution and exile they had lost their all. Upon very hard conditions they secured the means to emigrate; yet they were willing to make any sacrifice could they but worship God in peace, and protect the morals of their children.

A company was now formed of London merchants, who agreed to furnish the money, while the emigrant was to give his entire services for seven years; these services were to constitute his stock in the company. The profits were to be reserved to the end of that time, then a valuation of all the property held by the company was to be made, and the amount distributed to each in proportion to his investment. By contract, the merchant who invested ten pounds received as much as the colonist who gave seven years of labor. This throwing of all their labor and capital into a common stock, was the result of necessity, not of choice.

1620.

They purchased one ship, the *Speedwell*, and hired another, the *May-Flower*, a ship of one hundred and eighty tons. As these vessels could carry only a part of the congregation, they determined to send the younger and more vigorous, while the pastor, Robinson, and the aged and infirm, were to remain at Leyden. Their ruling Elder, William Brewster, who had suffered much in the cause, and was respected and loved for his integrity, was to conduct the emigrants. Before they left, they observed a day of fasting and prayer. They "sought of God a right way for themselves and their little ones."

The parting address of the venerable Robinson gives us a glimpse of the principles in which, from year to year, he had instructed them. As he addressed them for the

last time, he said : " I charge you before God and his holy angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you, be ready to receive it ; for I am verily persuaded the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his Holy Word. I beseech you remember it is an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written Word of God. Take heed what you receive as truth ; examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth before you receive it ; the Christian world has not yet come to the perfection of knowledge."

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A number of their brethren came from Leyden to Delft-Haven, where they were to embark. The night before their departure was passed in religious intercourse and prayer : as the morning dawned, they prepared to go on board the ship. On the shore they all knelt, and the venerable Robinson led them in prayer—they heard his voice for the last time. They sailed first to Southampton ; in a fortnight they left that place for their distant home. It is soon discovered that the Speedwell needs repairs, and they must return. After the lapse of eight days of precious time, again they make the attempt, and still again the captain of the Speedwell asserts that his ship cannot cross the Atlantic. They put back to Plymouth : they there leave the Speedwell, and those whose courage failed them, and to the number of one hundred and one once more commit themselves to the winds and waves, trusting to the good providence of God.

Aug.
5.Sept.
6.

Let us glance for a moment at the circumstances and characteristics of this company. They were bound together by the strong bond of religious sympathy—united in interest and purpose, they expected to endure, to suffer, to rejoice together for many years, even to the end of life.

Prominent among them was William Brewster, the ruling elder and lay preacher, already mentioned, who was

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to supply the place of the pastor Robinson. He was a man of education, of refined associations, and above all of a lovely and Christian spirit. "He laid his hand to the daily tasks of life, as well as spent his soul in trying to benefit his fellows—so bringing himself as near as possible to the early Christian practices ; he was worthy of being the first minister of New England." ¹ There was also the dignified and benevolent John Carver, the worthy governor of this band of Christian exiles, who in the cause laid down his fortune, and at length his life—for he soon sank beneath the hardships to which he was unused. These two were comparatively old men, but most of the "Pilgrim Fathers" were in the bloom and vigor of life.

William Bradford was but thirty-two, earnest, sagacious, true and steady in purpose, "a man of nerve and public spirit ;" self-educated, and so ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, that amidst all his trials and labors, he accumulated books, and found time to read and even to study them. As a farmer's boy in England, as a dyer in Holland, as the governor of a small nation in the wilds of America, he acted well his part.

Edward Winslow was "a gentleman born," with a mind cultivated by travel and books ; gentle in manner as in spirit, his soul melted at the sorrows of others. Miles Standish was a soldier, fearless, but not rash ; impetuous, but not vindictive : though not a member of the church, he was strongly attached to its institutions and to its most rigorous advocates. Winslow was twenty-six, and Standish thirty-six years of age.

Nov.
10.

A tedious voyage of sixty-three days brought them in sight of Cape Cod. They had left their native land to seek in a howling wilderness an asylum from persecution. They had not the sanction of a charter from their king, and they appealed to no body of men for protection : they

¹ Elliott's History of New England.

must have a government ; they were all on an equality, and they now drew up a constitution, or compact, to which the men, servants and all, to the number of forty-one, subscribed their names, and mutually pledged their obedience.

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1620.

The words of this first constitution, made and adopted by an entire people, plainly indicate whence its principles were derived. They say, "In the name of God, amen : we whose names are underwritten, having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a body politic ; and by virtue hereof, to enact such just and equal laws from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." Thus the principle of popular liberty, that laws and constitutions should be framed for the benefit of the entire people, found its utterance in the cabin of the May-Flower, by the act of the people themselves.

John Carver was elected governor for one year. Miles Standish, who had been an officer in the army sent by Queen Elizabeth to aid the Dutch against the Spaniards, was chosen captain. Winter was coming on—they were anxious to land, but unfortunately the shallop needed repairs. In the mean time Standish, Bradford, and others, impatient of delay, went to seek a convenient harbor, and a suitable place for a settlement. The country was covered with snow ; in one place they found some baskets of corn, and in another an Indian burial-ground.

In a fortnight the shallop was ready for use, and the governor, Winslow, Bradford, and Standish, with others and some seamen, went to explore the bay. The cold was intense, freezing the spray of the sea on their clothes, until, as they expressed it, they were made as hard as iron. They landed occasionally, found graves and a few deserted wig-

CHAP. wams, but no other evidence of human beings. On one of
X. these occasions they encamped at night on the shore near
 1620. where the shallop was moored. The next morning as they
 were closing their devotions, they were startled by a strange
 cry—the war-whoop of the savage—it was accompanied by
 a flight of arrows. At the report of their guns the Indians
 fled. All that day was spent in seeking a safe harbor for
 the ship. Near night a violent storm of rain and snow
 drove them through the breakers into a cove, protected
 from the blast by a hill. In the midst of the tempest they
 landed, and with difficulty kindled a fire. In the morning
 they found they were on an island at the entrance of a
 harbor. The next day was the Sabbath ; though urged by
 every consideration to hasten to the ship, they religiously
 observed the day.

On the morrow, *December twenty-second, one thousand*
Dec. *six hundred and twenty*—a day ever to be remembered in
22. the annals of our country, the Pilgrims landed. The
 place they named after the town in England from
 which they last sailed. The blessings which have flowed
 from the settlement of New England are associated with
 the spot where they first set foot—the ROCK OF PLYM-
 OUTH.

No time was spent in idleness. A place was selected
 for the settlement, and divided into lots for families. On
 the third day they began to build ; their houses went up
 but slowly ; the forest trees must first be felled and split
 into timbers ; the season was inclement—their strength
 failed them : many from exposure had received into their
 bodies the seeds of death ; many were sick, and many died.
 At one time there were only seven of the whole company
 not disabled by sickness. During the winter, more than
 forty were numbered with the dead ; among these were the
 wives of Bradford and Winslow, and also Rose, the young
 bride of Miles Standish. The benevolent Carver lost his
 son—then he himself sunk in death, soon to be followed

by his broken-hearted widow. They were all buried but a short distance from the rock on which they had landed. Lest the many graves should tell the Indians the story of weakness and of death, the spot where they rested was levelled and sown with grass. At length spring drew near, and warm winds from the south moderated the cold. The trees began to put forth their foliage, and among their branches the "birds to sing pleasantly," while the sick were gradually recovering.

CHAP
X.
1621.
April
6.

When the May-Flower left for England, not one of these heroic men and women desired to leave the land of their adoption. They had now a government; they had a church covenant; they had a constitution under which their rights were secured, and each one according to his individual merit could be respected and honored. So dear to them were these privileges, that all the privations they had suffered, the sickness and death which had been in their midst, the gloomy prospect before them, could not induce them to swerve from their determination to found a State, where these blessings should be the birth-right of their children.

Famine pressed hard upon them, for in the autumn they were joined by some new emigrants, who had come ill-provisioned; and for the succeeding six months they had only half a supply. "I have seen men," says Winslow, "stagger by reason of faintness for want of food." Their privations for two or three years were greater than those of any colony planted in the country. But their implicit confidence in the goodness of God was never shaken. At times Indians were seen hovering around their settlement, but no communication had been held with them, as they fled when approached. One day, to their surprise, an Indian boldly entered their village, crying out, welcome Englishmen! welcome Englishmen! It was Samoset. He belonged to the Wampanoags, a tribe living

Nov
19.

CHAP in the vicinity. He had learned a few English words from
X. the fishermen on the Penobscot.

1621. Samoset, in the name of his tribe, told the Pilgrims to possess the land, for the year before those to whom it belonged had been swept away by a pestilence. This announcement was a great relief to their fears. Samoset soon again appeared, and with him Squanto, who, as has been mentioned, had been kidnapped and sold into slavery in Spain, had been freed, found his way to England, and finally home. They announced that Massasoit, the grand sachem of the Wampanoags, desired an interview. The chief and his retinue of warriors had taken their position on a neighboring hill. Squanto acted as interpreter. A treaty of friendship was made between the chief and the English, by which they promised to defend each other when attacked by enemies. For more than fifty years, till King Philip's war, this treaty was observed. The Pilgrims offered to pay for the baskets of corn they had found buried; this they did six months afterward when the owners appeared. A trade, very beneficial to the colony, commenced with the Indians, who promised to sell them all their furs.

Why not remember the humble services of Squanto? The Pilgrims looked upon him as "a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation." He taught them how to plant corn, to put fish with it to make it grow, where to find the fish and how to take them. He was their interpreter and their pilot. Under his tuition they soon raised corn so abundantly as to have a surplus to exchange with the Indians for furs. By means of these furs they obtained from England the merchandise they wanted. He remained their friend till his death, and when dying asked the governor to pray that he might go to the "Englishman's God in heaven."

Massasoit desired the alliance with the Pilgrims as a protection against Canonius, the chief of the powerful

Narragansetts, who lived on the shores of the beautiful bay which bears their name. Canonicus was not, however, to be deterred from exhibiting his hostility. As a challenge he sent to Plymouth some arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake. Bradford, who was now governor, sent back the same skin filled with powder and shot. The Indians looked upon it as containing a deadly influence, to be exerted against the enemies of the English. In terror they sent it from tribe to tribe, none of whom dared either keep or destroy it. Finally, the skin and its contents were returned to the colony. Canonicus himself, in a short time, desired an alliance of peace ; evidently more from fear than from good-will.

In trade the Pilgrims took no advantage of the ignorance of the Indians. They became involved in difficulties with them, however, through the improper conduct of others.

Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, who had invested money in the enterprise of founding the Plymouth Colony, now wished to engross the entire profits of the fur trade with the Indians. He obtained a patent for a small district, near Weymouth, on Boston harbor, and sent over about sixty men, chiefly indented servants. These men ill treated the Indians, stole their corn, and thus excited their hostility. The savage seeks redress by murdering those who do him wrong. The Indians did not distinguish between the honesty and good-will of the Pilgrims, and the dishonesty and evil acts of "Weston's men ;" they plotted to involve all the white strangers in one common ruin. Massasoit was dangerously sick ; Winslow kindly visited him ; turned out of the wigwam the Indian doctors, who were making a great noise to drive off the disease, and relieved the chief by giving him medicine and quiet. The grateful Massasoit revealed the plot. The people were greatly alarmed ; they had heard of a terrible massacre in Virginia, and they feared such would be their own expe-

CHAP.
X.

1623.

Mar.
23.

rience. Not a moment was to be lost ; they must act in self-defence. Captain Standish hastened with eight men to the assistance of those at Weymouth. He arrived in time not only to prevent the attack, but to surprise the Indians themselves. In the conflict, the principal plotting chief and some of his men were killed. This exploit taught the Indians to respect the English ; many of the neighboring chiefs now sought peace and alliance. When the good pastor, Mr. Robinson, heard of this conflict, he exclaimed, " Oh that they had converted some before they killed any ! " One year saw the beginning and the end of this trading establishment at Weymouth. Apprehension of danger from the natives was now removed.

Since
1863.

As " Thanksgiving " has now become a national festival, the manner in which it was first instituted has a peculiar interest. In the autumn of 1623, after the fruits of the harvest were gathered in, Governor Bradford sent out a company for game, to furnish dainty materials for a feast God had blessed their labors, and this was to be a feast of THANKS-GIVING. " So they met together and thanked God with all their hearts, for the good world and the good things in it."

The merchant partners in England complained of the small profits derived from their investments. They began to neglect the interests of the colony, and to manifest their displeasure in various ways. They would not permit Robinson and his family, with the remainder of the church at Leyden, to join their friends at Plymouth. They sold the colonists goods at enormous prices, and sent a ship to rival them in their limited fur trade. They outraged their feelings by attempting to force upon them one Lyford, a clergyman friendly to the Established Church. Lyford was expelled from Plymouth, not on account of his religious views, but, according to Bradford, for conduct injurious to the colony and immorality.

In time industry and frugality triumphed ; the Pil-

grims in five or six years were able to purchase the entire stock of those who were annoying them in this ungenerous manner. The stock and the land were equitably divided, and the arrangement of private property fully carried out, each one becoming the owner of a piece of land.

CHAP
X.
Nov.
1627

Though the Pilgrims had no charter, they formed a government upon the most liberal principles. They had a governor, who was chosen by the people, and whose power was limited by a council of five. For more than eighteen years the whole male population were the legislators.

1640.

They were the pioneers of religious freedom—the openers of an asylum in the New World, to which the persecuted for religion's sake, and political opinions, have been flocking from that day to this. Says Governor Bradford, in his history of the colony: “Out of small beginnings great things have been produced, by His hand that made all things out of nothing; and as one small candle will light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea to our whole nation.”

CHAPTER XI.

COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

A Company organized.—Settlement of Salem.—The Charter transferred.—Boston and Vicinity settled.—Encouragements.—Disputes.—Roger Williams; his Banishment; he founds Providence.—Discussions renewed.—Anne Hutchinson.—Settlement of Rhode Island.—The Dutch at Hartford; Disputes with.—Migrations to the fertile Valley of the Connecticut; Hooker and Haynes.—Springfield.—Fort at Saybrooke.—Pequods become hostile.—Expeditions against them; their utter Ruin.—Rev. John Davenport.—Settlement of New Haven.—Sir Ferdinand Gorges.—New Hampshire.—The United Colonies.—The Providence Plantations.—Educated Men.—Harvard College.—The Printing Press.—Common Schools.—Grammar Schools.—Quakers; Persecution of.—Eliot the Apostle.—The Mayhews.—Progress.

CHAP. PERSECUTION raged through the reign of James, and
XI. threatened to continue through the reign of his son and
1624. successor, Charles I.

The various accounts sent to England by the colonists at Plymouth, excited great interest, especially in the minds of the Puritans. They listened to them as to a voice from Heaven, calling upon them to leave their native land, and join their brethren in these ends of the earth. This was not wild enthusiasm, but the calm promptings of duty.

Pamphlets were published giving descriptions of the land of promise; it promised not wealth and ease, but only peace and quietness. There were many who preferred these, with toils and privations in the wilds of America, to religious persecutions in their own land.

The Rev. Mr. White, of Dorchester, was a controlling spirit in the enterprise. He was a Puritan, but not of the Separatists from the Established Church, as were Robinson and his congregation.

CHAP
XI.

1624.

The Council of Plymouth had taken the place of the old Plymouth Company. This council had no worthier object than gain ; it granted the same region to different individuals, and thus laid the foundation for endless disputes. It sold to some gentlemen of Dorchester a belt of territory, extending from three miles south of Massachusetts bay to three miles north of any part of Merrimac river, and, as usual, west to the Pacific. The company prepared to send a colony. The care of the enterprise was intrusted to one of their number, John Endicott, a man of stern character and sterling integrity. He brought with him his family, and about one hundred other persons ; they landed at Salem, and there commenced the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Men of wealth and influence, such as Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Saltonstall, Bel-
lingham, Johnson, Simon Bradstreet, William Coddington, and others, who afterward exerted a great influence in the colony, were willing to bear a part in carrying the "pure gospel" to New England. The king looked upon the colony about to be founded more as a trading corporation than as the germ of an independent nation, and he willingly gave them a charter, under which they lived more than fifty years. By the terms of this charter the royal signature was not necessary to give validity to the laws made under it.

1620.

1628

Sept.
14.Mar.,
1629

Soon another choice company, in which "no idle persons were found," was ready to sail. The good Francis Higginson accompanied them as their minister. As the shores of England receded from sight, Higginson expressed the feelings of the emigrants ; as from the deck of the ship his eyes turned for the last time to his native land, he exclaimed, "Farewell, England !—farewell, all Christian

CHAP. friends!—we separate not from the church, but from its
 XI. corruptions ;—we go to spread the gospel in America.'

1629. There were about two hundred in this company ; the ma-
 June, jority remained at Salem, the rest went to Charlestown. Privations and exposure brought sickness, and before the end of a year death had laid his hand on more than half their number, among whom was their pastor, Higginson. When the summons came, the dying seemed only to regret that they were not permitted to aid their brethren in founding a pure church in the wilderness.

The charter contained no provision for the rights of the people, it left them at the mercy of the corporation ; and as long as that charter remained in England, they could take no part in their own government. It was also silent on the subject of their religious freedom ; at any moment this might be interfered with by the king and his clergy. There was only one way to be freed from such undue interference. By the charter their governing council could choose the place of meeting for the transaction of business. It was a bold step ; but they chose, hereafter, to meet on the soil of the colony. This transfer of the governing council and charter made its government virtually independent.

The officers were to be a governor, a deputy governor, and eighteen assistants. These were elected before leaving England. John Winthrop was chosen governor, and Thomas Dudley deputy governor. A fleet of seventeen ships set sail with the officers elect, and fifteen hundred emigrants ; they arrived in June and July. Their arrival was opportune, for those who had preceded them were in great distress from sickness and scarcity of food.

Settlements were now made at various places around the bay ; Charlestown, Newtown, Dorchester, Watertown. A fine spring of pure water, on the peninsula called Shawmut, induced the governor and some other persons to settle there. The position was central, and it became the capital,

under the name of BOSTON. The change of climate and mode of living brought disease upon great numbers ; yet they looked upon their sorrows as so many trials, designed to make them appreciate still more the blessings which the future had in store for them. As they hoped, these evils gradually passed away, and prosperity smiled.

CHAP
XL

1630.

At first, the assistants could hold office for life, and in addition it was their privilege to elect the governor. The people became jealous of their liberties ; the dispute was compromised by their electing their magistrates annually. They were to be chosen by the freemen of the colony, of whom no one who was not a church member could have a vote. This law was injudicious, though enacted with the best intentions. They wished a government based on purely religious principles, and they thought to secure such a government by allowing none but the religious to take part in it. Another change was made from the purely democratic form, when all the freemen met in convention and voted on the laws, to that of the republican, when the people elected deputies, who were authorized to legislate and transact the affairs of the colony.

1634:

The colonists dealt honestly with the Indians and endeavored to preserve their good will. They "were to buy their lands, and not to intrude upon, and in no respect injure them ;" they also "hoped to send the gospel to the poor natives." Many of the neighboring chiefs desired their friendship. One came from the distant river Connecticut ; he extolled its fertile valleys and blooming meadows ; he offered them land near him, because he wished their protection against the brave and fiery Pequods. Fraternal and Christian intercourse was held from time to time with the old colony of Plymouth ; as a harbinger of the future, there came from Virginia a vessel laden with corn ; and the Dutch, who some years before had settled at Manhattan, visited them with kindly greetings. Thus dawned a brighter day.

CHAP.
XI.

1685.

During this year more than three thousand persons came from England, many of whom were men of influence, wealth, and education. Prominent among these was Hugh Peters, an eloquent clergyman, and Harry Vane, a young man of much promise, the son and heir of a privy-councillor—a fact of some importance in the eyes of the people. Vane, however, was a true Republican. The people the next year unwisely elected him governor, in place of the dignified and benevolent Winthrop.

The Puritans had experienced all the evils of religious intolerance, but unfortunately they had not themselves learned to be lenient. In the colony there was a young clergyman, Roger Williams, a man of ardent temperament, a clear reasoner, and very decided in his opinions. He came in conflict with the magistrates as he advanced sentiments which they deemed subversive of all authority,—such as that obedience to the magistrate should not be enforced—that the oath of allegiance should not be required : he also denounced the law that compelled all persons to attend worship, as an infringement of the rights of conscience ; he said the service of the church should be supported by its members, and not by a tax upon all the people. His principles were in advance of the age in which he lived : one hundred and forty years after this time they were fully carried out. He contended that the charter from the king was invalid ; the Indians were the original proprietors. The people repelled the aspersion as unjust, because they had purchased their lands from the Indians, and acknowledged their rights by making treaties with them. The contest waxed warm. Williams accepted an invitation to Salem : the people of that place were admonished by the General Court to beware, lest they should encourage sedition. Upon this he retired to Plymouth,—there for two years he maintained his opinions unmolested. The people of the old colony had learned the lesson of toleration in their exile in Holland.

Oct.,

Williams was again invited to Salem, in open defiance of the authority of the General Court, the governing power of the colony. A committee of ministers held conferences and discussions with him, but without inducing him to retract. As the people of Salem sustained him, the Court admonished them, and pronounced the sentence of banishment against Williams. It was not the expression of opinions on the subject of conscience, or "soul-oppression," as he termed it, that alarmed the Court, but the expression of opinions which, if carried into effect, would, they affirmed, destroy all human government.

CHAP
XI.
1635.

In midwinter, Williams became a wanderer for conscience' sake. He went to the sons of the forest for that protection denied him by his Christian brethren. For fourteen weeks he wandered; sometimes he received the simple hospitality of the natives; sometimes his lodging-place was a hollow-tree. At last he was received into the cabin of Massasoit, at Mount Hope. He was the Indians' friend, and they loved him. He thought of settling at Seekonk, on Pawtucket river; that place being within the bounds of the Plymouth colony, Winslow, the governor, advised him to remove beyond their limits, lest it should create difficulty with the Bay colony. Williams received this advice in the spirit in which it was given, and removed to the country of the Narragansets. With five companions in a canoe, he went round to the west side of the arm of the bay. Landing at a beautiful spot, he found a spring of pure water. He resolved there to make a settlement. In thankfulness he called the place PROVIDENCE. Tradition at this day points out the spring near which he built his cabin. Canonibus, the chief of the Narragansets, would not sell his land, but gave him a little domain "to enjoy forever."

1636

Williams here put in practice his theory of government. The land was given to him, and he distributed it to his followers. It was purely a government of the people. All

CHAP. promised to obey the voice of the majority in temporal
XI. things : in things spiritual, to obey only God.

1637. Discussions were still rife in Massachusetts on all subjects. The men held meetings, in which they discussed matters pertaining to their liberties ; edified each other with expositions of passages of Scripture, and criticized the weekly sermons of their ministers. As women were not allowed to speak in these meetings, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of great eloquence and talent, thought the rights of her sex were not properly respected ; she therefore held meetings for their benefit at her own house. At these meetings, theological opinions were advocated, at variance with those of the ministers and magistrates. The people became divided into two parties, and the affair soon took a political turn : on the one side were arrayed Winthrop and the older settlers, and with few exceptions, the ministers : on the other, Governor Vane and the adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson. She and her party were accustomed to speak of themselves as "being under a covenant of grace," and of their opponents as "being under a covenant of works." These indefinite phrases irritated her opponents exceedingly. They proclaimed her a despiser of all spiritual authority ; "like Roger Williams, or worse ;" and darkly insinuated that she was a witch. The friends of Mrs. Hutchinson spoke of appealing to the king ; this was downright treason in the eyes of their opponents,—their allegiance was given to the government of the colony, not to the king. A convention of ministers was held, they investigated her doctrines, and declared them unsound and injurious. At the ensuing election, Winthrop was chosen governor ; and soon after Vane left for England. Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers were admonished, but without effect ; she, with her brother-in-law John Wheelwright, and others, were exiled from the colony. How much wiser it would have been had the magistrates permitted her to

1638

exercise her "gift of discussing," even if she did say they were "under a covenant of works!"

CHAP
XI.

Roger Williams invited the exiles to settle in his vicinity. By his influence they obtained from Miantonomoh, the nephew and prospective successor of Canonicus, a beautiful island, which they named the Isle of Rhodes. Here this little company of not more than twenty persons, formed a settlement. William Coddington, who had been a magistrate in the Bay Colony, was elected judge or ruler. They, too, covenanted with each other to obey the laws made by the majority, and to respect the rights of conscience. Mrs. Hutchinson and her family remained here several years, and then removed farther west beyond New Haven, into the territory of the Dutch; there she and all her family who were with her, with the exception of one daughter, who was taken captive, were murdered by the Indians.

1636

Oct.

1643.

The Dutch from Manhattan explored the Connecticut river six years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. They erected a fortified trading-house near where Hartford now stands, but by ill-treating the Indians they excited their hostility, and lost a trade that might have been valuable.

1614.

Unable to occupy the territory, and unwilling to lose its advantages, they invited the Pilgrims to leave the sterile soil of Plymouth and remove to the fertile vales of the Connecticut, and live under their protection. The invitation was not accepted; but as the Pilgrims were convinced that a change to more fertile lands was desirable, Governor Winslow went on an exploring tour to that region; having found the soil as fertile as had been represented he promoted emigration.

1627.

1632.

The Council of Plymouth had given a grant of Connecticut to the Earl of Warwick, who the next year transferred his claim or patent to Lords Say and Brooke, John

1680.

CHAP.
XI.

1638. Hampden, and others. The eastern boundary of this grant was the Narraganset river, and the western the Pacific ocean. When the Dutch learned of this grant, they purchased of the Indians the tract of land in the vicinity of Hartford, on which stood their trading-house, and prepared to defend their rights; they erected a fort and mounted two cannons, to prevent the English from ascending the river. In the latter part of the year Captain William Hoimes, who was sent by Governor Winslow, arrived in a sloop, with a company, and prepared to make a settlement. The Dutch commandant threatened him with destruction if he should attempt to pass his fort. The undaunted Holmes passed by uninjured, and put up a fortified house at Windsor. He was not permitted to enjoy his place in peace; the next year the Dutch made an effort to drive him away, but not succeeding they compromised the matter by relinquishing all claim to the valley. The parties agreed upon a dividing line, very nearly the same as that existing at this day between the States of New York and Connecticut. As the natural meadows on the Connecticut would furnish much more grass and hay for their cattle than the region nearer the sea-shore, many of the Pilgrims determined to remove thither.

1635. The following autumn, a party of sixty persons, men, women, and children, undertook the desperate work of going through the woods and swamps from Plymouth to Connecticut. The journey was laborious and the suffering great. When they arrived at the river the ground was covered with snow, the precursor of an unusually severe winter. **Nov.** A sloop from Plymouth, laden with provisions and their household furniture, failed to reach them on account of storms and ice. Their cattle all perished; a little corn obtained from the Indians, and acorns, were their only food; they barely escaped starvation.

During this year three thousand persons came to Boston from England. Among these was the Reverend

Thomas Hooker, who has been called "The Light of the Western Churches." He was a man of great eloquence, and of humble piety ; his talents, of a high order, commanded universal respect, while his modesty won him ardent friends. When he was silenced for non-conformity in England, great numbers of the clergy of the Established Church petitioned that he might be restored. But in those days to be a Non-Conformist was an unpardonable offence.

CHAP.
XI.

1635

A portion of his congregation had emigrated the year before. When he arrived at Boston with the remainder of his flock, the colony was in a ferment—the Williams controversy was going on ; his people were wearied with the turmoil. John Haynes, who was a member of his congregation in England, and who had been Governor of Massachusetts, determined, with others, to remove to Connecticut. In the spring, a company, under the lead of Hooker and Haynes, set out from the vicinity of Boston for the pleasant valley. They numbered about one hundred persons, some of whom had been accustomed to the luxuries of life in England. With no guide but a compass they entered the untrodden wilderness ; toiled on foot over hills and valleys ; waded through swamps and forded streams. They subsisted principally on the milk of the kine that they drove before them, and which browsed on the tender leaves and grass. They moved but slowly. Their sick they carried on litters. The trustful spirit of piety and faith was present, and the silence of the forest was broken for the first time by Christian songs of praise. The man whose eloquence in his native land attracted crowds of the educated and refined, now, in the wilderness, comforted and cherished the humble exiles for religion's sake. The first of July brought an end to their laborious journey. The greater part of the company remained at Hartford some went up the river and founded Springfield ; some went down and joined those at Wethersfield.

Mar.
1636

CHAP.
XI.

- John Winthrop, the younger, who had been sent to England on business for the colony, returned as agent for Lords Say and Brooke. He was directed to build a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut river; it was named Saybrooke.

These settlements were now threatened with destruction. The valley of the river and the region adjoining were more densely populated with Indians than any portion of New England. The powerful Pequods, the most warlike tribe in the country, numbered almost two thousand warriors, and ruled over a number of smaller tribes; they inhabited the south-eastern part of Connecticut, and the shore of Long Island Sound to the mouth of Connecticut river, and west almost to the Hudson. The Mohegans, who dwelt in the north-eastern part of Connecticut, and the Narragansets, who lived around Narraganset bay, were the enemies of the Pequods and the friends of the English. The Pequods were jealous of the English, not merely because they had settled near them, but because they were friendly to their enemies. These Pequods were charged with murdering, some years before, a Virginia trader, named Stone, with his crew, on the Connecticut river. Stone had the reputation of being intemperate and quarrelsome; the Pequods said that he had attacked them and they killed him in self-defence. Captain Oldham, who was exploring the Connecticut, was murdered, with his crew, by the Indians living on Block Island. Captain John Endicott was sent to punish the murderers. Previous to this the Pequods had sent chiefs to Boston to make an alliance, and explain the difficulty in relation to the Virginia trader. They promised to deliver up—so the magistrates understood them—the two men who had killed him. Endicott was ordered to call, on his way home from Block Island, at the Pequot town, and demand the promised satisfaction. The Indians, according to their custom, offered a ransom for the two men,

but refused to give them up to certain death. Endicott had no respect for their customs ; he must have blood for blood. Angry at their refusal, he burned two of their villages and destroyed their corn. It was after this that the Pequods began to prowl about the settlements, and pick off stragglers, until they had, during the winter, killed more than thirty persons.

CHAP
XI.

1686

The people in the Connecticut valley were in great alarm ; they knew not at what moment nor at what point the storm would burst. They called upon Massachusetts for aid ; only twenty men were sent under Captain Underhill. The whole community were so much absorbed in discussing theological questions with Mrs. Hutchinson that every other consideration was overlooked.

Although the Pequods were more warlike and more numerous than any other tribe, they were not willing to enter upon the war single-handed. They sent a deputation to Miantonomoh, the chief of the Narragansets, to enlist him against the common enemy. Governor Vane wrote to Roger Williams, urging him, if possible, to prevent the alliance. Williams hastened to visit Miantonomoh ; he found the Pequod chiefs already there, urging their ancient enemy to join them and exterminate the white intruders—the Narragansets were wavering. At the risk of his life, Williams labored for three days to prevent these tribes uniting their forces against the colonists. The disappointed and angry Pequods threatened him with death. He not only prevented the alliance, but obtained the promise of the Narragansets to aid the English. Meantime, he sent a messenger to Boston to warn them of the impending danger.

Oct.

At length the infant settlements of Connecticut in convention at Hartford declared war against the Pequods. The little army of not more than eighty men, including those sent from Massachusetts, assembled at Hartford : the pious Hooker exhorted them, and gave the staff of com-

May
10,
1687

CHAP. XI.
 1637. mand to Captain John Mason, who had been a soldier in the Netherlands. At the request of the soldiers, part of the night preceding the day they were to march was spent in prayer. Stone, one of their ministers, accompanied them as chaplain. They floated down the river, and sailed round the coast to Narraganset bay, intending to go across the country, and attack the Pequods in their fort. As the latter had a very exalted opinion of their own prowess, they supposed the English were making their escape, when they saw them sailing past the mouth of the Pequod, now the Thames river. The English landed at a harbor in the bay, and religiously observed the Sabbath. On the following day they repaired to Canonicus, the old Narraganset chief, but his nephew Miantonomoh hesitated to join them; their numbers were so small, and the Pequods so numerous. Two hundred warriors, however, consented to accompany them, but as rather doubtful friends—and about seventy Mohcigans joined them under their chief Uncas.

May
21.

May
26.

Sassacus, the bold chief of the Pequods, was too confident in the strength of his two forts, and in the bravery of his warriors to be cautious. His main fort, on the top of a high hill, was defended by posts driven in the ground, and deemed by him impregnable. He was yet to experience an attack from the English. In the night Mason, guided by an Indian deserter, approached the main fort, and halted within hearing of the triumphant shouts of the Pequods, as they exulted over his supposed flight. Toward the break of day the English moved to the attack, while their Indian allies took a position to surround the fort. The coming struggle was one of life or death to all that was dear to the little army: if they were defeated, all hope would be lost for their families on the Connecticut. The barking of a dog awoke the Indian sentinel; he rushed into the fort with the cry, The English! the English! In a moment more, the English were through the palisades, and fighting hand to hand with the half awakened

warriors. Their numbers were overwhelming. "We must burn them," shouted Mason, as he applied a torch to the dry reeds which covered a wigwam—the flames spread with great rapidity. All was in confusion—as the despairing warriors vainly endeavored to extinguish the flames they became targets for the English marksmen. The Narragansets and Mohegans now joined in the conflict. More than six hundred of the Pequods perished, men, women, and children in one common ruin, merciless and unrelenting: only seven escaped. In an hour's time the work was done; just then appeared the warriors, three hundred strong, from the other fort. They came forth expecting victory. When they perceived the ruin which had come upon their friends, they raved and stamped the ground in despair. Mason with a chosen band held them in check, till the remainder of the army had embarked on the boats, which had come round from Narraganset Bay. Then they hastened home, lest there should be a sudden attack upon the settlements.

In a few days Captain Stoughton arrived from Massachusetts with one hundred men. The spirit of the Pequods was broken; they fled to the west, and were pursued with untiring energy. Their villages were burnt—their cornfields destroyed—their women and children slain without mercy. They took refuge in a swamp, and in desperation once more made a stand: again they were overwhelmed with great slaughter. Sassacus, their chief, escaped with a few followers, and made his way to the Mohawks, where he was afterward basely murdered by one of his own subjects. The remainder, old and young, surrendered to the victors, who disposed of them: some they gave as captives of war to their enemies, the Narragansets and Mohegans; and some they sent to the West Indies to be sold as slaves. Their territory was declared to be conquered, and their name to be blotted out. They were the foremost in that mournful procession in which the Indian race, from that

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XI.

1637.

June

Aug

CHAP. day to this, have been moving on toward utter extermina-
 XI. tion. This terrible example of the white man's power
 — sent a thrill of horror through the other tribes ; and for
 1687. more than forty years, they dared not raise an arm in de-
 fence of the graves of their fathers.

1688. The year following, John Davenport, a celebrated cler-
 gyman of London, arrived at Boston—with him came his
 friend Theophilus Eaton, a rich merchant. They and their
 associates had been exiled. They were cordially welcomed
 in Massachusetts, and urgently pressed to remain in that
 colony. They preferred to go into the wilderness rather
 than dwell in the midst of so much controversy. Rumor
 had told of the fine region found to the west by the pursu-
 ers of the Pequods. Eaton, with a few men, after explor-
 ing the coast of the Sound, spent the following winter at a
 desirable place in that region. As soon as spring opened,
 the company sailed from Boston ; in due time they arrived
 at the place where Eaton had spent the winter ; there,
 under a large tree, on the Sabbath after their arrival,

April. Davenport preached his first sermon in the wilderness. A
 day of fasting and prayer for direction was observed, and
 then they formed a government, pledging themselves "to
 be governed in all things by the rules which the Scriptures
 held forth to them." Such was the settlement of NEW
 HAVEN, and thus was it to be governed. They purchased
 from the Indians the right to the land—Eaton was elected
 governor ; and to the end of his life, for more than twenty
 years, he was annually chosen to that office.

After the war with the Pequods was ended, the people
 of the several settlements on the Connecticut held a con-
 vention at Hartford, and adopted a constitution and form
 1689. of government. The constitution was framed on liberal
 principles. They agreed to "maintain the purity of the
 gospel," and in civil affairs to be governed by the laws
 made under their constitution. No jurisdiction was admit-
 ted to belong to the King of England. Every one who

took the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth was entitled to vote. The governor and the other officers were to be chosen annually by ballot. The number of their representatives to the General Assembly was to be apportioned to the towns, according to the number of inhabitants. For one hundred and fifty years this constitution remained in force.

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1689.

Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason obtained, from their associates of the Council of Plymouth, a grant of land, lying partly in New Hampshire and partly in Maine. This was named Laconia. A small number of emigrants were sent over, who settled at Portsmouth, Dover, and a few other places near the mouth of the Piscataqua. Wheelwright, when banished from Massachusetts, settled with his fellow-exiles at Exeter. These settlements progressed very slowly. Only a few trading houses were scattered along the coast, and for many years they took no more permanent form. These settlers were not all Puritans, and were but little united among themselves; yet, they applied and were annexed to the colony of Massachusetts. The General Court agreed not to insist that the freemen and deputies should be church members.

1692

1641.

In all their troubles the colonists of New England had never appealed to the mother country. They felt under no obligation to her; she had driven them forth with a harsh hand to take care of themselves, or to perish in the wilderness. A spirit of independence pervaded their minds. They had the energy and industry to sustain themselves, and the courage to act in every emergency.

1689.

Rumors had reached them that unprincipled men were planning to take away their charter; that Archbishop Laud was meditating to establish over them the rule of the Church of England; that a governor-general had been appointed, and was on his way.

They would not recognize the right of the king even

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1639. to investigate by what authority they held their charter, lest it might be inferred that they were in any respect dependent upon his will. For the same reason, when the Long Parliament professed to be their friend, they respectfully declined any favors. When they feared an attempt to place over them a royal governor, and to change their colony into a royal province, they determined to defend their liberties, and poor as they were, raised six hundred pounds for fortifications.

1640. Twenty thousand emigrants were in New England, when the Puritans of the mother country, galled beyond endurance by the outrages committed on their rights and persons, commenced that fearful struggle, which, in its throes, overturned the throne, and brought the tyrannical Charles I. to the scaffold, and established the Commonwealth under Cromwell. During this period emigration almost entirely ceased. Many hastened home to England to engage in the conflict, among whom were the Rev. Hugh Peters and Harry Vane. They both perished on the scaffold after the Restoration.

The colonists, though unmolested by the home government, were still surrounded with dangers. They were in the midst of hostile Indians ; the French were threatening them in the North-East, and the Dutch in the West. For mutual safety and interest, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, joined themselves together, under the title of "THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND." Each was to be perfectly free in the management of its own affairs ; while those which properly belonged to the whole confederacy were to be intrusted to commissioners—two from each colony. Church-membership was the only qualification required of these commissioners. The expenses of the government were to be assessed according to the number of inhabitants. The purity of the gospel was also to be preserved. This confederacy, the germ of "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA," lasted forty

years. Rhode Island was not permitted to join it because she would not acknowledge the jurisdiction of Plymouth. The two settlements on Narraganset bay now determined to apply for an independent charter. When, for this purpose, Roger Williams arrived in England, he found the country engaged in civil war; the Puritans and Parliament on the one side and Charles I. on the other. Williams applied to his friend Harry Vane, and through his influence obtained from the Parliament a charter, under the title of "The Providence Plantations." Roger Williams afterwards became a Baptist, and founded the first church of that denomination in the United States.

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1643

1644

A very great number of men of education, ministers and laymen, emigrated to New England. There were of ministers alone more than eighty, some of whom were equal to any of their profession in their native land. There was an unusual amount of general intelligence among all classes of the community. The Bible to them was as familiar as household words. In truth, it was the intelligent alone who could appreciate the blessings for which they exiled themselves. They wished to secure for their children the benefits of education; and as soon as possible an effort was made to found a high school and ultimately a college. Funds, with some books, were obtained. The place selected was Newtown, but as many of the men had been educated at Cambridge University, England, the name was changed to Cambridge. The Reverend John Harvard left the infant institution half his fortune and his library. Gratitude has embalmed his memory in its name.

1639

The next year a printing-press, the gift of some friends in Holland, was established. Its first work was to print a metrical version of the Psalms, which continued for a long time to be used in the worship of the churches in New England. The following preamble explains the next law on the subject of education:—"It being a chief project of that old deluder Sathan to keep men from the knowledge of the

1639

CHAP. XI. Scriptures," it was determined that every child, rich and
 1647. poor alike, should have the privilege of learning to read its own language. It was enacted that every town or district having fifty householders should have a common school; and that every town or district, having one hundred families, should have a grammar-school, taught by teachers competent to prepare youth for the college. All the New England colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, adopted the system of common schools.

This event deserves more than a mere record. It was the first instance in CHRISTENDOM, in which a civil government took measures to confer upon its youth the blessings of education. There had been, indeed, parish schools connected with individual churches, and foundations for universities, but never before was embodied in practice a principle so comprehensive in its nature and so fruitful in good results, as that of training a nation of intelligent people by educating *all* its youth.

There had arisen among the Puritans in England a new sect, called in derision Quakers. An unfavorable report of their doctrines and doings had reached Massachusetts; they were represented as denouncing all forms of worship and denying all civil authority. At length two
 1656. women of the dreaded sect appeared; they were arrested and detained until their books could be examined, and the question was raised whether they themselves were not witches. Their books were burnt by the hangman, and they sent back to England. Barbarous laws were made to deter Quakers from coming to the colony; but they came, and were inhumanly treated and sent back. Then a law was passed that if a Quaker, after being banished, returned, he should be put to death. This the magistrates fondly hoped would be effectual. We may judge their surprise when some of those who had been banished returned. They came to call the magistrates to repentance for their persecuting spirit. What was to be done?

Must the law be enforced or repealed ? It had been passed by only one majority. The vote was taken again ; one majority decided that the law must be obeyed. Four of the Quakers suffered the penalty of death. Severity did not accomplish the end in view ; their brethren flocked to Massachusetts as if courting the honor of martyrdom. From the first the people had been opposed to the cruel law, and at their instance it was repealed. There was little apology for these harsh proceedings ; the magistrates could only say they acted in self-defence, in excluding those who taught doctrines that would interfere with the affairs of the colony. As soon as persecution ceased, the Quakers became quiet citizens ; many of them devoted themselves to teaching the Indians under the direction of the missionary Eliot.

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1656

The Puritans had long desired to carry the gospel to the Indians. John Eliot, the devout and benevolent pastor of the church in Roxbury, in addition to his pastoral labors, gave them regular instruction in Christianity. He learned their language that he might preach to them ; he translated the Bible, and taught them to read in their own tongue its precious truths. This translation, which cost him years of labor, is now valued only as a literary curiosity ; it is a sealed book, no living man can read it. The language has passed away with the people who spoke it.

1645

Their kind instructor induced them to cease from roving, and to settle in villages ; he taught the men to cultivate the soil, and the women to spin and weave cloth, to supply their wants. He mingled with them as a brother ; and though he met with much opposition from their priests and chiefs, he led many of them in the right path. His disciples loved him ; his gentleness and goodness won their hearts.

As he lived so he died, laboring for the good of others. In his last days, when borne down by years and infirmi-

CHAP. ties, he said, "My memory, my utterance fails me, but I
XI. thank God my charity holds out still." Even up to the
1645. day of his death, which took place when he was eighty-six years of age, he continued to teach some poor negroes and a little blind boy. To Minister Walton, who came to see him, he said, "Brother, you are welcome, but retire to your study, and pray that I may be gone." Soon after, without a fear or a pang, the spirit of this good "Apostle" passed away; his last words were "Welcome joy!"

Eliot was not alone in his labors. The young, the winning, the pious Mayhew, an accomplished scholar, thought it a privilege to toil for the souls of the poor Indians who lived upon the islands in and around Massachusetts bay. He took passage for England to excite there an interest in his mission. He was never heard of more; the ship in which he sailed went down in unknown waters. His father, although at this time seventy years of age, was moved to take his place as a teacher of the Indians. There, for twenty-two years, he labored with the happiest results, till death withdrew him from the work.

Let us glance at the inner life of these colonists during the first generation or two after their settlement in the wilderness. In these earlier days the magistrates had a sort of patriarchal authority over the community, somewhat as a parent over his own household. And as the inhabitants were then comparatively few in number, and were perhaps known individually to the respective magistrates in their own vicinity, the influence of the latter was more directly exercised than when the population had largely increased. The children received instruction in Scripture lessons, and in the catechism, as well as in the very important virtue—obedience to parents. In all such matters the magistrates and ministers took a special interest, and thus aided the parents in training the young. Nor is it strange, under these considerations,

that the magistrates censured the wearing of costly apparel, and the following of vain new fashions, because the people were poor and did wrong, they thought, to waste their means on dress unnecessarily expensive, and they exercised their prerogative as a parent who reproves the extravagance of his children. Their descendants sometimes smile at what they term the crude notions of these Puritan fathers; but do these sons and daughters reflect how they themselves acquired this consciousness of their own superiority over their ancestors who lived more than two hundred years ago? Their own attainments unquestionably have been the result of that severe training continued from generation to generation; each succeeding one modified and refined by the experience, the education, and correct moral influence of the one preceding; so that each generation thus profiting, unconsciously rose to a still higher plane of Christianized civilization. This result is in accordance with the God-implanted principle in the hearts of parents, to desire that their children should have better advantages than they themselves enjoyed in their own youth. The Puritans were far in advance of their contemporaries in the training of their children and households in the sterling virtues of honor and integrity; these combined influences have produced, in the course of five or six generations, the most remarkable progress known to history.

The Puritans felt the vast importance of sacred things, and were strenuous in carrying out their principles. They were careful to leave off labor at three o'clock on Saturday afternoon to prepare for the Sabbath. They went to church, heard sermons twice a day, each two hours long, heard prayers and sang psalms of proportionate length, and enjoyed it. The tithing-man passed round with his staff of office, on the one end of which was a brass ball, on the other a tuft of feathers: with the former he tapped the heads of the men who fell asleep during the

CHAP. sermon; with the latter he gently tickled the faces of the
XI. drowsy women.

1645.

They were not so democratic as to make no distinctions in social life.¹ The term gentleman was seldom used; the well-born and the well-bred by courtesy received the title of *Mr.*, while the common folk were dignified with that of *Goodman* or *Goody*. These titles were sometimes taken away by the court as a punishment. It is recorded that *Mr.* Josias Plaistow robbed an Indian of corn, for which he was sentenced to lose his title of *Mr.*, and henceforth to be known only as *Josias*. Their luxuries were few indeed, but the women prized none more highly than that of *tea*. In those days it was customary for them to carry their own china cup and saucer and spoon to visiting parties. To be the possessor of a "tea equipage of silver" was deemed a worldly desire, to be sure, but not of an objectionable kind; it was commendable.

Though there has been associated with these colonists a certain austere manner, chilling the heart of cheerfulness, yet let it not be forgotten they had their innocent pleasure parties, especially when the neighbors joined to aid each other in harvest times or in house-raising. The farmers and their families were accustomed to go in groups at least once a year, to spend a season at the seashore and supply themselves with salt and fish. They usually went at the close of harvest, when the weather was suitable for camping out. If they rejected the festival of *Christmas* as a "relic of Popery," they instituted *Thanksgiving*, and enjoyed it with as much relish as the entire Nation does to-day.

Within thirty years great changes had taken place in the colony. The people were prosperous: industry and self-denial had wrought wonders.

Says an enthusiastic chronicler of the times:¹ "The Lord hath been pleased to turn all the wigwams, huts, and hovels the English dwelt in at their first coming, into orderly, fair, and well-built houses, well furnished, many of them, with orchards filled with goodly fruit-trees and garden flowers." The people had numerous cattle and herds of sheep and swine, and plenty of poultry; their fields produced an abundance of wheat, rye, oats, barley, and Indian corn; and they could furnish fish, lumber, and many commodities for export. "This poor wilderness hath equalized England in food, and goes beyond it for the plenty of wine, and apples, pears, quince-tarts, instead of their former pumpkin pies." "Good white and wheaten bread is no dainty; the poorest person in the country hath a house and land of his own, and bread of his own growing—if not some cattle."

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1645.

These good things were not obtained without labor. Of the thirty-two trades carried on, the most successful were those of coopers, tanners, shoemakers, and ship-builders. "Many fair ships and lesser vessels, barques, and ketches were built." Thus the chronicler anticipates the growth of Boston, which, "of a poor country village, is become like unto a small city; its buildings beautiful and large—some fairly set out with brick, tile, stone, and slate, orderly placed, with comely streets, whose continual enlargements presageth some sumptuous city." They had their soldiers, too, and a "very gallant horse-troop," each one of which had by him "powder, bullets, and match." Their enemies were graciously warned that these soldiers "were all experienced in the deliverances of the Lord from the mouth of the lion and the paw of the bear."

1655.

¹ Johnson's "Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England,"—as quoted by Hildreth.

CHAPTER XII.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

Slavery.—Massacre by the Indians.—Lord Baltimore.—The Settlement of Maryland.—Clayborne's Rebellion.—The Colony prosperous.—Toleration.—Berkeley governor of Virginia; Trade crippled; Intolerance.—Indian War.—State of Society.—Aristocratic Assembly.—Complaints of Berkeley.—War with the Susquehannahs.—Nathaniel Bacon.—Disturbances.—Obnoxious Assembly dissolved.—Evils corrected.—Bacon goes against the Indians.—Insincerity of Berkeley.—Jamestown captured and burned.—Death of Bacon.—Tyranny of Berkeley.—Aristocratic Assembly; its illiberal Acts.—Culpepper governor.—A Series of extortions.—Deplorable state of the Colony.—Difficulties in Maryland.

CHAP. IN August of this year slavery was introduced into the
XII. colonies. A Dutch ship entered James river, having on
1620. board twenty negroes for sale as slaves. Although the Dutch continued occasionally to bring Africans to the Virginia market, the number of slaves increased but slowly for a third of a century. The trade was discouraged, but not absolutely forbidden.

The Indians were scattered throughout the country, in little villages, along the streams and in the most fertile districts. The planters, who wanted these places for their tobacco, took possession of them. Powhatan, the friend
1618. of the English, was dead; his brother and successor, Opechancanough, though professing friendship, was their enemy: his proud spirit burned within him at the wrongs of his people. Not daring to meet the English in open conflict, he planned secretly a terrible revenge; even their entire extermination. At this time the number of colo

nists was about four thousand ; that of the Indians within sixty or a hundred miles of Jamestown, about five thousand. At noon on a certain day, the Indians were to fall upon every settlement, and murder all the whites. Meanwhile, Opechancanough was warmer than ever in his professions; "sooner would the skies fall," said he, "than that my friendship for the English should cease." On the morning of the intended massacre, the Indians were in the houses and at the tables of the planters, and manifested more than their usual good will. On that morning, a converted Indian, named Chauco, brought the news of the plot to Jamestown. He had learned of it only the night before. Messengers were sent in every direction to warn the people, but it was too late to reach the distant settlements. Throughout the extent of one hundred and forty miles, the merciless savages attacked the settlers at the same moment; and on the twenty-second of March, there perished within one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons, men, women, and children. Some of the settlements, though taken by surprise, repulsed their assailants, yet the effect was terrible. Of eighty plantations, all but eight were laid waste, and the people hastened for safety to Jamestown. Desolation reigned over the whole colony; death had entered almost every family, and now famine and sickness prevailed. Within three months the four thousand colonists were reduced to twenty-five hundred ; the decrease continued, and at the end of two years not more than two thousand remained of the nine thousand who had emigrated to Virginia. Their misfortunes excited much feeling in England. Assistance was sent ; the city of London did much to relieve their pressing wants, and private individuals were not backward in sending aid. Even King James's sympathies were enlisted ; he had never aided the colonists, but he now gave them some old muskets that had been thrown aside as useless.

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Mar.

The planters did not fear the Indians in open conflict;

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but it was necessary to guard against their secret attacks. In their turn, they formed plans to exterminate the savages, or drive them far back into the wilderness. Expeditions for this purpose were sent against them from time to time, during the space of ten years. In time industry began to revive, and signs of prosperity once more were seen.

The London Company was now bankrupt ; endless discussions arose among the numerous stockholders. They became divided into two political parties,—one favored the king's prerogative ; the other, the liberty of the colonists. These questions were freely discussed at the meetings of the company, greatly to the annoyance of James. When he found it impossible to prevent the stockholders from expressing their opinions, he arbitrarily took away the charter of the company. To console the colonists, he announced that he had taken them under his own special protection. He began to frame laws for their government—laws no doubt in accordance with his peculiar notions of kingcraft ; but his labors and life were suddenly ended.

Charles I., his son and successor, appeared to favor the colony : it conformed to the church of England, and he did not suspect its politics. More than this, he wished to ingratiate himself with the colonists, for he desired the monopoly of their tobacco trade. He even went so far as to recognize the House of Burgesses as a legislative body, and requested them to pass a law by which he alone could purchase the tobacco of the colony. The House, in a dignified and respectful manner, refused to comply with the royal request, as it would be injurious to their trade. After the death of the liberal and high-minded Yeardley, the council elected Francis West governor. Charles, piqued at this independence, as well as the refusal to grant him the monopoly, appointed Sir John Harvey. Harvey had been a member of the colonial council, where he was the willing instrument of a faction that had almost

ruined the prospects of the colony. The enemy of the rights of the people, he was exceedingly unpopular ; he now took special care of his own interests and those of his friends, by appointing them alone to office.

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1688.

The histories of Virginia and Maryland are intimately connected. As has been mentioned, Captain Smith was the first to explore the Chesapeake ; the trade with the Indians along its shores had now become profitable. Though the Potomac river was the northern boundary of Virginia, the colonists had extended their trade and influence with the Indians on both sides, up to the head of the bay. William Clayborne, a bold and restless spirit, a surveyor of land by profession, was employed by the Governor of Virginia to explore the sources of the Chesapeake. A company was formed in England for the purpose of trading with the Indians, who lived on both sides of the bay. Clayborne, the agent of the company, obtained a license to trade, and established two stations, one on Kent Island, opposite Annapolis, and one at the mouth of the Susquehannah.

During the turmoil of religious parties and persecutions in England, Sir George Calvert, afterward Lord Baltimore, left the Protestant church, resigned his office of Secretary of State, and professed himself a Roman Catholic. This did not affect his standing with James or his son Charles. Calvert manifested a strong interest in the cause of colonization. He wished to found a colony to which Catholics might flee to avoid persecution. He first obtained permission to found a settlement on the cold and barren shores of Newfoundland ; that enterprise was soon abandoned. He turned to Virginia, a clime more genial ; there he was met by the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, to which, as a good Catholic, Lord Baltimore could not subscribe ; Virginia could never be a peaceful asylum for those of his faith. The region north of it attracted his

1629

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attention, and he applied to King Charles for a portion of that territory.

1682 Charles gave him a grant of land, most of which is now included in the State of Maryland ; it was named after Henrietta Maria, the wife of the king. As a proprietary Lord Baltimore deserves all praise for his liberality. The colonists were to have a voice in making their own laws ; they were not to be taxed without their own consent. He was bold to repudiate intolerance, and politic to adopt a form of government which alone could insure success. He designed his colony to be an asylum for the Catholic, but the Protestant was invited to share it. Just as the charter was about to be issued he died. To his son Cecil, under the same title, the charter was continued ; to him belongs the honor of carrying into effect the intentions of his father.

Feb., 1682. He deputed his brother, Leonard, to take charge of the emigrants, who, to the number of two hundred, after a protracted voyage, arrived safely in the Chesapeake. A tribe of Indians residing on the St. Mary's, a branch of the Potomac, were about to remove on account of their enemies the Susquehannahs ; they sold to the infant colony their cultivated land and their village. The Indian women taught the strangers' wives to make bread of maize ; and soon the emigrants had corn-fields and gardens, and obtained abundance of game in the forest. A few days after their arrival, Governor Harvey, of Virginia, paid them a friendly visit ; it was the desire of Charles that they should be welcomed by the sister colony. Friendly relations were established with the neighboring Indians ; the colonists for a time obtained their necessary provisions from Virginia, but as they were industrious, the fruitful earth soon repaid their labor. At the commencement of the second year, the freemen of the colony held their first legislative Assembly.

Clayborne was the evil genius of Maryland. His license

to trade with the Indians was made void by Lord Baltimore's charter. He attempted to excite a rebellion, but was overpowered and compelled to flee to Virginia. The Governor of Maryland demanded him as a fugitive from justice ; to evade the demand Harvey sent him to England to be tried. This offended the people of Virginia, who sympathized with Clayborne ; to avenge him, they impeached Harvey himself, "and thrust him out of his government." The Assembly appointed commissioners to prosecute the charges against him in England. The commissioners met with no favor from the king ; and soon, under a new appointment, the unpopular Harvey came back as governor.

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1685

April
1689

Meanwhile peace and plenty continued to be the lot of Maryland. Every year the rights of the people were better understood ; they acknowledged their allegiance to England, and respected the rights of Lord Baltimore. Their lands produced an abundance of tobacco, and commerce began to prosper. Efforts were now made to convert some of the neighboring Indians to Christianity. The priests established four stations among them, and not without effect. One chief, Tayac, with his wife, was baptized, he taking the name of Charles and she that of Mary. Soon after one hundred and thirty other converts received baptism, some of whom sent their children to receive a Christian education under the care of the priests. But, alas ! these efforts were as vain as the other attempts of the times to Christianize the poor natives. The same evil causes were here at work—wars and the influence of bad men. It is said these grateful tribes ever after remained friendly to those who endeavored to instruct them.

The persevering Clayborne returned, to mar their peace by another and more successful insurrection. The Governor of Maryland was now, in his turn, compelled to flee to Virginia. After two years of misrule, peace was again restored, and all the offenders were pardoned.

1644

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As an interesting fact, it may be mentioned, that in this year Maryland passed a law of perfect toleration to all *Christian* sects ; two years previous Rhode Island had granted toleration to all opinions, *Infidel* as well as *Christian*.

During the rule of Cromwell the government of Maryland was very unsettled. The Assembly, finally, repudiated both Cromwell and Baltimore, and proclaimed the authority of the people as supreme. Scarcely was this accomplished when the restoration of Charles II. took place.

1660. Lord Baltimore made known to the king that his professions of republicanism were made only to obtain the favor of Cromwell, and that really he was a good royalist. Charles immediately restored him his proprietary rights. Baltimore was not vindictive ; he proclaimed a general pardon, and for almost thirty years the colony enjoyed repose.

Sir William Berkeley, as successor to Harvey, was appointed Governor of Virginia. The trade of the colony was crippled by severe restrictions ; as England claimed its trade for herself alone. Thus began a series of acts and infringements on commerce by the home government, which annoyed the people of the colonies, and interfered with their industry and commercial prosperity for more than one hundred and thirty years, when these grievances were swept away by the Revolution. The colony was now permitted for a time to take care of itself, Charles I. being engaged in a contest with his subjects at home. The Virginians were stanch friends of the king, and the party in the mother country contending against him met with no favor from them. The Puritans who were living in Virginia, being identified with republicanism, were looked upon with suspicion ; those of their number who would not conform to the ceremonies of the Church of England were banished. A majority of these passed over into Maryland. Thus it was, the Puritan would not permit

the Episcopalian to come to New England, and the Episcopalian banished the Puritan from Virginia.

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1644

No peace was granted to the Indians. After a space of twenty-two years, they once more made an effort to free themselves from their enemies. The frontier settlements were suddenly attacked, and about three hundred persons killed. When resisted, the savages fled to the wilderness. They were pursued with great vigor, and after a contest of two years their power was completely broken. Opechancanough, their aged chief, was taken captive, and soon after died in prison; his proud spirit deeply wounded that he should be gazed at by his enemies. The next year a treaty was made, by which they relinquished forever the fertile valleys of their fathers, and with sorrowful hearts retired far into the wilderness.

After the execution of Charles I., great numbers of the royalists, "good cavalier families," fled to Virginia, where they were welcomed as exiled patriots. She was the last of the colonies to acknowledge the authority of the Commonwealth. But when commissioners were sent, who granted the people all the civil rights and privileges they asked, they submitted.

After the death of Cromwell, and before it was known who was to rule in England, the House of Burgesses resolved, "that the supreme power will be resident in the Assembly." Then Berkeley was elected governor. In accepting office, he acknowledged the authority of the people's representatives, saying, "I am but the servant of the Assembly." We shall see how sincere was that declaration.

When Charles II. was in exile, he was invited to come and be "king of Virginia;" from this incident, it has been called "The Old Dominion." This loyalty Charles after his restoration repaid, by basely taking away their privileges, and distributing their lands among his favorites.

The society of Virginia was peculiar. The first settle-

CHAP. ments were made under the protection of the nobility; this
XII. favored the growth of an aristocratic class of landholders.

1660. There were two other classes—the negro, who was a slave for life, and the indented white man, sent from the mother country to serve a certain number of years. These white servants were sometimes criminals, but oftener political offenders. The latter, when their term of servitude expired, mingled with the people on an equality.

The Assembly held their sessions once in two years, their members were chosen by the people, and only for one session. The first Assembly held after the Restoration, was composed of landholders. Berkeley now declared himself governor, not because he was elected by the people, but because Charles when in exile had appointed him.

1662. The Assembly went still further, and deprived the people of the privilege of choosing their own legislators, by assuming to themselves the right to be perpetual. This Assembly remained thus in violation of law for fourteen

1676. years. During this usurpation, all that the people had gained of civil rights for more than a third of a century, this aristocratic House of Burgesses swept away. The only right allowed them was that of petitioning their rulers for redress of grievances—but these petitions were disregarded. The Church of England was declared to be the religion of the State, and all were bound by law under penalties of fines and banishment, not only to attend its services, but to pay a tax to support it. Governor Berkeley complained of its ministers: “as of all other commodities, so of this—the worst are sent us, and we have few that we can boast of, since the persecutions in Cromwell’s tyranny drove divers worthy men hither.” The cause of education was neglected, and almost prohibited. The poor were peculiarly unfortunate—“out of towns,” says a chronicler of the times, “every man instructs his children as best he can:”—no aid was afforded them by those in authority. Says the aristocratic Berkeley: “I thank God there are

no free schools nor printing ; and I hope we will not have them these hundred years !” Such was the language of a man who was Governor of Virginia for nearly forty years. The printing-press was established in Massachusetts ninety years before there was one in Virginia.

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XII.

1639.

1729.

The people of Maryland became involved in war with the Indians. A company of Virginians, under John Washington, great-grandfather of George Washington, crossed over the Potomac to aid them. Six chiefs of the Susquehannahs came to treat for peace, but the Virginians treacherously murdered the whole company. For this evil deed the innocent were made to suffer. The Susquehannahs immediately passed over into Virginia to revenge their death, by killing ten persons for each chief. According to their belief, until this sacrifice was made, the souls of their chiefs could not be at rest in the spirit land. The people cried to the governor for protection, which he was slow to give ; they attributed his tardiness to his interest in the fur-trade. They now asked permission to defend themselves ; to invade the enemies' country, and drive them from their hiding-places ; this was also refused. During this delay, the Indians pursued their murderous work all along the frontiers.

1675

There was in the colony a young planter, not more than thirty years of age, a native of England ; a lawyer by profession ; eloquent and winning in his manners ; bold and determined in spirit ; a true patriot ; disliked by the governor, because he was a republican ; but dear to the people for the same reason : such was Nathaniel Bacon. To him, in their extremity, they turned. Those who had volunteered to go against the Indians, asked of the governor a commission for Bacon to command them. Berkeley obstinately refused to grant it. He would not countenance such presumption on the part of the “ common people.” The murders continued ; the volunteers waited no longer on the tardy government, but set out under the command

CHAP. of Bacon to repel the savages. The moment they were
XII. gone, Berkeley proclaimed Bacon a traitor, and his soldiers
1676. rebels, and gave orders for them to disperse.
April.

The populous counties on the Bay began to show signs of insurrection. Their quarrel was not with the Indians, but with the acts and continued existence of the House of Burgesses. Bacon, meanwhile, had returned successful from his expedition. The haughty old governor was forced to yield ; the obnoxious Assembly was dissolved, and writs issued for the election of members for another, to which Bacon was returned triumphantly from Henrico county. This Assembly corrected the evils of the long one. The unjust taxes on the poor were removed ; the privilege of voting for their legislators was restored to the people, and many abuses in relation to the expenditure of the public money rectified. The House elected Bacon commander of the army. These measures were very distasteful to Berkeley and his advisers—he would not give them his sanction. Finally, however, he yielded to necessity ; and even went so far as to transmit to England, his own and the council's commendations of Bacon's loyalty and patriotism.

The Indians still continued their attacks upon the settlements, and Bacon with a small force went to punish them : again the insincere Berkeley proclaimed him a traitor. Such treachery excited his indignation and that of the army. No confidence could be placed in the governor's word. "It vexes me to the heart," said the gallant patriot, "that while I am hunting the wolves which destroy our lambs, that I should myself be pursued like a savage--the whole country is witness to our peaceable behavior ; but those in authority, how have they obtained their estates ? Have they not devoured the common treasury ? What schools of learning have they promoted ?" Such were the questions asked, and such were the sentiments that stirred the hearts of the people. They must

have their rights restored : wives urged their husbands to contend for their liberties. CHAP
XII.

Berkeley with a few royalist followers and advisers, went to the eastern shore of the bay. There by promises of plunder, he collected a rabble of sailors belonging to some English vessels, and a company of vagabond Indians. When the rumor of the governor's intentions spread throughout the land, the people with one accord met in convention at the Middle Plantation, now Williamsburg, where they deliberated all day, even until midnight. They decided it was their duty to defend themselves from the tyranny of the governor. They adjourned, however, and went to their homes, determined to be guided in their conduct by the course he should pursue. They were not long in suspense, for Berkeley crossed over with five ships to Jamestown, to put down what he was pleased to call a rebellion. In a very short time the little army so successful against the Indians, was gathered once more under the same leader. The conflict was short ; Berkeley's cowardly rabble broke and fled ; deserting Jamestown, they went on board their ships and dropped down the river. The victors entered the deserted town. A council was held as to what was to be done. Should they leave it as a place of defence for their enemies ? It was deemed necessary to burn it. Drummond and Lawrence, men prominent in the popular movement, applied the torch to their own dwellings ; the example was followed by others, and, in a few hours, the first town founded by Englishmen on this continent was in ruins. A crumbling church-tower is all that now remains to mark the site of old Jamestown. 1676

Sept

The good results of this struggle were doomed to be lost. Bacon suddenly fell ill of a violent fever, which terminated his life in a few days. He was called a traitor and a rebel by Berkeley and his royalist party, as was Washington by the same party one hundred years afterward. Oct.

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1676. The people were now without a leader—without any one to plead their cause. Berkeley played the tyrant, ravaged the country and confiscated the property of the patriots. He caused to perish on the scaffold more than twenty of the best men of Virginia. One or two incidents may serve to exhibit his spirit. When Drummond (who is represented as a “sober, Scotch gentleman, of good repute”) was brought into his presence, “You are very welcome,” said he, bowing at the same time, with mock civility; “I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia; you shall be hanged in half an hour!” He derided, in vulgar terms, a young wife who came to plead for her husband, to take the blame of his offence upon herself, and to offer her own life for his.

If any one dared speak disrespectfully of Berkeley or his rule, he was publicly whipped. The end came at last; Berkeley left the country, and the people celebrated his departure with bonfires and rejoicings. When he arrived in England he found that public opinion severely condemned his conduct; and, what was more wounding to his pride, even Charles, to serve whom he had stained his soul with innocent blood, exclaimed, “That old fool has taken away more lives in that naked land than I for the death of my father!” The names and characters of Bacon and his adherents were vilified, and for a century these slanders were not disproved; the truth was not permitted to be published. The facts, as now known, prove that the men who thus opposed the tyranny of Berkeley were not rebels and traitors, but worthy to be numbered among the patriots of the land.

1677. The first Assembly held after this unsuccessful struggle was devoted to the interests of the aristocracy. All the liberal laws passed by the preceding one were repealed; henceforth only freeholders could vote for members of the House of Burgesses. The poor man was as

heavily taxed as the rich, but unless he was a landholder he had no vote. CHAP
XII.

The profligate Charles gave Virginia to two of his favorites—Arlington and Culpepper ; the latter soon after purchased the claim of the former. The king appointed Culpepper governor for life. He came authorized to heal differences between the people and the government, but he used the power for his own interest alone ; he valued Virginia only in proportion to the money his rapacity could extort ; even the soldiers, sent to maintain his authority, he defrauded of their wages. When he had secured to himself the highest possible revenue, he sailed for England. The condition of the Virginians was wretched in the extreme ; the rewards of their industry went to their rapacious rulers, and they, goaded to desperation, were on the point of rebellion. 1678

1680

Rumors of these discontents reached England, and the truant governor reluctantly left his pleasures to visit his domain. Having the authority of the king, Culpepper caused several men of influence to be hanged as traitors. The people who owned farms in the territory, given him by royal grant, he now compelled to lose their estates, or compromise by paying money. Charles had now another favorite to provide for ; Culpepper was removed, and Effingham appointed. This change was even for the worse ; Effingham was more needy and more avaricious. 1682

1684

On the accession of James II. what is known in history as Monmouth's Rebellion occurred. After its suppression, multitudes of those implicated in it were sent to Virginia and Maryland to be sold as servants for a term of ten years. Many of these were men of education and of good families. The House of Burgesses, to their honor be it said, declared these poor men free, though the cruel James had forbidden the exercise of such lenity. 1685

So little were the claims of humanity respected at this time in the West of England, that it was a common occur-

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XII.

rence to kidnap persons of the poorer sort, and send them to the colonies to be sold as servants for a term of years

1685. These were principally brought to Virginia and Maryland, as there the planters required many laborers. The trade was profitable, more so than the African slave trade.

1688. After the accession of William and Mary an effort was made to establish a college in Virginia, "to educate a domestic succession of Church of England ministers," as well as to teach the children of the Indians. The celebrated Robert Boyle made a large donation, and the king gave, in addition to three other grants, outstanding quit-rents, valued at about £2,000. Such was the foundation of the

1691 college of William and Mary.

The Rev. James Blair, said to be the first commissary sent to the colonies by the Bishop of London, "to supply the office and jurisdiction of the bishop in the out-places of the diocese," was its president for fifty years.

Though William was thus moderately liberal, he was by no means the representative of the true feeling of his ministry; they even looked upon this pittance as uncalled for. Blair, the pious and energetic Scotchman, once urged upon Seymour, the attorney-general, the importance of establishing schools to educate ministers of the gospel. "Consider, sir," said he, "that the people of Virginia have souls to save." He was answered by a profane imprecation upon their souls, and told to "make tobacco." This pithy rebuff indicated the spirit and general policy of the home government; it valued the colonies only as a source of wealth.

For many years voluntary emigration to Virginia almost ceased. There were no inducements, no encouragement to industry, all commerce was restricted. The planters were at the mercy of the English trader; he alone was permitted to buy their tobacco and to sell them merchandise. The whole province was given over to the tender

mercies of royal favorites and extortioners, while the printing-press, that dread of tyrants, was still forbidden. How dearly did loyal Virginia pay for the honor of being named the "Old Dominion!"

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XII.

1685.

The struggles of the people of Virginia under Bacon and others, had an effect on the people of Maryland. At the death of Lord Baltimore, his son and heir assumed the government, and ruled with justice till another revolution in England brought a change. The deputy-governor hesitated to acknowledge William and Mary. This was seized upon by some restless spirits to excite discontent in the minds of the people. Among other absurd stories, it was said that the Catholics, who were few in number, were about to invite the Indians to aid them in massacring the Protestants. At this time the Jesuits had excited the Indians of New England and Canada against the New England colonies. This gave a shadow of probability to the charge. Under the lead of some persons, who professed to be very zealous Protestants, the deputy-governor was seized, and a convention called, which deposed Lord Baltimore, and proclaimed the people the true sovereign. Two years after, King William, taking them at their word, unjustly deprived Lord Baltimore of his property, and made the colony a royal province. The people now suffered the penalty for ill treating their benevolent proprietary. The king placed over them a royal governor; changed their laws for the worse; established the Church of England, and taxed them to maintain it; did not promote education, but prohibited printing; discouraged their domestic manufactures; and finally disfranchised the Catholics, who had laid the foundation of the colony sixty years before. The rights of Lord Baltimore were afterward restored to his infant child, and the original form of government was established. No colony experienced so many vicissitudes as Maryland.

1675.

1688.

1691.

1716

CHAPTER XIII.

COLONIZATION OF NEW YORK.

Hudson's Discoveries.—Indian Traffic.—Fort on the Isle of Manhattan.—Walloons the first Settlers.—Peter Minuits.—The Patroons.—Van Twiller Governor; his Misrule.—Succeeded by Kieft.—Difficulties with the Indians.—They seek Protection; their Massacre.—Peace concluded.—Stuyvesant Governor.—The Swedish Settlement on the Delaware.—Pavonia.—Threatening Rumors.—New Netherland surrendered to England.—New Jersey sold by the Duke of York.—The Influence of the Dutch.

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1609.

WHEN there were high hopes of discovering a north-west passage to India, Henry Hudson was sent in search of it by a company of London merchants. He was unsuccessful; yet his enthusiasm was not diminished by his failure. He requested to be again sent on the same errand, but the merchants were unwilling to incur further expense. He then applied to the Dutch East India Company; the directors of which, at Amsterdam, furnished him with a ship, the *Half-Moon*, with liberty to exercise his own judgment in the prosecution of the enterprise. He first sailed to the north-east, away beyond the Capes of Norway, as far as the ice would permit. He saw that an effort in that direction would be fruitless. He turned to the west, crossed the Atlantic, and coasted along the continent till he found himself opposite the Capes of Virginia; then turning to the north he entered "a great bay with rivers," since known as the Delaware; still further north he passed through a narrow channel, and found himself in a beautiful bay. Here he

remained some days. The natives, "clothed in mantles of feathers and robes of fur," visited his ship. Their astonishment was great; they thought it was the canoe of the Great Spirit, and the white faces, so unlike themselves, were his servants. Hudson explored the bay, and noticed a large stream flowing from the north; this, thought he, leads to the Eastern Seas. That stream, called by some of the native tribes the Cahohatatea, or River of Mountains, and by others the Shatemuc, he explored for one hundred and fifty miles; it did not lead to the Eastern Seas, yet that river has immortalized the name of Henry Hudson.

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1609.

What a change has come over the "River of Mountains" since he threaded his way up its stream two hundred and eighty years ago! It has become the highway to the great inland seas of a continent, upon whose bosoms float the fruits of the industry of millions; and the island at its mouth the heart of a nation's commerce, whose every throb is felt throughout that nation's length and breadth. From the highest church-steeple, on this Isle of Manhattan, the eye takes in a horizon containing a population five-sixths as great as that of the thirteen colonies at the time of the Declaration of Independence. There are other changes which the philanthropist loves to contemplate. Here are seen the humanizing influences of Christianity, of civilization, of intelligence, and of industry, embodied in institutions of learning, of science, and of benevolence, that pour forth their charities and blessings, not alone for this land but for others.

1890

The coincidence is striking, that, nearly at the same time, the representatives of three nations were penetrating the wilderness and approaching each other. Champlain, on behalf of France, was exploring the northern part of New York; John Smith, one of the pioneers of English

Trinity.

CHAP. XIII. colonization, was pushing his discoveries up to the head waters of the Chesapeake, while the Half-Moon was slowly
1610. sounding her way up the Hudson.

Hudson arrived safely in England, but he was not permitted by the government to continue in the service of the Dutch, lest they should derive advantage in trade from his discoveries. However, he found means to transmit to his employers at Amsterdam, an account of his voyage. Once more he sailed under the patronage of some English merchants. He passed through the straits into the bay known by his name; groped among a multitude of islands till late in the season, and then determined to winter there, and in the spring continue his search for the wished-for passage. When spring came his provisions were nearly exhausted; it was impossible to prosecute his design. With tears of disappointment he gave orders to turn the prow of his vessel homeward. A day or two afterward his crew mutinied. They seized him, put him, with his son and seven seamen, four of whom were ill, on board the shallop, and inhumanly left them to perish. "The gloomy waste of waters which bears his name, is his tomb and his monument."

Hudson, in his communication to his employers, described the extensive region he had discovered as well watered by rivers, and as lying around bays and inlets; as covered with forests abounding in the finest timber for ship-building; and as "a land as beautiful as ever man trod upon." The numerous tribes of Indians who met him in friendship, and the multitudes of beaver and otter, gave indication also of a profitable trade.

The next year a ship was sent to trade; the traffic was profitable, and was still further prosecuted. In a few years there were forts or trading houses on the river, as far up as Fort Orange, since Albany. A rude fort at the
1614. lower end of Manhattan island was the germ of the present city of NEW YORK. The Dutch during this time were

tusy exploring the waters from the Delaware to Cape Cod. They were as yet but a company of traders ; no emigrants had left Holland with the intention of making a permanent settlement. CHAP.
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1614.

A company was formed, under the title of the Dutch West India Company ; an association for the purpose of trade only. They took possession of the territory as temporary occupants ; if they grew rich they were indifferent as to other matters ; they had no promise of protection from Holland, and as a matter of policy they were peaceful. The States-General granted them the monopoly of trade from Cape May to Nova Scotia, and named the entire territory New Netherland. The claims of the English, French, and Dutch thus overlapped each other, and led to "territorial disputes, national rivalries, religious antipathies, and all the petty hatreds and jealousies of trade." 1621.

About thirty families, Walloons or French Protestants, who had fled to Holland to avoid persecution, were the first to emigrate with the intention of remaining. Some of these settled in the vicinity of what is now the Navy Yard in Brooklyn, others went up the river to Fort Orange. 1625

The central position of the island of Manhattan obtained for it the honor of being chosen as the residence of the agent for the company. Peter Minuits was appointed such, under the title of governor, and the few cottages at the south end of the island were dignified with the name of New Amsterdam. The island itself belonged exclusively to the company, and was purchased from the Indians for about twenty-four dollars. Effort was now made to found a State. Every person who should emigrate had the privilege of owning as much land as he could properly cultivate, provided it was not on lands especially claimed by the company. To encourage emigration, it was ordered that any member of the company who in four years should

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1625.

induce fifty persons to settle anywhere in New Netherland, except on the island of Manhattan, should be recognised as "Patroon," or "Lord of the Manor." Under this arrangement "Patroons" could purchase a tract of land sixteen miles long by eight in width. They secured to themselves, by purchase from the Indians, the most valuable lands and places for trade. The less rich were by necessity compelled to become tenants of the Patroons. The people, thus deprived of that independence which is essential to the progress of any community, took but little interest in cultivating the soil, or in improving the country.

The company, for the sake of gain, determined, even at the expense of the prosperity of the colonists, to make New Amsterdam the centre of the trade of New Netherland. Under the penalty of banishment the people were forbidden to manufacture the most common fabrics for clothing. No provision was made for the education of the young, or the preaching of the gospel; although it was enjoined upon the Patroons to provide "a minister and a schoolmaster," or at least a "comforter of the sick," whose duty it should be to read to the people texts of Scripture and the creeds. The company also agreed, if the speculation should prove profitable, to furnish the Patroons with African slaves.

1620.

As Hudson had discovered Delaware bay and river, the Dutch claimed the territory. Samuel Godyn purchased from the Indians all their lands from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of the Delaware river. Two years after this thirty colonists arrived, fully prepared to found a settlement. When De Vries, who was to be Patroon and commander, came the next year, he found not a vestige of the settlement; all had perished by the hands of the savages.

After the resignation of Minuits, Walter Van Twiller through the "influence of kinsmen and friends," was ap-

pointed governor. He proved himself unfitted for the station. As a clerk, he was acquainted with the mere routine of business, but ignorant of human nature ; as conceited as he was deficient in judgment and prudence, he failed to secure the respect of those he governed. In his zeal for the interests of his employers, he neglected the rights of the people, and was so inconsistent in the management of public affairs that Dominie Bogardus sent him a letter of severe reproof, threatening to give him "such a shake from the pulpit on the following Sunday as would make him shudder."

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1632.

1633.

The inefficient Van Twiller was succeeded by William Kieft. Though he had not the same defects as Van Twiller, his appointment was a most unfortunate event for the colony. A bankrupt in Holland, his portrait was affixed to the gallows ; an evidence of the estimation in which his character was held. Avaricious and unscrupulous, so arbitrary in his measures that during his rule the colony was in a continual turmoil, he quarrelled with the Swedes on the Delaware, had difficulties with the English in New England, made the Indians his enemies, and had scarcely a friend in his own colony.

The Dutch were on friendly terms with the Indians during the rule of Van Twiller. It was forbidden by law to sell them fire-arms ; but the traders up the river, indifferent to the interests of the settlers, sold them guns to such an extent, that at one time more than four hundred of the Mohawks, or Iroquois, were armed with muskets. By this means these terrible marauders and despots of the wilderness were rendered more haughty and dangerous. They paid enormous prices for guns, that they might be able to meet their enemies the Canadian Indians, who were supplied with fire-arms by the French. Though the traders did not sell guns to the tribes living near New Amsterdam and on the river, yet they sold them rum.

Kieft pretended that the company had ordered him to

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levy an annual tribute upon the river Indians—the Mohicans and other clans of the Algonquin race. They refused to pay any tribute, saying he “was a shabby fellow to come and live on their lands without being invited, and then want to take away their corn for nothing.” Such injustice, with the partiality shown to their enemies, the Mohawks, gradually alienated their feelings of friendship for the Dutch.

An act of Kieft awoke the slumbering anger of the savages. The Raritans, a tribe living on the river which bears their name, were accused of stealing hogs, which had been taken by some Dutch traders. Kieft did not inquire into the truth of the charge, but sent soldiers to punish them, who destroyed their corn and killed some of their number. De Vries, who, in the mean time, had planted a settlement on Staten Island, was himself a friend of the Indians. The Raritans attacked this settlement and killed four men. The people now urged the governor to conciliate the savages, but without effect. Twenty years before a chieftain had been killed by a Dutch hunter in the presence of his nephew, then a little boy; that boy, now a man, according to their custom, avenged the death of his uncle by murdering an innocent Dutchman. Kieft demanded that the young man should be given up to him, to be punished as a murderer. The tribe would not comply with the demand, but offered to pay the price of blood. The violent governor refused any such compromise.

1642 With his permission a meeting of the heads of families was called. They chose twelve of their number to investigate the affairs of the colony. They passed very soon from the Indian difficulties to other abuses; even to the despotic actions of the governor himself. As the “twelve men” refused to be controlled by Kieft, but persevered in expressing their opinions of his conduct, he

dissolved the Assembly. Thus ended the first representative Assembly in New Netherland.

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1643

Nearly all the difficulties with the Indians may be traced to some injustice practised upon them by the whites. An instance of this kind now occurred which led to direful results. A Dutchman sold a young Indian, the son of a chief, brandy, and when he was intoxicated, cheated and drove him away. The Indian, raging with drink, and maddened by the treatment he had received, went to his home, obtained his bow and arrows, returned and shot the Dutchman dead. The chiefs of the murderer's tribe hastened to the governor to explain the matter, and to pay the price of blood; they wished for peace; but the governor was inexorable. He demanded the murderer; but he had fled to a neighboring tribe. "It is your own fault!" exclaimed the indignant chiefs; "why do you sell brandy to our young men? it makes them crazy;—your own people get drunk, and fight with knives."

Just at this time came a company of eighty Mohawks, all armed with muskets, to demand tribute of the enfeebled River Tribes. The latter fled to the Dutch for protection. Now is the time, urged the people, to obtain forever the friendship of the Indians living around us, by rescuing them from the rapacious Mohawks. Now is the time, thought the stubborn and cruel Kieft, to exterminate those who have fled to me for safety.

"If you murder these poor creatures who have put themselves under your protection, you will involve the whole colony in ruin, and their blood, and the blood of your own people, will be required at your hands!" urged the kind-hearted De Vries. The admonition was unheeded.

The unsuspecting victims of this scheme of treachery and barbarous cruelty were with the tribe of Hackensacks, just beyond Hoboken. About the hour of midnight the soldiers from the fort, and some freebooters from

Feb.,
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the ships in the harbor, passed over the river. Soon were heard the shrieks of the dying Indians ;—the carnage continued, the poor victims ran to the river, to pass over to their supposed friends in New Amsterdam. But they were driven into the water ; the mother, who rushed to save her drowning child, was pushed in, that both might perish in the freezing flood. These were not the only victims. Another company of Indians, trusting to the Dutch for protection, were encamped on the island, but a short distance from the fort. They were nearly all murdered in the same manner. In the morning the returning soldiers received the congratulations of Kieft. When the people learned of the massacre they were filled with horror at its atrocity, and expressed their detestation of its author, and their fears that all the Indians in their neighborhood would become their deadly enemies. The guilty Kieft cowered before the storm ; it would have been well if the only effects of his acts had been the reproaches of the people.

When it became known that it was not their enemies the Mohawks, but their pretended friends the Dutch, who had wantonly killed their countrymen, the rage of the River Tribes knew no bounds. They rose as one man to take revenge. Every nook and corner, every swamp and thicket, became an ambush for the enraged savages. The settlements up the river were destroyed. On Long Island, on Staten Island, the retribution fell ; all around Manhattan the smoke of burning dwellings arose to heaven. The people at a distance from the fort were either murdered or taken captive, especially the women and children. All who could deserted their homes, and sought safety in the fort at Manhattan ; many of whom afterward left for Holland.

A pleasing incident is related of Indian gratitude. De Vries had, on that fearful night, rescued an Indian and his wife from death. When his settlement on Staten

Island was attacked, this Indian hastened to his countrymen who were besieging the people in the block-house, and told them how he and his wife had been rescued. The besiegers immediately told the people they would molest them no more ; and they kept their word.

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1648.

A temporary truce was made at Rockaway on Long Island. The chiefs of a number of tribes agreed to meet the messengers of the Dutch, and treat of peace. De Vries, whom the Indians knew to be their friend, went with two others to the interview. When the conference was opened one of the chiefs arose, having in his hand a number of little sticks; taking one, he commenced : " When you first came to our shores you wanted food ; we gave you our beans and our corn, and now you murder our people." He took another stick : " The men whom your first ships left to trade, we guarded and fed ; we gave them our daughters for wives ; some of those whom you murdered were of your own blood." Many sticks still remained, but the envoys did not wish to hear a further recital of wrongs. They proposed that they should both forget the past, and now make peace forever. Peace was made. It was not satisfactory to the young warriors ; they thought " the bloody men," as they now called the Dutch, had not paid the full price of the lives they had taken ; and war broke forth again. Now the leader of the Dutch was Captain John Underhill, who had had experience in the Pequod war in New England. For two years the Indians were hunted from swamp to swamp, through winter and summer ; yet they were not subdued. They lay in ambush round the settlements, and picked off the husbandman from his labor, and carried into captivity his wife and children. There was no security from the midnight attack ; scarcely any corn was planted ; famine and utter ruin stared the colony in the face.

Sept

Sixteen hundred of the Indians had been killed, and the number of white people was so much reduced, that, besides

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traders, there were not more than one hundred persons on the Isle of Manhattan. What a ruin had been wrought
1643. by the wicked perverseness of one man !

At length both parties became weary of war. The chieftains of the tribes around New Amsterdam, and, as mediators, a deputation from their ancient enemies the Mohawks, met the deputies of the Dutch beneath the open sky, on the place now known as the Battery, in New York city, and there concluded a peace.

1645. Thanksgivings burst forth from the people at the prospect of returning safety. There was no consolation for Kieft ; he was justly charged by them with being the cause of all their misfortunes. The company censured him, and disclaimed his barbarous conduct. He was without a friend in the colony. After two years, with his ill-gotten gains, he sailed for his native land. The vessel was wrecked on the coast of Wales, and, with many others,
1646. he was lost.

In the midst of all these difficulties there were those who labored to instruct the poor heathen Indians of New Netherland. Several years before the missionary Eliot commenced his labors with the tribes near Boston, Megapolensis, the Dutch clergyman at Fort Orange, endeavored to teach the Mohawks the truths of the gospel. He strove to learn their language, that he might "speak and preach to them fluently," but without much success ; their language was, as he expressed it, so "heavy." The grave warriors would listen respectfully when told to renounce certain sins, but they would immediately ask why white men committed the same. Efforts were made afterward to instruct in Christianity the tribes around Manhattan, but the good work was neutralized by other and evil influences.

The West India Company appointed Peter Stuyvesant to succeed Kieft as governor. He had been accustomed to military rule, and was exceedingly arbitrary in his gov-

ernment ; honest in his endeavors to fulfil his trust to the company, he also overlooked the rights of the people. He thought their duty was to pursue their business, and pay their taxes, and not trouble their brains about his manner of government. The colony was well-nigh ruined when Stuyvesant came into power ; for nearly five years the dark cloud of war had been hanging over it. The Indians had been dealt with harshly and treacherously ; policy as well as mercy demanded that they should be treated leniently. The company desired peace with the various tribes, for the success of trade depended upon their good-will.

CHAP
XIII.
1646.

Although the Dutch claimed the territory from Cape Cod to the Capes of Virginia, they preferred to negotiate with New England, and desired that the wars between their mother countries in the Old World should not disturb the harmony of the New.

It must be confessed that the Connecticut people annoyed Stuyvesant exceedingly. The absurd stories told by the wily Mohegan chief, Uncas, of the Dutch conspiring with the Narragansets to cut off the English, found a too ready credence ; so ready as to leave the impression that such stories were rather welcome than otherwise, provided they furnished an excuse for encroaching upon the territory of the Dutch. When accused of this conspiracy, said a sachem of the Narragansets, "I am poor, but no present can make me an enemy of the English !"

We have now to speak of others settling on territory claimed by the Dutch. Gustavus Adolphus, the King of Sweden, was induced to engage in sending a colony to the New World. He wished to found an asylum to which Protestants of Europe could flee. Peter Minuits, who has already been mentioned, as commercial agent at New Amsterdam, offered his services to lead the company of emigrants. The same year that Kieft came as governor to New Amsterdam, Minuits landed on the shores of the

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- Delaware with a company of emigrants, about fifty in number. They purchased from the Indians the territory on the west side of the bay and river from Cape Henlopen to the falls at Trenton. This was very nearly the soil or the present State of Delaware. Nearly all this territory had been purchased some years before by the Dutch, who looked upon the Swedes as intruders. The latter built a fort and a church on the site of Wilmington, and named the country New Sweden. The Dutch protested, but the Swedes went quietly to work, and increased from year to year by accessions from their native land. For years the disputes between the two colonies continued ; at length Stuyvesant, obeying the orders of the company, determined to make the Swedes submit to Dutch rule. The former, in surrendering, were to lose none of their rights as citizens. Thus, after an existence of seventeen years, the Swedish colony passed under the sway of the Dutch. Many of them became dissatisfied with the arbitrary acts of their rulers, and from time to time emigrated to Virginia and Maryland.

- What is now New Jersey was also included in the territory claimed by the Dutch. They built a fort, a short distance below Camden, which they named Nassau.
1648. Michael Pauw bought of the Indians Staten Island, and all the land extending from Hoboken to the river Raritan. He named the territory Pavonia. Meanwhile the Swedes passed over to the east side of Delaware bay, and established trading-houses from Cape May to Burlington.

Manhattan in the meanwhile was gaining numbers by emigration. The stern Stuyvesant was sometimes intolerant, but the company wished the people to enjoy the rights of conscience. They wished New Amsterdam to be as liberal to the exile for religion's sake as was its namesake in the Old World. Every nation in Europe had here its representatives. It was remarked "that the inhabitants were of different sects and nations, and that

they spoke many different languages." The public documents were issued sometimes in Dutch, sometimes in English, and sometimes in French. Two centuries ago it was prophesied that here would be centred the commerce of the world. Time is realizing the prediction. To promote emigration the mechanic had his passage given him. The poor persecuted Waldenses came from their native valleys and mountains at the expense of the old city of Amsterdam. Africa, too, had her representatives. Her sons and daughters were brought as slaves at the charge of the West India Company; and the city of Amsterdam, in this case also, shared the expense and the profit.

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XIII

1658.

The spirit of democracy began to pervade the minds of the Dutch; the credit of this has been given to the New Englanders, who were continually enlightening them on the subject of the freedom of Englishmen. This annoyed Stuyvesant beyond endurance. He often expressed his contempt for the "wavering multitude;" he despised the people, and scoffed at the idea that they could govern themselves: it was their duty to work, and not discuss the mysteries of government. They had no voice in the choice of their rulers, and were even forbidden to hold meetings to talk of their affairs. Stuyvesant finally consented to let them hold a convention of two delegates from each settlement; but as soon as these delegates began to discuss his conduct as governor, he dissolved the convention, bluntly telling them he derived his authority from the company, and not from "a few ignorant subjects." When a citizen, in a case in which he thought himself aggrieved, threatened to appeal to the States-General of Holland, "If you do," said the angry governor, "I will make you a foot shorter than you are." When the day of trial came, Stuyvesant found that by such despotic measures he had lost the good-will of the people of every class and nation.

Rumors were now rife that the English were about to

CHAP. subdue New Netherland. The people for the most part
XIII. were indifferent ; they had now no civil rights, and to
1664. them the change might be for the better ; it was not
probable that it would be for the worse. The English
portion longed for the rights of Englishmen. Though
there had been war between England and Holland, the
people of Virginia and New England, except perhaps
those of Connecticut, were well-disposed toward the
Dutch as neighbors.

Stuyvesant was soon relieved of his troubles with the
people of Manhattan. Charles II., without regard to the
rights of Holland, with whom he was at peace, or to the
rights of the people of Connecticut under their charter,
gave to his brother, the Duke of York, the entire country
from the Connecticut to the Delaware. The first intima-
tion Stuyvesant had of this intended robbery, was the pres-
ence of a fleet, under Richard Nicholls, sent to put in
execution the orders of the English king. The fleet had
brought to Boston the commissioners for New England, and
there received recruits, and sailed for New Amsterdam.
All was in confusion ; Stuyvesant wished to make resist-
ance, but the people were indifferent. What was to be
done ? The fleet was in the bay, and the recruits from
New England had just pitched their tents in Brooklyn :
Long Island was already in the hands of the enemy.
Nicholls sent Stuyvesant a letter requiring him to surren-
der his post, which the valiant governor refused to do with-
out a struggle. A meeting of the principal inhabitants
was called ; they very properly asked for the letter which
the governor had received from the English admiral. They
wished to know the terms he offered to induce them to
acknowledge English authority. Rather than send the
letter to be read to the "wavering multitude," the angry
Stuyvesant tore it to pieces. Instead, therefore, of prepar-
ing to defend themselves against the enemy, the people
protested against the arbitrary conduct of the governor.

At length the capitulation was made, on the condition that the people should be protected in their rights and property, religion and institutions.

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Sept.
1664

In a few days Fort Orange surrendered ; and in a few weeks the Dutch and the Swedes on the shores of the Delaware passed under the rule of England. Nicholls was appointed governor. New Amsterdam was to be hereafter known as NEW YORK, and Fort Orange as ALBANY.

A treaty was also made with the Mohawks : they had been the friends of the Dutch, and they now became the friends of the English, and remained so in all their contests, both with the French, and the Colonies during the revolution. They served as a bulwark against incursions from Canada. Their hatred of the French was intense. They said, the Canada Indians never invaded their territory unaccompanied by a "skulking" Frenchman.

England and Holland were soon at war again ; and suddenly a Dutch squadron anchored in the bay, and demanded the surrender of the colony. Thus the territory became New Netherland once more.

In a little more than a year peace was made, and the province was restored to England. Thus after half a century, the rule of the Dutch passed away, but not their influence—it still remains to bless. The struggles of their fathers in Holland in the cause of civil and religious freedom, are embalmed in the history of the progress of the human mind. In their principles tolerant, in religion Protestant, a nation of merchants and manufacturers, laborious and frugal, they acquired a fame as wide as the world for the noble virtue of honesty. Defenders of the right, they were brave, bold, and plain spoken ; they were peaceful ; they were justly celebrated for their moral and domestic virtues : nowhere was the wife, the mother, the sister more honored and cherished. Such were the ancestry and such the traditions of the people just come under British rule. A little more than a century elapsed, and

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XIII.

their descendants, with scarcely an exception, took their places with the lovers of their country in the struggle for independence.

The change of rulers was not beneficial to the people ; the promises made to them were not kept ; their taxes were increased ; the titles to their lands were even called in question, that the rapacious governors might reap a harvest of fees for giving new ones. It was openly avowed by the unprincipled Lovelace, the successor of Nicholls, that the true way to govern was by severity ; to impose taxes so heavy that the people should have "liberty for no thought but how to discharge them." When the people respectfully petitioned in relation to their grievances, their petition was burned by the hangman before the town-hall in New York, by order of the same Lovelace. The same species of tyranny was exercised over the colonists on the Delaware.

The Duke of York sold to Lord Berkeley, brother of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, and Sir George Carteret, the soil of New Jersey. They made liberal offers to emigrants to settle in the territory, promising to collect no rents for five years. Many families were induced to come from Long Island. Their principal settlement was named, in honor of Carteret's wife, Elizabethtown. All went smoothly till pay-day came, and then those colonists who had lived under Dutch rule refused to pay. They contended that they had bought their lands from the Indians, the original owners of the soil, and that Carteret had no claim to rent because the king had given him a grant of land which did not belong to him. Others said they derived no benefit from the proprietary, and why should they pay him quit-rents ?

The Duke of York had but little regard to the rights of Carteret or Berkeley ; he appointed Andros, "the tyrant of New England," governor of the colony. Berkeley, dis-

gusted by such treatment, sold what was called West Jersey to Edward Byllinge, an English Quaker, who in a short time transferred his claim to William Penn and two others, who afterward made an arrangement with Carteret to divide the territory. Penn and his associates taking West Jersey, and Carteret retaining East Jersey, the line of division being drawn from the ocean, at Little Egg Harbor, to the north-western corner of the province.

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XIII.

1674.

Episcopacy having been re-established in Scotland, a certain portion of the Presbyterians, the Cameronians or Covenanters, refused to acknowledge the authority of that church, and in consequence they became the victims of a severe persecution. To escape this they were induced to emigrate in great numbers to East Jersey, which thus became the cradle of Presbyterianism in America. The original settlers of New Jersey were the Dutch, English, Quakers, Puritans, from New England, and Presbyterians, from Scotland, which may account for that sturdy opposition to royal or ecclesiastical tyranny so characteristic of its inhabitants.

1682.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONIZATION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The Quakers.—William Penn.—His Education.—Obtains a Charter.—Preparations to plant a Colony.—He lands at Newcastle.—Philadelphia.—Rights of the Indians.—Settlement of Germantown.—Fletcher, the Royal Governor.—New Charter granted the People.—Prosperity of the Colony.—Trials of Penn: his Death.—Benjamin Franklin.

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XIV.**

1650.

WE have in the course of this history met with the sect known as Quakers,—a sect, perhaps, more than any other drawn from the humbler classes of the English people. We have found them at one time few in number, despised and persecuted; treated as the enemies of social order and morals. They were persecuted by all the sects in turn. The Puritans of New England endeavored to drive them from their shores; the Churchmen of Virginia refused them a resting place; and the politic and trading Dutch, though desirous for colonists, treated them harshly.

The Quakers loved and cherished the truths of the Bible with as much zeal as the most devoted Puritans. As non-resistants, they believed that the only evil a Christian should resist, was the evil of his own heart: as followers of the Prince of Peace, they were opposed to war. How much blood and sorrow would be spared the nations, if in this respect they were governed by the principles of Quakerism!

We have now to speak of this despised sect as the founders of a State, where their principles were to be applied to the government of men.

George Fox, their founder, had visited the American colonies ; the condition of his followers touched his heart. Was there no asylum for them in the New World ? Who should furnish them the means to form for themselves a settlement ?

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XIV.

1678.

1674.

Among the few who joined them from the higher classes of English society, was one destined to exert a great influence on the sect, and to be admired and revered as a benefactor of his race by the good of every age. When a mere youth, his heart was touched by the conversation of a simple-minded Quaker, who spoke of the peace and comfort derived from the witnessing of God's Spirit with his own : "the inner light," or voice of conscience. This youth was William Penn, the son of Sir William Penn, who was distinguished as a successful naval commander in the times of Cromwell and Charles II. The position of his father afforded him great advantages. He studied at Oxford University, was then sent to the Continent to improve his mind by travel and intercourse with men, and to eradicate his tendency toward Quakerism. After the absence of two years he returned, improved it is true, but in religion still a member of that despised sect everywhere spoken against : a sect, which its enemies affirmed, would destroy every government. The ambitious and worldly-minded Admiral was angry and disappointed. He insisted that his son should renounce Quakerism. The son reflected—he loved and revered his father ; he desired to obey and please him, but could he violate his conscience ? No ; he calmly resigned all earthly preferment, and became an exile from his father's house. A mother's love secretly relieved his pressing wants.

1661.

Before long we find him in prison for his religion. When the Bishop of London threatened him with imprisonment for life if he did not recant, he calmly replied, "Then my prison shall be my grave !" When a clergyman, the learned Stillingfleet, was sent to convince him

CHAP. XIV. by arguments, he referred to his prison-walls, and re-
 1668. marked, "The Tower is to me the worst argument in the
 world ; those who use force for religion never can be in the
 right !" "Religion," said he, on another occasion, "is my
 crime and my innocence ; it makes me a prisoner to
 malice, but my own freeman." At the expiration of a
 year he was released, through the intercession of his
 father.

Promotion in the navy, royal favor, and every worldly
 inducement was now urged to tempt him to desert his
 principles ; but in vain. Within a year he was arraigned
 again for having spoken at a Quaker meeting. As he
 pleaded his own cause, he told the court "that no power
 on earth had the right to debar him from worshipping
 God." The jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. The
 court, determined to persecute, ordered them back to their
 room ; saying, "We will have a verdict, or you shall
 starve for it." Penn admonished them as Englishmen to
 remember their rights. To the great annoyance of his
 enemies, the jury, though they "received no refreshments
 for two days and two nights," again brought in a verdict
 of not guilty. The court fined the jury it could not
 intimidate. Though thus acquitted, the recorder, under
 the plea of contempt of court, fined Penn, and again re-
 manded him to prison. As he was leaving the room, he
 mildly remarked to the angry magistrate : "Thy religion
 persecutes and mine forgives." His father soon afterward
 paid the fine, and he was liberated. Ere long that father,
 when dying, became reconciled to his son, and called him
 to his bedside. Worldly prosperity and honor did not
 seem so important to the admiral in his dying hour as
 they had done in other days. "Son William," said he,
 "if you and your friends keep to your plain way of
 preaching and living, you will make an end to the
 priests !"

Weary of persecutions, Penn determined to seek in

the New World an asylum for himself and his suffering friends. There was, perhaps, no man in the kingdom better fitted to take the lead in colonizing a State: familiar, from books as well as from observation, with the governments of Europe, and by personal intercourse with some of the most enlightened statesmen of the age; the friend and companion of men, as eminent in science and philosophy as they were in purity of morals.

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1680.

His father had bequeathed him a claim of sixteen thousand pounds against the government. He offered to receive lands in payment. Charles II., always in want of money, readily granted him territory west of the Delaware river, corresponding very nearly with the present limits of the State of PENNSYLVANIA,—a name given it by the king. The Duke of York claimed the region now known as the State of Delaware; Penn wishing to have free access to the bay obtained it from him.

1681.
Mar.
4.

1682.

As proprietary he now drew up a proclamation for those who were about to emigrate, as well as for the settlers already on the Delaware. He proposed that they should make their own laws, and pledged himself to interfere with nothing that should be for their benefit; saying, "I propose to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; that the will of no one man may hinder the good of a whole country."

April

With instructions to govern in accordance with law, he sent his nephew, William Markham, as agent. He had expended so much to aid his suffering brethren, that his estate was now nearly exhausted. When about to sail for his colony he wrote to his wife: "Live low and sparingly till my debts are paid; I desire not riches, but to owe nothing; be liberal to the poor, and kind to all." At this time of embarrassment a very large sum was offered him by a company of traders for the exclusive right to trade between the rivers Susquehannah and Delaware. He re-

CHAP. refused to sell such right, saying each one in his colony
XIV. should have an equal privilege to acquire property.

1682. Penn, accompanied by one hundred emigrants, landed
Oct. at New Castle. The Swedes, Dutch, and English alike
27. welcomed him. He passed up the river to where the capital of his province was yet to rise; there, under a spreading elm, he met a large number of sachems of the neighboring tribes, and with them entered into a treaty. No record of this treaty has been preserved, yet it remained for fifty years in force; neither party violating its provisions. The sons of the forest received the "Quaker King" as a friend, and they never had cause to regret their confidence. He promised to treat them justly; a promise observed not only by himself but by the Quaker settlers. During this year twenty-three ships laden with emigrants arrived safely in the colony; and they continued to flock thither from year to year.

Lands, lying between the Schuylkill and the Delaware, were purchased from the Swedes: a place desirable for a city, from its situation, healthy air, and springs of fresh water. It was to be a "greene country town, gardens round each house, that it might never be burned, and always be wholesome." The streets were marked out in the primitive forest by blazing the trees—the walnut, the spruce, the chestnut. A city for all mankind, it was significantly named PHILADELPHIA.

1688.

The new city grew very rapidly; in three years it contained more than six hundred houses, while the colony had a population of nearly ten thousand. Well might the benevolent proprietary look forward to the future in cheerful hope; he had based his government on truth and justice. The rights of the Red Men were respected; no one could wrong them without incurring the same penalty as that for wronging a fellow planter. If difficulties occurred between them and the settlers, the juries to try such cases were to be composed of six Indians and six

white men. In the earlier days of the colony the natives manifested their friendship by bringing as presents the products of the chase, wild fowl and venison.

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XIV.

1688.
Mar.

Presently the first Assembly in Pennsylvania was convened. Penn gave to the people a "charter of liberties," a representative government, and toleration in religious matters; to prevent lawsuits, three "peace-makers" were appointed for each county. Laws were made to restrain vice and to promote virtue. Labor upon the Sabbath was forbidden. The confidence which the Indians had in his integrity gave security to their friendship, and Pennsylvania was free from frontier wars, and more prosperous and happy than any other colony. Had the Red Men been treated as justly by the other colonists as by the Quakers, thousands of lives would have been spared and the general prosperity of the whole country promoted.

1684.

The interests of the young were not forgotten; efforts were made for their education, and a public high-school chartered by Penn, was established at Philadelphia, where already a printing-press, the third in the colonies, was doing its work.

1692.

After Penn returned to England, the people of Delaware, or the three lower counties, who sympathized but little with the Quakers, began to be restless. They feigned grievances, as a means to become independent. He yielded to their request, and appointed for them a separate deputy-governor.

1691

Being the personal friend of the Duke of York, Penn urged him when he became king, to relieve the oppressed; and in consequence more than twelve hundred Quakers were liberated, who had been imprisoned many years for conscience' sake. His benevolence was not limited to those of his own persuasion, but extended to all, both Catholic and Protestant.

When the great revolution drove the arbitrary James into exile, and placed William of Orange on the throne,

1688.

CHAP.
XIV.

1692.

Penn was accused by his enemies of favoring the interests of the exiled monarch, with whom he corresponded. This correspondence afforded no evidence of the truth of these calumnies, but William lent them too ready an ear. He was at a loss to conceive how Penn could be the friend of James in exile, without wishing him to return to England as a sovereign. These false charges, together with rumors of dissensions in the colony, furnished the royal government a pretext for depriving Penn of his proprietary rights.

The Quakers became divided in their sentiments; a few went to the extreme of non-resistance, saying, that it was inconsistent for a Quaker to engage in public affairs, either as a magistrate or as a legislator. The prime leader in this was George Keith. After disturbing the province beyond even Quaker endurance, he was indicted by the grand jury, as a disturber of the peace and violator of the laws. He was tried, and fined for using improper language; but lest it might be thought a punishment for the free expression of opinion, the fine was remitted. The cry of persecution was raised; but time proved the falsehood of the charge.

1690.

The first German emigrants to Pennsylvania were Quakers in their religious views—converts of Penn and Barclay, who some years before had travelled on the continent as missionaries. These settled Germantown and the vicinity. Twenty years later, the ravages of war drove many Germans from their homes on the banks of the Rhine. These emigrated in great numbers first to England, and then to Pennsylvania. In religious views they were German Reformed and Lutherans. They chose fertile districts, settled together, and soon became celebrated as the best farmers in America. Their numbers gradually increased by accessions of emigrants from home. They did not assimilate with the English colonists: preserved inviolate their customs, their religion, and their language, which alone they permitted to be taught their children. The

CHAP
XIV
—
1692.

Meanwhile, Penn had been persecuted and annoyed ; he was arraigned three times on frivolous charges, which were as often not sustained. He prepared once more to visit his colony. Crowds of emigrants were ready to go with him, when he was arrested again. Forced to go into retirement, he determined to wait till time should bring him justice. This delay ruined the remainder of his fortune ; death entered his family, and robbed him of his wife and eldest son. Treated harshly by the world, and in some instances by those whom he thought his friends, he mildly persevered ; never changed his views of right and justice ; conscious of the purity of his motives, he serenely waited for the time when his character should be vindicated from the aspersions cast upon it. Ere long that time came, the charges laid against him were proved to be false, and he was restored to his proprietary rights.

1694

- CHAP. XIV.
 — — — the people, alarmed at the recent encroachments upon their chartered rights, framed for themselves a liberal constitution. The Assembly would levy no tax until this was granted. When Penn arrived, he recognized as valid what the people had done. When the proposition was made to form a "constitution which would be firm and lasting," he said to them, "Keep what is good in the charter and frame of government, and add what may best suit the common good." It was agreed to surrender the old charter, and in its place frame a new constitution.
- 1694.
- 1700.
1702. The territories wished to be separate, and Delaware was permitted to have her own legislature; though the governor was to be the same as that of Pennsylvania. The two governments were never again united. All the political privileges the people desired he cheerfully granted; they enjoyed religious liberty, and annually elected their own magistrates.

A large emigration began about this period, and continued for half a century, to pour into Pennsylvania from the north of Ireland and from Scotland. These were principally Presbyterians. They settled in the eastern and middle parts of the colony, and thence gradually extended their settlements west, making inroads upon the forest.

When Penn returned to the colony it was his intention to remain, and make it the home of his children. Rumors, however, reached the province that the charters of all the colonies were to be taken away, and they thrown upon the tender mercies of court favorites. He had not only purchased his territory from Charles, but he had bought the land from the Indians themselves; he was therefore the sole owner of the unoccupied soil of Pennsylvania. These rumors rendered it necessary for him to return to England. Having arranged the government so as best to promote the interests of the people, he bade farewell to the colony, for which he had spent the

better part of his life, and for which he breathed his part-
ing blessing. CHAP
XIV

The virtues of William Penn saved the colony, so dear to his heart, from becoming a province ruled by royal governors and impoverished by tax-gatherers. His enemies never could persuade the court to deprive him of his property. Though in his old age so poor, on account of the sacrifices he had made, as to be compelled to go for a season to a debtor's prison, he refused to sell his estates in America unless he could secure for the people the full enjoyment of their liberties. His death was as peaceful as his life had been benevolent. He left three sons, who were minors. For them the government was administered by deputies until the Revolution, when the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania purchased their claims for more than half a million of dollars. 1700
1718
1776

Six years after the death of Penn, there came to Philadelphia a youth of seventeen, who was yet to exert a great influence, not merely upon that colony but upon the others, while his fame was to be as great in the world of science. This youth was Benjamin Franklin, a native of Boston, the son of a tallow-chandler; at which business, till ten years of age, he labored. But his ardent mind craved something far beyond. During his leisure time, and till late at night, he read and appreciated all the books he could borrow, and his limited means could purchase.

At twelve he was bound to his eldest brother, a printer, to learn the art. There he experienced, not the kindness of a brother but the harshness of a tyrant. Worn out with this oppression, the determined youth sold his little library to furnish means to travel, and, without giving notice to his friends, left to seek his fortune in the wide world. He travelled first to New York, where he tarried but a day, and then passed on to Philadelphia. There he arrived a stranger—his money

CHAP. reduced to a single dollar ; a penny roll served him for
XIV. his first dinner. In one of the two printing-offices of the
 1724. city he sought and obtained employment. Afterward he went to London, where he spent a year and a half in the same business ; then returned, but every thing that could be of avail to him he had carefully marked and treasured up. In truth he never lost a moment ; nothing escaped his notice, whether in the natural or political world. His wonderful combination of diligence, keen observation, and practical wisdom, fitted him to trace the current of human affairs, as well as deduce laws from the phenomena of nature.

His experiments in electricity, the discovery of its identity with lightning, and the invention of the lightning-rod, made his name famous in the universities and courts of the Old World ; while his "Poor Richard's Almanac," with its aphorisms of worldly wisdom, penetrated every nook and corner of his native land, and by its silent influence did much to inculcate the virtues of industry and economy.

"The first native of America, who wrote the English language with classic taste and elegance," his influence was impressed upon the literature of the land. He established the first American periodical magazine, conducted a newspaper, and wrote popular pamphlets on topics of public interest.

Pennsylvania seems to have been the chosen home of
 1750 the Germans. In the autumn of one year came twenty ships to Philadelphia, with twelve thousand German emigrants on board. The two following years brought each nearly as many. The Rev. Henry M. Muhlenburg, whose influence was exerted for fifty years in laying the foundation of the Lutheran church in America, had already commenced his labors. The Swedish churches on the Delaware
 1742 sympathized in doctrine with the Lutheran, but in time the former, more inclined to adopt the English language, united with the Episcopal church.

CHAPTER XV.

COLONIZATION OF THE CAROLINAS.

The first Settlers.—Grants to Royal Favorites.—The “Grand Model.”—Settlement at Cape Fear River.—Sir John Yeamans.—Emigrants under Sayle.—The Huguenots.—The People Independent.—Rice.—Churchmen and Dissenters.—Manufactures prohibited.—War between England and Spain.—Failure to Capture St. Augustine.—The ruin of the Appalachees.—Indian Wars.—German Emigrants.—The People repudiate the Authority of the Proprietaries.

WE have now to speak of the permanent settlement of the land, which the chivalric Sir Walter Raleigh endeavored to colonize; and to which the noble Coligny sent his countrymen to found a Protestant State, and where they perished by the hand of Spanish violence. That vast region, extending from the southern border of Virginia to the northern border of Florida, was represented as a “delightful land” by the adventurers who had explored it. Thither, during the space of forty years, emigrants had gone from Virginia. These were Dissenters, a term which now began to be applied to all Protestants not attached to the Church of England. This Church, established by law in Virginia, exercised great illiberality toward those who would not conform to its ceremonies; and many Dissenters, greatly annoyed by the collectors of tythes, emigrated further south. Among them was a company of Presbyterians who settled on the Chowan. Berkeley, governor of Virginia, assumed jurisdiction over them by appointing one of their number,

CHAP
XV.
1622.

1658.

- CHAP. William Drummond, governor. Drummond was a Scotch-
 XV. man by birth, a devoted advocate of popular liberty, the
 1653. same who afterward, as has been related, returned to
 Virginia, and was put to death by Berkeley for the part
 he took in Bacon's attempt to vindicate the rights of the
 1676. people.

Charles II., who gave away vast regions with as much coolness as if they really belonged to him, granted to eight of his favorites a charter and certain privileges, to repay them for their loyalty in restoring him to the throne of his father. This grant was of the territory extending from the present southern line of Virginia to the St. Johns, in Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Many of these proprietaries were men of influence in their day. Among these were the Earl of Clarendon, who was prime minister; Sir Ashley Cooper, better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury; General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who took an active part in the restoration of Charles; Sir William Berkeley, whom we have met in Virginia history; and Sir George Carteret, a proprietary of New Jersey. They professed to have "a pious zeal for the spread of the gospel," but their conduct has led the world to believe that they desired more to enrich themselves by means of a vast land speculation.

The labor of framing a government for their empire in the New World they intrusted to Shaftesbury, and the celebrated philosopher, John Locke. Their joint production by pre-eminence was named the "Grand Model" or "Fundamental Constitutions." In it the right to rule was assumed to belong only to those of noble blood; and therefore its principles were pronounced immortal. It made provision for Earls, Barons, and Squires, in whose hands, under various forms, should be the entire administration of affairs; while the people were to be attached to the soil as tenants. Those who owned fifty acres of land had the privilege of voting, and were termed freemen; but

those who were tenants had no such privilege, neither could they ever rise above that station. To the freemen an Assembly was granted, but on such conditions, that its acts were under the control of the aristocracy. Every religion was professedly tolerated, but care was taken to declare that the Church of England alone was orthodox. Such was the frame of government prepared for the people of the Carolinas by the united wisdom of two philosophers. Had it been designed for a people living in the Middle Ages, it might, at least, have had a trial; an honor to which the "Grand Model" never attained. It was as easy to convert log-cabins into castles, as to make the people perpetual tenants; they might be made nobles, but never dependents. Great numbers of them had left Virginia expressly to escape restraint and oppression; and they had very little respect for the authority of the proprietaries, while they certainly did not fear and honor the king.

CHAP
XV

1668.

The contest soon began. The proprietaries claimed the territory because the king had given them a charter, and they demanded quit-rents; the settlers, already in possession, claimed their lands because they had purchased them from the Indians. Why should they pay quit-rents?

A few years before, a small company from New England had formed a settlement on Cape Fear river. Every inducement was held out to retain these settlers, and to encourage others to join them. To each one was offered one hundred acres of land, at a quit-rent of half a penny an acre; but the barrenness of the soil neutralized every effort. Many of these colonists returned home, and the distress of the remainder was so great, that contributions in their behalf were taken up in New England.

1661

Three years later quite an accession was made to this settlement by a company of planters from the Barbadoes. Sir John Yeamans, their leader, was appointed governor.

1664

CHAP. He was instructed, in order to induce others to come, to
XV. be "very tender" toward the New Englanders. The
1664. people did the best they could with their pine barrens, by making staves and shingles ; these they sent to the West Indies : a trade carried on to this day from that region. It was enacted that debts contracted out of the colony could not be collected from the emigrant by process of law until he had been a resident five years. It thus became a partial asylum for debtors.

1670. A company of emigrants, under the direction of William Sayle, was also sent by the proprietaries ; and to superintend their own interests they appointed Joseph West commercial agent. They landed first at Port Royal, where the remains of the fort built by the Huguenots, one hundred years before, were still visible. It had been called Carolina, in honor of the reigning French king ; the name was now retained in honor of Charles of England. One of the proprietaries, Carteret, gave his name to the colony. For some reason they, before long, removed to another situation further north, where they formed a settlement between two rivers, which, in honor of Shaftesbury, were named the Ashley and the Cooper. A location near the harbor, and better suited for commercial purposes, was afterward noticed. In process of time a village grew up on this spot ; it is now known as the city of CHARLESTON.

The colony continued to increase from emigration. Dissenters came, hoping to enjoy the religious rights denied them at home ; Dutch and Germans from Europe ; Presbyterians from the North of Ireland as well as from Scotland—the latter furnishing great numbers of "physicians, clergymen, lawyers, and schoolmasters ;"—Churchmen from England, who expected their church to be established in accordance with the provisions of the "Grand Model ;" emigrants from New York, because of the high-handed measures of the English governors :

and Huguenots, under the patronage of Charles II. He CHAP.
XV.
wished to introduce the culture of the vine and olive, the
raising of silk-worms, and ultimately the manufacture of 1670.
silk. Great numbers of the Huguenots, from Languedoc,
in the South of France, came to the Carolinas, attracted
by the genial climate.

A law granting toleration to the Protestants of France
was made by Henry IV. : this was the famous Edict of 1598.
Nantes, thus named from the city where it was given.
This law remained in force almost ninety years, when it
was revoked by Louis XIV. He had, as long as he 1685
could enjoy it, spent his life in vice and the grossest de-
bauchery ; now he thought to silence the clamors of con-
science, that terrible enemy of wicked men, and yet win
heaven by converting to the Romish church his Protestant
subjects. Encouraged in this by the priests and the
wiles of an apostate woman, he let loose upon these indus-
trious and well-disposed people the terrors of persecution.
Why go into the detail of their wrongs ?—the heart
sickens at the remembrance. By a refinement of cruelty,
they were forbidden to flee from their native land, and
every avenue of escape was guarded by their inveterate
enemies. Yet, after encountering unheard-of dangers and
trials, many of them did escape, and more than five hun-
dred thousand fled to different parts of the world. In the
New World they were everywhere welcomed by sympa-
thizing friends.

The Huguenots were so far superior to the Catholic
portion of the French nation, in intelligence and the
knowledge of the mechanic arts, that nearly all the manu-
factures of the country were in their hands. This skill
they carried with them, and they thus became desirable
citizens wherever they chose to settle. In South Carolina
their influence was specially felt. Their quiet and inof-
fensive manners won for them respect ; their integrity and
industry gave them influence. Ere long they mingled

- CHAP.** with the inhabitants ; and their descendants, almost uni-
XV. versally, when the hour of trial came, were found on the
1670. side of justice and liberty.

The original inhabitants of the Carolinas were peculiar in their character. Numbers of them went thither from the other colonies to avoid restraint ; they refused to pay taxes to the proprietaries or to the king, or duties on trade ; they were friendly to the buccaneers or pirates, who infested the Southern waters ; they warred against the Indians, to obtain captives to be sent to the West Indies and sold as slaves. There were no towns in the colony ; the planters were scattered along the streams and valleys. There were no roads ; they travelled along paths through the woods, known only by the blazed trees, or on the rivers by means of row-boats. The proprietaries soon saw the impossibility of inducing a people so free and fearless to conform to a government under the "Grand Model."

- 1671.** Sir John Yeamans, who had been appointed governor, brought with him, on his return from Barbadoes, fifty families, and nearly two hundred slaves. This was the commencement of negro slavery in South Carolina. The slaves increased very rapidly, and in a few years so many had been introduced that in number they were nearly two to one of the whites.

Yeamans, "a sordid calculator," had been impoverished in England, and went abroad to improve his fortune. He took special pains to guard his own interests ; for this reason he was dismissed by the proprietaries. Under his successor, the wise and liberal West, the colony flourished for some years. He, too, was dismissed, not because he favored himself but because he favored the people.

The next struggle came, when an attempt was made to levy duties on the little trade of the colony. The people considered themselves independent of the proprietaries as well as of the king, and under no obligation to pay taxes in any form. That there was much dissatisfaction in the

colony, may be inferred from the fact that in the space of six years it had five governors. To allay these troubles James Colleton, a brother of one of the proprietaries, was sent as governor. But when he attempted to collect rents and taxes he met with as little success as any of his predecessors: the people seized the records of the province, imprisoned his secretary, and boldly defied him and his authority.

CHAP.
XV.
1671.

Though many of the settlers left Virginia on account of the want of religious privileges, they found but very few ministers of the gospel in the country. Quaker preachers were the first to visit the Carolinas; afterward George Fox himself carried them the truth as he believed it. The people warmly welcomed the messenger of the gospel. The influence of this visit was to strengthen the hearts of his followers, and to make many converts. The Quakers, everywhere the friends of popular rights, exerted much influence against the arbitrary rule of the proprietaries.

There arose a party of "Cavaliers and ill-livers," whose morals were fashioned after those of the court of the profligate Charles. Opposition was excited by their high-handed measures, and another party sprang into existence; it was composed of the Presbyterians, Quakers, and the Huguenots, who had recently been admitted to the rights of citizenship. The disputes were chiefly in relation to rents and land tenures.

In the midst of this confusion, an upright Quaker, John Archdale, was elected governor. He assumed the part of mediator, and attempted, with some success, to reconcile the disputants. In selecting his council he chose men of all parties, and by various judicious regulations partially allayed the strife. By just treatment he made friends of the Indians; he ransomed and sent home some of their Indian converts, who were held by a neighboring tribe as slaves, and thus conciliated the Spaniards at St. Augustine. The kind act was reciprocated; the Spaniards

1694.

CHAP. restored to their friends some English sailors shipwrecked
XV. on their coast.

1694. The Dissenters numbered two-thirds of the population, yet, for the sake of peace, they consented that one minister of the Church of England should be maintained at the public expense. Upon one occasion the Churchmen and aristocracy accidentally had a majority of one in the Assembly ; they manifested their gratitude for the concession just mentioned, by depriving the Dissenters of all their political privileges ; they made the Church of England the established church, to be maintained at the public expense, and proceeded to divide the colony into parishes, to which the " Society for the Propagation of the Gospel " was to appoint pastors. The aggrieved people appealed to the House of Lords for redress ; and the intolerant act of the Legislature was declared to be null and void. The law disfranchising Dissenters was repealed, that granting a support to the Church of England remained in force till the Revolution.

1698. Notwithstanding these difficulties the colony prospered, and increased in numbers from emigration. Among these a company from Massachusetts formed a settlement twenty miles back of Charleston. During Archdale's administration, the captain of a ship from Madagascar gave him some rice, which he distributed among the planters to be sown. The experiment was successful, and soon Carolina rice was celebrated as the best in the world. The fur trade with the Indians was also profitable, while the forests produced their share of profit in lumber and tar.

The colonists attempted to manufacture domestic cloths to supply their own wants ; an enterprise they were soon compelled to abandon. The manufacturers and merchants of England complained, as they themselves wished to enjoy the profits that would arise from supplying them. Parliament passed an act forbidding woollen goods to be

transported from one colony to another, or to any foreign port. This unrighteous law, as was designed, broke up nearly all colonial trade and manufactures, and gave the English trader and manufacturer the monopoly of both. We shall see how this policy affected all the colonists. In the Carolinas, they could only engage in planting, and a new impulse was given to the slave trade.

CHAP
XV.

1699.

War had arisen between England and Spain, and their children in the New World unfortunately took up arms against each other. James Moore, who was now governor of Carolina, undertook an expedition against St. Augustine. He is represented as a "needy, forward, ambitious man," who was in the habit of kidnapping Indians and selling them as slaves: now he hoped to plunder the Spaniards at St. Augustine. He pressed some vessels into his service, and set sail with a portion of the troops, and sent others with the Indian allies by land. The town was easily taken, but the soldiers retired to a well fortified fort, and defied the besiegers. Moore must send to the island of Jamaica for cannon, to enable him to take the fort. Meanwhile an Indian runner had sped through the forest to Mobile, and informed the French settlers there of what was going on. They sent word to Havana. We may judge the surprise of Moore, when he saw two Spanish men-of-war come to rescue St. Augustine, instead of the vessel he expected from Jamaica. He immediately abandoned his supplies and stores, and made his way by land as best he could, to Charleston. The colony, by this unwise and wicked expedition, only gained a debt which pressed heavily upon the people for years.

1702

The Apalachees of Florida, under the influence of Spanish priests, had become converts to Romanism; they built churches, and began to cultivate the soil and live in villages. As free intercourse existed between Florida and Louisiana; the English colonists professed alarm at the influence the French and Spaniards might have over the

**CHAP.
XV.**

Indians of that region. This furnished an excuse for the ambitious Moore to lead an expedition against these inoffensive Indians, whose only crime was, ^{that} they were willing to be taught religion and agriculture by Spanish priests. With about fifty whites and one thousand friendly Indians, he went through the wilderness, away across the State of Georgia, down on the Gulf to Appalachee Bay. The first intimation the Indians had of this freebooting expedition was an attack upon their village, one morning at daylight. The assailants met with so warm a reception, that at first they were forced to retire, but not until they had set fire to a church. There happened to be in the bay a Spanish ship, whose commander the next day, with a few white men and four hundred Indians, made an attack on the invaders, but he was defeated. The Indian villages were now destroyed, the churches plundered of their plate, and numbers of Indians taken captive, and removed to the banks of the Altamaha, while their own country was given to the Seminoles, the allies of the invaders. Thus the English placed Indians friendly to themselves between the Spanish and French settlements, while in virtue of this expedition they claimed the soil of Georgia. More than one hundred and twenty-five years afterward, the descendants of these Seminoles were removed beyond the Mississippi. Even then the ruins of churches marked the stations of the Spanish missions among the Appalachees.

The next year brought Charleston two unexpected enemies—a malignant fever, and while it was raging, a squadron of Spanish and French ships to avenge the attack upon the Appalachees. The people, under William Rhett and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, were soon ready to meet them. When they landed, they were opposed at every point, and driven back. A French ship was captured; and of the eight hundred men who landed, more than three hundred were either killed or taken prisoners. This victory was looked upon as a great triumph.

In this conflict the Huguenots performed well their part. An unusual number of them had settled in Charleston ; here they founded a church, its forms of worship the same as those to which they were accustomed at home. This church still remains, the only one in the land that has preserved inviolate these pristine forms.

CHAP
XV.

1699.

A general effort was now made to extend the influence of the Church of England in the colonies. The politic William of Orange looked upon the project with a favorable eye. A "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts" was formed in England. Its object, the conversion of the Indians, was worthy ; but at this time, by means of worldly men and politicians, its influence was directed to the establishment of the Church of England in all the American colonies. The project everywhere met with great opposition except in Virginia ; there the dissenters were few in number. This society founded many churches in the colonies, which remain even to this day.

1701.

North Carolina was called the "Sanctuary of Runaways," a "land where there was scarcely any government," with a population made up of "Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and other evil-disposed persons." Such was the language of royalists and those opposed to freedom in religious opinions. The proprietaries determined to establish the Church of England, and maintain it at public expense. Those who refused to conform to this law were debarred from holding offices of trust. The people did refuse, and soon there "was but one clergyman in the whole country ;" and those in favor of freedom in religious opinions, were stigmatized as a "rabble of profligate persons." These tyrannies finally led to open rebellion on the part of the people, who wished to govern themselves, and when unmolested did it well.

1712

Thus far North Carolina had escaped the horrors of Indian warfare. There were many tribes west and south of their territory. The greater part of the region now

CHAP. occupied by the States of Georgia and Alabama, was the
XV. home of the Creeks or Muscogees, numbering nearly thirty
1712. thousand.

The territory of the Yamassees lay immediately west of the settlement on the north bank of the Savannah. In the vicinity were the Catawbias, on the river which perpetuates their name. West of these, a mountaineer tribe, the Cherokees, roamed through the beautiful valleys of the upper Tennessee, while they claimed as their hunting grounds the regions north of them to the Kanawha and the Ohio.

A great change had come over the powerful tribes along the coast. The Hatteras tribe, which, in Raleigh's time, one hundred and twenty-five years before, numbered nearly twenty thousand, was now reduced to less than one hundred. Some tribes had entirely disappeared; had retired farther back into the wilderness, or become extinct. Vices copied from the white man had wrought this ruin.

The Tuscaroras, a warlike tribe, whose ancestors had emigrated from the north, became alarmed at the encroachments of the colonists upon their lands. They determined to make an effort to regain their beautiful valleys.

A company of German exiles from the Rhine had come under the direction of De Graffenried. The proprietaries assigned them lands that belonged to the Indians. Lawson, the surveyor-general of the province, and Graffenried, when on an exploring tour up the Neuse, were seized by a party of Tuscaroras, who hurried them on, day and night, to one of their villages. There several chiefs of the tribe held a council, and discussed the wrongs they had suffered from the English. They finally determined to burn the man, who with compass and chain had marked out their lands into farms for the settlers. When Graffenried made known to them that he had been only a short time in the country; that he was the "chief of a differ-

ant tribe from the English," and moreover promised to take no more of their lands, they did not put him to death with Lawson. He was kept a prisoner five weeks, and then permitted to return home. During this time, the Tuscaroras and their allies, the Corees, had attacked the settlements on the Roanoke and Pamlico sound. The carnage continued for three days, and many of the poor people, who had fled from persecution at home, perished by the tomahawk in the land of their adoption.

CHAP.
XV.

1712

1711.

The people appealed to Virginia and to South Carolina for aid. Only a part of the Tuscaroras had engaged in the attack. With another portion of the tribe, Spotswood, governor of Virginia, made a treaty of peace,—the only assistance he could give. Governor Craven of South Carolina sent to their aid a small force, and a number of friendly Indians. These drove the Tuscaroras to their fort, and compelled them to make peace. These same troops, as they were returning home, basely violated the treaty just made ; attacked some Indian towns, and seized their inhabitants to sell them as slaves. The war was of course renewed. The Tuscaroras, driven from one place of concealment to another, and hunted for their scalps or for slaves, finally abandoned their fair lands of the south ; emigrated across Virginia and Pennsylvania to the home of their fathers, and there, at the great council-fire of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, on Oneida lake in New York, were admitted into that confederacy, of which they became the sixth nation. At this time, the people of Pennsylvania complained of the importation of these captives into their colony. A law was therefore enacted, forbidding the introduction of "negroes and slaves, as exciting the suspicion and dissatisfaction of the Indians of the province."

1712

1712

The war seemed to be ended, and the traders of South Carolina especially, extended their traffic with the tribes who lived in the region between that colony and the Mis-

CHAP.
XV.

missippi. Soon after, these traders were driven from the villages of some of the more western tribes. This was attributed to the influence of the French of Louisiana.

1718.

The Yamassees, whom we have seen in alliance with the colonists against the Tuscaroras, when they hoped to obtain captives, now renewed their friendship with the Spaniards, with whom they had been at variance,—for they hated the priests, who attempted to convert them. They induced the Catawbas, the Creeks and the Cherokees, who had also been allies of the colonists against the Tuscaroras, to join them. This alliance was likewise attributed to Spanish and French influence. Governor Spotswood seems to have revealed the truth, when he wrote to the “Board of Trade” in London, that “the Indians never break with the English without gross provocation from persons trading with them.” These tribes had been looked upon as “a tame and peaceable people,” and fair game for unprincipled traders.

1715.

The savages cunningly laid their plans, and suddenly, one morning, fell upon the unsuspecting settlers, killed great numbers and took many prisoners. The people fled toward the sea-shore. A swift runner hastened to Port Royal and alarmed the inhabitants, who escaped as best they could to Charleston. The Indians continued to prowl around the settlements, and drove the inhabitants before them, until the colony was on the verge of ruin.

The enemy received their first check from forces sent from North Carolina. Governor Craven acted with his usual energy, he raised a few troops and went to meet the savage foe. The contest was long and severe ; in the end the Indian power was broken. The Yamassees emigrated to Florida, where they were welcomed with joy by the Spaniards at St. Augustine. The other tribes retired further into the wilderness. Yet war-parties of the Yamassees continued, for years, to make incursions against the frontier settlements, and kept them in a state of alarm.

The proprietaries made no effort to protect the colonists or to share the expense of the war. They at length determined, as they must defend themselves, also to manage their own affairs, and they resolved "to have no more to do with the proprietaries, nor to have any regard to their officers." On the other hand, the proprietaries complained that the "people were industriously searching for grounds of quarrel with them, with the view of throwing off their authority." The matter was brought before Parliament, which declared the charter of the proprietaries to be forfeited.

CHAP
XV.

1715.

Francis Nicholson, who for many years had been experimenting as a colonial governor, and, as he said, "been falsely sworn out of Virginia and lied out of Nova Scotia," was appointed provisional governor. He was not an example of good temper, and much less of good morals. He made a treaty with the Cherokees, who were to permit only Englishmen to settle on their lands; and with the Creeks, whose hunting-grounds were to extend to the Savannah. He had battled against popular rights in the north, now he thought best to make his path easy, and he confirmed all the laws passed by the revolutionary Assembly. However, when he left the country he mourned over the "spirit of commonwealth notions which prevailed," as the result, as he said, of intercourse with the New Englanders, who, at this time, were busily engaged in trading with the Carolinas.

1720.

These disputes were at length ended by an act of Parliament. Seven of the proprietaries sold out their claims to the government of England. The two Carolinas were now separated, and a royal governor appointed for each.

1729

CHAPTER XVI.

COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA.

Founded in Benevolence.—Oglethorpe.—First Emigration.—Savannah.—Encouragements.—Germans from the Western Alps.—Augusta.—The Moravians.—Scotch Highlanders.—The Wesleys.—Whitefield, his Orphan House.—War with Spain ; its Cause.—Failure to Capture St. Augustine. Repulse of the Spanish Invaders.—The Colony becomes a Royal Province.

CHAP.
XVI.

WE have seen some colonies founded as asylums for the oppressed for conscience' sake, and others the offspring of royal grants to needy courtiers,—bankrupt in fortune, and sometimes in morals, seeking in their old age to retrieve the follies of their youth. It is now a pleasure to record the founding of an asylum not alone for the oppressed for conscience' sake, but for the victims of unrighteous law—a colony the offspring of benevolence ; the benevolence of one noble-hearted man ;—one who, born in affluence, devoted his wealth, his mind and his energies to the great work. James Edward Oglethorpe, “ the poor man's friend,” “ a Christian gentleman of the Cavalier school,” had sympathy for the unfortunate who were immured within prison walls, not for crime, but for debt. He labored to have repealed the laws authorizing such imprisonment, and to reform the entire prison discipline of England.

His efforts did not end here ; he desired to provide in America an asylum for those who were, while in their own land, at the mercy of hard-hearted creditors, as well as

a place of refuge for the poor, where comfort and happiness might be the reward of industry and virtue. There were, at this time, in England, more than four thousand men in prison for debt, with no hope of relief. Through his exertions, "multitudes were restored to light and freedom, who by long confinement were strangers and helpless in the country of their birth."

CHAP
XVI.
1782.

Others became interested in his schemes of benevolence, and a petition numerously signed by men of influence and family was presented to the king. They asked a charter to colonize the territory south of the Savannah river, then included in Carolina, with unfortunate debtors, and with Protestants from the continent of Europe. A grant was given by George II. of the region lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha, and from their head springs west to the Pacific. The territory was to be known as Georgia. It was given "in trust for the poor" to twenty-one trustees for the space of twenty-one years. The trustees manifested their zeal by giving their services without any reward.

The climate of this region was thought to be very favorable for the raising of silk-worms, and the cultivation of the grape. Merchants, therefore, who could not be otherwise influenced, were induced to favor the cause by hopes of gain. The "free exercise of religion" was guaranteed to all "except papists." Under no conditions was land to be granted in tracts of more than five hundred acres. This was designed to enable the poor to become owners of the soil, and to prevent the rich from monopolizing the best lands.

Much interest was taken in this new field of benevolence, and donations were made by all classes of society. What a transition for the poor debtor! He was to exchange the gloomy walls of a prison for a home in that delightful land, where grim poverty never would annoy him more! It was determined to take as colonists only

CHAF. the most needy and helpless, and, as far as possible, ex-
XVI. clude those of bad morals.

1732. Thirty-five families, numbering altogether one hundred and fifty persons, embarked for their new homes. While others gave to the enterprise their substance and influence, Oglethorpe volunteered to superintend the colony in person. They took with them "a clergyman with Bibles, Prayer-books, and Catechisms," and one person who was skilled in the raising of silk. The company landed first at Charleston; by a vote of the Assembly, they were welcomed, and presented with supplies of rice and cattle.

Oglethorpe hastened to explore the Savannah. On a bluff twenty miles from its mouth he planted his colony. This bluff was already in the possession of a small band of Indians, from whom it was named the Yamacraw. Through the efforts of Mary Musgrove, who acted as interpreter, the bluff was purchased. This woman was a daughter of a Uchee chief, and had been sent to school in Charleston, where she had married an English trader.

1733. The colonists immediately began to build and fortify their town, which they named Savannah, the Indian name of the river. The town was regularly laid out, with wide streets and spacious squares. A garden of some acres was inclosed for a nursery of mulberry-trees to feed silkworms; and here also experiments were made, in order to introduce European fruits.

The aged chief of the little band of Indians wished protection. He presented to Oglethorpe a buffalo skin, on the inside of which was painted an eagle. "The eagle," said he, "signifies speed, and the buffalo strength; the English are swift as the eagle, for they have flown over vast seas; they are as strong as the buffalo, for nothing can withstand them; the feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo's skin is warm, and signifies protection; therefore, I hope the English will love and protect our little families." The hopes of poor old

Tomochechi and his tribe were doomed to be sadly disappointed. CHAP
XVI.

The genial climate delighted the colonists, and they went cheerfully to work, building their houses. The chiefs of the lower Creeks came and made a treaty ; they acknowledged the English rule from the Savannah to the St. John's, and west to the Chattahoochee, and gave them permission to cultivate the lands not used by their own people. Then came a messenger from the distant Cherokees, pledging the friendship of his tribe. Soon after came a Choctaw chief saying, "I have come a great way ; I belong to a great nation ; the French are among us ; we do not like them ; they build forts and trade with us ; their goods are poor, and we wish to trade with you." Thus the way was opened for a profitable traffic with the tribes north of the gulf, and west to the Mississippi. 1783

The fame of this delightful land reached Europe, and penetrated even into the fastnesses of the western Alps. There, long ages before the Reformation, a pure gospel had been taught. Now a persecution was raging, and the sufferings of these Christians, now become Lutherans, deeply enlisted the sympathies of the English people. These Germans were invited by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," to emigrate to Georgia, where they could be free from their persecutors, and lands were offered them ; but they rejoiced more than all in the opportunity given them to carry the gospel to the Indians. Money was subscribed by the benevolent in England to enable them to travel from Augsburg, across the country to Frankfort on the Main. Nearly one hundred set out on their pilgrimage ; they took with them, in wagons, their wives and children ; their Bibles and books of devotion. The men as they travelled on foot beguiled the toils of their journey by singing praises to God, and offering prayers for his guiding hand, and his blessing on their enterprise.

CHAP. They passed down the Main to its junction with the
 XVI. Rhine, and thence floated down to Rotterdam, where they
 1783. were joined by two clergymen, Bolzius and Gronau. They sailed to England, and were there met and encouraged by a committee of the trustees, and thence to their distant home across the ocean. The faith that had cheered them on their native mountains, sustained them amid the storms of the Atlantic ; when, during a terrible tempest, the waves broke over the ship, and caused an outcry of alarm from the English, they continued their devotions and calmly sung on. When one of them was asked, " Were you not afraid ? " " I thank God, no," was the reply. " But were not your women and children afraid ? " " No, our women and children are not afraid to die."

A passage of fifty-seven days brought them to receive a hearty welcome at Charleston from Oglethorpe, and in
 1734. less than a week they were at their journey's end. A suitable place had been chosen for their residence, they founded a village a short distance above Savannah, and significantly named it Ebenezer. In gratitude they raised a monumental stone as a memento of the goodness of God in thus bringing them to a land of rest. They were joined from time to time by others from their native land. By their industry and good morals they secured prosperity, and also the respect of their fellow-colonists.

At the head of boat navigation on the Savannah the town of Augusta was now founded. This soon became an important trading post with the Indians.

Oglethorpe gave himself unweariedly to the work of benefiting those he governed. The success of the enterprise may be safely attributed to his disinterested labors. " He," said Governor Johnson, of South Carolina, " nobly devotes all his powers to save the poor, and to rescue them from their wretchedness." After the residence of a year and a half he returned to England, taking with him

several Indian chiefs, and raw silk—the product of the colony—sufficient to make a robe for the queen. CHAP
XVI.

As an inducement for settlers, the trustees offered to each one who should emigrate, at his own expense, fifty acres of land. On these conditions came a number of Moravians or United Brethren, with the intention of devoting themselves to the conversion of the Indians. They formed a new settlement on the Ogeechee, south of the Savannah. 1734.

1735.

The same benevolent spirit which had relieved poor debtors in prison, now devised measures to ward off one of the most effective causes of debt and wretchedness; and accordingly the importation of rum into the colony was prohibited. The trustees also forbid negro slavery, “that misfortune of other plantations.” They did not wish to see their province “filled with blacks, the precarious property of a few.” They looked upon it as cruel and inhuman, and injurious to the “poor white settlers,” for whom, in trust, they held the colony.

The next year Oglethorpe returned, with more emigrants, among whom was a party of Scotch Highlanders, with their minister, John McLeod. These founded a settlement at Darien, on the Altamaha. There likewise came two young men as preachers to the people, and as missionaries to the Indians. These were the brothers John and Charles Wesley,—men of ardent piety and zealous in the cause of religion, they hoped to make the colony eminent for its religious character. Enthusiastic in their feelings, and perhaps a little wanting in discretion, certainly in experience, they were soon involved in trouble. For a time, John Wesley drew crowds of hearers; places of amusement were almost deserted. We doubt not that he spoke the truth plainly, and in accordance with his duty, but his austere manners and denunciation of sin created him enemies. In one case, his severe exercise of church discipline excited bitter feeling against himself, 1734.

CHAP.
XVI.

1738.

and sympathy for the victim of his injudicious zeal. Charles Wesley was, for awhile, the secretary of Oglethorpe, but in some unexplained manner he gave offence to his patron ; at length an explanation took place, and a reconciliation. Kind and gentle in his nature, he was unfitted to endure the hardships to be encountered, and to sympathize with the unpolished colonists of Georgia. After a residence of less than two years, the Wesleys, disappointed in their hopes of doing good there, left the colony forever. In their native land they became the founders of the denomination of Methodists, who have been, in that very colony, as well as in others, among the foremost in carrying the gospel to destitute settlements. Thus their labors were blessed, their prayers were answered, and their hopes realized ; but, as is often the case in the ways of Infinite Wisdom, not in the form and manner in which they expected.

Just as the Wesleys, on their return home, were passing up the channel, their friend and fellow-laborer, the celebrated George Whitefield, the most eloquent preacher of his day, was leaving England to join them in Georgia. Whitefield had commenced preaching when a mere youth, and by his wonderful eloquence drew great crowds. He first preached in the prisons, and then to the poor in the open fields. Now he felt it his duty to visit the colonies. When he arrived in Georgia, his sympathies were much enlisted in behalf of the destitute children, left orphans. He visited the Lutherans at Ebenezer, where he noticed their asylum for poor children, and determined, if possible, to found a similar one. By his fervent zeal in the cause he obtained sufficient funds in England and America. The institution was founded a few miles from Savannah. During his lifetime it flourished ; at his death it began to languish, and finally passed out of existence.

The Spaniards were not pleased with the encroachments of the English upon what they deemed their terri-

tory, and they sent commissioners to protest against it, and to demand the surrender of all Georgia and part of Carolina. When this was unheeded, they prepared to expel the invaders. There were other causes, which made it evident that war would soon take place between the mother countries, in which the colonies would certainly become involved.

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1788.

The European governments restricted the commerce of their colonies so as to make them subserve their own interests. Those belonging to Spain must trade only with the port of Cadiz, and the merchandise shipped to them was sold at enormous prices. The English traders persisted in smuggling goods into the Spanish ports. To accomplish this they resorted to various stratagems. By treaty, an English vessel was permitted to come once a year to Portobello and dispose of her cargo ; but this vessel was followed by others ; they came in the night time, and slipped in more bales to supply the place of those sold, and continued to do this, till the market was supplied. Sometimes, under the pretence of distress, ships would run into Spanish ports, and thus dispose of their cargoes.

Though Spain was rich and feeble, she was haughty and cruel ; and when any of these worthies, who were engaged in violating her laws, were caught, they were severely dealt with. Sometimes they were imprisoned, and sometimes their ears were cropped. This exasperated the traders, and though justly punished, they came with the assurance of ill-treated men, to ask protection from their own government. They were looked upon as martyrs to the cause of free commerce, and merchants, in defence of such men as these, did not blush to clamor for war, in the face of justice and national integrity. In truth, the English government connived at this clandestine trade, and secretly rejoiced at the advantage gained over her rival. By this connivance at injustice she gave

CHAP. her own colonies a lesson on the subject of their trade,
 XVI. which, in less than half a century, she found, to her sur-
 1738. prise, they had fully learned.

- Another source of irritation to the people of South Carolina, was that slaves, who ran away to Florida and put themselves under Spanish protection, were not only welcomed, but given lands ; organized into military companies, and armed at the public expense. A demand made upon the authorities at St. Augustine to restore the runaways, was promptly refused. Oglethorpe hastened to
1737. England to make preparations for the coming contest, and returned in less than a year, with a regiment of six hundred men, which he himself had raised and disciplined. He was now prepared to defend the southern boundary of Georgia. He renewed treaties with the Indian tribes north of the Gulf from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and hoped to retain them in his interest. War was, at
1739. length, declared by England against Spain, and Oglethorpe received orders, as military commander in Georgia and the Carolinas, to invade Florida. With his usual energy, he hastened to Charleston to make the necessary preparations. Supplies were voted and a regiment enlisted ; and, joined by Indian allies, he set out to lay siege to St. Augustine. He found the garrison much more numerous than he expected, and the fortifications stronger. After a short siege, the Indians began to desert, and the Carolina regiment, enfeebled by sickness, returned home. In five weeks the enterprise was abandoned. On this occasion, Oglethorpe exhibited the kindness of his nature ; he endured all the privations of the common soldiers. The captives taken were treated kindly, no houses
1740. were burned, and but little property destroyed.

This war had a very bad effect upon the colony of Georgia. Instead of making farmers of the settlers, it made them soldiers, and their farms were neglected. The Moravians, who were religiously opposed to bearing arms,

emigrated, one and all, to Pennsylvania, where they founded the towns of Bethlehem and Nazareth.

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It was ere long the turn of Georgia to be invaded. For this purpose, the Spaniards at Havana and St. Augustine fitted out thirty-six vessels and three thousand troops. The commander, Monteano, instead of sailing direct for Savannah, became entangled among the islands, near the mouths of the St. Mary and the Altamaha, while endeavoring to take possession of one or two insignificant settlements. Oglethorpe ascertained the intention of the enemy, but as he had received no assistance from Carolina, was ill prepared to meet them. Having but eight hundred men, he was forced to retreat from Cumberland island to St. Simons, on which was the little town of Frederica, the special object of the Spanish attack.

1740.

1742

July

After the enemy landed he went to surprise them in the night, but as he approached their lines, one of his soldiers, a Frenchman, fired his gun, rushed into the enemy's camp, and gave the alarm. Oglethorpe employed stratagem to throw suspicion upon the deserter; he wrote him a letter, in which he addressed him as a spy for the English, and directed him to induce the Spaniards to attack them, or at least to remain where they were until the English fleet of six men-of-war, which had sailed from Charleston, should reach St. Augustine, and capture it. This letter he bribed a Spanish prisoner to carry to the Frenchman. As was to be expected, it was taken immediately to the Spanish commander, and the Frenchman soon found himself in irons. In the midst of the alarm, some Carolina ships, laden with supplies for Oglethorpe, appeared in the offing. Thinking these the veritable men-of-war mentioned in the letter, the invaders determined to attack and destroy Frederica, before they should sail to defend St. Augustine. On the way they fell into an ambuscade, and, at a place since known as the "Bloody Marsh," they were signally defeated. The following night

CHAP. XVI. they embarked, and sailed to defend St. Augustine from
the expected attack. Thus Georgia and the Carolinas
1743. were saved from ruin.

The following year Oglethorpe left the colony forever. There he had spent ten years of toil and self-denial ; he had for his reward no personal benefit, but the satisfaction of founding a State, and of leaving it in a prosperous condition. The form of government was changed from a military to a civil rule, and the various magistrates were appointed.

In time, slavery was gradually introduced. Slaves were at first hired from the Carolinas, for a short time, and then for one hundred years. The German settlers were industrious and frugal, and so were the Highlanders. They were opposed to the introduction of slaves. On the other hand, great numbers of the English settlers were idle and bankrupt from their improvidence ; “ they were unwilling to labor, but were clamorous for privileges to which they had no right.” They contended that rum was essential to health in that climate, and that none but slaves could cultivate the soil of Georgia ; and, in seven years after the benevolent Oglethorpe left, slave ships brought negroes to Savannah, direct from Africa.

1750. The trustees, when the twenty-one years for which they were to manage the “ colony for the poor ” were expired, resigned their trust, and Georgia became a royal
1753. province.

CHAPTER XVII.

NEW ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

The Restoration.—The Commissioners.—Progress of Trade.—Cause of King Philip's War.—Death of Wamsutta.—State of the Colony.—Attack at Swanzy.—Philip among the Nipmucks.—Attacks on Northfield, and on Hadley.—Goffe.—The Tragedy at Bloody Brook.—Philip among the Narragansets.—Their Fort captured.—The Warriors take Revenge.—Philip returns to Mount Hope to die.—Disasters of the War.—James II.—The Charters in danger.—Andros Governor; his illegal Measures; takes away the Charter of Rhode Island; not so successful at Hartford.—Andros in Jail.—The Charters resumed.

THE first intimation of the restoration of Charles II. was brought to New England by two fugitives, Whalley and Goffe. They came branded as regicides, for they sat on the trial of Charles I. They had fled for their lives; ere long came the royal command to deliver them up to their pursuers, that they might be taken back to England and there punished. But royal commands and rewards were of no avail, the stern republicans were not betrayed; the people gloried in protecting them.

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680.

Rumors were afloat that the governments of all the colonies were to be changed, and that soon armed ships might be expected in the harbor of Boston, sent to enforce the royal authority. After a year's delay, it was thought prudent to proclaim Charles as king. It was done ungraciously, as all manifestations of joy were forbidden.

From time to time intelligence came of the execution of many of their best friends in England; among these were Hugh Peters and Sir Harry Vane: news came also

CHAP. that Episcopacy was again in power, and that more than
XVII. two thousand clergymen had been driven from their con-
1663. gregations because they would not conform. At length,
two agents were sent to conciliate the king, and to make
guarded professions of loyalty, as well as to ask permission
to make laws against the Quakers.

Connecticut and Rhode Island had both received liberal charters from Charles, the former obtained principally through the influence of the younger Winthrop. Meantime the intolerance of Massachusetts had raised up against her a host of enemies, who were continually whispering their complaints into the royal ear. The alarm was presently increased, by information that commissioners had been appointed to inquire into the affairs of the colony. To provide for the future, the charter was, for safe-keeping, secretly given to a committee appointed by the General Court.

When the commissioners came, they outraged the prejudices of the people by having the Episcopal service performed in Boston. The Puritans observed the evening of Saturday as holy time ; after the Jewish custom, they commenced their Sabbath at sunset. As if to annoy them, the commissioners habitually spent their Saturday evenings in carousals. They also took in hand to redress grievances, and invited all those who had complaints to make against the Massachusetts colony, to bring them to their knowledge. Rhode Island came with her complaints, and the Narraganset chiefs with theirs ; but the General Court cut the matter short, by forbidding such proceedings, as contrary to the charter.

The laws passed by the mother country for the express purpose of crippling the trade of the colonies, could not be enforced, and Boston especially attracted attention by her prosperous commerce. Industry and temperance insured the prosperity of the people, and they increased in riches and in numbers ; they also found means to indulge

their taste, and began to embellish their villages. Massachusetts traded not only with the other colonies, but her ships were found in every sea where commerce invited, and not only England traded with her, but France and Spain, Holland and Italy, were competitors for her favors.

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1668.

For forty years there had been no Indian war in New England ; the fate of the Pequods was not forgotten. During this time the number of the Indians had not diminished, while that of the colonists had greatly increased. Their farms had extended in every direction ; they gradually absorbed the best lands of the country, and crowded the Indians down on the little bays and peninsulas, on the southern shore of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. This policy was openly avowed, as thereby they could be more easily watched.

The Wampanoags and Narragansets were especially aggrieved. They could not, without great exertion, obtain the means of living ; the animals which they hunted, had been nearly all driven away, and they were forced to depend upon fish, and of these they could obtain but a scanty supply, and they had not learned the art of cultivating the soil, but in a very rude manner.

Massasoit, the friend who had welcomed the early Pilgrims, left two sons, Wamsutta and Metacom. Years before their father's death these young men went to Plymouth, where they entered into friendly relations with the English, and received from them the names by which we know them, Alexander and Philip. They were no ordinary men, they seemed to have perceived from the first the dangers that threatened their race. If so, they concealed their impressions, and could never be won over to the religion of the English. When Massasoit died, and Wamsutta became chief sachem of the Wampanoags, the colonists, incited by Uncas, chief of the Mohegans, his bitter enemy, became suspicious of him. As he reposed

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at his hunting lodge with eighty of his followers, he was surprised by Winslow, who had been sent with an armed force to bring him to the court at Plymouth. Wamsutta thought not of danger ; his arms and those of his warriors were outside the lodge and easily secured. When Winslow, with his pistol at his breast, told the astonished chief he must go with him, his proud spirit was roused to bitter indignation. His exasperation threw him into a fever so violent, that he was unable to proceed far. In consequence of his illness he was permitted to return home. "He died on his way. He was carried home on the shoulders of men, and borne to his silent grave near Mount Hope, in the evening of the day, and in the prime of his life, between lines of sad, quick-minded Indians, who well believed him the victim of injustice and ingratitude ; for his father had been the ally, not the subject of England, and so was he, and the like indignity had not before been put upon any sachem."^{*}

It is natural to suppose that the untimely and tragical fate of Wamsutta gave character to the latent hostility that existed in the mind of his brother Philip toward the English race. Soon suspicions fell upon him, and at one time he was harshly treated, and compelled to give up his fire-arms. A praying Indian, who lived with Philip, told the colonists that the Wampanoags entertained some designs against them. There is some doubt as to the truth of this story ; however, a short time after this Indian was found murdered. Suspicion fell upon three of Philip's men, who were apprehended by the authorities of Plymouth, and brought to trial ; they were pronounced guilty by a jury composed of English and Indians. The execution of these men aroused the slumbering enmity of the tribe. The young warriors were clamorous for war, while the old men dreaded the contest. Philip, from his suppo-

* Elliott's Hist. of New England.

rior sagacity, foresaw that an attempt to regain their lands would end in their own destruction. CHAP
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The colonists could now have warded off the strife by conciliating the Indians. No effort was made to soothe their wounded feelings, they were treated as "bloody heathen," whom it was their duty, as "the chosen of the Lord," to drive out of the land. Avarice, contrary to express law, had been for many years furnishing the savages with fire-arms, and when the contest came, they were far more formidable than the Pequods had been; to conquer them required a great sacrifice of the best blood of the colony. 1675

Though there were settlements more or less extending from Boston to Westfield on the west, and to Northfield in the Connecticut valley on the borders of Vermont, and on the north to Haverhill on the Merrimac, there were vast solitudes, whose secret glens and hiding-places were known only to the Indians. The spirit of the tribes near the settlements was broken by their contact with the superior whites, but Philip had under his control seven hundred brave warriors, who rejoiced in their freedom, and scorned to be the subjects of any white chief beyond the great waters. They not only rejected the religion of the white man, but despised those tribes who had adopted it.

In prospect of the threatened war, a day of fasting and prayer was observed; as the people were returning from church at Swanzev, they were suddenly attacked by a company of Philip's men, and seven or eight persons killed. Philip shed tears when he heard that blood had been shed; the dreaded ruin of his people was drawing near. His tribe, single-handed, entered upon the contest; the others were either the allies of the English or indifferent. He scorned to desert his people, or forfeit his character as a warrior, and he threw himself into the contest with the whole energy of his nature. June
24.

The war began within the bounds of the Plymouth

CHAP. colony ; but volunteers hastened to its aid from Massa-
XVII. chusetts. The army invaded the territory of the Wam-
1675. panoags, and in a few weeks Philip, driven from Mount
Hope, became a fugitive among the Nipmucks, a tribe
in the interior of Massachusetts. After the flight of
Philip and his warriors, the little army went into the
territory of the Narragansets, and compelled them to
promise neutrality, and also to deliver up the fugitive
Indians who should flee to them. They fondly hoped the
war was at an end ; but this was only its beginning.

July The Nipmucks were induced to make common cause
24. with Philip and his tribe. His warriors, partially armed
with muskets, prowled round the settlements, ruthlessly
murdered the whites, and treated their remains with sav-
age barbarity. The Indians were familiar with the hidden
paths of the wilderness ; not daring to meet the colonists
in open conflict, they watched for opportunities of secret
attack. It was not known when or where the storm
would burst, and the terror-stricken inhabitants along the
frontiers fled to the more thickly settled portions.

Superstition added her terrors. The people saw an
Indian bow drawn across the heavens ; a scalp appeared
on the face of the eclipsed moon ; troops of phantom
horsemen galloped through the air ; the howlings of the
wolves were more than usually fearful, and portended some
terrible ruin ; whizzing bullets were heard in the whist-
ling wind ; the northern lights glowed with an unusual
glare—the harbinger of the punishment of sin. They be-
gan to enumerate their sins ; among these were the
neglect of the training of children, the using of profane
language, the existence of tippling houses, the want of
respect for parents, the wearing of long and curled hair
by the men, the flaunting of gaudy-colored ribbons by
the women ; and intolerance whispered that they had
been too lenient to the Quakers.

The Nipmucks had fifteen hundred warriors ; with

some of these Philip hastened to the valley of the Connecticut, and spread desolation from Springfield, through all the settlements to the farthest town of Northfield.

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XVII.

1675.

An effort was made to win back the Nipmucks to their old allegiance ; and Captain Hutchinson, son of Anne Hutchinson, was sent with twenty men to treat with them, but the whole company was waylaid and murdered at Brookfield. That place was burned ; the people fled to the strongest house, which was besieged two days, and finally set on fire ; but providentially a storm of rain extinguished the flames, and others coming to their assistance, the Indians were driven off.

Aug.
2.

The enemy concerted to make their attacks on the same day and hour, in different parts of the country. On the Sabbath, which seems to have been chosen by them as the day most favorable for an attack, they burned Deerfield ; and, as the people were worshipping in church, they attacked Hadley. Suddenly there appeared a tall and venerable looking man, with a white flowing beard, who brandished a sword and encouraged and directed the people in the battle. When the savages were driven off, he disappeared ; some thought him an angel, specially sent by heaven to their aid. It was Goffe, one of the regicides of whom we have spoken. These regicides had been hunted by zealous royalists from one place of refuge to another ; now they were sheltered by the good minister, John Davenport, of New Haven ; now by friends at Milford ; now they had wandered in the pathless wilderness, and once they had heard the sound of their enemies' horses, as in hot pursuit of them, they crossed the very bridge under which they were secreted ; they had rested in a cave on the top of " West Rock," New Haven, known to this day as the " Judges' Cave," and at this time they were living secretly in the house of minister Russell, at Hadley. Thus they passed their remaining years banished from society and from the occupations of life.

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XVII.

1675. A company of chosen young men, "the flower of the county of Essex," eighty in number, were engaged in bringing the fruits of harvest down from the vicinity of Deerfield to Hadley, where it was proposed to establish a magazine for provisions. They fell into an ambuscade of seven hundred warriors, and, after a desperate encounter, nearly all perished, at the crossing of a little stream, since called the "Bloody Brook."

Sept.
18.

Ere long the flourishing settlement of Hatfield was attacked ; and the Indians in the vicinity of Springfield were induced to take up arms ; but the people were prepared, and repulsed them. Philip returned home, but finding Mount Hope in ruins, he went among the Narragansets. The colonists feared that he would induce them to join him, and in self-defence they resolved to treat them as enemies. The winter, by stripping the trees and bushes of their leaves, had deprived the Indians of their hiding places, and the swamps, their favorite sites for forts, could be passed over when frozen. A company of one thousand men set out to attack their principal fort. This place of defence contained about six hundred wigwams and nearly three thousand of the tribe ; warriors with their wives and children, and an abundance of provisions for the winter. They thought themselves secure ; they had taken no part in the war.

Oct.

Dec.
19.

Guided by an Indian traitor, the army marched fifteen miles through a deep snow, and finally arrived at the Narraganset fort, situated near where the village of Kingston in Rhode Island now stands. Their fort, surrounded by a palisade, stood in the midst of a swamp, and was almost inaccessible ; it had but one entrance, the narrow passage to which was along the body of a fallen tree. After a severe contest of two hours, the English forced themselves within the fort, and applied the torch to the frail and combustible wigwams. A thousand warriors were slain, and hundreds were made prisoners. Their provisions

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were all destroyed, and those who escaped were left shelterless in the winter storms. They were forced to dig in the snow for nuts and acorns to sustain life, and great numbers died of exposure and famine before spring. The colonists suffered severely ; they lost six captains, and two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded. 1675.

The surviving Narraganset warriors took vengeance ; they went from place to place ; they massacred, they burned, they destroyed. The settlements in their vicinity were abandoned. Though Rhode Island had not joined in the war, they made no distinction, and Providence was almost destroyed. The now aged Roger Williams felt it his duty to act as captain, in defending the town he had founded. Bands of warriors swept through and through the territory of Plymouth, and the people were only safe when within their forts. Towns in different parts of the country were attacked at the same time ; the enemy seemed to be every where.

The majority of the Indians continued to fight ; and 1676.
though they fought without hope, they preferred death to submission. Others quarrelled among themselves, charging one another with being the cause of the war. At length the Nipmucks submitted ; and the tribes on the Connecticut, having grown weary of the contest, would shelter Philip no longer. He now appealed, but in vain, to the Mohawks to take up arms. In desperation, he determined to return and die at Mount Hope. When one of his followers proposed to make peace, the indignant chieftain struck him dead at a blow. It was soon noised abroad that Philip had returned to his old home. Benjamin Church, the most energetic of the English captains, surprised his camp, dispersed his followers, and took prisoner his wife and little son. Philip's spirit was now crushed ; he exclaimed : " My heart breaks ; I am ready to die ! " A few days after he was shot by a traitor of his own tribe. His orphan boy was now to be disposed of Aug.

CHAP. XVII. He was taken to Boston ; some were in favor of putting
him to death, others of selling him into slavery. The
1676. latter prevailed, and the last prince of the Wampanoags,
the grandson of generous old Massasoit, who had welcomed
the Pilgrims, and had given them his friendship, was sent
to toil as a slave under the burning sun of Bermuda.

After the close of the war, renewed efforts were made
to convert the remaining Indians, but without success.
The habits of a people are not easily changed. If those
who came in contact with them had set them a Christian
example, as did Eliot, and the "learned and gentle"
Mayhew, the effect might have been different. The war
had completely broken the power of the Indians. The
more bold emigrated to Canada, and avenged themselves
in after years, by guiding war parties of the French against
the English settlements. Some went to the west, and, it
is said, their descendants are at this day roaming over its
wide prairies. But the great majority lost their native
independence, and became still more degraded by marry-
ing with the negroes. At this day, a few descendants of
the warriors who once roved over the hills and valleys of
New England, may be seen lingering in the land of their
fathers.

For a time the effect of the war was disastrous ;
though it lasted but little more than a year, a dozen vil-
lages were in ashes, and others nearly destroyed. Of the
private dwellings, a tenth part had been burned, six hun-
dred of the men of the colony had perished in battle, not
to mention the women and children ruthlessly massacred.
Almost every family was in mourning. The expenses of
the war were great, and for years weighed heavily upon
the people, while the desolation of the settlements par-
alyzed their energies.

No aid came to the sufferers from England ; but be it
remembered, that a Non-conformist church in Dublin
sent them five hundred pounds. Instead of aiding them,

the spendthrift Charles devised means to extort money from them by taxing their trade. This led to the establishment of a royal custom-house in Boston. To compel the merchants to pay tribute, he threatened to deprive them of English passes for their ships in the Mediterranean, where, without redress, they might be robbed by pirates along the Barbary coast ; and he also threatened to deprive them of their trade with the southern colonies. These threats had little effect upon men who had learned to take care of themselves.

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1676.

James II., the brother and successor of Charles, was bigoted and stubborn ; a Catholic in disguise, he wished to establish that form of religion, not only in England, but in the colonies. The more easily to accomplish this object he professed to be very tolerant, and proclaimed what he termed an Indulgence, by which persecution for religious opinions was henceforth to end. This tolerance was only a means to evade the laws, which prohibited the introduction of Romish ceremonies and doctrines into the Church of England. He became a bitter persecutor ; in truth, to comprehend the idea of the rights of conscience or of religious freedom, was far beyond the capacity of James. That time-serving politician, Joseph Dudley, a native of Massachusetts, who, when it was profitable, was a zealous advocate of colonial rights, now became an earnest defender of the prerogative of the king. He was appointed the royal president of Massachusetts, until a governor should arrive. There could be no free press under a Stuart, and Edward Randolph was appointed its censor. Randolph disliked the people of Massachusetts as cordially as they hated him. The commission of Dudley contained no recognition of an Assembly or Representatives of the people. James was at a loss to see the use of a legislature to make laws, when his wisdom could be appealed to for that purpose. Dudley, looked upon as the betrayer of his country's liberties, was very unpopu-

1685.

1686.

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 1686. lar, while Randolph took pains to have his character as little respected at court, by representing him as having "his fortune to make," and willing to "cringe and bow to any thing."

James had resolved to take away the charters of all the colonies and make them royal provinces. Ere long came Sir Edmund Andros, as governor of all New England. A fit instrument of a despot, he was authorized to impose taxes, to appoint his own council, to have the control of the militia, to prohibit printing, to introduce Episcopacy, and to enforce the laws restricting the trade of the colonies. That he might have the means to fulfil his instructions, he brought two companies of soldiers—the first ever stationed in New England. As a reward for his desertion of the people's rights, Dudley was appointed Chief Justice, and the busy Randolph Colonial Secretary, and William Stoughton, through the influence of Dudley, was named one of the council. Now followed a series of measures exceedingly annoying to the people. Their schools were left to languish. To assemble for deliberation on any public matter was forbidden; but it was graciously permitted them to vote for their town officers. The customs of the country were not respected. The usual form of administering an oath was that of an appeal to heaven by the uplifted hand; the form now prescribed was that of laying the hand on the Bible, which the Puritans thought idolatrous,—a relic of popery. Exorbitant fees were extorted; those who held lands were told their titles were not valid, because they were obtained under a charter which was now declared to be forfeited; and when an Indian deed was presented, it was decided to be "worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw." No person could leave the colony without a pass from the governor. No magistrate nor minister—who was deemed merely a layman—could unite persons in marriage. The Episcopal clergyman at Boston was the only person in all New Eng-

and authorized to perform that ceremony. Episcopacy was now fully introduced, and the people required to furnish funds to build a church for its service. A tax of the same amount was levied upon each person, poor or rich ; this some of the towns refused to pay. John Wise, the minister of Ipswich, was bold to say the tax was unjust, and ought not to be paid. For this he was arrested. When he spoke of his privileges as an Englishman, he was told the only privilege he could claim was not to be sold as a slave ; with others, he was fined heavily. When it was said that such proceedings would affect the prosperity of the country, it was openly avowed that "it was not for his majesty's interest that the country should thrive." "No man could say that any thing was his own."

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1686.

Andros now demanded of Rhode Island her charter, but as she did not send it, he went to Providence, and breaking the seal of the colony declared its government dissolved. He then went with an armed guard to Hartford, and demanded the charter of the colony of Connecticut. The Assembly was in session. The members received him with outward respect. The discussion of the subject was protracted till evening, and when candles were lighted, the charter was brought in and laid on the table. As the eager Andros reached forth his hand to seize the precious document, the lights were suddenly put out ; when they were relighted, the charter was gone. Captain William Wadsworth had slipped it away and hid it in a hollow tree. Andros, foiled and in a rage, resolved, charter or no charter, the present government should cease, and taking the book of records of the Assembly, he wrote at the end of the last record the word FINIS. The tree in which the charter was hid stood for more than a century and a half, and was visited as an object of historical interest. It was known as the Charter Oak. A few years since it was blown down in a violent storm. Some time before, a lady of Hartford gathered from it an

1687.

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acorn, which she planted. The good citizens of that place obtained from her the young oak, and with appropriate ceremonies planted it on the spot where stood the parent tree.

1687. Happily the tyranny of Andros was soon to end. James, in his zeal to promote the introduction of the Catholic religion, had aroused against him the entire English people. They invited William, Prince of Orange, the husband of Mary, the eldest daughter of James, to take possession of the throne. After finding that his despotic measures and insincerity had lost him his kingdom, James fled, and the Prince of Orange, under the title of WILLIAM III., ascended his vacant throne.

1688.
Nov.
5.

When the news of that great revolution, which established the constitutional rights of the English people, reached Boston, it excited the greatest joy; now they could rid themselves of the tyrant. Andros imprisoned the messenger for spreading false news. The trained bands soon assembled in arms. The craven and guilty governor, bewildered with fear, fled, with his servile council, to a fort in the town. The aged Simon Bradstreet, now more than fourscore, who was one of the original emigrants, and had been a magistrate, was urged to assume the office of governor.

A declaration, said to have been written by Cotton Mather, was published, maintaining the rights of the people, in which they commit the enterprise to "Him who hears the cry of the oppressed." Andros, in the mean time, made an effort to escape; but he and Dudley, with the troublesome Randolph, were speedily lodged in jail. Many were clamorous for their punishment, but generous forbearance prevailed, and they were sent to England for trial.

Connecticut, paying little respect to the "Finis" of Andros, now brought forth her charter from its hidden place, and resumed her former government. Plymouth

resumed the constitution framed on board the *May-Flower*, and Rhode Island her charter. The people of Massachusetts voted almost unanimously to resume theirs, but a moderate party, consisting of the former magistrates, and some of the principal inhabitants, chose rather to defer it for the present ; as they hoped to obtain one from William, more in accordance with their own views.

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1688.

The patriarchs who laid the foundation of the New England colonies had nearly all passed away ; their places were filled by those who had not experienced the trials of their fathers, but had learned of them by tradition. The Puritans lived in serious times—times that made rugged Christians as well as rugged soldiers. They may have lacked the gentler graces that adorn those living almost two centuries later, and enjoying greater privileges, when the combined influence of Christianity, science, and refinement have produced a more perfect effect. They conscientiously filled their sphere of duty in the age in which they lived, and we honor their memories.

The influence of their ministers was the influence of mind upon mind, enhanced by that implicit trust reposed in moral worth. They were peculiarly the educated class ; the people looked up to them as their spiritual instructors. They were the friends of education, and wished to elevate the children of their flocks by cultivating their minds, and training them for usefulness in the world ;—what higher position for his children could the Puritan desire ? In process of time, New England became more inviting to men of education belonging to the professions of law and medicine. In some respects, the great influence of the ministers gradually diminished, not because of dereliction of duty on their part, but because, in temporal affairs, especially, the management passed, by degrees, into the hands of other men of influence.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COMMOTION IN NEW YORK.—WITCHCRAFT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Leisler acting Governor of New York.—The Old Council refuses to yield.—Captain Ingoldsby.—Slughter Governor.—Bitterness of Parties.—Trial and Execution of **Leisler** and **Milbourne**.—Death of **Slughter**.—**Fletcher** Governor ; he goes to Connecticut.—Yale College.—The Triumph of a Free Press.—Witchcraft ; belief in.—Cotton Mather.—The Goodwin Children.—Various Persons accused at Salem.—Special Court.—**Parris** as Accuser, and **Stoughton** as Judge.—Minister **Burroughs**.—**Calef's** Pamphlet.—Revulsion in Public Sentiment.—Mather's stand in favor of Inoculation.

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1690.

DIFFICULTIES with royal governors were by no means confined to New England. The people of New York were also in commotion, though not so much united, as the Dutch had not yet cordially associated in feeling with the English.

1689.
June
1.

James had appointed a Catholic receiver of customs ; this annoyed the Protestants, and **Nicholson** the governor was exceedingly unpopular. The military companies went in a body to **Jacob Leisler**, a respectable and generous-hearted merchant, and their senior captain, and urged him to take possession of the fort and to assume the management of affairs. He consented. **Leisler**, a Presbyterian and a Dutchman, was an enthusiastic admirer of the Prince of Orange. The fort and public money were taken, and the companies pledged themselves to hold the fort "for the present Protestant power that rules in England." **Leisler** was to act as commander-in-chief until orders came from King **William**, to whom a letter was sent giv-

ing an account of the seizure of the fort and also of the money, which was to be expended in building another at the lower part of the island, to defend the harbor. CHAP
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1689.

As a large majority of the people were in favor of Leisler and of the proceedings of the militia, Nicholson, the governor, thought best to carry his complaints to England. The members of his council, claiming to be the true rulers of the province, went to Albany, and denounced Leisler as a "rebel." Aug.

He appointed Milbourne, his son-in-law, secretary. Afterward the people at Albany, alarmed on account of an expected attack from Canada, asked aid from New York; Milbourne was promptly sent with a body of men to their assistance. But the members of the old council refused to acknowledge his authority, or to give him the command of the fort. To avoid bloodshed he returned, leaving them to fight the French as they could. In their extremity, the Albanians obtained assistance from Connecticut. Presently came a royal letter, directed to "such as for the time being administer affairs." It contained a commission for Nicholson as governor. As the latter was on his way to England, Leisler injudiciously proclaimed himself governor by virtue of the letter, and still more imprudently ordered the members of the refractory council at Albany to be arrested. Meantime an Assembly was called to provide for the wants of the province. Dec.

The letter sent to the king remained unanswered, but suddenly an English ship came into the harbor, having on board a Captain Ingoldsby, and a company of soldiers sent by Colonel Henry Sloughter, who had been appointed governor. Encouraged by the party opposed to Leisler, Ingoldsby demanded the surrender of the fort. He was asked his authority; as he had none to show, the fort was not given up. Six weeks elapsed before Sloughter made his appearance; meanwhile, a collision took place between the soldiers and some of the people, and blood 1691.
Jan.
80.

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1691.

Mar
19.

was shed. The bitterest party spirit prevailed ; the enemies of Leisler resolved on revenge ; and when he came forward to resign his trust to the regularly appointed governor, he was arrested, and with Milbourne taken to prison. The charge against them was the convenient one of treason ; their enemies knew that they were as loyal as themselves, but it answered their purpose. Immediately a special court was called to try the prisoners. They denied the right of a court thus constituted to try them, and refused to plead, but appealed to the king. They were, however, condemned, and sentenced to death by the degenerate Dudley, who, driven away by the indignant people of Massachusetts, now appeared as Chief Justice of New York.

May
16.

Slougher was unwilling to order their execution, and he determined to leave the matter to the king. But their blood, and it alone, could satisfy the intense hatred of their enemies. To accomplish their end they took advantage of one of the numerous failings of the governor. They gave him a dinner-party ; when overcome by a free indulgence in wine, they induced him to sign the death-warrant of the unfortunate men. About daylight the next morning, lest Slougher should recover from his stupor and recall the warrant, Leisler and Milbourne were hurried from their weeping families to the gallows. It was whispered abroad, and although the rain poured in torrents, the sympathizing people hastened in multitudes to the place of execution. Said Milbourne, when he saw in the crowd one of their enemies, " Robert Livingston, I will implead thee for this at the bar of God." The last words of Leisler were : " Weep not for us, who are departing to our God." Said Milbourne, " I die for the king and queen, and for the Protestant religion ; Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." When the execution was over, the people rushed forward to obtain some memorial of their friends—a lock of hair, or a piece of their

clothing. This judicial murder increased the bitterness of party animosity. The friends of the victims were the advocates of popular rights, in opposition to the royalists. All that could be was done in time to remedy the wrong. Their estates were restored to their families, and Parliament reversed the attainder under the charge of treason. Dudley even opposed this act of justice. Three months after this tragedy, delirium tremens ended the life of the weak and dissolute Sloughter. It was about this time that the "ancient Dutch usages" gave place to the complete introduction of English laws.

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1691.

A year had elapsed, when Benjamin Fletcher came as successor to Sloughter. He was a military officer, arbitrary and avaricious. His sympathies were with the enemies of Leisler. As New York was on the frontiers of Canada, all the colonies were expected to contribute to her defence. To make this more effective, an effort was made to put the militia of New Jersey and Connecticut, as well as that of New York, under the command of Fletcher. Accordingly, he went into Connecticut to enforce his authority. To give the command of their militia to the governor of another colony, was to sacrifice the rights of the people under the charter. The Assembly was in session at Hartford, and the militia engaged in training when Fletcher arrived. He had boasted that he "would not set foot out of the colony until he was obeyed." When the militia were drawn up, he ordered his secretary to read in their hearing his commission. When he commenced to read, the drummers began to beat. "Silence," commanded Fletcher. For a moment there was silence, and the reading was renewed. "Drum ! drum !" ordered Wadsworth, the same who, some years before, hid the charter. Fletcher once more ordered silence. The sturdy captain, stepping up to him, significantly remarked, "If I am interrupted again I will make daylight shine through you." Fletcher thought it best to overlook the insult,

1692

1693

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and return to New York, without accomplishing his threat.

1693.

More than half a century before, the Rev. John Davenport proposed to found a college in the colony of Connecticut, but as Harvard would be affected by the establishment of a similar institution, the project was postponed. Now, the ministers of the colony met at Branford, where each one laid upon the table his gift of books, accompanied by the declaration, "I give these books for the founding a college in this colony." Forty volumes were thus contributed. How little did these good men, as they made their humble offerings, anticipate the importance and influence of the college of which they

1701.

thus laid the foundation.

The following year the General Court granted a charter. The professed object of the college was to promote theological studies in particular, but afterward so modified as to admit of "instructing youth in the arts and sciences, who may be fitted for public employments, both in church and civil state." For sixteen years, its sessions were held at different places; then it was permanently located at New Haven. A native of the town, Elihu Yale, who had acquired wealth in the East Indies, became its benefactor, and in return he has been immortalized in its name.

For forty years succeeding the rule of Fletcher the annals of New York are comparatively barren of incident; during that time the province enjoyed the doubtful privilege of having ten governors, nearly all of whom took special care of their own interests and those of their friends. The last of this number was the "violent and mercenary" William Cosby, who complained to the Board of Trade that he could not manage the "delegates" to the Assembly;—"the example of Boston people" had so much infected them.

The city of New York, at this time, contained nearly

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nine thousand inhabitants. The *Weekly Journal*, a paper recently established by John Peter Zenger, contained articles condemning the arbitrary acts of the governor and Assembly, in imposing illegal taxes. This was the first time in the colonies the newspapers had dared to criticize political measures. This new enemy of arbitrary power must be crushed. Governor Cosby, with the approbation of the council, ordered the paper to be burned by the sheriff, imprisoned the editor, and prosecuted him for libel. Zenger employed as counsel two lawyers, and they denied the authority of the court, because of the illegal appointment of the Chief Justice, Delancy, by Cosby, without the consent of the Council. For presenting this objection their names were promptly struck from the roll of practitioners. This high-handed measure intimidated the other lawyers, and deterred them from acting as counsel for the fearless editor.

1733.

On the day of trial a venerable man, a stranger to nearly all present, took his seat at the bar. The trial commenced, and much to the surprise of the court, the stranger announced himself as counsel for the defendant. It was Andrew Hamilton, the famous Quaker lawyer of Philadelphia, and speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Hamilton proposed to prove the truth of the alleged libel, but Delancy, the judge, in accordance with English precedents, refused to admit the plea. Then Hamilton with great force appealed to the personal knowledge of the jury;—the statements in the paper were notoriously true. He showed that the cause was not limited to this editor alone; a principle was involved, that affected the liberty of speech and a free press throughout the colonies.

In spite of the charge of the judge to the contrary, the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal, which was received with rapturous shouts by the people. Thus, for the first time, had the press assumed to discuss, and even

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1733.

condemn political measures, and its liberty to do so was amply vindicated. This was thirty-seven years before the same principle was established in England by the decision in the trial for libel brought against the publisher of the famous letters of Junius.

1684.

We have now to relate the story of that sad delusion so identified with the early history of the quiet and respectable town of Salem, in Massachusetts. The belief in witchcraft appears to have been almost universal in the age of which we write. As Christians were in covenant with God, so, it was believed, witches were in covenant with the devil ; that he gave them power to torment those whom they hated, by pinching them, pricking them with invisible pins, pulling their hair, causing their cattle and chickens to die, upsetting their carts, and by many other annoyances, equally undignified and disagreeable. As Christians had a sacrament or communion, witches had a communion, also, at which the devil himself officiated in the form of a "small black man." He had a book in which his disciples signed their names, after which they renounced their Christian baptism, and were rebaptized, or "dipped" by himself. To their places of meeting the witches usually rode through the air on broomsticks.

This delusion, absurd as it seems to us, was in that age believed by learned and good men, such as Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of England ; Richard Baxter, author of the "Saints' Rest ;" and Dr. Isaac Watts, whose devotional "Psalms and Hymns" are so familiar to the religious world. For this supposed crime many had, at different times, been executed in Sweden, England, France, and other countries of Europe. Before the excitement at Salem, a few cases in the colony of Massachusetts had been punished with death.

As the Bible made mention of witches and sorcerers,—to disbelieve in their existence was counted infidelity. To disprove such infidelity, Increase Mather, a celebrated

clergyman of New England, published an account of the cases that had occurred there, and also a description of the manner in which the bewitched persons were afflicted. After this publication, the first case that excited general interest was that of a girl named Goodwin. She had accused the daughter of an Irish washerwoman of stealing some article of clothing. The enraged mother disproved the charge, and in addition reproved the false accuser severely. Soon after, this girl became strangely affected ; her younger brother and sister imitated her "contortions and twistings." These children were sometimes dumb, then deaf, then blind ; at one time they would bark like dogs, at another mew like cats. A physician was called in, who gravely decided that they were bewitched, as they had many of the symptoms described in Mather's book. The ministers became deeply interested in the subject, and five of them held a day of fasting and prayer at the house of the Goodwins, when lo ! the youngest child, a boy of five years of age, was delivered ! As the children asserted that they were bewitched by the Irish washerwoman, she was arrested. The poor creature was frightened out of her senses, if she had any, for many thought she was "crazed in her intellectuals." She was, however, tried, convicted and hanged.

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1684.

1688.

There was at this time at Boston a young clergyman, an indefatigable student, remarkable for his memory and for the immense amount of verbal knowledge he possessed ; he was withal somewhat vain and credulous, and exceedingly fond of the marvellous ; no theory seems to have been more deeply rooted in his mind than a belief in witchcraft. Such was Cotton Mather, son of Increase Mather. He became deeply interested in the case of the Goodwin children, and began to study the subject with renewed zeal ; to do so the more perfectly, he took the girl to his home. She was cunning, and soon discovered the weak points of his character. She told him he was under a

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special protection ; that devils, though they tried hard, could not enter his study ; that they could not strike him ; the blows were warded off by an invisible, friendly hand. When he prayed, or read the Bible, she would be thrown into convulsions ; while at the same time, she read with zest Popish or Quaker books, or the Book of Common Prayer. Mather uttered prayers in a variety of languages to ascertain if these wicked spirits were learned. He discovered that they were skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but deficient in some Indian tongues. He sincerely believed all this, and wrote a book, "a story all made up of wonders," to prove the truth of witchcraft ; and gave out that, hereafter, if any one should deny its existence, he should consider it a personal insult. Mather's book was republished in London, with an approving preface written by Richard Baxter. This book had its influence upon the minds of the people, and prepared the way for the sad scenes which followed.

About four years after the cases just mentioned, two young girls, one the niece and the other the daughter of Samuel Parris, the minister at Salem village, now Danvers, began to exhibit the usual signs of being bewitched. They seem to have done this at first merely for mischief, as they accused no one until compelled.

1692.

Between Parris and some of the members of his congregation there existed much ill-feeling. Now was the time to be revenged ! And this "beginner and procurer of the sore affliction to Salem village and country," insisted that his niece should tell who it was that bewitched her, for in spite of all the efforts to "deliver" them, the children continued to practise their pranks. The niece at length accused Rebecca Nurse, a woman of exemplary and Christian life ; but one with whom Parris was at variance. At his instigation she was hurried off to jail. The next Sabbath he announced as his text these words : "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil ?" Imme-

diately Sarah Cloyce, a sister of the accused, arose and left the church,—in those days, no small offence. She too was accused and sent to prison. The excitement spread, and in a few weeks nearly a hundred were accused and remanded for trial.

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1692

After the people had driven off Andros, Bradstreet had still continued to act as governor. A new charter was given, under which the governor was to be appointed by the crown. Sir William Phipps, a native of New England, “an illiterate man, of violent temper, with more of energy than ability,” was the first governor, and William Stoughton the deputy-governor. These both obtained their offices through the influence of Increase Mather, who was then in England, acting as agent for the colony. Stoughton had been the friend of Andros, and a member of his council, and, like Dudley, was looked upon by the people as their enemy. Of a proud and unforgiving temper, devoid of humane feelings, he was self-willed and selfish. The people in a recent election had slighted him; they scarcely gave him a vote for the office of judge; this deeply wounded his pride. In his opinions, as to spirits and witches, he was an implicit follower of Cotton Mather, of whose church he was a member.

1691.

The new governor, bringing with him the new charter, arrived at Boston on the fourteenth of May. The General Court alone had authority to appoint Special Courts; but the governor’s first official act was to appoint one to try the witches confined in prison at Salem. The triumph of Mather was complete; he rejoiced that the warfare with the spirits of darkness was now to be carried on vigorously, and he “prayed for a good issue.”

1692.
May
14.

The illegal court met, and Parris acted as prosecutor, producing some witnesses and keeping back others. The prisoners were made to stand with their arms extended, lest they should torment their victims. The glance of the witch’s eye was terrible to the “afflicted;” for its evil

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influence there was but one remedy ; the touch of the accused could alone remove the charm. Abigail Williams, the niece of Parris, was told to touch one of the prisoners ; she made the attempt, but desisted, screaming out, " My fingers, they burn, they burn ! " She was an adept in testifying ; she had been asked to sign the devil's book by the spectre of one of the accused women, and she had also been permitted to see a witch's sacrament. All this was accepted by the court as true and proper evidence. If a witness contradicted himself, it was explained by assuming that the evil spirit had imposed upon his brain. A farmer had a servant, who suddenly became bewitched ; his master whipped him, and thus exorcised the devil, and had the rashness to say that he could cure any of " the afflicted " by the same process. For this he soon found himself and wife in prison. Remarks made by the prisoners were often construed to their disadvantage. George Burroughs, once a minister at Salem, and of whom it is said Parris was envious, had expressed his disbelief in witchcraft, and pronounced the whole affair a delusion. For this he was arrested as a wizard. On his trial the witnesses pretended to be dumb. " Why," asked the stern Stoughton of the prisoner, " are these witnesses dumb ? " Burroughs believed they were perjuring themselves, and promptly answered, " The devil is in them, I suppose. " " Ah ! ah ! " said the exulting judge ; " how is it that he is so loath to have any testimony borne against you ? " This decided the case ; Burroughs was condemned. From the scaffold he made an address to the people, and put his enemies to shame. He did what it was believed no witch could do ; he repeated the Lord's Prayer distinctly and perfectly. The crowd was strongly impressed in his favor ; many believed him innocent, and many were moved even to tears, and some seemed disposed to rescue him ; but Cotton Mather appeared on horseback, and harangued the crowd, maintaining that Burroughs

was not a true minister, that he had not been ordained, that the fair show he made was no proof of his innocence, for Satan himself sometimes appeared as an angel of light. CHAP.
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Many of the accused confessed they were witches, and by that means purchased their lives : and some, to make their own safety doubly sure, accused others : thus the delusion continued. Then, again, others who had confessed, repented that they had acknowledged themselves to be what they were not, denied their confession, and died with the rest. The accusations were at first made against those in the humbler walks of life ; now others were accused. Hale, the minister at Beverly, was a believer in witchcraft, till his own wife was accused ; then he was convinced it was all a delusion.

Some months elapsed before the General Court held its regular session ; in the mean time twenty persons had fallen victims, and fifty more were in prison with the same fate hanging over them. Now a great revulsion took place in public opinion. This was brought about by a citizen of Boston, Robert Calef, who wrote a pamphlet, first circulated in manuscript. He exposed the manner in which the trials had been conducted, as well as proved the absurdity of witchcraft itself. Cotton Mather, in his reply, sneered at Calef as "a weaver who pretended to be a merchant." Calef, not intimidated by this abuse, continued to write with great effect, and presently the book was published in London. Increase Mathei, the President of Harvard College, to avenge his son, had the "weaver's" book publicly burned in the college yard.

In the first case brought before the court, the jury promptly brought in a verdict of not guilty. When news came to Salem of the reprieve of those under sentence, the fanatical Stoughton, in a rage, left the bench, exclaiming, "Who it is that obstructs the course of justice I know not ; the Lord have mercy on the country."

Not long after, the indignant inhabitants of Salem

Jan.,
1693.

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drove Parris from their village. Many of those who had participated in the delusion, and given their influence in favor of extreme measures, deeply repented and publicly asked forgiveness of their fellow-citizens. But Cotton Mather expressed no regret for the part he had taken, or the influence he exerted in increasing the delusion ; his vanity never would admit that he could possibly have been in error. Instead of being humbled on account of the sorrows he had brought upon innocent persons, he labored to convince the world that, after all, he had not been so very active in promoting the delusion. Stoughton passed the remainder of his days the same cold, proud, and heartless man ; nor did he ever manifest the least sorrow, that on such trifling and contradictory evidence, he had sentenced to death some of the best of men and women.

It is a pleasure to record that, thirty years after this melancholy delusion, Cotton Mather with fearless energy advocated the use of inoculation for the prevention of small-pox. He had learned that it was successful in Turkey, in arresting or modifying that terrible disease, and he persuaded Dr. Boylston to make the experiment. Mather stood firm, amid the clamors of the ignorant mob, who even threw a lighted grenade filled with combustibles into his house, and paraded the streets of Boston, with halters in their hands, threatening to hang the inoculators. The majority of the physicians opposed inoculation on theological grounds, contending, "it was presumptuous for men to inflict disease on man, that being the prerogative of the Most High." "It was denounced as an infusion of malignity into the blood ; a species of poisoning ; an attempt to thwart God, who had sent the small-pox as a punishment for sins, and whose vengeance would thus be only provoked the more." Nearly all the ministers were in favor of the system, and they replied with arguments drawn from medical science. An embittered war of pam-

phlets ensued. The town authorities took decided ground against the innovation, while the General Court passed a bill prohibiting the practice, but the Council wisely refused to give it their sanction. At length science and common sense prevailed, and the inoculists completely triumphed.

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1721.

Much has been said and written, more or less justly, in condemnation of these strange proceedings; however, from this time forth the belief in witchcraft began to wane in New England, and the civil authorities noticed it no more. In justice to the misguided actors in this sad tragedy it ought to be remembered that for half a century afterward, the law of the mother country, as it always had done, still made witchcraft a capital crime; and within thirty years after these terrible scenes in Salem, persons accused of witchcraft were condemned and put to death, both in England and in Scotland; in the former a mother and her daughter—*nine years old*—perished together on the same scaffold; in the latter, six years afterward, an old woman was burned as a witch; and even Blackstone, when writing on the laws of England in the latter half of the eighteenth century, deems witchcraft a crime.

1716

No one of these persons at Salem suffered by that barbarous form of execution—burning; nor were they put to the rack and torture. What a tribute it is to the integrity of these twenty victims that they refused to stain their souls with the crime of falsehood, “and went to the gallows rather than soil their consciences by the lie of confession.”¹ For if they confessed themselves to be witches, “and promised blameless lives for the future, they were uniformly pardoned.”

The seven magistrates composing this illegal court held at Salem were evidently sincere in the performance of

¹ Palfrey's History of New England. Vol. IV., p. 133.

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1716.

their official duties, yet the sternness of Stoughton, the chief judge, seems to savor of fanaticism, as shown in his permitting the trials to be hurried through without proper deliberation; had they been postponed to the regular meeting of the General Court, some months distant, the issue, no doubt, would have been far different. The magistrates in Plymouth Colony were more enlightened, for when, many years previous to this time, two prosecutions for witchcraft having been brought before them, the accused were declared not guilty.

1660.

From
1641
to
1646

Notwithstanding this mistaken zeal in punishing imaginary crime, it is but justice to notice that the penal laws enacted by the Puritans of New England were in their humane characteristics far in advance of those of the same period in Europe, especially in England, with which the comparison may be more properly made. Even down to 1819 there were in England two hundred and twenty-three offenses punishable with death, while in the very first formation of the government in the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, the crimes punished capitally were limited to *seventeen*, and some of these with express reservations, "leaving the exaction of the supreme penalty to the discretion of the court." "Larceny above the value of twelve pence was a capital crime in England;" also, "to kill a deer in the king's forest, or to export sheep from the kingdom." It is but just to compare the laws enacted in these colonies with the contemporary ones in the Motherland, and not with those of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The marvel is that, coming from a country where such barbarous laws were in force, the colonists had the moral power to rise above the prejudices and brutalities of the age, and frame penal laws so much more humane. It may serve as an explanation that the Puritans of New England fell back upon the code of Moses as a model, deeming that to be an embodiment of the law of God for His people;

sometimes forgetting, however, that these laws did not fully apply in the seventeenth century of the Christian era. CHAP. XVIII.

In the recognition of human rights these colonial law-givers were far in advance of the contemporary legislators of Europe. With the former it was a cardinal principle to give every citizen a chance to improve his temporal affairs by industry and economy, and to educate his children. Their settlements, in accordance with the law, were originally arranged so that each member of the community had an interest in its affairs by his becoming a landholder, and a participant in the councils of the Town Meetings, and indirectly in those of the colony at large, through representatives elected by the aid of his vote. The farms were so laid out that their length greatly exceeded their breadth, and each farmer could thus have his house near a neighbor; usually their dwellings were built on a single street, the farms running back, while the church and school-house were so located as to be accessible to all. This plan of laying out settlements, though at first enjoined by the civil authorities, was afterward, because of its utility, adopted in numerous instances by the people themselves. This system accounts for the greater number of villages in the colonies of New England in proportion to their extent of territory than are in the Middle, and still more in the Southern, colonies.

Another division, the *township* or *town* as it was usually termed, was a district marked off of convenient size, to enable the male inhabitants to attend the town meetings, which were held at a point known as the "Centre," in which meetings measures pertaining to the well-being of the people were discussed and voted upon—such as related to schools, the highways, the district taxes, etc. Under these conditions all the residents became interested in the local affairs of the community. The transition was natural and easy for citizens thus trained

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to manifest a similar interest in the general prosperity of the colony, and its relations with the Home Government. In consequence of this political schooling, we find that on the great questions which came up a hundred years later, these "citizens of the common folk" were remarkably well informed, and the sentiments of the most intelligent patriots of that period found in their minds a ready response. For the times, this kind of information was therefore extensively diffused by the intercourse between citizens, as well as by means of printing; for in the earlier days that medium was often used by leading minds to express their views upon current topics of interest. The printing-press was specially utilized in the issue of short publications in the form of pamphlets in discussing questions of local interest; among these theology held a prominent place. These wars of pamphlets were terrible of their kind. The mass of the people were not then far enough advanced in literary attainments to sustain newspapers, as they were known even a century later, but on religious topics and on political subjects they were wide awake. These short publications, so often controversial, served their purpose, and in their way influenced the most enlightened minds, and they in turn those with whom they came in personal contact.

The system of landholding¹ and town meetings cultivated the self-respect of every citizen, and dignified the most humble with the consciousness that he was a member of the community, and in the direction of its affairs the influence he might have he was at liberty to exercise.

This was the outgrowth of the democratic principle which found its expression for the first time on this side of the world in the cabin of the May-Flower.² The system of dividing counties into towns or townships prevailed, also, in the other colonies that afterward became

¹ History, p. 105.

² History, p. 99.

free states, and in them, likewise, the minor local affairs were managed by the citizens in township meetings; but not to the same extent they were in New England, because the people were not so homogeneous, there being a large proportion that were not of Anglo-Saxon descent, neither were they so harmonious nor so far advanced in their political views. In these colonies and states, however, the people elected their own civil officers, while in the southern they were nearly all appointed by the Governors, Legislatures, or County Courts. This latter custom, together with the restrictions on suffrage, greatly diminished the independence of the individual; for, instead of the power being lodged with the people themselves, it was exercised by a self-constituted oligarchy.

CHAP.
XVIII.

During the three-quarters of a century immediately succeeding the Great Revolution in England the principles—religious and political—which the colonists had adopted as their rule of conduct, exerted a free and benign influence; consequently their progress, under the circumstances, was very great. This revolution secured so much for the religious liberties of the English people, that afterward when any emigrated to the colonies, it was not on account of religious disabilities, but to better their material interests. Among those who came during this period were companies of Protestants, such as the Presbyterians¹ from Scotland, the Scotch-Irish from the north of Ireland, Huguenots from France, and Lutherans from Germany. These immigrants exerted a healthy influence on the country, in promoting its material prosperity by their industry and economy, and in coalescing with the colonists in their educational and religious matters. They blended easily with the people, and became thoroughly assimilated in less than two generations.

From
1688
to
1763.

As New England and Virginia were populous and

¹ History, 163, 172, 175, 179, 193.

CHAP.
XVIII.

From
1676
and
1684
to
1860.

important colonies, they became centers of influences that produced certain results during the six generations¹ following the witchcraft excitement in the one, and the attempt under Bacon² to vindicate the rights of the people in the other.

In the Virginia colony the distribution of the territory was radically different from that in New England. In the former were large undivided counties, instead of the districts of convenient size in the latter in order to maintain schools and churches, thus making compact settlements of land-owners independent and self-respecting. Lands in Virginia were frequently given by the crown to court favorites³ in immense grants, and on these were to be located tenants; the effect upon these tenants was not to cherish independence of character, but the reverse. In consequence of this system of royal grants farms of moderate size became the exceptions; the tendency was for the rich to own lands in very large estates, thus widely separating the homes of the inhabitants. The poor or small farmers gradually withdrew from the fertile lands of the main settlements to districts more sterile, and being deprived of the appropriate means to educate their children, they made little improvement from generation to generation. None but landholders were permitted to vote, and, as far as known, none but that class were elected legislators, thus laying the foundation for a landed aristocracy modeled after that of England; to this class was added another element of aggrandizement—the system of slavery. From this time forward there was more importance attached to wealth in landed estates and slaves than in any other form. As “only freeholders could vote for members of the house of burgesses,” so it came to pass, in process of time, that none but slave-owners were elected to office.

¹ History, pp. 858–860. ² History, pp. 139–144. ³ History, pp. 141–148.

In respect to education the spirit of Berkeley seemed to brood over successive Virginia legislatures ; during one hundred and ninety years after his time neither as a colony nor as a state did they establish schools where *all* the children could be educated, while it required more than half a century to prepare the aristocracy for the innovation of a printing-press. The "poor whites" in Virginia never recovered from the blow they received at the failure of their uprising under Bacon ; twenty of their most progressive and patriotic men perished on the scaffold by order of the inhuman Berkeley, and from that time forward they made little progress.¹ This influence extended gradually south from Virginia to the Carolinas and Georgia, where the same system prevailed of large tracts of the best lands being cultivated by slaves, and with the usual result of driving the "poor whites" back to the unfertile districts. In these colonies, and afterward when states, no schools were established to educate *all* the children.

CHAP.
XVIII.

From
1676
to
1866.

Meanwhile the influence of slavery grew stronger and stronger ; manual labor for a white man became a badge of degradation, which attached itself to him and to his children. There is no sadder story in our history than is revealed in the inner life of the "poor whites" of the South during these two centuries. They made but little progress. They cultivated sterile fields merely to eke out a scanty subsistence ; as to manufactures, they were only by hand, and of the crudest kind, to supply their domestic wants ; in the main, the great mass making little advance in education or in mental improvement. This may account for the fact that so limited a number of that class rose above their condition in times of great trial, as in the days of the Revolution, when, comparatively, very few of them displayed talents of a high order. The most promi-

¹ Lodge's History of the Colonies ; Virginia, p. 21, and onward.

CHAP.
XVIII.

From
1676
to
1861.

nent of these was Daniel Morgan.¹ When their youth came to manhood they were cramped by lack of education.

Another effectual cause of hindering the political progress of the mechanic or farmer of limited means, was the manner in which civil affairs were conducted. In the large counties of these colonies and states, the Court-House was located near the center, and to meet at "The Court" became the practice of the aristocracy, there to see their compeers from all parts of the county: this custom passed over from colonial times to be more fully carried out in the States. In these meetings they discussed measures in relation to the interests of the county as well as general politics. The nominal citizen not owning land had no vote, and therefore he took little or no interest in these county gatherings, and the distinction became still more clear, so that he who owned a small farm and no slaves, felt ill at ease in an assembly where mere wealth in land and slaves exerted so much influence. It was the landed aristocracy who held office under colonial governors, and who were their accepted advisers; at the South, from this class alone came the enlightened patriots of the Revolution; none scarcely from the ranks of manual labor or small farmers. The intercourse between the rich land- and slave-owners and their poorer neighbors was characterized by an obsequiousness on the part of the latter totally unknown in the northern colonies; in them the value of knowledge and moral excellence was more clearly estimated, while that of mere wealth was reckoned only secondary in the social position of the individual.

Of the middle colonies during this period the most advanced in literary culture was Pennsylvania. Though she had no public schools in a wide sense, yet under the influence of the Friends her private ones, were the best of their kind. Then came a large immigration of Germans²

¹ History, p. 380; also, Serjeant Jasper, p. 406.

² History, pp. 170-174.

who became famous as farmers, but unfortunately not so famous for the interest they took in education. The contrast between them in this respect and the Friends and Presbyterians¹ was very striking. In New Jersey the schools were private, none were public; but the Presbyterian element¹ moulded the minds of the youth, by instilling the truths of the Bible as they deemed them summarized in their catechism; through their influence Princeton college was founded. The same in respect to private schools may be said of the Dutch of New York. In this colony, however, occurred the first instance in the English-speaking world of a trial in court in which the freedom² of the press was fully established, and has remained so from that day to this.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1710.

When newspapers were first printed in the seventeenth century the arbitrary colonial governments suppressed them without hesitation if they contained anything these gentlemen did not relish. The first newspaper published in the colonies—"The Public Occurrences"—was at Boston; it was simply a printed narrative of events, instead of the usual one in manuscript, giving the current news. The only copy of this paper known to exist is in the Colonial State Paper Office in London.³ It was confiscated no doubt. Fourteen years afterward the first weekly newspaper in the colonies was established also in Boston—"The News-Letter"—by Benjamin Harris. "The News-Letter" lived seventy years.

1690.

1704.

"The American Weekly Mercury" was founded in Philadelphia, and ten years later in the same city Benjamin Franklin published the first number of the "Pennsylvania Gazette;" two years later "The South Carolina Gazette" began its existence in Charleston, and five years afterward "The Virginia Gazette" made its appearance at Williamsburg.

1719.

1729.

1736.

¹ History, pp. 236, 318.

² History, p. 221.

³ Hudson's Journalism, p. 44.

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1756
to
1763.

The influence was reciprocal; as these papers gradually advanced in excellence, the people, meanwhile, were becoming more and more intelligent and better qualified to appreciate their merits. They flourished more vigorously in the New England and in the three northern middle colonies than elsewhere. In the former especially the prevalence of common schools had made the great mass of the people readers; in addition the harsh climate of that section, when compared with the more genial one of the southern, led the people to cultivate indoor industries, and during the long and severe winters, to acquire knowledge and mental improvement by reading. Meantime a marvelous change had been going on during the French war, which assumed a decided character at its close. Now began the discussion, both by addresses of prominent men and in the newspapers, of the political questions involved in the policy of the Home Government, in its endeavor to interfere with the civil rights and industries of the colonies. The whole people were intensely roused to this phase of thought, and to the maintenance of their rights. In this clash of opinions the press became a still greater power, both in force and in numbers. It became the exponent, to a certain extent, of the sentiments of the royalists as well as of the patriots, while the people themselves were stirred to their inmost souls.¹

The questions relating to civil and religious liberty absorbed the thoughts of the colonists so much that we learn only incidentally concerning their material progress, as the chroniclers of the times give us only occasionally a glimpse of the domestic life of the people. We know that the New Englanders, more than the people of the middle or southern colonies, were compelled by the barrenness of their soil and the bleakness of their climate to labor almost incessantly in obtaining

¹ See History, chap. XXIV., pp. 317-324, for characteristics of the colonists.

a supply of the necessities of life. They carefully cultivated wheat, but the sterile soil refused abundant crops; and they also devoted care to raising rye and Indian corn. It was different in the middle and the southern colonies: in them the soil was much more fertile, and the climate more genial; the crops of wheat and Indian corn in the former were abundant, while in the latter tobacco was the most valuable product, because of its ready sale. This led to its extensive culture, almost to the exclusion of the cereals—the latter were supplied by the middle colonies: even in that early day the different sections of the land were dependent upon one another. The rapid sale and high price of tobacco led to the introduction of foreign luxuries, and made the planters dependent on England, especially for their needed manufactured articles. On the contrary, the handicraft of the New Englanders and the people of the middle colonies was constantly improving, because they had no valuable product like tobacco to send to Europe in exchange for merchandise—not even to any extent for textile fabrics; hence they were compelled to manufacture these articles for themselves.

In the one section the working animal most prized was the ox, so patient and useful in cultivating the rocky farms in little valleys and on hillsides, and the cows furnishing so much food for the family, and the sheep for the production of wool. In the middle colonies the ox was used, but not so much as the draft-horse, in cultivating the large wheat fields; while in Virginia the hoe was as necessary, if not more, than the plow in cultivating tobacco. The Virginian cherished the horse as the noblest of animals, and imported from England the finest for the saddle, for hunting, and for racing, meanwhile neglecting his domestic cattle.

CHAPTER XIX.

MISSIONS AND SETTLEMENTS IN NEW FRANCE.

The Emigrants few in number.—The Jesuits; their zeal as Teachers and Explorers.—Missions among the Hurons.—Ahasistari.—The Five Nations, or Iroquois.—Father Jogues.—The Abenakis; Dreuilletes.—The Dangers of the Missions.—French Settlers at Oswego.—James Marquette.—The Mississippi.—La Salle; his Enterprise; his Failure and tragical End.

**CHAP
XIX.**

1684.

WE have already given an account of the discoveries made in New France, and the settlements founded under the direction of Samuel Champlain. We now intend to trace the history of these settlements and missions, from that period till the time when the Lilies of France were supplanted by the Banner of St. George.

The climate offered but few inducements to cultivators of the soil, and emigrants came but slowly; they established trading houses, rather than agricultural settlements. To accumulate wealth their main resource was in the peltries of the wilderness, and these could be obtained only from the Indians, who roamed over the vast regions west and north of the lakes.

A partial knowledge of the country had been obtained from a priest, Father Le Caron, the friend and companion of Champlain. He had, by groping through the woods, and paddling over the waters his birch-bark canoe, penetrated far up the St. Lawrence, explored the south shore of Lake Ontario, and even found his way to Lake Huron.

Three years before the death of Champlain, Louis
 XIII. gave a charter to a company, granting them the
 control of the valley of the St. Lawrence and all its trib-
 utaries. An interest was felt for the poor savages, and it
 was resolved to convert them to the religion of Rome ;—
 not only convert them, but make them the allies of
 France. Worldly policy had as much influence as reli-
 gious zeal. It was plain, the only way to found a French
 empire in the New World, was by making the native
 tribes subjects, and not by transplanting Frenchmen.

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XIX.

1684.

The missions to the Indians were transferred to the
 supervision of the Jesuits. This order of priests was
 founded expressly to counteract the influence of the
 Reformation under Luther. As the Reformers favored
 education and the diffusion of general intelligence, so the
 Jesuit became the advocate of education—provided it was
 under his own control. He resolved to rule the world by
 influencing its rulers ; he would govern by intellectual
 power and the force of opinion, rather than by supersti-
 tious fears. He endeavored to turn the principles of the
 Reformation against itself. His vows enjoined upon him
 perfect obedience to the will of his superior,—to go on
 any mission to which he might be ordered. No clime so
 deadly that he would not brave its danger ; no people so
 savage that he would not attempt their conversion.

1534.

With their usual energy and zeal, the Jesuits began
 to explore the wilds of New France, and to bring its
 wilder inhabitants under the influence of the Catholic
 faith. To the convert was offered the privileges of a
 subject of France. From this sprang a social equality,
 friendly relations were established, and intermarriages took
 place between the traders and the Indian women.

Companies of Hurons, who dwelt on the shores of the
 lake which bears their name, were on a trading expedition
 to Quebec. On their return home the Jesuits Brebeuf
 and Daniel accompanied them. They went up the Ot-

CHAP.
XIX.

1684. tawa till they came to its largest western branch, thence to its head waters, and thence across the wilderness to their villages on Georgian bay and Lake Simcoe. The faith and zeal of these two men sustained them during their toilsome journey of nine hundred miles, and though their feet were lacerated and their garments torn, they rejoiced in their sufferings. Here in a grove they built, with their own hands, a little chapel, in which they celebrated the ceremonies of their church. The Red Man came to hear the morning and evening prayers ; though in a language which he could not understand, they seemed to him to be addressed to the Great Spirit, whom he himself worshipped. Six missions were soon established in the villages around these lakes and bays. Father Brebeuf spent four hours of every morning in private prayer and self-flagellations, the rest of the day in catechizing and teaching. Sometimes he would go out into the village, and as he passed along would ring his little bell and thus invite the grave warriors to a conference, on the mysteries of his religion. Thus he labored for fifteen years.

These teachings had an influence on the susceptible heart of the great Huron chief Ahasistari. He professed himself a convert and was baptized. Often as he escaped uninjured from the perils of battle, he thought some powerful spirit watched over him, and now he believed that the God whom the white man worshipped was that guardian spirit. In the first flush of his zeal he exclaimed : "Let us strive to make all men Christians."

Thousands of the sons and daughters of the forest listened to instruction, and the story of their willingness to hear, when told in France, excited a new interest. The king and queen and nobles vied with each other in manifesting their regard by giving encouragement and aid to the missionaries, and by presents to the converts. A college, to educate men for these missions, was founded at Quebec, two years before the founding of Harvard. Two

years afterward the Ursuline convent was founded at Montreal for the education of Indian girls, and three young nuns came from France to devote themselves to that labor. They were received with demonstrations of joy by the Hurons and Algonquins. Montreal was now chosen as a more desirable centre for missionary operations.

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XIX.

1635

The tribes most intelligent and powerful, most warlike and cruel, with whom the colonists came in contact, were the Mohawks, or Iroquois, as the French named them. They were a confederacy consisting of five nations, the Senecas, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Mohawks—better known to the English by the latter name. This confederacy had been formed in accordance with the counsels of a great and wise chief, Hiawatha. Their traditions tell of him as having been specially guided by the Great Spirit, and that amid strains of unearthly music, he ascended to heaven in a snow-white canoe. They inhabited that beautiful and fertile region in Central New York, where we find the lakes and rivers still bearing their names.

1589

Their territory lay on the south shore of Lake Ontario, and extended to the head-waters of the streams which flow into the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, and also to the sources of the Ohio. These streams they used as highways in their war incursions. They pushed their conquests up the lakes and down the St. Lawrence, and northward almost to the frozen regions around Hudson's bay. They professed to hold many of the tribes of New England as tributary, and extended their influence to the extreme east. They made incursions down the Ohio against the Shawnees, whom they drove to the Carolinas. They exercised dominion over the Illinois and the Miamis. They were the inveterate enemies of the Hurons, and a terror to the French settlements—especially were they hostile to the missions. In vain the Jesuits strove to teach them; French influence could never penetrate

CHAP. south of Ontario. The Mohawks closely watched the
 XIX. passes of the St. Lawrence, and the intercourse between
 1685. the missionaries stationed on the distant lakes and their
 head-quarters at Montreal was interrupted, unless they
 travelled the toilsome route by the Ottawa and the wil-
 derness beyond.

1642. An expedition from the lakes had slipped through to
 Quebec, and now it endeavored to return. As the fleet
 approached the narrows, suddenly the Mohawks attacked
 it ; most of the Frenchmen and Hurons made for the op-
 posite shore. Some were taken prisoners, among whom
 was Father Jogues. The noble Ahasistari, from his
 hiding-place, saw his teacher was a prisoner ; he knew
 that he would be tortured to death, and he hastened to
 him : " My brother," said he, " I made oath to thee, that
 I would share thy fortune, whether death or life ; here I
 am to keep my vow." He received absolution at the
 hands of Jogues, and met death at the stake in a manner
 becoming a great warrior and a faithful convert.

Father Jogues was taken from place to place ; in each
 village he was tortured and compelled to run the gauntlet.
 His fellow-priest, Goupil, was seen to make the sign of
 the cross on the forehead of an infant, as he secretly bap-
 tized it. The Indians thought it a charm to kill their
 children, and instantly a tomahawk was buried in the
 poor priest's head. The Dutch made great efforts, but
 in vain, to ransom Jogues, but after some months of cap-
 tivity he made his escape to Fort Orange, where he was
 gladly received and treated with great kindness by the
 Dominie Megapolensis. Jogues went to France, but in a
 few years he was again among his tormentors as a messen-
 ger of the gospel ; ere long a blow from a savage ended
 his life. A similar fate was experienced by others. Father
 Bressani was driven from hamlet to hamlet, sometimes
 scourged by all the inhabitants, and tortured in every pos-

sible form which savage ingenuity could invent,—yet he survived, and was at last ransomed by the Dutch. CHAP
XIX.

The Abenakis of Maine sent messengers to Montreal asking missionaries. They were granted, and Father Dreuilletes made his way across the wilderness to the Penobscot, and a few miles above its mouth established a mission. The Indians came to him in great numbers. He became as one of themselves, he hunted, he fished, he taught among them, and won their confidence. He gave a favorable report of the place, and the disposition of the tribes, and a permanent Jesuit mission was there established. On one occasion Father Dreuilletes visited the Apostle Eliot at Roxbury. The noble and benevolent work in which they were engaged, served in the minds of these good men to soften the asperities existing between the Catholic and the Puritan, and they bid each other God speed. 1642.

At this time there were sixty or seventy devoted missionaries among the tribes extending from Lake Superior to Nova Scotia. But they did not elevate the character of the Indian; he never learned to till the soil, nor to dwell in a fixed abode; he was still a rover in the wide, free forest, living by the chase. The Abenakis, like the Hurons, were willing to receive religious instructions; they learned to chant matins and vespers, they loved those who taught them. It is not for us to say how many of them received into their hearts a new faith. 1646

The continued incursions of the ferocious Mohawks kept these missions in peril. Suddenly one morning they attacked the mission of St. Joseph on Lake Simcoe, founded, as we have seen, by Brebeuf and Daniel. The time chosen was when the warriors were on a hunting excursion, and the helpless old men, women, and children fell victims to savage treachery. The aged priest Daniel, at the first war-cry, hastened to give absolution to all the converts he could reach, and then calmly advanced from 1648

CHAP.
XIX.

1648. the chapel in the face of the murderers. He fell pierced with many arrows. These marauding expeditions broke up nearly all the missions in Upper Canada. The Hurons were scattered, and their country became a hunting-ground for their inveterate enemies.

1661. Many of the Huron converts were taken prisoners and adopted into the tribes of the Five Nations. Some years after, when a treaty was made between those nations and the French, the presence of these converts excited hopes that they would receive Jesuit teachers. A mission was established among the Onondagas, and Oswego, their principal village, was chosen for the station. In a year or two missionaries were laboring among the other tribes of the confederacy. But the French, who had an eye to securing that fertile region, sent fifty colonists, who began a settlement at the mouth of the Oswego. The jealousy of the Indians was excited ; they compelled the colonists to leave their country, and with them drove away the missionaries. Thus ended the attempts of the French to possess the soil of New York.

1666 The zeal of the Jesuits was not diminished by these untoward misfortunes ; they still continued to prosecute their labors among the tribes who would receive them. Away beyond Lake Superior one of their number lost his way in the woods and perished, and the wild Sioux kept his cassock as an amulet. Into that same region the undaunted Father Allouez penetrated ; there, at the largest town of the Chippewas, he found a council of the chiefs of many different tribes. They were debating whether they should take up arms against the powerful and war-like Sioux. He exhorted them to peace, and urged them to join in alliance with the French against the Iroquois ; he also promised them trade, and the protection of the great king of the French. Then he heard for the first time of the land of the Illinois, where there were no trees, but vast plains covered with long grass, on which grazed

innumerable herds of buffalo and deer. He heard of the wild rice, and of the fertile lands which produced an abundance of maize, and of regions where copper was obtained,—the mines so famous in our own day. He learned, too, of the great river yet farther west, which flowed toward the south, whither, his informants could not tell. After a sojourn of two years Allouez returned to Quebec, to implore aid in establishing missions in that hopeful field. He stayed only to make known his request ; in two days, he was on his way back to his field of labor, accompanied by only one companion.

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XIX.

1669.

The next year came from France another company of priests, among whom was James Marquette, who repaired immediately to the missions on the distant lakes. Accompanied by a priest named Joliet, and five French boatmen, with some Indians as guides and interpreters, Marquette set out to find the great river, of which he had heard so much. The company passed up the Fox river in two birch-bark canoes ; they carried them across the portage to the banks of the Wisconsin, down which they floated, till at length their eyes were gratified by the sight of the “ Father of Waters.”

1670

They coast along its shores, lined with primeval forests, swarming with all kinds of game ; the prairies redolent with wild flowers ;—all around them is a waste of grandeur and of beauty. After floating one hundred and eighty miles they meet with signs of human beings. They land, and find, a few miles distant, an Indian village ; here they are welcomed by a people who speak the language of their guides. They are told that the great river extends to the far south, where the heat is deadly, and that the great monsters of the river destroy both men and canoes.

Nothing daunted they pass on, and ere long they reach the place where the turbid and rapid Missouri plunges into the tranquil and clear Mississippi. “ When I return,”

CHAP. says Marquette, "I will ascend that river and pass beyond
XIX. its head-waters and proclaim the gospel." Further on
1670. they see a stream flowing from the north-east ;—it is the
Ohio, of which the Iroquois have told them. We can
imagine Marquette, noticing the fertility of the soil,
looking with awe upon the dark and impenetrable forests,
and hoping that in future ages these shores would be the
homes of many millions of civilized and Christian men.

As they went on they approached a warmer climate ;
and now they were sure that the great river flowed into
the Gulf of Mexico, and not into that of California, as
had been supposed. They met with Indians who showed
them tools of European manufacture ; obtained either
from the English of Virginia or from the Spaniards fur-
ther south. It was deemed prudent to return, as they
might fall into the hands of the latter, and thus be de-
prived of the privilege of making known their discovery.
At the mouth of the Arkansas they began the toilsome
labor of paddling their canoes up the stream down which
they had so easily floated. They reached the mouth of the
Illinois ; thinking it would lead them to the lakes, they
passed up that river to its head-waters, and thence across
to Lake Michigan.

Joliet immediately set out to carry the news of the
discovery to Quebec. Marquette was desirous to begin
his work, and he chose to remain in the humble station of
a missionary in the wilderness. One day he retired to his
private devotions, at a simple altar he had erected in a
grove. An hour afterward he was found kneeling beside
it ; his prayers and his labors for the good of the poor In-
dian were ended ;—in that hour of quiet retirement his
spirit had passed away.

Among the adventurers who came to Canada to seek
their fortunes, was Robert Cavalier de la Salle, a young
man who had been educated as a Jesuit, but had re-
nounced the order. A large domain at the outlet of Lake

Ontario was granted him on condition that he would maintain Fort Frontenac, now Kingston. But his main object was to obtain the entire trade of the Iroquois. The news of the discovery of the great river inflamed his ardent mind with a desire to make settlements on its banks, and thus secure its vast valley for his king. Leaving his lands and his herds, he sailed for France, and there obtained a favorable grant of privileges. He returned, passed up to Lake Erie, at the foot of which he built a vessel of sixty tons, in which, with a company of sailors, hunters, and priests, he passed through the straits to the upper lakes, and anchored in Green Bay. There, lading his ship with a cargo of precious furs, he sent her to Niagara, with orders to return as soon as possible with supplies. Meanwhile he passed over into the valley of the Illinois, and on a bluff by the river side, near where Peoria now stands, built a fort, and waited for his ship ; but he waited in vain ; she was wrecked on the voyage.

After three years of toils, wanderings in the wilderness, and voyages to France, during which he experienced disappointments that would have broken the spirit of an ordinary man, we find him once more on the banks of the Illinois. Now he built a barge, on board of which, with his companions, he floated down to the Mississippi, and thence to the Gulf. Thus were his hopes, after so much toil and sacrifice, realized. He had triumphantly traced the mighty stream to its mouth. He remained only to take possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, Louis XIV., in honor of whom he named it LOUISIANA.

La Salle returned to Quebec, and immediately sailed for France. He desired to carry into effect his great design of planting a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The enterprise was looked upon with favor by both the French people and the king. He was furnished with an armed frigate and three other vessels, and two hundred and eighty persons to form a colony. One hundred of

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1675

1677

1679

Aug.

1682.

April

9.

1684.

- CHAP. these were soldiers ; of the remainder, some were volun-
 XIX. teers, some mechanics, and some priests. Unfortunately,
 1684. the command of the ships was given to Beaujeu, a man
 as ignorant as he was self-willed and conceited. After
 surmounting many difficulties, they entered the Gulf of
 Mexico, but missed the mouth of the Mississippi. La
 1685. Feb. Salle soon discovered the error, but the stubborn Beaujeu,
 deaf to reason, sailed on directly west, till fortunately ar-
 rested by the eastern shore of Texas. La Salle deter-
 mined to disembark and seek by land the mouth of the
 great river. The careless pilot ran the store-ship on the
 breakers ; suddenly a storm arose, and very little was saved
 of the abundance which Louis had provided for the enter-
 prise. It is said that he gave more to aid this one colony
 than the English sovereigns combined gave to all theirs in
 North America.

As the ships were about to leave them on that desolate
 shore, many became discouraged, and returned home.
 The waters in the vicinity abounded in fish, and the for-
 ests in game, and with a mild climate and productive soil,
 there was no danger from starvation. A fort was built in
 a suitable place ; the trees of a grove three miles distant
 furnished the material, which they dragged across the
 prairie. La Salle explored the surrounding country, but
 sought in vain for the Mississippi. On his return to the
 fort, he was grieved to find his colony reduced to forty per-
 sons, and they disheartened and mutinous. He did not
 despair ; he would yet accomplish the darling object of his
 ambition ; he would thread his way through the wilder-
 ness to Canada, and induce colonists to join him. With
 1687 Jan. a company of sixteen men he commenced the journey ;
 they travelled two months across the prairies west of the
 Mississippi ; but the hopes that had cheered his heart
 amidst hardships and disappointments were never to be
 realized. Two of his men, watching their opportunity,
 murdered him. Thus perished Robert Cavalier de la

Salle, assassinated in the wilderness by his own countrymen. He was the first to fully appreciate the importance of securing to France the two great valleys of this continent. His name will ever be associated with his unsuccessful enterprise, and his tragical fate will ever excite a feeling of sympathy. Retribution was not long delayed ; his murderers, grasping at spoils, became involved in a quarrel with their companions, and both perished by the hand of violence.

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1687.

The remainder of the company came upon a tributary of the Mississippi, down which they passed to its mouth, where their eyes were greeted by a cross, and the arms of France engraved upon a tree. This had been done by Tonti, a friend of La Salle, who had descended from the Illinois, but in despair of seeing him had returned. The colony of Texas perished without leaving a memento of its existence.

CHAPTER XX.

MARAUDING EXPEDITIONS; SETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA; CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG.

Mohawks hostile to the French.—Dover attacked; Major Waldron.—Schenectady captured and burned.—The inhuman Frontenac.—The Colonists act for themselves.—Invasion of Canada.—Settlements in Maine abandoned.—Heroism of Hannah Dustin.—Deerfield taken; Eunice Williams.—D'Ibberville plants a Colony on the Pascagoula.—Trading Posts on the Illinois and the Mississippi.—The Choctaws; the Natchez; attempts to subdue the Chickasaws.—King George's War.—Capture of Louisburg.—The English Ministry alarmed.—Jonathan Edwards.—The "Great Revival."—Princeton College.

CHAP. **PEACE** had continued for some time between the Five Nations and the French, but now the former were suspicious of the expeditions of La Salle. **James II.** had instructed **Dongan**, the Catholic governor of New York, to conciliate the French, to influence the Mohawks to receive Jesuit missionaries, and to quietly introduce the Catholic religion into the colony. But Dongan felt more interest in the fur trade, which the French seemed to be monopolizing, than in Jesuit missions among the Mohawks, and he rather encouraged the latter in their hostility. An act of treachery increased this feeling. Some of their chiefs, who were enticed to enter Fort Frontenac, were seized and forcibly carried to France, and there made slaves.

When the indignant people of England drove the bigoted James from his throne and invited William of Orange to fill it, Louis XIV. took up the quarrel in behalf of James, or of legitimacy, as he termed it. He believed

in the divine right of kings to rule, and denied the right of a people to change their form of government. Louis had for years greatly abused his power, and all Europe had suffered from his rapacity. Religious feeling exerted its influence in giving character to the war, and Protestant Holland joined heart and hand with Protestant England in opposing Catholic France.

CHAP.
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1688.

Though the colonies were thus involved in war by the mother countries, they had different ends in view. The New Englanders had an eye to the fisheries and the protection of their northern frontiers; the French wished to extend their influence over the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and to monopolize the fisheries as well as the fur-trade. The latter object could be obtained only by the aid of the Indians, and they were untiring in their efforts to make them friends. They could never conciliate the Mohawks, nor induce them to join in an invasion of New York. On the contrary, fifteen hundred of them suddenly appeared before Montreal, and in a few days captured that place, and committed horrible outrages upon the people.

Thus stood matters when Frontenac, for the second time, appeared as governor of New France. To make the savages respect him as a warrior, he set on foot a series of incursions against the English colonies. The eastern Indians were incited to attack Dover in New Hampshire;—incited by the French, and also by a cherished desire for revenge. There, at the head of the garrison, was that Major Waldron who, thirteen years before, during King Philip's war, had treacherously seized two hundred of their friends, who came to him to treat of peace. He had proposed to these unsuspecting Indians a mock fight by way of entertainment; when their guns were all discharged he made them prisoners and sent them to Boston. Some of them were hanged, and others sold into slavery. The Indians in their turn employed stratagem and treachery.

1689.

CHAP. XX. Two squaws came to Dover ; they asked of the aged Waldron, now fourscore, a night's lodging. In the night they arose, unbarred the gates, and let in their friends, who lay in ambush. Their hour for vengeance had come ; they made the pangs of death as bitter as possible to the brave old Waldron ; his white hairs claimed from them no pity. In derision, they placed him in a chair on a table, and scored his body with gashes equal in number to their friends he had betrayed ; they jeeringly asked him, " Who will judge Indians now ? Who will hang our brothers ? Will the pale-faced Waldron give us life for life ? " They burned all the houses, murdered nearly half the inhabitants, and carried the remainder into captivity.

This was only the beginning of a series of horrors inflicted upon the frontier towns. The inhabitants of Schenectady, as they slept in fancied security, were startled at midnight by the terrible war-whoop of the savage,—the harbinger of untold horrors. The enemy found easy access, as the gates of the palisades were open. The houses were set on fire, more than sixty persons were killed, and many helpless women and children were carried into captivity. A few escaped and fled half clad through the snow to Albany. This attack was made by a party of French and Indians from Montreal, who had toiled for twenty-two days through the snows of winter, breaking the track with snow-shoes, and using, when they could, the frozen streams as a pathway. At Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, and at Casco, similar scenes were enacted.

1690.
Feb.

Such were the means the inhuman Frontenac, now almost fourscore, took to inspire terror in the minds of the English colonists, and to acquire the name of a great warrior among the Indians,—they would follow none but a successful leader. Among the early Jesuit missionaries who taught the Indians of New France, there were un-

¹ New England History, C. W. Elliott.

doubtedly many good men. The priests of that generation had passed away, and others had taken their places ; these incited the recently converted savage, not to practise Christian charity and love, but to pillage and murder the heretical English colonist.

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1690.

King William was busy in maintaining his own cause in England, and left the colonists to defend themselves. Massachusetts proposed that they should combine, and remove the cause of their trouble by conquering Canada. Commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York met to deliberate on what course to pursue. They resolved to invade that province from New York, by way of Lake Champlain, and from Massachusetts by way of the St. Lawrence. The expedition from New York failed. Colonel Peter Schuyler led the advance with a company of Mohawks, but the ever-watchful Frontenac was prepared ; his Indian allies flocked in crowds to aid him in defending Montreal. The Mohawks were repulsed and could not recover their position, as the army sent to support them was compelled to stop short ; the small-pox broke out among the soldiers, and they were in want of provisions.

Meantime, the fleet of thirty-two vessels, and two thousand men, which had sailed from Boston, was endeavoring to find its way up the St. Lawrence. It was under the command of Sir William Phipps, to whose incompetency may be attributed the failure of the enterprise. An Indian runner cut across the woods from Piscataqua, and in twelve days brought the news of the intended attack to the French. Frontenac hastened to Quebec, where he arrived three days before the fleet. When it came in sight he was prepared to make a vigorous defence. A party landed, but after some skirmishing the enterprise was abandoned. While returning, the men suffered much from sickness, and storms disabled the fleet. The disappointment of the people of Massachusetts was very great ;

CHAP. many lives had been lost, and the colony was laden with
XX. debt.

1690 The Eastern Indians, in the mean time, were held in check by Captain Church, celebrated in King Philip's war. At one time, he so far forgot himself as to put to death his prisoners, some of whom were women and children. Such cruelty was inexcusable ; and it was avenged by the savages with tenfold fury. Nearly all the settlements of what is now Maine were destroyed or abandoned. The enemy were continually prowling around the farms, watching an opportunity to shoot the men at their work. All went armed, and even the women learned to handle effectively the musket and the rifle. It was a great inducement for the Indians to go on these marauding expeditions, because they could sell for slaves to the French of Canada the women and children they took prisoners.

Peace was at length made with the Abenakis, or Eastern Indians, and there was a lull in the storm of desolation. It lasted but a year, the Indians broke the treaty. They were incited to this by their teachers, two Jesuits, Thury and Bigot, who even took pride in their atrocious work.

1694 Heroic deeds were performed by men and women. A small band of Indians attacked the house of a farmer named Dustin, near Haverhill. When in the fields he heard the war-whoop and the cry of distress. He hastened to the rescue, met his children, and threw himself between them and their pursuers, whom he held at bay by well-directed shots till the children were in a place of safety. His house was burned ; a child only a few days old was dashed against a tree, and his wife, Hannah Dustin, and her nurse, were carried away captive. A toilsome march brought them to an island in the Merrimac, just above Concord, where their captors lived. There Mrs. Dustin, with the nurse and a boy, also a captive, planned an escape. She wished revenge, as well as to be secure

from pursuit. The Indians, twelve in number, were asleep. She arose, assigned to each of her companions whom to strike ; their hands were steady and their hearts firm ; they struck for their lives. Ten Indians were killed, one woman was wounded, and a child was purposely saved. The heroic woman wished to preserve a trophy of the deed, and she scalped the dead. Then in a canoe the three floated down the Merrimac to Haverhill, much to the astonishment of their friends, who had given them up for lost. Such were the toils and sufferings, and such the heroism of the mothers in those days.

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1694.

The friendly Mohawks had intimated to the inhabitants of Deerfield, in the valley of the Connecticut, that the enemy was plotting their destruction. The anxiety of the people was very great, and they resolved during the winter to keep a strict watch ; sentinels were placed every night.

On an intensely cold night in February a company of two hundred Frenchmen, and one hundred and forty Indians, lay in ambush, waiting a favorable moment to spring upon their victims. Under the command of Hertel de Rouville, they had come all the way from Canada, on the crust of a deep snow, with the aid of snow-shoes. The sentinels, unconscious of danger, retired at dawn of day. The snow had drifted as high as the palisades, thus enabling the party to pass within the inclosure, which consisted of twenty acres. The terrible war-cry startled the inhabitants, the houses were set on fire, and forty-seven persons were ruthlessly murdered ; one hundred and twelve were taken captive, among whom were the minister Williams, his wife, and five children. No pen can describe the sufferings of the captives on that dreary winter's march, driven, as they were, by relentless Frenchmen and savages. Eunice Williams, the wife, drew consolation from her Bible, which she was permitted to read when the party stopped for the night. Her strength soon failed ;

1704.

- CHAP. her husband cheered her by pointing her to the "house
XX. not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." "The
1704. mother's heart rose to her lips, as she commended her five
captive children, under God, to their father's care, and
then one blow of the tomahawk ended her sorrows." This
family, with the exception of one daughter, seven years of
age, were afterward ransomed, and returned home.

Many years after this, there appeared at Deerfield a white woman wearing the Indian garb ; she was the lost daughter of Eunice Williams, and now a Catholic, and the wife of an Indian chief. No entreaties could influence her to remain with her civilized relatives ; she chose to return and end her days with her own children.

- Humanity shudders at the recital of the horrors that marked those days of savage warfare. Some of the Indians even refused to engage any more in thus murdering the English colonists ; but the infamous Hertel, with the approbation of Vaudreuil, then governor of Canada, induced a party to accompany him on a foray. Why repeat the story of the fiendish work, by which the little village of Haverhill, containing about thirty log-cabins, was burned, and all the inhabitants either murdered or taken captive.
1708. "My heart swells with indignation," wrote Colonel Peter Schuyler, of New York, to Vaudreuil, "when I think that a war between Christian princes, is degenerating into a savage and a boundless butchery ; I hold it my duty toward God and my neighbor, to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties." This reproof was unheeded ; the cruelties continued.

Under the feelings excited by such outrages, can we think it strange that the colonists resolved to hunt the Indians like wild beasts, and offered a bounty for their scalps ? or that the hostility against the French Jesuit should have thrown suspicion upon the Catholic of Maryland, who about this time was disfranchised ? or that even

in liberal Rhode Island, he should have been deprived of the privilege of becoming a freeman ?

CHAP
XX.

With renewed energy the French began to press forward their great design of uniting, by means of trading posts and missions, the region of the Lakes and the valley of the Mississippi. The Spaniards had possession of the territory on the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, while they claimed the entire regions lying around that expanse of water.

1708.

The energetic mind of Lemoine d'Ibberville conceived a plan for planting a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. He was a native of Canada, and had, on many occasions, distinguished himself by his talents and great courage. Hopes were entertained of his success. The expedition, consisting of four vessels and nearly two hundred colonists, among whom were some women and children, sailed from Canada for the mouth of the Mississippi. D'Ibberville entered the Gulf and approached the north shore, landed at the mouth of the river Pascagoula, and with two barges and forty-eight men went to seek the great river. He found it by following up a current of muddy waters, in which were many floating trees. He passed up the stream to the mouth of Red River, where he was surprised to receive a letter dated fourteen years before. It was from Tonti ; he had left it with the Indians for La Salle ; they had preserved it carefully, and gave it to the first Frenchman who visited them.

1699

As the shores of the Mississippi in that region are marshy, it was thought best to form a settlement on the Gulf at the mouth of the Pascagoula. This was the first colony planted within the limits of the present State of Mississippi. D'Ibberville sailed for France to obtain supplies and more colonists, leaving one of his brothers, Sauville, to act as governor, and the other, Bienville, to engage in exploring the country and river.

Some fifty miles up the Mississippi Bienville met an

- CHAP. XX. English ship sent on the same errand. Seventy years before, Charles I. had given to Sir Robert Heath a grant of Carolina, which as usual was to extend to the Pacific. This worthless grant Coxe, a London physician, had purchased, and to him belonged this vessel.

From the time of La Salle the Jesuits had been busy ingratiating themselves with the tribes along the shores of the Mississippi, and under their direction trading posts were established, at various points, to the mouth of the Illinois, and up that river to the Lakes.

1700. The following year D'Ibberville returned with two ships and sixty colonists, and the aged Tonti had just arrived from the Illinois. Availing himself of his counsel, D'Ibberville ascended the river four hundred miles, and on a bluff built a fort, which, in honor of the Duchess of Pontchartrain, was called Rosalie. These settlements languished for twenty years ; the colonists were mere hirelings, unfitted for their work. The whole number of emigrants for ten years did not exceed two hundred persons. Instead of cultivating the soil, and making their homes comfortable, many went to the far west seeking for gold, and others to the north-west on the same errand, while fevers and other diseases were doing the work of death. Meantime MOBILE became the centre of French influence in the south.

- 1714 Once more a special effort was made to occupy the territory, and a monopoly of trade was granted to Arthur Crozart, who was to send every year two ships laden with merchandise and emigrants, and also a cargo of slaves from Africa. The French government was to appropriate annually about ten thousand dollars to defray the expense of forts and necessary protection.

A trading house was established up the Red River at Natchitoches, and one up the Alabama near the site of Montgomery ; Fort Rosalie became a centre of trade, and

the germ of the present city of NATCHEZ—the oldest town on the Mississippi. CHAP
XX.

Bienville put the convicts to work on a cane-brake to remove the trees and shrubs “from a savage and desert place,” and built a few huts. Such were the feeble beginnings of NEW ORLEANS, which it was prophesied would yet become “a rich city, the metropolis of a great colony.” Still the colony did not prosper; instead of obtaining their supplies from that fruitful region, they were dependent on France and St. Domingo. Labor was irksome to the convicts and vagabonds, and the overflowings of the river, and the unhealthiness of the climate retarded progress. The chief hope for labor was based on the importation of negroes from Africa. 1718.

Some German settlers, who, a few years before, had been induced by one Law, a great stock-jobbing and land speculator, to emigrate to the banks of the Arkansas, decided to remove. A tract of land, lying twenty miles above New Orleans, known now as the “German coast,” was given them. Their settlement was in contrast with the others. They were industrious, and cultivated their farms, raised vegetables, rice, and other provisions; also tobacco and indigo. The fig and the orange were now introduced. The Illinois region had been settled by emigrants from Canada, who raised wheat and sent flour to the colonists below. The priests meanwhile were not idle in teaching the Indians, and a convent was founded at New Orleans for the education of girls. As the colonists had not energy enough to protect themselves, a thousand soldiers were sent from France for that purpose. 1722.

1724.

The Choctaws, the allies of the French, occupied the region between the lower Mississippi and the Alabama. The principal village of the Natchez tribe was on the bluff where now stands the city of that name. They were not a numerous people, unlike the tribes among whom they dwelt, in their language as well as in their

- CHAP. religion. Like the Peruvians, they were worshippers of
XX. the sun, and in their great wigwam they kept an undying
1724. fire. Their principal chief professed to be a descendant
of the sun. They became justly alarmed at the encroach-
ments of the French, who having Fort Rosalie, demanded
the soil on which stood their principal village, for a farm.
They suddenly fell upon the white intruders and killed
two hundred of their number, and took captive their women
and children. The negro slaves joined the Indians. Their
principal chief, the Great Sun, had the heads of the
French officers slain in the battle arranged around him,
1780. that he might smoke his pipe in triumph ;—his triumph
was short. A company, consisting of French and Choc-
taws, under Le Suer, came up from New Orleans, and
surprised them while they were yet celebrating their vic-
tory. The Great Sun and four hundred of his people were
taken captive and sent to St. Domingo as slaves. Some
of the Natchez escaped and fled to the Chickasaws, and
some fled beyond the Mississippi ; their land passed into
the hand of strangers, and soon, they as a people were
unknown.

The territory of the brave Chickasaws, almost sur-
rounding that of the Natchez, extended north to the Ohio,
and east to the land of the Cherokees. They were the
enemies of the French, whose boats, trading from Canada
and Illinois to New Orleans, they were accustomed to
plunder. English traders from Carolina were careful to
increase this enmity toward their rivals.

- 1785 Two expeditions were set on foot to chastise these bold
marauders. Bienville came up from the south with a
fleet of boats and canoes, and a force of twelve hundred
Choctaws ; he paddled up the Tombecbee as far as he
could, and then hastened across the country to surprise
one of their fortified places. D'Artaguetie hastened down
from the Illinois country, of which he was governor, with
fifty Frenchmen and a thousand Indians, to attack an-

other of their strongholds. The Chickasaws were too vigilant to be thus surprised. They repulsed Bienville, dispersed the forces of D'Artagnette, took him prisoner, and burned him at the stake. Once more an attempt was made with all the force the French could bring to crush this warlike tribe, but in vain ; the patriotic Chickasaws successfully defended their country against the foreign foe.

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XX.

1735.

May
20.

1740.

These reverses did not deter the persevering French from establishing trading houses south of Lake Erie, and down the Alleghany to the Ohio, and thence to the Mississippi. The people of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia became alarmed at these encroachments on their territory. The Iroquois professed to have conquered all the valley of the Ohio, and they claimed a vast region to the north-west as their hunting grounds. Commissioners from the above colonies met the envoys of the Iroquois at Lancaster, and purchased from them for £400 all their claim to the regions which they professed to own between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany mountains.

1745.
July.

The colonies had enjoyed nearly thirty years of comparative freedom from French and Indian incursions, when they were involved in what is known as King George's War.

1744.

The first intimation of hostilities was an attack upon the fort at Canso, in which the garrison was captured and carried to Louisburg. Louisburg was the great stronghold of the French on this continent ; the centre from which privateering expeditions were fitted out, that had nearly destroyed the commerce as well as the fisheries of New England. To prevent these depredations, and the inroads to which the French incited their Indian allies, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, proposed to the General Court to take Louisburg. No aid was expected from the mother country—she was too much engaged at home ; but the other colonies were invited to enlist in the common cause. New Jersey and Pennsylvania agreed to

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1744. furnish money, but declined to send men ; New York furnished money and some cannon ; Connecticut offered five hundred men ; Rhode Island and New Hampshire each furnished a regiment. Massachusetts proposed the expedition, was the most interested in its success, bore the greater part of the expense, and furnished the greater portion of the men and vessels. The fishermen, especially those of Marblehead, entered upon the enterprise with alacrity. Their fisheries had been almost ruined and they thrown out of employment, by the continued forays from Louisburg. Farmers, mechanics, and lumbermen volunteered in great numbers. Here were citizen soldiers, without a single man whose knowledge of military tactics went beyond bush-fighting with the Indians, and all equally ignorant of the proper means to be used in reducing a fortified place. A wealthy merchant, William Pepperell, of Maine, was elected commander. The artillery was under the direction of Gridley, the same who, thirty years afterward, held a similar position in an American army under very different circumstances. The enthusiasm was great, and what was lacking in means and skill, was supplied by zeal. A strong Protestant sentiment was mingled with the enterprise, and Whitefield, then on his third tour of preaching in the colonies, was urged to furnish a motto for a banner. He promptly suggested, "*Nihil desperandum, Christo duce,*"—"Nothing is to be despaired of when Christ is leader." He also preached to them an inspiring sermon, and they sailed, like the Crusaders of old, confident of success.

1745

In April the fleet arrived at Canso, but owing to the ice, could not enter the harbor of Louisburg. Intelligence of the expedition had been sent to England, and Admiral Warren, who commanded on the West India station, was invited to join in the enterprise. He declined for want of explicit orders, but afterward receiving permission, he hastened to join them with four men-of-war.

The whole armament was now put in motion for Louis-
 burg. That stronghold had walls forty feet thick, thirty
 feet high, and surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide,
 with protecting forts around it, manned by nearly two
 hundred and fifty cannon, small and great, and garrisoned
 by sixteen hundred men.

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1745.

As the fleet approached, the French came down to the beach to oppose their landing, but in a moment the "whale boats," filled with armed men, were "flying like eagles" to the shore. Their opposers, panic-stricken, fled; and the following night the soldiers of the royal battery, one of the outside forts, spiked their cannon and retreated to the town. The deserted fort was immediately taken possession of, and the gunsmiths went to work to bore out the spikes. The next day a detachment marched round the town, giving it three cheers as they passed, and took up a position that completely enclosed the place on the land side, while the fleet did the same toward the ocean. They threw up batteries, dragged their cannon over a morass, and brought them to bear upon the fortress.

These amateur soldiers soon became accustomed to encamping in the open air, and sleeping in the woods, as well as to the cannon-balls sent among them by the besieged. They not only prevented ships from entering the harbor, but found means to decoy into the midst of their fleet and capture a man-of-war of sixty-four guns, laden with stores for the fort. This loss so much disheartened the garrison that, after a siege of seven weeks, Louisburg surrendered. The news of this success sent a thrill of joy throughout the colonies. It was the greatest feat of the war, and was accomplished by undisciplined volunteers.

June
17.

France resolved, at any cost, to recover her stronghold, and also to desolate the English colonies. The fleet sent for the purpose was disabled by storms, while pestilence wasted the men. The commander, the Duke d'Anville,

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1746. suddenly died, and his successor, a short time after, committed suicide. The next year, the fleet sent for the same purpose was forced to strike its colors to an English squadron under Admirals Anson and Warren.

Though thus successful, the frontier settlements still suffered greatly, and in self-defence the old project was revived of conquering Canada. The government of England required all the colonies, as far south as Virginia, to furnish men and means. Eight thousand men were raised, of which number Massachusetts furnished nearly one-half. The British ministry suddenly changed their mind, and the enterprise was abandoned. Soon after, the treaty of Aix la Chapelle was concluded, by which all places taken by either party during the war were to be restored. Thus Louisburg, the capture of which was so gratifying to the colonists, and so significant of their daring spirit, passed again into the hands of the French.

The ministry did not relish the ardor and independence of the colonists, who appeared to have, according to Admiral Warren, "the highest notions of the rights and liberties of Englishmen ; and, indeed, as almost levellers." It was in truth the foreshadowing of their complete independence of the mother country, and measures were taken by her to make them more subservient. They were forbidden to have any manufactures, to trade to any place out of the British dominions, while no other nation than the English were permitted to trade with them. "These oppressions," says an intelligent traveller of that day, "may make, within thirty or fifty years, the colonies entirely independent of England."

For many years there had been a marked decline in religion in New England. A peculiar union of church and state had led to a sort of compromise between the two, known as the "Half-way covenant," by which persons who had been baptized, but without pretensions to

personal piety, were admitted to the full privileges of church members. CHAP
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In the midst of this declension a religious "Awakening," better known as the "Great Revival," commenced at Northampton, in Massachusetts, under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, a young man remarkable for his intellectual endowments. His sermons were doctrinal and strongly Calvinistic. His religious character had been early developed. At thirteen he entered Yale College; thoughtful beyond his years, a metaphysician by nature, at that early age he was enraptured with the perusal of Locke on the "Understanding." Secluded from the world by the love of study, he penetrated far into the mysteries of the workings of the human mind. 1735.

Edwards drew from the Bible the knowledge of the true relation between the church and the world. The contest was long and strenuous, but the lines were clearly drawn, and from that day to this the distinction is marked and appreciated. "He repudiated the system of the Half-way covenant," and proclaimed the old doctrines of "the sole right of the sanctified to enjoy the privileges of church members, and of salvation by faith alone." As the influence of the state in religious matters thus began to fade away, a closer spiritual relation of men to men, not as members of a commonwealth alone, but as members of a great brotherhood, gained in importance.

Parties sprang into existence; those who favored a more spiritual life in religion were stigmatized as "New Lights," while the steady conservatives were known as the "Old Lights." So bitter was the feeling that in Connecticut the civil authority was invoked, and severe laws were enacted against the New Lights. The controversy was so warm that Edwards was driven from his congregation—at that time, "the largest Protestant society in the world." He went as a missionary to the Housatonic Indians at Stockbridge, Massachusetts. There in the forest, 1742

CHAP. amid toils and privations, he wrote his far-famed treatise
XX. on the "Freedom of the Will," which has exerted so
 1750. much influence in the theological world, while the writer
 was the first American that obtained a European reputa-
 tion as an author.

1740. During this period Whitefield came, by invitation, to
 New England. He had been preaching in the south with
 unexampled success. At intervals, for more than thirty
 years, he preached the gospel from colony to colony. "Hun-
 dreds of thousands heard the highest evangelical truths
 uttered with an eloquence probably never equalled." The
 influence of the awakening spread till all the colonies
 were visited by the same blessings, especially the Presby-
 terians of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and
 in a less degree in the more southern colonies. These
 influences were not limited to that age, for similar revivals
 have continued to our own times.

The Baptists, hitherto but few in number, received a
 new impulse, as many of the New Light churches adopted
 their views; and the preaching of Whitefield prepared
 the way for the success of the Methodists.

The revival created a want for ministers of the gospel,
 to supply which, the Rev. William Tennent established
 an academy at Neshaminy; an institution where young
 men professing the religious fervor that characterized those
 prominent in the revival, could be prepared for the sacred
 office. This was the germ of Princeton College.

This religious sentiment met with little sympathy
 from the authorities of the colony, and with difficulty a
 1746. charter was obtained. The institution was named Nassau
 Hall, in honor of the great Protestant hero, William III.
 It was first located at Elizabethtown, then at Newark,
 1757. and finally at Princeton. Its success was unexampled;
 in ten years the number of students increased from eight
 to ninety.

CHAPTER XXI.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

The Valley of the Ohio.—French and English Claimants.—Gist the Pioneer.—George Washington; his Character; his Mission to the French on the Alleghany.—Returns to Williamsburg.—St. Pierre's Letter unsatisfactory.—Virginians driven from the Ohio.—Fort Du Quesne built.—Washington sent to defend the Frontiers.—Conflict at Fort Necessity.—The Fort abandoned.—British Troops arrive in America.—Plan of operations.—General Braddock; his qualifications.—The Army marches from Wills' Creek.—Obstinacy of Braddock.—Arrival on the Monongahela.—The Battle.—Defeat.—Death and Burial of Braddock.—Dunbar's Panic.—The Frontiers left unprotected.

SCARCELY an English colonist had yet settled in the valley of the Ohio. The traders who visited the Indians in that region, told marvellous stories of the fertility of the soil, and the desirableness of the climate. It was proposed to found a colony west of the Alleghany mountains. The governor of Virginia received royal instructions to grant the "Ohio Company" five hundred thousand acres of land lying between the rivers Monongahela and Kanawha, and on the Ohio. The company engaged to send one hundred families; to induce them to emigrate they offered them freedom from quit-rents for ten years.

Meantime, the French sent three hundred men to expel the English traders and take possession of the valley. They also sent agents, who passed through the territory north of the Ohio river, and at various points nailed on the trees plates of lead, on which were inscribed the arms of France. This they were careful to do in the presence

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of the Indians, who suspected they intended to take away their lands. When the English came and made surveys on the south side of the Ohio, they asked them the puzzling question : " If the French take possession of the north side of the Ohio, and the English of the south, where is the Indian's land ? "

At Wills' Creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, one of the easiest passes over the mountains commenced. Here the Ohio Company established a place of deposit to supply Indian traders with goods. They also wished to explore the Ohio river to the great falls ; to ascertain the location of the best lands, and whether the Indians were friendly or unfriendly. They employed for this dangerous and difficult task the celebrated trader and pioneer Christopher Gist, who crossed the mountains and came upon the Alleghany river, at a village occupied by a few Delaware Indians. Thence he passed down to Logstown, a sort of head-quarters for traders, situated some miles below the junction of that river and the Monongahela. Here dwelt a renowned chief of the western tribes, Tanacharison, or half-king, as he was called, because he acknowledged a sort of allegiance to the Mohawks. " You are come to settle the Indian lands," said the resident traders, whose suspicions were roused ; " you will never go home safe." Gist traversed the region of the Muskingum and of the Scioto, then crossed the Ohio, and passed up the Cuttawa or Kentucky to its very springs. He gave a glowing account of the beauty and fertility of the region he had visited. It was covered with trees of immense size, the wild cherry, the ash, the black walnut, and the sugar maple, the two latter giving indubitable proof of the fertility of the soil ; a land abounding in never-failing springs and rivulets, forests interspersed with small meadows, covered with long grass and white clover, on which fed herds of elk, deer, and buffalo, while the wild turkey and other game promised abundance to the hunter and

pioneer. Such was the primitive character of the territory since known as the State of Ohio. CHAP.
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He ascertained that French emissaries were visiting all the western tribes, to induce them to take up arms against the English ; that the Indians looked upon both as intruders, and though willing to trade with both, were unwilling that either should occupy their lands. The French saw that if the English obtained a foothold on the Ohio, they would cut off the communication between the Lakes and the Mississippi. The final struggle for the supremacy in the valley was near at hand. 1749.

While the English, by invitation of the Indians, were approaching from the south, to build a fort at the head of the Ohio, the French were approaching the same point from the north. The latter had built war vessels at Frontenac to give them the command of Lake Ontario ; they had strengthened themselves by treaties with the most powerful tribes, the Shawnees and the Delawares ; they had repaired Fort Niagara, at the foot of Lake Erie, and at this time had not less than sixty fortified and well garrisoned posts between Montreal and New Orleans. They had also built a fort at Presque Isle, now Erie, one on French Creek, on the site of Waterford, and another at the junction of that creek with the Alleghany, now the village of Franklin.

Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, resolved to send a messenger to remonstrate with the French for intruding on English territory. Where could he find a man of energy and prudence to trust in this laborious and perilous undertaking ? His attention was directed to a mere youth, in his twenty-second year, a surveyor, who, in the duties of his profession, had become somewhat familiar with the privations of forest life. That young man was George Washington. He was a native of Westmoreland county, Virginia. The death of his father left him an orphan when eleven years of age. The wealthy Virginia

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planters of those days were accustomed to send their sons to England to complete their education, and thus had Lawrence, his half-brother, fourteen years older than himself, been educated. No such privilege was in store for George. His father's death may have interfered with such plans: be that as it may, he was sent to the common school in the neighborhood, and there taught only the simplest branches of an English education—to spell, to read, to write, to cipher. When older, he went for some time to an academy of a somewhat higher grade, where he devoted his time particularly to the study of mathematics.

Though his school advantages were so limited, it was his inestimable privilege to have a mother endowed with good sense, united to decision of character and Christian principle,—she inspired love, she enforced obedience. From her he inherited an ardent, impulsive temper—from her he received its antidote; she taught him to hold it in subjection.

The early life of George Washington furnishes an example worthy the imitation of the youth of his country. We are told of his love of truth, of his generous and noble acts, that he won the confidence of his schoolmates, and received from them that respect which virtue alone can secure.

He was systematic and diligent in all his studies. There may yet be seen, in the library at Mount Vernon, the book in which he drew his first exercises in surveying; every diagram made with the utmost care. Thus was foreshadowed in the youth what was fully developed in the man. At the early age of sixteen, we find him in the woods on the frontiers of Virginia, performing his duties as a surveyor; making his measurements with so much accuracy that to this day they are relied upon.

We must not suppose that the studious and sedate youth, with his rules for governing his “conversation and conduct” carefully written out, and as carefully observed,

was destitute of boyish feelings. He had his youthful sports and enjoyments ; he could exhibit feats of strength and skill ; could ride a horse or throw a stone with any boy, and was so far military in his tastes as occasionally to drill his school-fellows during recess.

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His brother Lawrence had spent some time in the English navy, and George had often heard of the excitements of the seaman's life, and had boyish longings for adventures on the ocean. Circumstances seemed to favor his wishes. When fourteen, it was decided that he should enter the navy. The man-of-war on which he was to go as a midshipman was lying in the Potomac ; his baggage was ready, but when the parting hour came the mother's heart failed. Though deeply disappointed, George yielded to her wish, and relinquished his anticipated pleasure.

Though Washington was born and spent his youth in the wilds of Virginia, there were many refining influences brought to bear upon the formation of his character. He was intimate for years in the Fairfax family, who brought with them to their western home the refinement and culture of the English aristocracy of that day. Neither must we overlook the benign influence exerted over him by his educated and benevolent brother Lawrence, who, up to the time of his death, watched over his young brother with a father's care, as well as a brother's love.

The influence of Christian principle governing the impulses of a noble nature, was the secret of the moral excellence, the dignified integrity, unaffected candor, and sterling worth, which shone forth in the character of Washington,—a name so much blended with the liberties of his country, and so much cherished and honored by the friends of humanity in every clime.

Governor Dinwiddie gave his youthful messenger a letter for the French commandant on the Ohio, in which he demanded of him his reasons for invading the territory of England. The very day on which Washington re-

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ceived his credentials, (October 30,) he left Williamsburg for Winchester, then a frontier town of Virginia. By the middle of November his preparations were completed. With a company consisting of the intrepid Gist, who acted as guide, two interpreters, and four others, he set out from Wills' Creek. A journey of nine days, through solitudes and mountain passes, and across streams swollen by recent rains, brought them to where the Monongahela, that river "so deep and still," meets the "swift running Alleghany." Washington explored the neighborhood, and remarks in his journal: "The land at the Fork is extremely well situated for a fort, as it has absolute command of both rivers." Thus thought the French engineers, who afterward on that very spot built Fort Du Quesne.

Shingis, chief sachem of the Delawares, who afterward took up arms against the English, accompanied him to Logstown. Here, by his instructions, Washington was to confer with the Indian chiefs: he summoned them to a grand talk. They would not commit themselves; they had heard that the French were coming with a strong force to drive the English out of the land. But he induced three of them to accompany him to the station of the French commandant; among these was the Half-King.

When he arrived at Venango, or Franklin, the officer in command referred him to the Chevalier St. Pierre, general officer at the next post. Meanwhile he was treated with politeness, and invited by the French officers to a supper. The wine passed freely, and the talkative Frenchmen began to boast of their plans; they would "take possession of the Ohio; the English could raise two men for their one, but they were too slow and dilatory." The sober and cautious Washington marked well their words. The three chiefs had promised well; they would give back the speech belts to the French;

they were friends to the English. But when plied with drink, and hailed by the French as "Indian brothers," they wavered for a time.

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Washington obtained an interview with St. Pierre, "an ancient and silver-haired chevalier, courteous but ceremonious," and after some delay received an answer to his despatches, and hastened homeward. As the pack-horses were disabled, he left them and the baggage, and with Gist for his only companion struck out into the wilderness. The cold was intense, the snow was falling, and freezing as it fell. Wrapped in Indian blankets, with their guns in their hands and knapsacks on their backs, and a compass to guide them, they pushed on toward the Alleghany river, which they hoped to cross on the ice. Their journey through the pathless wild was marked by some mishaps and hairbreadth escapes. Their lives were endangered by a false guide, and Washington in endeavoring to force his way through the ice in the river, came near perishing ; but, on the sixteenth of January, they arrived safely at Williamsburg. 1754

The answer of St. Pierre was courteous but indefinite. He referred the matter to the Marquis Du Quesne, the governor of Canada. It was clear, however, that he did not intend to retire from the valley of the Ohio. This was still more evident from the preparations of boats, artillery, and military stores, which Washington noticed up the Alleghany, waiting for the spring flood, when they would be taken to their place of destination.

The following spring the Ohio Company sent between thirty and forty men to build a fort at the head of the Ohio. The French were on the alert ; a company of soldiers floated down the Alleghany, who surprised and surrounded them at their work. They must surrender in an hour's time or defend themselves against a thousand men. They were glad to leave their unfinished fort and return

CHAP. to Virginia. The French took immediate possession,
XXI. finished it, and named it Du Quesne.

1754. At the early age of nineteen Washington had been appointed Adjutant-General of the northern district of Virginia, an office which he filled to the entire satisfaction of his countrymen. Now he received the commission of lieutenant-colonel, with orders to protect the frontier. He was also offered the command of the expedition against the French at Fort Du Quesne. This he declined on account of his youth; the command was then conferred upon Colonel Fry, who shortly after fell ill, and it virtually passed into the hands of Washington. His little army was ill provided with tents and military stores, and poorly clad. They moved on very slowly. It was not easy with a train of artillery to pass through the forests, climb mountains, and ford swollen rivers. Washington pushed on with a detachment for the junction of the Redstone and Monongahela. There, on the spot now known as Brownsville, he hoped to maintain his position until the main force should come up, and then they would float down the river in flat-boats to Fort Du Quesne.

On the ninth of May this detachment arrived at a place called the Little Meadows. Here they met traders, who informed them that the French were in great force at Du Quesne, and that a portion of them had set out on a secret expedition. There was but little doubt as to its object. Presently came an Indian runner; he had seen the tracks of the Frenchmen; they were near. The Half-King with forty warriors was also in the neighborhood. On a dark and stormy night, Washington and forty of his men groped their way to his camp, which they reached about daylight. This faithful ally put a couple of runners upon the enemy's tracks; they reported that the French were encamped in a deep glen, where they had put up temporary cabins.

Washington arranged his company in two divisions, and

so effectually surprised them that few of their number escaped. Among the slain was the youthful De Jumonville, the leader of the party. Here was shed the first blood in that seven years' struggle, in which the French power on this continent was broken. As no reinforcements were sent, Washington was greatly disappointed ; he could not maintain the advantage he had gained. He heard that a numerous force was on its way to attack him. In a letter to his friend Colonel Fairfax he writes : " The motives that have led me here are pure and noble. I had no view of acquisition, but that of honor by serving faithfully my king and country."

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He built a fort at the Great Meadows, which, from the fact of famine pressing upon them, he named Fort Necessity. It is a fact worthy of mention, that at this encampment public prayer was daily observed, and conducted by the youthful commander himself.

Soon five hundred French and many hundred Indians appeared on the hills in sight of the fort. He drew out his men for battle, but the enemy declined the contest. Then he withdrew them within the inclosure, giving them directions to fire only when an enemy was in sight. This irregular fighting continued throughout the day. The rain poured in torrents, and rendered useless many of their muskets. At night the French desired a parley ; suspecting stratagem to introduce a spy, Washington at first refused, but at length consented. Much of the night was spent in negotiation ; finally, the Virginians were allowed to leave the fort with the honors of war, and their equipments and stores, except artillery. The next morning the youthful hero led out his men. The Indians immediately began to plunder ; Washington, seeing this, ordered every thing to be destroyed that the soldiers could not carry. The loss of the Virginia regiment, which numbered about three hundred, was nearly fifty ; the loss of the enemy was greater. After much toil and suffering.

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from want of provisions, they arrived at Cumberland. Thus ended the first military expedition of Washington. 1754. Although unsuccessful, he displayed so much prudence and judgment that the people were impressed by his merits, and which the House of Burgesses acknowledged by a vote of thanks.

He was, however, soon after annoyed and mortified by the course pursued by the narrow-minded Dinwiddie, who, unwilling to promote the provincial officers, dissolved the Virginia regiments, and formed them into independent companies, in which there should be no officer of higher rank than that of captain. With a dignity and self-respect worthy of his character, Washington withdrew from the army. When Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, was appointed commander-in-chief by the king, he invited him, through a friend, to join it again under the title of colonel, but really with no higher authority than that of captain. He declined the offer, writing in reply, "If you think me capable of holding a commission that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must maintain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me more empty than the commission itself." He was still further mortified by Dinwiddie's refusal to give up the French prisoners, according to the articles of capitulation at Fort Necessity.

While these contests were in progress in the valley of the Ohio, the French and English nations were ostensibly at peace. Each, desirous of deceiving the other, professed to hope that this little collision would not interrupt their harmony; the French still continued to send ships to America laden with soldiers; and the English matured plans to drive them away.

Matters took a more decided form; war was not declared, but open hostilities commenced, and England, for the first time, sent an army to aid the colonists.

Four expeditions were decided upon : one to capture the French posts near the head of the Bay of Fundy, and expel the French from Acadie ; another against Crown Point, to be led by William Johnson, Indian agent among the Mohawks ; the third, against Niagara and Frontenac, was to be intrusted to Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts ; the fourth against Fort Du Quesne ; the latter the Commander-in-chief, General Edward Braddock, was to lead in person.

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The struggle was about to commence in earnest ; British troops had arrived, and the colonies responded with a good will to the call of the mother country for levies of soldiers.

General Braddock was perfect in the theory and practice of mere military training ; he had been in the " Guards " many years, where he had drilled and drilled, but had never seen actual service. With the conceited assurance of inexperience, he believed the excellencies of the soldier were alone found in the British regular—the perfection of military skill in British officers. To these qualifications he added a most supercilious contempt for the provincial soldiers and their officers.

He was to lead in person the force against Fort Du Quesne. Of the difficulties of marching an army over mountains, and through an unbroken wilderness, he was blindly ignorant. He was unwilling to hear advice, or even receive information on the subject ; and when Washington, whom he had invited to act as one of his aids, suggested that " if the march was to be regulated by the slow movements of the train, it would be tedious, very tedious indeed," he made no reply, but smiled at the simplicity of the young man, who knew so little about the movements of a regular army. Afterward, Benjamin Franklin ventured to direct his attention to the danger of Indian ambuscades. To his suggestion Braddock replied : " The Indians are no doubt formidabl to raw Americans,

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CHAP. but upon the king's regulars, and disciplined troops, it is
XXI. sir, impossible they should make any impression."

1755. The army assembled at Wills' Creek, to which place Braddock came in his coach, and surrounded by his staff, "cursing the road very heartily"—its roughness had broken his coach, and ruffled his temper. He refused to employ Indians as scouts on the march, or to protect the Pennsylvanians, who were making a road for the passage of the army; hooted at the suggestion of Washington to take as little baggage as possible, and to employ pack-horses instead of wagons. The English officers could give up neither their cumbrous baggage nor their luxuries, neither could the general dispense with "his two good cooks, who could make an excellent ragout out of a pair of boots, had they but materials to toss them up with."

June. After a month's delay, the army commenced its march. The difficulties of dragging heavily laden wagons and artillery over roads filled with stumps of trees and rocks, brought the general partially to his senses, and he inquired of Washington what was the best to be done. From recent accounts it was known that the garrison at Fort Du Quesne was small, and he advised that a division of light armed troops should be hurried forward to take possession of the place, before reinforcements could arrive from Canada. Accordingly, twelve hundred choice men were detached from the main body and pushed forward, taking with them ten field-pieces, and pack-horses to carry their baggage. The main division was left under the command of Colonel Dunbar, with orders to move on as fast as possible.

The general persisted in refusing to employ either Indians or backwoodsmen as scouts. There was a celebrated hunter, known all along the frontiers as Captain Jack. He was "the terror of the Indians." He had been their prisoner, had lived years among them, and was familiar

with their habits. Afterward he cleared for himself a piece of land, built his cabin, and, happy in his forest life, cultivated his ground and amused himself by hunting and fishing. On his return home on a certain evening he found his wife and children murdered, and his cabin in ashes. From that hour he devoted his life to defend the frontiers, and to avenge himself upon the destroyers of his worldly happiness. He offered his services and those of his band to act as scouts, and seek the Indians in their lurking-places. Braddock received him very coldly, and declined the offer, saying that he "had experienced troops upon whom he could rely for all purposes."

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Even the advance division moved very slowly, not more than three or four miles a day. Says Washington in a letter, "Instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they halt to level every mole-hill and to erect a bridge over every brook." A month's slow march through the woods brought the army to the east bank of the Monongahela, about fifteen miles above Fort Du Quesne. Only the very day before the proposed attack on that fort, Washington, who had been detained by a fit of sickness, was able to join them. As the hills came down to the water's edge, it was necessary to cross the river directly opposite to the camp, and five miles below, at another ford, recross to the east side. Colonel Gage—he, who, twenty years afterward, commanded a British army in Boston—crossed before daylight, and with his detachment moved rapidly to the second ford; then recrossing, took position to protect the passage of the main force. Washington ventured once more to suggest that the Virginia Rangers, consisting of three hundred men, should be thrown in advance. This proposition received an angry reply from Braddock, and, as if to make the rebuke more conspicuous, the Virginians and other provincials were placed as a rear-guard. At sunrise the remainder of the army was in motion. Their equipments

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were in the most perfect order ; their muskets were burnished, and charged with fresh cartridges, and in high spirits they moved along, with bayonets fixed, colors flying, and drums beating.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, after recrossing the river, as the army was moving along a narrow road, not more than twelve feet wide, with scarcely a scout in front or on the flanks, the engineer, who was marking the way, suddenly cried out "French and Indians." Scarcely was the alarm given, before rapid firing was heard in front, accompanied by most terrific yells. The army was in a broad ravine, covered with low shrubs, with moderately rising ground in front and on both sides. On this elevation among the trees were the French and Indians, invisible to the English, but from their hiding-places able to see every movement of the soldiers in the ravine, and to take deliberate aim. The regulars were thrown into confusion ; the sight of their companions shot down beside them by an invisible enemy, together with the unearthly yells of the savages, sent a thrill of horror through their souls. They were ordered to charge bayonet up the hill, but no orders could induce them to leave the line. The enemy had been sent to occupy this very position, but had arrived too late ; now they were spreading all along both sides of the ravine. The English soldiers lost all control, and fired at random into the woods, wherever they saw the smoke of an enemy's gun. The advance party fell back upon the second division, and threw it into still greater confusion. At this moment Colonel Burton came up with a reinforcement, eight hundred strong, but just as they had formed to face the enemy, down upon them rushed the two foremost divisions pell-mell, all were crowded together in inextricable confusion, and their officers were nearly all slain or wounded. Now came Braddock himself. He ordered the colors to advance, and the respective

regiments to separate and form in ranks—but in vain. No orders were obeyed.

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In a few minutes after the battle commenced the Virginia Rangers were behind trees, and rapidly picking off the Indians ; but unfortunately many of these brave men fell victims to the random shots of the regulars. Washington entreated Braddock to permit his soldiers to protect themselves, as the Virginians had done ; but he refused, and still persisted in striving to form them into platoons, and when any sheltered themselves behind trees, he called them cowards and struck them with the flat of his sword. Thus, through his obstinacy, these unfortunate men became targets for the enemy. The officers exhibited the greatest bravery, and many of them fell, as they were the special objects of the sharpshooters. Two of the aids, Morris and Orme, were severely wounded, and their duties devolved upon Washington. His exposure was great, as he passed often from one part of the field to another ; yet he gave his orders with calmness and judgment. When sent to bring up the artillery, he found the Indians surrounding it, Sir Peter Halket, the commander, killed, and the men paralyzed with fear. He encouraged them, leaped from his horse, pointed a field-piece and discharged it. It was useless ; the men deserted the guns. For three hours the desperate fight lasted. During this time Braddock was in the centre of the conflict, trying, *in his way*, to regain the field. His officers had nearly all fallen, and his slain soldiers covered the ground ; still he would not permit the remainder to adopt the Indian mode of fighting.

Five horses were shot under him, and finally he himself was mortally wounded. As he was falling from his horse Captain Stewart, of the Virginia Guards, caught him in his arms. As they bore him out of danger, he begged to be left to die upon the field of his misfortune. All was now abandoned. The fall of the general saved

CHAP. the army from entire destruction. The soldiers were now
XXI. at liberty to save themselves as best they could. "The
1755. regulars fled like sheep before hounds." The Virginia
Rangers threw themselves in the rear, and for some time
held the enemy in check. The wagoners mounted their
team-horses and fled ; all hurried to the ford, fiercely pur-
sued by the Indians. The love of plunder restrained the
pursuers, and after the fugitives had recrossed the river
they were not molested.

Washington rode all that night and the next day to
Dunbar's camp to obtain wagons to transport the wounded,
and soldiers to guard them. When he had obtained these
he hastened back to meet the fugitives.

Braddock was still able to issue orders, and seems to
have had a faint hope that he might hold out till he
could receive reinforcements. He was carried by the sol-
diers, being unable to mount a horse ;—at length, the
fugitives arrived at Fort Necessity. The wounded gen-
eral appeared to be heart-broken. He scarcely spoke ; as
if reflecting on his past confidence in his troops, he would
occasionally ejaculate, "Who would have thought it?"
Tradition tells of his softened feelings toward those whom
he had treated harshly ; of his gratitude to Captain Stew-
art for his care and kindness ; of his apology to Washing-
ton for the manner in which he had received his advice.
On the night of the thirteenth of July he died. The next
morning, before the break of day, he was buried as secretly
as possible, lest the Indians, who were hovering around,
should find his grave and violate it. The chaplain was
among the wounded, and Washington read the funeral
service. Near the national road, a mile west of Fort
Necessity, may be seen a rude pile of stones—the work
of some friendly hand,—it marks the grave of Braddock.
"His dauntless conduct on the field of battle shows him
to have been a man of spirit. His melancholy end, too,
disarms censure of its asperity. Whatever may have been

his faults and errors, he, in a manner expiated them by the hardest lot that can befall a brave soldier ambitious of renown,—an unhonored grave in a strange land, a memory clouded by misfortune, and a name ever coupled with defeat.”¹

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The frightened Dunbar, though he had under his command fifteen hundred effective men,—enough, if properly led, to have regained the field,—broke up his camp, destroyed his stores, and retreated with all speed ; only when he had arrived safely in Philadelphia did he breathe freely. His failure of duty left the frontiers exposed to the inroads of the savages.

Of eighty-six officers, twenty-six had perished, and thirty-six were wounded. Among the latter was Captain Horatio Gates, who, twenty-five years later, was conspicuous as a major-general in the struggle for independence. Of the soldiers, more than seven hundred were either killed or wounded. The gallant Virginia Rangers had perished in great numbers, for upon them had fallen the brunt of the battle. When it became known that there were only two hundred and twenty-five French, and about six hundred and fifty Indians in the battle, the disgrace was deeply felt, that this handful of men, sent merely to hold the English in check, should have defeated a well-equipped and disciplined army of nearly twice their own number.

The religious sentiments of the colonists were greatly shocked at the profanity, Sabbath-breaking, and almost every form of vice and wickedness common in this boastful army. So certain were the expectations of victory, that preparations were made to celebrate it.

It is proper to notice the effect of these events upon the minds of the colonists. With them the name of the British regulars had lost its prestige—they were not invincible.

¹ Washington Irving.

CHAP. In addition, the haughtiness of the British officers had
XXI. inflicted wounds destined never to be healed. The atten-
1755. tion of the people was directed especially to Washington. In a letter to his brother Augustine he says : " By the all-powerful dispensation of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation ; for I had four bullets through my coat, two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, though death was levelling my companions on every side around me."

The wonderful manner in which he had been preserved in that day of peril, excited universal attention. No doubt the Rev. Samuel Davies, one of the most celebrated clergymen of the day, expressed the common sentiment, when, in a sermon preached soon after Braddock's defeat, he referred to him as " that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, *whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country.*" Washington was never wounded in battle ; he was shielded by the same protecting hand.

CHAPTER XXII.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—CONTINUED.

The French Acadiens; their simple Manners, Industry, and good Morals.—Expulsion from their Homes, and mournful Exile.—Expedition against Crown Point.—Baron Dieskau.—English defeated.—Death of Colonel Williams.—Attack on Johnson's Camp repulsed.—Death of Dieskau.—Williams College.—Indian Ravages on the Frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania.—Kittanning destroyed.—Lord Loudon Commander-in-chief.—His tardiness and arbitrary Measures.—Montcalm acts with Energy; captures Fort Ontario, then Fort William Henry.—Exhausted condition of Canada.

In the mean time other expeditions were undertaken against the French. For this purpose Massachusetts alone raised eight thousand soldiers, almost one-fifth part of her able-bodied men. A portion of Acadie or Nova Scotia was still in the hands of the French. It consisted of the isthmus on the northern part, which was defended by two insignificant forts. For forty years, since the peace of Utrecht, the peninsula had been under British rule, and now the whole territory was completely subdued. These forts, with scarcely any resistance, fell into the hands of the English. Sixteen years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth this French colony was established on the Peninsula of Acadie. It was the oldest permanent French settlement in North America. For one hundred and fifty years the Acadiens had been gradually clearing and improving their lands, and enjoying the comforts of rural life. At first their chief source of wealth had been the fisheries and the fur-trade; but these had

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1755. gradually given way to agriculture. Their social intercourse was governed by a high tone of morals. Their differences, but few in number, were settled by the arbitration of their old men. Seldom did they go with complaints to their English rulers. Early marriages were encouraged, and when a young man came of age, his neighbors built him a house, and aided him for one year, and the wife's friends aided her with gifts. Their fields were fertile, and industry made them productive. Their meadows, which now were covered with flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, they had, by means of dikes, redeemed from the great flow of the tide. Their little cottages dotted the landscape. In their domestic industry each family provided for its own wants, and clothed its members with cloth and linen made from the wool of their flocks, or from the flax of their fields.

As Catholics, they were happy in the exercise of their religion ; though they belonged to the diocese of Quebec, they were not brought into close relation with the people of Canada. They knew but little of what was passing beyond the limits of their own neighborhood. Independent of the world, they had its comforts, but not its luxuries. They now numbered about seventeen thousand inhabitants, and up to this time their English rulers had left them undisturbed in their seclusion.

A dark cloud was hanging over this scene of rural simplicity and comfort. As they were excused from bearing arms against France by the terms of their surrender, the Acadiens were known as "French neutrals ;" neither had they been required to take the usual oaths of allegiance ; they had promised submission to English authority, to be neutral in times of war with France, and it was understood they were to enjoy their religion. This oath was one which, as good Frenchmen and good Catholics, they could not take ; it required them to bear arms against their own brethren in Canada, and it might in-

volve the interests of their religion. "Better," urged the priests, "surrender your meadows to the sea, and your houses to the flames, than at the peril of your souls take the oath of allegiance to the British government." But it was now to be exacted. "They possess the best and largest tract of land in this province," writes Lawrence, Lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, to Lord Halifax; "if they refuse the oaths, it would be much better that they were away." This "largest and best tract" seems to have been coveted by their English rulers; they undoubtedly were suspicious of the Acadiens as Catholics, and it is true some of their more ardent young men belonged, as volunteers, to the garrisons of the recently captured forts; but as this simple-minded people had neither the will nor the power to aid the enemies of England, we cannot suppose that this suspicion alone induced the British to visit upon them a severity so unparalleled. The question of allegiance was, however, to be pressed to the utmost; if they refused to take the oath, the titles to their lands were to be null and void. The haughty conduct of the British officers sent to enforce these orders was to them a harbinger of sorrow. Their property was wantonly taken for the public service, and "they not to be bargained with for payment;" if they did not bring wood at the proper time, "the soldiers might take their houses for fuel." Their guns were taken, and their boats seized, under the pretence that they intended to carry provisions to the French. The English insisted upon treating this people, so faithful to their country and their religion, as lawless rebels. Wearied by these oppressions, their deputies promised allegiance; they declared that their consciences would not permit them to rebel against their rulers, and they humbly asked that their arms and boats might be restored. "The memorial is highly arrogant, insidious, and insulting," said the haughty Lawrence; "guns do not belong to you by law, for you are

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1755. Roman Catholics." After consultation with the people, the deputies offered to swear unconditionally. Then they were told, as they had once refused, now they should not be permitted to swear.

Sept. A calamity, as unexpected as it was dreadful, was at hand. By proclamation, "the old men, and young men, as well as all lads over ten years of age," were called upon to assemble, on a certain day, the fifth of September, at certain posts in their respective districts, to hear the "wishes of the king." The call was obeyed. At Grand Pré alone more than four hundred unsuspecting and unarmed men and boys came together. They were gathered into the church, its doors were closed, and Winslow, the commander, announced to them the decision of the British government. They were to be banished forever from their native province; from the fields they had cultivated, from the pleasant homes where they had spent their youth. They might not emigrate to lands offered them among friends in Canada, lest they should add strength to the French. They were to be driven forth as beggars among their enemies, a people of a strange language and of a different religion. They were retained as prisoners, till the ships which were to bear them away were ready. As soon as possible, their wives and little children were also seized. On the day of embarkation, the young men and boys were first ordered on board the ship; as their parents and friends were not allowed to go with them, they refused, fearing that if thus separated, they might never meet again—a thought they could not bear. But resistance and entreaties were useless; driven by the bayonet, they were marched from the church to the ship, which was a mile distant; their way was lined with weeping friends, mothers, and sisters, who prayed for blessings on their heads, and they themselves wept and prayed and mournfully chanted psalms as they passed along. Then in the same manner the fathers were driven on board

another ship. The wives and children were left behind ; these were kept for weeks near the sea without proper shelter or food, shivering in December's cold, till ships could come to take them away. "The soldiers hate them, and if they can but find a pretext will kill them." Thus wrote an English officer who was engaged in this work of cruelty.

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In some places the object of the proclamation was suspected, and the men and youth did not assemble. In the vicinity of Annapolis some fled to the woods, with their wives and children, some went to Canada, while others threw themselves upon the hospitality of the Indians, from whom they received a hearty welcome. That these poor people, who had fled to the woods, might be compelled by starvation and exposure to give themselves up, orders were issued to lay waste their homes, and the whole country was made a desolation, from the village and its church, to the peasant's cottage and barn. "For successive evenings the cattle assembled round the smouldering ruins, as if in anxious expectation of the return of their masters ; while all night long the faithful watchdogs howled over the scene of desolation, and mourned alike the hand that had fed, and the house that had sheltered them."¹

Seven thousand of these poor people were transported and cast helpless on the shores of the English colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia. Families were separated never to meet again. From time to time, for many years afterward, advertisements in the newspapers of the colonies told the tale of sorrow. Now they inquired for a lost wife or husband, now brothers and sisters inquired for each other; parents for their children, and children for their parents. When any in after years attempted to return they were driven off. Some of those taken to Georgia

¹ Haliburton's *History of Nova Scotia*.

CHAP. could endure their banishment no longer. They obtained
XXII. boats, and coasted along the shore toward home ; but,
1755 alas ! when almost at the end of their perilous voyage,
they were ordered away. Some wandered to Louisiana,
where lands on the river above New Orleans, still known
as the Acadien coast, were assigned them.

This work of wanton cruelty was done by men, who unblushingly congratulated the approving king that the work of desolation had been so effectively accomplished—a work, which, for its treachery and cowardly cruelty, deserves the reprobation of every human breast. “ I know not that the annals of the human race keep the record of sorrows so wantonly inflicted, so bitter and so perennial, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadie. The hand of the English official seemed under a spell with regard to them, and was never uplifted but to curse them.”¹

The expedition against Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, had been intrusted to General William Johnson. His troops were drawn principally from Massachusetts and Connecticut ; a regiment from New Hampshire joined them at Albany. At the head of boat navigation on the Hudson, a fort was built which, in honor of their commander, whom they revered as “ a brave and virtuous man,” the soldiers named Fort Lyman. But when Johnson assumed the command he ungenerously changed the name to Fort Edward. Leaving a garrison in this fort, Johnson moved with about five thousand men to the head of Lake George, and there formed a camp, intending to descend into Lake Champlain. Hendrick, the celebrated Mohawk chief, with his warriors, were among these troops. Israel Putnam, too, was there, as a captain, and John Stark as a lieutenant, each taking lessons in warfare.

The French were not idle ; the district of Montreal made the most strenuous exertions to meet the invading foe

¹ Bancroft.

All the men who were able to bear arms were called into active service ; so that to gather in the harvest, their places were supplied by men from other districts. The energetic Baron Dieskau resolved, by a bold attack, to terrify the invaders. Taking with him two hundred regulars, and about twelve hundred Canadians and Indians, he set out to capture Fort Edward ; but as he drew near, the Indians heard that it was defended by cannon, which they greatly dreaded, and they refused to advance. He now changed his plan, and resolved to attack Johnson's camp, which was supposed to be without cannon.

Meantime scouts had reported to Johnson, that they had seen roads made through the woods in the direction of Fort Edward. Not knowing the movements of Dieskau, a detachment of a thousand men, under Colonel Ephraim Williams, of Massachusetts, and two hundred Mohawks, under Hendrick, marched to relieve that post. The French had information of their approach, and placed themselves in ambush. They were concealed among the thick bushes of a swamp, on the one side, and rocks and trees on the other. The English recklessly marched into the defile. They were vigorously attacked, and thrown into confusion. Hendrick was almost instantly killed, and in a short time Williams fell also. The detachment commenced to retreat, occasionally halting to check their pursuers. The firing was heard in the camp ; as the sound drew nearer and nearer, it was evident the detachment was retreating. The drums beat to arms, trees were hastily felled and thrown together to form a breastwork, upon which were placed a few cannon, just arrived from the Hudson. Scarcely were these preparations made, when the panting fugitives appeared in sight, hotly pursued by the French and Indians. Intending to enter the camp with the fugitives, Dieskau urged forward his men with the greatest impetuosity. The moment the fugitives were past the muzzles of the cannon, they opened with

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1755. a tremendous shower of grape, which scattered the terrified Indians and checked the Canadians, but the regulars pushed on. A determined contest ensued, which lasted five hours, until the regulars were nearly all slain, while the Indians and Canadians did but little execution; they remained at a respectful distance among the trees. At length the enemy began to retreat, and the Americans leaped over the breastwork and pursued them with great vigor. That same evening, after the pursuit had ceased, as the French were retreating, they were suddenly attacked with great spirit by the New Hampshire regiment, which was on its way from Fort Edward. They were so panic-stricken by this new assault, that they abandoned every thing, and fled for their lives.

Dieskau had been wounded once or twice at the commencement of the battle, but he never left his post; two of his soldiers generously attempted to carry him out of danger, but when in the act one of them received his death wound; he urged the other to flee. In the midst of flying bullets he calmly seated himself on the stump of a neighboring tree. He was taken prisoner, kindly treated, and sent to England, where he died.

Johnson was slightly wounded at the commencement of the battle, and prudently retired from danger. To General Lyman belongs the honor of the victory, yet Johnson, in his report of the battle, did not even mention his name. Johnson, for his exertions on that day, was made a baronet, and received from royal favor a gift of twenty-five thousand dollars. He had friends at court, but Lyman was unknown.

Colonel Ephraim Williams, who fell in this battle, while passing through Albany had taken the precaution to make his will, in which he bequeathed property to found a free school in western Massachusetts. That school has since grown into WILLIAMS COLLEGE—a monument

more honorable than one of granite, one fraught with blessings to future generations.

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Johnson, instead of pushing on to take advantage of the victory, loitered in his camp, and finally built and garrisoned a useless wooden fort, which he named William Henry.

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As has been mentioned, the retreat of Dunbar left the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania subject to the horrors of savage warfare. Washington was intrusted with their defence, but so few men had he at his command, and they so scattered, as to afford but little protection. The distant settlers of Virginia were driven in, and the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah became almost a desolation. Governor Dinwiddie, as an apology for not furnishing more soldiers, wrote: "We dare not part with any of our white men to any distance, as we must have a watchful eye over our negro slaves." In one of his letters, Washington says: "The supplicating tears of women and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that for the people's ease, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the treacherous enemy."

The village of Kittanning, twenty or thirty miles up the Alleghany, above Fort Du Quesne, was the headquarters of a notable Indian chief, known as Captain Jacobs. Incited by the French, he and his bands made many murderous incursions against the settlements of Pennsylvania. His associate was the Delaware chief Shingis. Benjamin Franklin, who had been appointed colonel by the governor, had organized the Pennsylvania militia to protect the frontiers, and after his resignation, Colonel John Armstrong, afterward a major-general in the Revolutionary war, was chosen in his place. He resolved to destroy these Indians and their village. Three hundred Pennsylvanians volunteered for the enterprise. In the latter part of September they set out on horseback, across the mountains, and in a few days came into the vicinity of Kittanning, at

CHAP. night. They heard the savages carousing and yelling, XXII. they left their horses, approached the village, and arranged
1756. the order of attack. The night was warm, the Indians
Sept. soon began to separate, some to sleep in the corn-fields near by, and some in wigwams. As day began to dawn, the Americans surrounded the party, and, at a given signal, rushed to the attack. The Indians were taken by surprise, but soon the voice of Jacobs was heard loud above the din, cheering on his warriors, and shouting, "We are men, we will not be prisoners." The wigwams were set on fire, and warriors were heard singing their death-song in the midst of the flames. Jacobs attempted to break through the surrounding foe, but his career was cut short by a rifle-ball. This nest of savage murderers was entirely broken up; the survivors went further west, and for a season the frontiers had peace.

Lord Loudon was appointed a sort of viceroy of all the colonies. He sent General Abercrombie as his lieutenant, having suspended Governor Shirley, and ordered him to
June. repair to England. Abercrombie arrived in June, and brought with him several British regiments. It was confidently expected that something important would now be done. These royal gentlemen had an army of seven thousand men at Albany, but, as the Frenchmen had said, they were "slow and dilatory,"—they spent the summer in adjusting the rank of the officers. The soldiers of the colonies, though they had, by their indomitable courage, saved the remnant of the British army on the banks of the Monongahela though, at Lake George, they had driven the enemy before them, and had defended their soil and maintained the honor of the English name, yet they were not permitted to elect their own officers, and if they were appointed by the colonial governors, those of the same rank by royal appointment took the precedence. These were the petty annoyances dictated by little minds, that aided so much in alienating the colonists from the

mother country, and in the end leading them to independence.

While the English were thus trifling, Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, was acting. With five thousand Frenchmen, Canadians, and Indians, he darted across the lake, and suddenly presented himself at the gates of Fort Ontario, at the mouth of the Oswego. He met with a vigorous resistance ; not until they had lost all hope of receiving aid, and their brave commander, Colonel Mercer, was killed, did the garrison surrender. An immense amount of military stores fell into the hands of Montcalm ; he sent the captured flags to adorn the churches of Canada, and to please the Iroquois, who promised neutrality, he demolished the fort. Though it was known that this important post was threatened, yet no means were taken to relieve it. Thus Loudon planned and counterplanned, accomplished nothing, and then withdrew from his arduous labors into winter-quarters. He demanded free quarters for his officers of the citizens of Albany, New York, and Philadelphia. As the demand was "contrary to the laws of England and the liberties of America," they refused to accede to it. He threatened to bring his soldiers and compel them to submit to the outrage. The citizens, in their weakness, raised subscriptions to support for the winter those who had wasted the resources of the country. Thus a military chief invaded, not merely the political rights of the people, but the sanctities of their domestic life.

Montcalm was undisturbed in making preparations to capture Fort William Henry, before which he appeared, the next year, with a large French and Indian force. The garrison numbered about three thousand men, under Colonel Monroe, a brave officer, who, when summoned to surrender, indignantly refused, and immediately sent to General Webbe, at Fort Edward, fifteen miles distant, for aid. He could have relieved Monroe, for he had four

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thousand men at his disposal, but when Putnam obtained permission to go to the aid of the fort, and had proceeded some miles with his rangers, Webbe recalled him. Then he sent a letter to Monroe advising him to surrender. This letter fell into the hands of Montcalm, who was on the point of raising the siege, but he now sent the letter to Monroe, with another demand to surrender. The brave veteran would not capitulate, but held out till half his guns were rendered useless. Montcalm was too brave and generous not to appreciate nobleness in others, and he granted him the privilege of marching out with the honors of war. The only pledge he asked, was that the soldiers should not engage in war against the French for eighteen months. They were to retain their private property, and Canadian and Indian prisoners were to be restored.

Montcalm held a council of the Indians, who consented to the terms of the treaty, though they were sadly disappointed in their hopes of plunder. He refused them rum, and thus he could restrain them; but, unfortunately, the night after the surrender they obtained it from the English. In the morning they were frantic from the effects of intoxication, and when the garrison were leaving their camp, they fell upon the stragglers. The French officers did all they could to restrain them, and some were even wounded in their exertions to save the English soldiers from savage violence. Montcalm, in his agony, cried, "Kill me, but spare the English; they are under my protection." Instead of an orderly retreat to Fort Edward, it was a flight.

Thus the French, with a population in Canada, not one-twentieth part as great as that of the English colonies, seemed triumphant everywhere. Was it strange that the colonists began to lose their respect for those sent to protect them from their enemies—especially for the officers? They believed the interference of the home government hindered the advancement of their cause, while

the majority of the royalist governors seemed to be actuated by no worthier motive than that of promoting their own interests.

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Though the French were thus victorious, and possessed the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and apparently all the continent, except a little strip along the Atlantic coast, yet Canada was exhausted. The struggle was virtually over. Her men had been drawn to the battle-field, while their farms were left untilled, and now famine was beginning to press upon the people. Their cattle and sheep were destroyed, and horse-flesh was made to supply the place of beef ; no aid could come from France, as nearly all intercourse was cut off by the ever-present British cruisers. The French owed their success, not to their own strength, but to the imbecility of the English commanders.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, CONTINUED.

William Pitt, Prime Minister.—Lord Amherst, Commander-in-chief.—Plan of Operations.—Louisburg captured.—Abercrombie on Lake George; Repulse and Retreat.—Bradstreet captures Fort Frontenac.—Expedition against Fort Du Quesne.—Colonel Grant.—Washington takes possession of the Fort; resigns his Commission.—Ticonderoga abandoned; the French retire to Canada.—Wolfe appears before Quebec.—Exertions of Montcalm.—The British on the Heights of Abraham.—The Battle.—Deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm; their Memories.—Quebec capitulates.—The Cherokee War.—Destruction of their Crops and Villages; their Revenge.—Pontiac; his Character and Plans.—Desolations along the Frontiers.—General Bouquet.—Pontiac's Death.

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THE people of England were not indifferent spectators of these failures; they noticed the feeble manner in which the war was conducted, and attributed the want of success to the inefficiency of those in command.

Through their influence William Pitt, one of themselves, not of the aristocracy, was called to the head of affairs. He appreciated the character and patriotism of the colonists. Instead of devising measures that would impoverish them, he, at once, assumed the expenses of the war; announced that the money they had already spent for that purpose, should be refunded, and that for the future such expenses would be borne by the home government; also arms and clothing should be furnished the soldiers who would enlist. This act of justice brought into the field fifty thousand men—a number greater than that of the entire male population of Canada at that time.

Lord Jeffrey Amherst was appointed commander-in-chief of the British army. He had for his lieutenant the young and talented James Wolfe, who, although but thirty-one years of age, had spent eighteen of those years in the army, where, by his noble bearing, he had won for himself the admiration of both friends and foes.

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According to the general plan, Amherst himself was to head the expedition against Louisburg and Quebec ; while General Forbes was to capture Fort Du Quesne and take possession of the valley of the Ohio, and Abercrombie to take Ticonderoga, the French stronghold on Lake Champlain. With Abercrombie was associated Lord Howe, who was characterized as the soul of the enterprise.

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On the 8th of June, Amherst landed with his forces near the city of Louisburg. Under the cover of a fire from the ships Wolfe led the first division. He forbade a gun to be fired, urged on the rowers, and in the face of the enemy leaped into the water, and followed by his men waded to the shore. The French deserted their outposts, and retired to the fortress in the town. After a bombardment of fifty days, when the French shipping in the harbor was destroyed, and all hopes of receiving assistance at an end, the fortress surrendered. At the same time were given up the islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edward, five thousand prisoners, and an immense amount of military stores.

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Abercrombie and Lord Howe advanced against Ticonderoga. Their army, which amounted to seven thousand English and nine thousand Americans, assembled at the head of Lake George. They passed in flat-boats down to the foot of the lake, where they disembarked and hurried on toward Ticonderoga ; but through the ignorance of their guide, missed their way, and the advance fell into an ambuscade of a French scouting party. The enemy was soon put to flight, but Lord Howe fell at the head

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of his men. His death threw a gloom over the camp—the soldiers had confidence in no other leader. Their forebodings were soon realized. The British engineer reconnoitred the French works, and reported them as weak; but Stark, who knew their strength, affirmed they were strong and well furnished. Abercrombie believed his engineer, and without waiting for his artillery, he ordered an attack. His soldiers performed prodigies of valor, but were forced to retire, with a loss of two thousand of their number. In this battle was wounded Charles Lee, then a captain, and afterward a major-general in the Revolutionary army. The indefatigable Montcalm had disposed his small army to the very best advantage, and was present wherever he was specially needed. Abercrombie ordered his men to attempt an impossibility, but judiciously kept himself out of danger. The English army was yet four to one of the French, and could have conquered with the aid of the cannon which had been brought up, yet Abercrombie hastily retreated. As Montcalm's troops were few and exhausted, he did not attempt to pursue him.

The monotony of disasters was disturbed by Colonel Bradstreet, of New York, who, after much solicitation, obtained permission to go against Fort Frontenac, which, from its position at the foot of Lake Ontario, commanded that lake and the St. Lawrence. It was a central point for trading with the Indians; a great magazine which supplied all the posts on the upper lakes and Ohio with military stores. With twenty-seven hundred men, all Americans, principally from New York and Massachusetts, Bradstreet passed rapidly and secretly to Oswego, and thence across the lake in open boats, and landed within a mile of the fort. The majority of the garrison, terrified at the sudden appearance of enemies, fled; the next day the remainder surrendered. There was found an immense amount of military stores, some of them destined for Fort Du Quesne, and a fleet of nine armed ves-

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sels, which held the command of the lake. The fort was razed to its foundation, two of the vessels were laden with stores and brought to Oswego ; the remaining stores and ships were destroyed.

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The troops raised in Pennsylvania for the expedition under General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne were assembled at Raystown, on the Juniata. Washington was at Cumberland, with the Virginia regiment. His plan was to march directly upon the fort by the road which Braddock had made. This common-sense plan was rejected, and the suggestions of some land speculators adopted, and Forbes ordered a new road to be cut through the wilderness further north.

General Bouquet with the advance passed over the Laurel Hill, and established a post at Loyal Hanna. Without permission he despatched Major Grant with eight hundred Highlanders and a company of Virginians to reconnoitre in the vicinity of Fort Du Quesne. Grant was permitted to approach unmolested, though the French knew from their scouts of all his movements. As he drew near, he sent a party to take a plan of the fort, and placed Major Lewis with the Virginians to guard the baggage, as if they were not to be trusted in the contest. Not a gun was fired from the fort. Grant self-complacently attributed this to the dread his regulars had inspired. All this time the Indians lay quietly in ambush, waiting for the signal to commence the attack. Presently out rushed the garrison, and attacked the Highlanders in front, while in a moment the fearful war-whoop arose on both flanks. Terrified at the unusual contest, they were thrown into confusion ; their bewildered officers began to manoeuvre them as if in the open field. Major Lewis with some of his party hastened to the rescue, and there fought hand to hand with the savages. The detachment, overpowered by numbers, was completely routed, and

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15.

CHAP. Grant and Lewis were both made prisoners. The fugi-
 XXIII. tives soon reached the place where they left the baggage.
 1758. Captain Bullit hastily formed a barricade with the wag-
 ons, behind which he waited the approach of the pursuers.
 When they were within a few yards, the Virginians poured
 in a fire so direct and deadly as to check them. They
 soon rallied and again approached. This time, Captain
 Bullit and his men advanced, as if to surrender, but when
 within eight yards he again poured in an effective fire, and
 immediately charged bayonet. The pursuers were so as-
 tonished at the suddenness and manner of attack that
 they fled in dismay, while the Virginians retreated with
 all speed.

When the news of this disaster reached the main
 army, it well-nigh ruined the whole enterprise, as a coun-
 cil of war decided to give up the attempt for that year,
 as it was now November, and there were yet fifty miles of
 unbroken forest between them and the fort. Just then
 some prisoners were brought in, from whom the defence-
 less condition of the fort was learned. Washington was
 given the command of a division with which to push for-
 ward. In a few days they arrived in the neighborhood of
 Du Quesne. Instead of meeting with a vigorous resist-
 ance, they were surprised to learn that the place had been
 abandoned the day before. The French commander had
 blown up his magazines, burned every building that would
 burn, and with his company gone on board of flat-boats
 and floated down the Ohio. On the twenty-fifth of No-
 v. 25. vember, Washington marched into the deserted fort, and
 planted the English colors. An impulse of grateful feel-
 ing changed the name to Fort Pitt—since PITTSBURG, in
 honor of the illustrious man—the first of English states-
 men, who appreciated the character of the American colo-
 nists, and who was willing to do them justice. Situated
 at the head of the Ohio, in a region celebrated for its agri-
 cultural and mineral wealth, and settled by a moral and

industrious population, it has far exceeded in importance any other acquisition made during the war. A fit monument to the memory of the "Great Commoner."

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The object of the campaign thus secured, Washington, leaving two Virginia regiments to garrison the fort, resigned his commission, and retired to private life. In the mean time he had been elected a member of the House of Burgesses. A few months afterward, on the opening of the session, the House, by vote, resolved to receive the youthful champion with some befitting manifestation of its regard. Accordingly, when he took his seat as a member, the Speaker addressed him, giving him thanks for the military services he had rendered his country. Taken by surprise, Washington rose to reply, but words were wanting; he faltered and blushed. "Sit down, Mr. Washington," kindly said the Speaker; "your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

This year closed with great advantages to the English. The cunning Indians—still true to the winning side—began to desert the French, and to form treaties of peace or neutrality with their enemies. The comprehensive mind of Pitt was devising plans to crush the French power in America. He promptly paid all the expenses incurred by the colonists during the past year, and they with alacrity entered into his schemes. Wolfe was to ascend the St. Lawrence; Amherst was to advance by way of Lake Champlain, and capture Montreal, and then join Wolfe before Quebec; while General Prideaux was to capture Fort Niagara, and then to pass down Lake Ontario to Montreal.

As Amherst advanced against Ticonderoga, the French abandoned that post, and the others as he approached; he wasted his time in fortifying the places deserted by the enemy, as if they who were so exhausted as to be scarcely able to get out of his way, would ever return! Though General Prideaux was unfortunately killed by the burst-

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ing of a gun, yet Sir William Johnson, on whom the command devolved, took Niagara ; and thus the chain which joined the French forts of Canada, with those of the valley of the Mississippi, was broken forever.

June
27.

The fleet and troops designed against Quebec, assembled at Louisburg. In the latter part of June the armament arrived at the Isle of Orleans, upon which the troops immediately landed. The rock on which stood the citadel of St. Louis, could be seen to the west looming up more than three hundred feet, bidding defiance to the invaders. In the rear were the Heights of Abraham, a plain extending for miles, while all along the shore the high cliffs seemed to be an impregnable defence.

To meet this force, Montcalm had only a few enfeebled battalions and Canadian militia. The Indians held themselves aloof. The English fleet consisted of twenty-two ships of the line, and as many frigates. As master of one of these ships was Captain James Cook, afterward celebrated as the discoverer of the many isles of the Pacific. Under Wolfe were four young and ardent commanders, Robert Monckton, afterward governor of New York ; George Townshend, and James Murray, and also Colonel Howe, afterward Sir William, who for a time commanded the British army in the American Revolution.

Quebec, situated on a peninsula between the St. Lawrence and the river St. Charles, was defended on three sides by these rivers, leaving only the west exposed. The lower town was on the beach, while the upper was on the cliff two hundred feet above. The high cliffs of the north shore of the St. Lawrence were deemed a sufficient defence. It was thought impossible for an army to scale them. Below on the St. Lawrence, between the St. Charles and the Montmorenci rivers, was Montcalm's camp, guarded by many floating batteries and ships of war. But the naval superiority of the English soon rendered them masters on the water.

The French troops were driven from Point Levi, directly opposite Quebec, and Wolfe erected batteries on that spot, and began to bombard the lower town, which was soon reduced to ashes ; but owing to the distance, the fortress and the upper town could not be injured. Wolfe then passed over to the north side of the river, below the Montmorenci, intending to pass that stream, and force Montcalm to a battle.

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When this design was carried into effect, the first division, consisting of the grenadiers, rashly rushed on to storm the French lines before the second division could come up to support them. They were repulsed, with a loss of nearly five hundred men. Diversions were also made above the town to induce the enemy to come into the open field, but without success. Montcalm merely sent De Bougainville with fifteen hundred men to guard against these attacks.

The repulse at Montmorenci occasioned the sensitive Wolfe much suffering. He looked for the tardy Amherst, but in vain ! No tidings came from him, and it seemed as if the enterprise, the first under his own command, was about to fail. He was thrown into a violent fever by his anxiety. As a last resort, it was resolved, in a council held around his bed, to scale the Heights of Abraham. In order to do this, the French must be deceived. Therefore Captain Cook was sent to take soundings and place buoys opposite Montcalm's camp, as if that was to be the special object of attack. Meantime, the shore for many miles above the town, was carefully examined. At one place was found a little indentation in the bank, from which a path wound up the cliff,—there they determined to make the attempt. This is now known as Wolfe's Cove. The troops were put on shipboard and suddenly sailed up the river, as if intending to pass beyond the French lines and there land. At night the ships lay to, and the troops, in boats, dropped down with the tide to Wolfe's Cove, fol-

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XXIII. sary. As they passed, a French sentinel hailed them with

1759. the inquiry, "Who goes there?" "La France," answered a captain. "What regiment?" "The Queen's"—that being one of the regiments up the river with Bougainville. The sentinel was deceived. They passed on to the Cove, and quietly landing began to grope their way up the cliff, clinging to the shrubs and rocks for support. In the morning the entire army was on the Heights of Abraham, ready for battle.

Sept. Montcalm was thunderstruck, when he heard the news.
3. "It must surely be," said he, "a small party come to pillage, and then retire." More correct information revealed to him the whole truth. There was no time to be lost. He sent immediately for the detachment of Bougainville, which was fifteen miles up the river. The Indians and Canadians advanced first, and subjected the English to an irregular, and galling fire. Wolfe ordered his men to reserve their fire for the French regulars, who were rapidly approaching. When they were within forty yards, the English poured upon them a stream of musketry, aided by grape-shot from a few guns dragged up the cliff by the sailors. It was a fierce conflict. The respective commanders were opposite to each other. Wolfe, although wounded twice, continued to give his orders with clearness; but as he advanced with the grenadiers, who were to make their final charge with the bayonet, he received a ball in the breast. He knew the wound was mortal, and when falling said to the officer nearest to him: "Let not my brave fellows see me fall." He was carried to the rear; when asked if he would have a surgeon, he answered: "It is needless; it is all over with me." As his life was fast ebbing, the cry was raised—"See, they run! they run!" "Who run!" asked the dying man. "The enemy, sir," was the answer. "Do they run already?" he asked with evident surprise. Sum-

moning his failing energies, "Go one of you, to Colonel Burton," said he; "tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles river, to cut off the retreat by the bridge." Then turning upon his side, he murmured, "Now God be praised, I die happy." These were the last words of the young hero, in whom were centred the hopes of his soldiers and of his country. Monckton was severely wounded, and the command devolved upon Townshend, who, content with being master of the field, called the troops from the pursuit. Just at the close of the battle Bougainville appeared with his division; but the contest was declined.

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There is a peculiar interest attached to the name and character of Wolfe. A mind sensitive in its emotions and vigorous in its thoughts, animated his feeble body. He maintained a love for the quieter paths of literature, even amid the excitements of the camp. On the clear star-
'ight night preceding the battle, as the boat in which he was seated with his officers was silently floating down the St. Lawrence, he recited to them that classic poem, Gray's "Elegy in a Country Church-yard;" then just published. Death seems to have already cast his dark shadow upon him, and doubtless many of the finer passages of the poem were in accordance with his subdued and melancholy emotions. Then for a time the aspirations of the man of feeling and poetic taste triumphed over the sterner ambition of the warrior, and at its close he exclaimed: "I would rather be the author of that poem than to take Quebec to-morrow."

The brave and generous Montcalm was mortally wounded near the close of the battle. When carried into the city, the surgeon informed him that he could survive only a few hours. "So much the better," he calmly replied, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." When asked his advice about defending the city, he an-

CHAP. answered: "To your keeping I commend the honor of
XXIII. France. I will neither give orders nor interfere any fur-

1759. ther; I have business of greater moment to attend to; my time is short; I shall pass this night with God, and prepare myself for death." He then wrote a letter to the English commander, commending to his favor the French prisoners. The next morning he died. That generation passed away, and with it the animosity which existed between the conquerors and the conquered. The united
1827. people of another generation erected a granite monument, on which they inscribed the names of Montcalm and Wolfe.

Sept. Five days after the battle Quebec surrendered. There
18. were great rejoicings both in America and England. Praises were lavished upon Pitt. He in Parliament replied, "I will aim to serve my country, but the more a man is versed in business, the more he finds the hand of Providence everywhere." The next year an attempt was made by the French to recover Quebec, but it failed. An overwhelming force was brought against Montreal. Resistance was vain, and Vaudreuil, the governor, surrendered all the French stations on the Lakes. The troops were to be sent home, and the Canadians, protected in their property, were to enjoy their religious privileges. Thus passed away the French power in Canada. Dependents upon the mother country, the inhabitants had never exercised the right of self-government; they lacked the energy essential to success as an independent people. They have assimilated but little with their conquerors. They still preserve that gay simplicity of manners, so characteristic of their nation, and an ardent attachment to the church of their fathers.

Meantime disturbances had occurred on the southwest. The Cherokees had always been the friends of the English, and had undertaken to protect the frontiers south of the Potomac, yet for this their warriors, when about to

return home, received no reward from the government—
 not even supplies of food for their journey. What the
 State failed to do was done by Washington and his offi-
 cers, who supplied their wants. The next year more
 Cherokees joined the expedition under Forbes against
 Fort Du Quesne. As they were returning home along
 the western borders of Virginia, to avoid starvation they
 helped themselves to what they wanted. This led to
 quarrels with the backwoodsmen, who killed and scalped
 some of their number. When this was told in the land
 of the Cherokees, it caused sorrow, indignation, and alarm ;
 the women, relatives of those who were slain, poured forth
 deep and bitter wailings for the dead ; the young warriors,
 indignant, armed themselves for revenge ; the old men
 cautioned and counselled, and did all in their power to
 prevent war, but in vain ; two white men fell victims to the
 rage of the young warriors. Tiftoe and five other chieftains
 went to Charleston to beg for peace, and to heal differ-
 ences. The governor, the haughty and arbitrary Lyttle-
 ton, demanded that the young men who, according to the
 ideas of the sons of the forest, had vindicated the honor
 of their nation, “ should be delivered up or put to death
 in their own land.” This, the Cherokees thought, would
 only add fuel to the flame already kindled. The legislature
 decided unanimously that there was no cause for war.
 News came from the frontier that all was peaceful :
 “ there were no bad talks.” The obstinate governor per-
 sisted in his demand, and created more disturbance. Then
 he told the chiefs who wished for peace to come to him
 and hold a talk, and promised them safe conduct to and
 from Charleston. Trusting to his word, the great warrior
 Oconostata came with thirty others. But Lyttleton must
 obtain for himself the glory of a successful expedition
 against the Cherokees. He called out the militia in spite
 of the remonstrances of the people, of the legislature, and
 of his own council, and basely retained as prisoners, those

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who had trusted his word. He marched into the country of the Cherokees, forced a treaty from a feeble old chief, 1759. who had no authority to make one, and then returned in fancied triumph. Oconostata and a few others were liberated. The remainder Lyttleton ordered to be kept prisoners at Fort Prince George till twenty-four warriors should be given up to him. Oconostata made an attempt to liberate his friends. In this effort a white man was killed; then, in revenge, the garrison murdered the prisoners. Now the rage of the Cherokees knew no bounds. They exclaimed: "The spirits of our murdered brothers are flying around us screaming for vengeance." The legislature strongly condemned the perfidious conduct of Lyttleton, and asserted their "birth-rights as British subjects," and affirmed that he had "violated their undoubted privileges." Yet this very man received the highest commendations from the "Board of Trade."

The Cherokees, driven to desperation by such treatment, called to their aid the Muscogeese, and sent to Louisiana for military supplies. The Carolinians applied to General Amherst, who sent them twelve hundred 1760. men, principally Highlanders, under General Montgomery. They, with the Carolinians, pressed forward, by forced marches, into the land of the Cherokees. Why give the details of desolated settlements? Village after village was destroyed, and fertile valleys laid waste. On the upper Savannah was the beautiful vale of Keowee, "the delight of the Cherokees." They had become so far civilized as to build comfortable houses, and to surround them with cultivated fields. Suddenly appeared the invaders. The great majority of the Indians, after an attempt at defence, fled, and from the distant mountain-tops saw the July. enemy burning their houses and destroying their crops. "I cannot help pitying them a little," writes Colonel Grant; "their villages are agreeably situated, their houses

neatly built. There were everywhere astonishing magazines of corn, which were all consumed." CHAP
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After this dash at the Cherokees, Montgomery immediately returned to the north, as ordered by Amherst. The Indians were not subdued, but enraged ; they continued to ravage the back settlements of the Carolinas. 1760.

Immediately after the surrender of Canada, all the French stations on the lakes were occupied by the conquerors, and the little stockade posts throughout all that region, and in the valley of the Ohio, were garrisoned by a few men, in many instances not exceeding twenty. The French, either as traders or as religious teachers, had won the confidence and the affection of the Indians, by a friendly intercourse extending through more than half a century. Was it strange that the contrast appeared great to them, between these friends and companions and the domineering English soldiers, who insulted their priests and vilified their religion ? The French had prohibited the trade in rum, but the English introduced the traffic, and the demoralization of the Indians commenced. The capture of Fort Du Quesne was the signal for a torrent of emigration, which poured over the mountains into the valleys of the Monongahela and Alleghany. The Indians feared the pale-faces would drive them from their homes. 1763.

Adopted into the tribe of the Ottawas, was a Catawba, who had been brought from the South as a prisoner, but who had, by his genius and bravery, risen to be a chief. He had the most unbounded influence over his own and other tribes, and was styled "the king and lord of all the country of the north-west." "How dare you come to visit my country without my leave ?" demanded he of the first English officer who came to take possession of the French forts. Such was Pontiac, the Philip of the north-west, who, in the war which bears his name, made the last great struggle for the independence of the Red Man. This master spirit planned, and partially executed, one of the most

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1763. comprehensive schemes ever conceived by Indian sagacity to expel the invaders, and maintain his own authority as "king and lord" of all that region. He induced the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Senecas, the Miamis, and many lesser tribes, who roamed over the vast region in the basin of the upper lakes, in the valley of the Ohio, and a portion of that of the Mississippi, to join in the conspiracy. He sent a prophet through the land to proclaim that the Great Spirit had revealed to him, "that if the English were permitted to dwell in their midst, then the white man's diseases and poisons would utterly destroy them." This conspiracy was more than a year in forming, yet it was kept a profound secret.

DETROIT had the largest garrison, was the great centre for the trade of the upper lakes, and most important in its influence. Here the French were numerous; they tilled their farms, as well as engaged in the traffic of furs. Pontiac desired to obtain possession of the fort. He intimated that he was coming with his warriors to have a "talk" with his English brothers. Meantime, Gladwin, the commander, had learned of the conspiracy. Finding that the plot was discovered, Pontiac threw off the mask, and boldly attacked the fort, but without success. This was the commencement of a series of surprises; the Indians, in the short space of three weeks, captured every station west of Niagara, except Detroit and Pittsburg. The soldiers of the garrisons were nearly all put to death, more than one hundred traders were murdered and scalped in the wilderness, and more than five hundred families, after losing hundreds of their members, were driven from their homes on the frontiers. A large force from several tribes concentrated around Pittsburg, the most important post in the valley of the Ohio; yet the brave garrison could not be caught by their wiles, nor conquered by their arms. Their ravages, in the mean while, extended to all

the settlements and posts on the head-waters of the Ohio, and on the lakes to the region between the Mississippi and the Ohio.

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General Bouquet was sent from Eastern Pennsylvania to relieve Fort Ligonier, just at the western foot of the mountains, and Pittsburg. His army consisted of not more than five hundred effective men, principally Scotch Highlanders. They had with them a train of wagons, drawn by oxen, and pack-horses laden with military stores and necessary provisions, and a drove of beef cattle. Passing through a region desolated by the savages, they saw the remains of burnt cabins, and the harvests standing uncut in the fields.

When he arrived at Ligonier, Bouquet could learn nothing from the west, as all intercourse had been cut off. Leaving there his wagons and cattle, he pushed forward to ascertain the fate of Pittsburg. The Indians besieging that place, heard of his approach, and they resolved to place themselves in ambush, and defeat his army. As soon as the battle began, the Highlanders dashed at them with the bayonet, and the Indians fled; but when the pursuit slackened they rallied, and were again repulsed. At length, the number of the savages increased so much that they completely surrounded the Highlanders, who, during the night, encamped on the ridge of a hill. In the morning they could not advance, for their wounded men and baggage would fall into the hands of the enemy. Placing two companies in ambush, Bouquet began to retreat, and immediately, with exulting yells, the Indians rushed on in pursuit, but when they came to the right point, those in ambush charged them on both sides, and those retreating wheeled and charged also. Panic-stricken by the suddenness of the attack, the savages broke and fled. The division then moved on to Pittsburg. From that day the valley of the Ohio was free from Indian vio-

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lence. The stream of emigration began again to pour over the mountains. The tribes, disheartened, began to make treaties and promise peace. Pontiac would make no treaty, nor acknowledge himself a friend of the English. He left his home and tribe and went to the country of the Illinois, where he was assassinated.

1769.

For nearly three-quarters of a century a dispute had existed between the authorities of the colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland in respect to their boundary line. Finally, a compromise was agreed upon by which a starting-point was to be taken "fifteen English statute miles

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south of the latitude of the most southerly part of Philadelphia." This point was to be on the circumference or tangent of a circle whose center was New Castle—now in Delaware—and radius twelve miles; from that "fifteen-mile point a line was to be run due west across the Susquehannah, etc., to the utmost longitude of Pennsylvania." This circle sweeps round from the west to the north-east, and is said to be the only boundary in the world in which the circle is used.

1768

The king sent out from London two learned astronomers—Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon—to run the line. They commenced their labors, and in five years made a report of their progress. Troubles with the Indians interfered, and they could not finish the work, which was completed fifteen years afterward by other hands. The English surveyors cut openings through the woods; at the end of every mile they set up a stone, on one side of which the letter "P" was cut in, and on the other the letter "M;" and every five miles a stone brought from England, but instead of the letters were engraved the coats-of-arms of the Penns and of Lord Baltimore. This line is artificial, not a mountain nor a river is used—it passes over both. No boundary has marked greater contrasts in society and its advancement than the famous "Mason and Dixon's Line."

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLONISTS.

Religious Influences among the earlier Settlers.—The later Emigrants; their Influence.—Love of domestic Life.—Laws enjoining Morality.—Systems of Education; Common Schools.—John Calvin.—The Southerner; the Northerner.—The Anglo-Saxon Element; the Norman.—Influences in Pennsylvania; in New York.—Diversity of Ancestry.

THE conquest of Canada had removed apprehensions of war with France, or of incursions by the Indians. The colonists naturally turned to their own affairs. They were poor and in debt; a seven years' war had been within their borders; their men had been drawn from the labor of industry to the battle-field. Yet that war, with its evils, had conferred benefits. It had made known to them their strength, and success had given them confidence.

Before relating the events that led to the Revolution, let us take a rapid survey of the people, who were soon to take their place among the nations of the earth.

From the first they were an intelligent and a religious people. They were untrammelled in the exercise of their religion, and its spirit moulded public sentiment in all the colonies, whether settled by the Puritan or the Churchman, by the Dutch Calvinist or the Quaker, by the Huguenot or the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian. The two latter were of more recent emigration; they did not diminish the high tone of morals already sustained by the earlier settlers.

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1760. The Huguenots came in small companies, and seldom settled together in large numbers, but mingled with the colonists, and conformed more and more to their customs, and, in time, became identified with them in interests. Calvinists in doctrine, they generally united with either the Episcopal or Presbyterian churches, and by their piety and industrious habits exerted an influence that amply repaid the genuine hospitality with which they were everywhere received.

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians displayed the indomitable energy and perseverance of their ancestors, with the same morality and love of their church. Even those who took post on the outskirts of civilization along the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, had their pastor, and trained their children in Bible truth, in the catechism, obedience to parents,—a wholesome doctrine practically enforced by all the colonists,—and reverence for the Sabbath and its sacred duties. They were a people decided in their character. They emigrated from their native land to enjoy civil and religious privileges, but they had also an eye to the improvement of their temporal affairs.

The endearments of home and of the domestic fireside had charms for the colonists of every creed. The education of their children was deemed a religious duty, while around their households clustered the comforts and many of the refinements of the times. The example of their ancestors, who had sought in the wilderness an asylum, where they might enjoy their religion, had not been in vain ; a traditionary religious spirit had come down from those earlier days, and now pervaded the minds of the people.

Though there was neither perfect uniformity in their forms of worship, nor in their interpretation of religious doctrines, yet one sentiment was sacred in the eyes of all—a reverence for the day of Holy Rest. The influences

connected with the Sabbath, and impressed firm week to week, penetrated their inner life, and like an all-pervading moral antiseptic preserved, in its purity, the religious character of the entire people.

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The laws of a people may be taken as the embodiment of their sentiments. Those enacted by our forefathers may excite a smile, yet they show that they were no time-servers—that they were conscientious and in earnest.

In New England the laws noticed those who dressed more richly than their wealth would justify; they would not permit the man who defrauded his creditors to live in luxury; those who did not vote, or would not serve when elected to office, they fined for their want of patriotism; they forbade “drinking of healths as a bad habit;” they prohibited the wearing of embroidered garments and laces; they discouraged the use of “ribbons and great boots;” sleeves must reach to the wrist, and not be more than half an ell wide; no one under twenty years of age was allowed to use tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician; those who used it publicly were fined a sixpence; all persons were restrained from “swimming in the waters on the Sabbath-day, or unreasonably walking in the fields or streets.”

In Virginia we see the same spirit. In every settlement there was to be “a house for the worship of God.” Divine service was to be in accordance with the canons of the Church of England. Absence from church was punished by a fine; the wardens were sworn to report cases of “drunkenness, swearing, and other vices.” The drunkards were fined, the swearers also, at the rate of “a shilling an oath;” slanderers and tale-bearers were punished; travelling or shooting on the Sabbath forbidden. The minister was not to addict himself “to excess in drinking or riot, nor play cards or dice, but to hear or read the Holy Scriptures, catechize the children, and visit the sick.” The wardens were bound to report the masters

CHAP. and mistresses "who neglected to catechize the ignorant
XXIV. persons under their charge." In the Carolinas laws of a
1760. similar character were enacted; and, in Pennsylvania,
against "stage plays, playing of cards, dice, May-games,
masques, and revels."

Although, at the time of which we write, many of these, and similar laws had become obsolete, yet the influences which dictated them had, for one hundred and fifty years, been forming the character of the colonists. Hedged in on the one side by the ocean, and on the other by a howling wilderness filled with hostile savages, they acquired a certain energy of character, the result of watchfulness, and an individuality, which to this day distinguishes their descendants.

While emigrants were flocking to the colonies, these influences were somewhat disturbed, but for three-quarters
1688. of a century—since the great revolution in England had restrained the hand of oppression—emigration had been gradually diminishing.

Thus uninfluenced from without, the political and religious principles with which they were imbued had time to produce their fruit. A national sentiment, a oneness of feeling among the people, grew into vigorous being. The common schools of New England had exerted their undivided influence for almost three generations; the youth left them with that conscious self-reliance which springs spontaneously in the intelligent mind—a pledge of success in things great as well as small. These schools, no doubt, gave an impulse to female education. In the earlier days of New England the women were taught to read, but very few to write. "The legal papers executed in the first century (of the colony) by well-to-do women, were mostly signed by a mark, (X)".¹ The custom of

¹ Elliott's History of New England, vol. i p. 428.

settling in townships or villages made it easy to support common schools. CHAP.
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In the middle colonies, especially Pennsylvania and New York, a system of general education had not been introduced ; the diversity of sects prevented. In the South, except partially in Maryland, common schools were not adopted. The owners of slaves usually held large tracts of the best lands, while the less wealthy were compelled to retire to the outskirts of the settlements, where they could obtain farms. The population was thus so much scattered, that generally children could not be concentrated at particular places in sufficient numbers to sustain schools. Those who, for want of means, could not employ private teachers, taught their own children as best they could. Among this class, from year to year, there was but little increase in general intelligence. The wealthy employed private instructors, or sent their children abroad. As the nation increased in knowledge, the people cherished the right to exercise free thought and free speech. 1760

Our ancestors lived not for themselves alone. With the prophet's vision, and the patriot's hope, they looked forward to the day, when all this continent would be under the influence of their descendants, and they a Christian people. Was it strange they were self-denying and in earnest, in endeavoring to spread the blessings of education and religion, as the greatest boon they could transmit to their posterity ? Thus they labored to found institutions of learning ; they encouraged the free expression of opinion. From the religious freedom of conscience, which they proclaimed as the doctrine of the Bible, the transition was easy to political freedom. The advocate of free inquiry became the advocate of civil liberty, and the same stroke which broke the chain binding the word of God to the interpretation of the church, shattered the fetters binding the political slave.

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Much of this sentiment may be traced to the influence exerted by the opinions of one man, John Calvin. "We boast of our common schools, Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of free schools. The pilgrims of Plymouth were Calvinists ; the best influence of South Carolina came from the Calvinists of France. William Penn was the disciple of the Huguenots ; the ships from Holland that first brought colonists to Manhattan were filled with Calvinists. He that will not honor the memory and respect the influence of Calvin, knows but little of the origin of American liberty. He bequeathed to the world a republican spirit in religion, with the kindred principles of republican liberty."¹

There were slight differences of character between the people of the several colonies. In the eastern, the difficulties arising from a sterile soil had made the people industrious and frugal. There, labor was always honorable, and when the day came "which tried men's souls," great numbers of the prominent men came from the ranks of manual labor. The Anglo-Saxon element greatly predominated among the colonists of New England. As simple in manners as rigid in morals, a truly democratic spirit and love of liberty pervaded their minds, and hence political constitutions of whose benefits all were participants. The Norman element prevailed more in the South, especially in Virginia. Here the wealthy colonists were more aristocratic in spirit and feeling ; were more refined and elegant in manners. This aristocratic spirit was fostered, in time, by the system of slavery, while the distinctions in society arising from the possession of wealth were greatly increased. In all the southern colonies, the mildness of the climate, the labor of slaves, and the ready sale of their tobacco, rice, and indigo, made the acquisition of wealth comparatively easy. The planter, "having

¹ Bancroft's *Miscellanies*, pp. 405-6.

more leisure, was more given to pleasures and amusements—to the sports of the turf, the cock-pit, the chase, and the gaming-table. His social habits often made him profuse, and plunged him in debt to the English or Scotch merchant, who sold his exported products and furnished him his foreign supplies. He was often improvident, and sometimes not punctual in his pecuniary engagements.”¹ The planters were hospitable. Living upon isolated plantations, they were in a measure deprived of social intercourse; but when opportunity served, they enjoyed it with a relish. As the Southerner was hospitable, so the Northerner was charitable. From the hard earnings of the farmer, of the mechanic, of the merchant, of the seafaring man, funds were cheerfully given to support schools, to endow colleges, or to sustain the ordinances of the gospel. In the South, colleges were principally endowed by royal grants.

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In Pennsylvania was felt the benign influence of the disciples of George Fox, and its benevolent founder. The friends of suffering humanity, the enemies of war, the opponents of classes and ranks in society founded on mere birth, they recognized merit wherever found. There the human mind was untrammelled—conscious of a right derived from a higher authority than conventional law; there public posts were open to all—no tests intervened as a barrier. At this time the ardent aspirations of Benjamin Franklin in the pursuit of science received the sympathy of the people. In Philadelphia he was the means of founding an academy and free school, which grew into a university. Here was founded the first medical college in the colonies, the first public library, and the first hospital. Here, Bartram, the botanist, founded the first botanic garden; and here was formed the American Philosophical Society. Here lived Godfrey, the inventor of the quadrant, which bears the name of Hadley.

¹Tucker's History of the United States, vol. 1, p. 97.

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In New York, "the key of Canada and the lakes," were blended many elements of character. Here commerce began to prevail, and here the arbitrary laws of the Board of Trade were vigorously opposed, and so often eluded, that Holland derived more benefit from the trade than England herself. It cost nearly as much as the amount of the import duties to maintain the cruisers and the "Commissioners of Customs." The "Dutch Republicans" had been for nearly a century pupils in the school where the "rights of Englishmen" were taught; they profited so much by the instruction, that they paid very little attention to the king's prerogative, and thought their own Legislature quite as respectable as the House of Commons.

Although the great majority of the Americans were the descendants of Englishmen, yet there were representatives from Scotland, from Ireland, from Wales, from France, from Holland, from Germany, from Sweden, and from Denmark. In religion, there were Churchmen and Dissenters, Quakers and Catholics. Though they differed in many minor points, and indulged in those little animosities which unfortunately too often arise between people of different nations and religions, yet they cherished a sympathy for each other. They were all attached to the mother country—the South, perhaps, more than the North; the former had not experienced so severely the iron hand of royal rule. Some strong external pressure was required to bind them more closely together, if ever they were to become an independent nation. That external pressure was not long wanting.

CHAPTER XXV.

CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE REVOLUTION.

Restrictions of Trade and Manufactures.—Taxes imposed by Parliament.—Writs of Assistance.—James Otis.—Samuel Adams.—The “Parsons’” Case in Virginia.—Patrick Henry.—A Stamp Tax threatened.—Colonel Barre’s Speech.—The Stamp Act.—Excitement in the Colonies.—Henry in the House of Burgesses.—Resolutions not to use Stamps.—“Sons of Liberty.”—A Call for a Congress; it meets, and the Colonial Assemblies approve its Measures.—Merchants refuse to purchase English Merchandise.—Self-denial of the Colonists.—Pitt defends them.—Franklin at the Bar of the House of Commons.—Stamp Act repealed.—Rejoicings.—Dartmouth College.

THE industrious habits of the colonists were no less worthy of notice than their moral traits. The contest with the mother country had its origin in her attempts to deprive them, by means of unjust laws, of the fruits of their labor. For one hundred years she had been imposing restrictions on their trade and domestic manufactures. They were treated as dependants, and inferiors who occupied “settlements established in distant parts of the world for the benefit of trade.” They could purchase from England alone, and only to her market could they send their products. That English merchants might grow rich at their expense, the products of Europe and Asia were first to be landed in England, and then re-shipped to America in British vessels. The only trade not thus taxed, was that of negroes, they being shipped directly from Africa—a trade against which all the colonies earnestly, but in vain, protested. Even the trees

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CHAP. in the forest suitable for masts were claimed by the
XXV. king, and marked by his "Surveyor-General of Woods."
 1750. "Rolling mills, forges, or tilt-hammers for making iron," were prohibited as "nuisances." The House of Commons said "that the erection of manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependency upon Great Britain ;" and the English ship-carpenters complained "that their trade was hurt, and their workmen emigrated, since so many vessels were built in New England." The latter, because he could obtain his fur from the Indians without sending to England, was not permitted to sell hats out of his own colony. No manufacturer was permitted to have more than two apprentices. The government was unwilling that the colonists should make for themselves a single article which the English could supply.

These measures aroused a spirit of opposition, more especially among the frugal and industrious inhabitants of New England, whose manufactures, fisheries, and trade were almost ruined. There the people mutually agreed to buy of British manufacturers only what was absolutely necessary ; rather than pay the English merchant exorbitant prices, they would deprive themselves of every luxury. Families determined to make their own linens and woollens, and to abstain from eating mutton, and preserve the sheep to furnish wool. It became fashionable, as well as honorable, to wear homespun. Associations were formed to promote domestic manufactures. On the anniversary of one of these, more than three hundred young women met in Boston Common, and devoted the day to spinning flax. The graduating class of Harvard College, not to be outdone in patriotism, made it a point on Commencement Day to be clad in homespun. Restrictions on trade did not affect the interests of the people of the South so much, as England could not dispense with their tobacco, rice, and indigo, and they had scarcely any manufactories.

1763. Before the close of the French war, it was intimated

that England intended to tax the colonies, and make them bear a portion of the burdens brought upon herself by the mismanagement of her officials. Many plans were discussed and laid aside. Meantime the colonists denied the right of Parliament to tax them without granting them, in some form, representation in the government; they claimed a voice in the disposal of their money. They looked back upon their history, and were unable to discover the obligations they owed the king. They loved to think of Old England as the "home" of their fathers; they rejoiced in her glories and successes, and never dreamed of separating from her, until driven to that resolve by oppression. Yet visions of greatness, and it may be of independence, were floating through the minds of the far-seeing. John Adams, when a youth, had already written: "It looks likely to me, for if we can remove the turbulent Gallicks, our people, according to the exactest computations, will in another century become more numerous than England itself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores of the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain the mastery of the seas; and then the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us."¹

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A special effort was now made to enforce the navigation laws, and to prevent the colonists from trading with other nations. This policy would have converted the entire people into a nation of smugglers and law-breakers, but for the strong religious influences felt throughout the land.

To enforce these laws, Parliament gave authority for using general search warrants, or "Writs of Assistance." These Writs authorized any sheriff or officer of the customs to enter a store or private dwelling, and search for foreign merchandise, which he *suspected* had not paid

¹Life and Writings, vol. i. p. 23.

CHAP. duty. The quiet of the domestic fireside was no longer
XXV. to be held sacred. These Writs, first used in Massa-
1761. chusetts, caused great excitement and opposition. Their
legality was soon brought to the test in a court of justice.

On this occasion the eloquent James Otis sounded the note of alarm. He was the Advocate for the Admiralty, whose duty it was to argue in favor of the Writs ; but he resigned, in order to plead the cause of the people. The royalist lawyer contended that the power of Parliament was supreme, and that good subjects ought to submit to its every enactment. In reply, Otis exclaimed : " To my
Feb. dying day, I will oppose, with all the power and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery, on the one hand, and villany on the other." His stirring eloquence gave an impulse to public opinion, which aroused opposition to other acts of Parliament. " Then and there," says John Adams, " was the first opposition to arbitrary acts of Great Britain. Then and there American Independence was born." The writs were scarcely ever enforced after this trial.

Of the leading men of the times, none had greater influence than Samuel Adams—in his private life, the devout Christian ; in his public life, the incorruptible patriot. In him the spirit of the old Puritans seemed to linger : mild in manners, living from choice in retirement, incapable of an emotion of fear, when duty called him to a post of danger. Learned in constitutional law, he never went beyond its limits. Through his influence Boston expressed her opinions, saying, " We claim British rights, not by charter only—we are born to them. If we are taxed without our consent, our property is taken without our consent, and then we are no more freemen, but slaves." And she invited all the colonies to join in obtaining redress. The same note of alarm was sounded in Virginia, in New York, in Connecticut, and in the Carolinas. Thinking minds saw in the future the coming

contest ; that the English ministry would persist in their unjust treatment, until, in self-defence, they had driven the whole American people to open rebellion. "They wish to make us dependent, but they will make us independent ; these oppressions will lead us to unite and thus secure our liberty." Thus wrote Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. "Oh ! poor New England," exclaimed the eloquent George Whitefield, "there is a deep-laid plot against your liberties ; your golden days are ended."

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The first collision in Virginia between the prerogative of the king and the authority of the legislature occurred in a county court. Tobacco was the legalized currency of the colony. Occasionally, untoward events, such as war, or failure of the crop, made payments in tobacco very burdensome. The legislature passed a law, authorizing debtors to pay their public dues in money, at the rate of twopence a pound for the tobacco due. The clergymen of the established church refused to acquiesce in the law ; they had a fixed salary of a certain number of pounds of tobacco a year. At their instance, Sherlock, the Bishop of London, used his influence and persuaded the king to refuse his signature to this law. "The rights of the clergy and the authority of the king must stand or fall together," said the Bishop. The law was therefore null and void.

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To test it, a clergyman named Maury brought a suit to recover damages, or the difference between twopence per pound and the higher price for which tobacco was selling. It became the cause of the people on the one side, and the cause of the clergy and of the king's prerogative on the other. The people engaged a young man of twenty-seven to plead against "the parsons."

That young man was Patrick Henry. He belonged not to the aristocracy, and was obscure and unknown. On this occasion, that rare and wonderful gift of eloquence, which has made us so familiar with his name, was first

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displayed. He possessed a charm of voice and tone that fascinated his hearers ; a grasp of thought, a vividness of conception, and withal a power that allured into sympathy with his own sentiments the emotions of his audience. For this he was indebted to nature, not to education ; for, when a boy, he broke away from the restraints of school and the drudgery of book-learning, to lounge idly by some solitary brookside with hook and line, or in more active moods to dash away into the woods to enjoy the excitements of the chase. He learned a little of Latin, of Greek not more than the letters, and as little of mathematics. At eighteen he married, engaged in trade, and failed ; tried farming with as little success ; then read law six weeks, and was admitted to the bar. Yet the mind of this young man had not been idle ; he lived in a world of deep thought ; he studied men. He was now to appear for the first time as an advocate.

The whole colony was interested in the trial, and the court-room was crowded with anxious spectators. Maury made objections to the jury ; he thought them of "the vulgar herd," "dissenters," and "New Lights." "They are *honest* men," rejoined Henry. The court overruled the insulting objections, and the jury were sworn.

The case was plainly against him, but Henry contended the law was valid, and enacted by competent authority ; he fell back upon the natural right of Virginia to make her own laws, independently of the king and parliament. He proved the justness of the law ; he sketched the character of a good king, as the father of his people. but who, when he annuls good laws becomes a tyrant, and forfeits all right to obedience. At this doctrine, so new, so daring, the audience seemed to stand aghast. "He has spoken treason," exclaimed the opposing counsel. A few joined in the cry of Treason ! treason ! Yet the jury brought in a verdict for the "parsons" of a penny damages.

Henry denied the right of the king to aid in making CHAP.
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laws for the colonies. His argument applied not only to Virginia, but to the continent. The sentiment spread 1763.
from colony to colony.

Parliament assumed the right to tax the Americans, and paid no attention to their protests, but characterized them as "absurd," "insolent," "mad." When they expostulated with Grenville, the Prime Minister, he warned them that in a contest with England they would gain nothing. The taxes must be levied at all events ; and he graciously asked if there was any form in which they would rather pay them than by means of the threatened stamps. These were to be affixed to all documents used in trade, and for them a certain impost duty was charged. Only the English merchants whose interests were involved in the American trade, appear to have sympathized with the colonists. Franklin, who was then in London as agent for the Assembly of Pennsylvania, wrote home : " Every man in England regards himself as a piece of a sovereign over America, seems to jostle himself into the throne with the king, and talks of *our* subjects in the colonies."

The Stamp Act did not pass without a struggle. 1765
During these discussions, Colonel Barre, who, in the war against the French, was the friend and companion of Wolfe, charged the members of the House of Commons with being ignorant of the true state of the colonies. When Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, asked the question, " Will our American children, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from our burdens ? " Barre indignantly replied : " They planted by *your* care ! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to an uncultivated, inhospitable country ; where they exposed themselves to almost every hardship, and to the cruelties of the savage foe. They nourished by *your*

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1765. indulgence ! They grew by your neglect ; your care for them was to send persons to rule them ; deputies of deputies, to some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them ; men who have caused the blood of those *sons of liberty* to recoil within them. They protected by *your* arms ! They have nobly taken up arms in *your* defence. Amidst their constant and laborious industry they have defended a country whose frontiers were drenched in blood, while its interior settlements yielded all their little savings to *your* emoluments. I speak the genuine sentiments of my heart. They are a people as truly loyal as any subjects of the king ; they are jealous of their liberties, and will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated."

But very few of the members of the house were thus liberal in their sentiments. The great majority looked upon the colonies as subservient to the rule of the mother country. It was the express intention of the ministry "to be very tender in taxing them, beginning with small duties and taxes," and advancing as they found them willing to bear it.

The House of Commons, on March 22d, passed the Stamp Act by a majority of nine to one ; ten days afterward it passed the House of Lords almost unanimously. The king was ill ; mystery whispered of some unusual disease. When George III. signed the Stamp Act, he was not a responsible being—he was insane.

This act declared that every written agreement between persons in trade, to be valid, must have affixed to it one of these stamps. Their price was in proportion to the importance of the writing ; the lowest a shilling, and thence increasing indefinitely. Truly this "was to take money without an equivalent." All business must be thus taxed, or suspended.

In order to enforce this act, Parliament, two months afterward, authorized the ministry to send as many troops

as they saw proper to America. For these soldiers the colonies were required to find "quarters, fuel, cider or rum, candles, and other necessaries." CHAP
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The news of the passage of these arbitrary laws threw the people into a ferment. They became acquainted with each other's views ; the subject was discussed in the newspapers, was noticed in the pulpits, and became the engrossing topic of conversation in social intercourse. In the Virginia Assembly, Patrick Henry introduced resolutions declaring that the people of Virginia were only bound to pay taxes imposed by their own Legislature, and any person who maintained the contrary should be deemed an enemy of the colony. An exciting debate followed, in which the wonderful power of Henry in describing the tyranny of the British government swayed the majority of the members. In the midst of one of his bursts of eloquence he exclaimed : "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III.—" "Treason ! treason !" shouted the Speaker, and a few others joined him in the cry. Henry fixed his eye upon the Speaker, and in the tone and emphasis peculiar to himself, continued, "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it." The resolutions passed, but the next morning, in Henry's absence, the timid in the Assembly rescinded the last, and modified the others. The governor immediately dissolved the house for this free expression of opinion. Meantime, a manuscript copy of the resolutions was on its way to Philadelphia, where they were speedily printed and sent throughout the country. They raised the drooping spirits of the people, who determined to neutralize the law—they would never use the stamps. May

The Legislature of Massachusetts resolved that the courts should conduct their business without their use. Colden, the royalist governor of New York, thought "that the presence of a battalion would prevent mischief:" but the council suggested, "it would be more

CHAP. safe for the government to show a confidence in the people." "I will cram the stamps down their throats with XXV.
 1765. my sword," said an officer. The churchmen preached obedience to the king—the "Lord's anointed." William Livingston answered, "The people are the 'Lord's anointed,' though named 'mob and rabble'—the people are the darling of Providence."

Colonel Barre, in his famous speech, characterized those in America who opposed British oppression, as "Sons of Liberty." He read them rightly; Sons of Liberty they were, and destined to be free; they felt it; they adopted the name, it became the watchword under which they rallied. Associations called by this name sprang up as if by magic, and in a few weeks spread from Massachusetts to Maryland. They would neither use stamps nor permit the distributors to remain in office.

One morning the famous Liberty Tree in Boston was found decorated with the effigies of some of the friends of the English ministry. The mob compelled Oliver, the secretary of the colony, who had been appointed stamp distributor, to resign, and promise that he would not aid in their distribution. They also attacked the houses of some of the other officials. The patriots protested against these lawless proceedings. Five hundred Connecticut farmers came into Wethersfield and compelled Jared Ingersol, the stamp officer for that colony, to resign, and then take off his hat and give three cheers for "Liberty, Property, and no stamps." Such was the feeling, and Aug. such the result, that when the day came, on which the law was to go into effect, not one stamp officer could be found—all had resigned.

Nov 1. The General Court of Massachusetts issued a circular in June, inviting all the colonies to send delegates to a convention or Congress, to be held at New York, on the first Tuesday of the following October. Accordingly, on June.

the day named delegates from nine of the colonies met at the place appointed. CHAP. XXV.

The idea of a union of the colonies dates as far back as the days of William Penn, who was the first to suggest it; but now the question was discussed by the various committees of correspondence. At a convention which met at Albany eleven years before this, Benjamin Franklin had proposed a plan of union. This was adopted and laid before the Assemblies of the colonies, and the Board of Trade, for ratification. It met with a singular fate. The Assemblies rejected it, because it was too *aristocratic*, and the Board of Trade because it was too *democratic*. 1765. 1764.

The Congress met and spent three weeks in deliberation. They drew up a Declaration of Rights, a Memorial to both Houses of Parliament, and a Petition to the king. They claimed the right of being taxed only by their own representatives, premising, that because of the distance, and for other reasons, they could not be represented in the House of Commons, but in their own Assemblies. These documents were signed by nearly all the delegates, and transmitted to England. The colonial Assemblies, at their earliest days of meeting, gave to these proceedings of the Congress their cordial approval. Thus the Union was consummated, by which the colonies "became as a bundle of sticks which could neither be bent nor broken." While the Congress was in session, a ship with stamps on board made its appearance in the bay. Placards were posted throughout the city, threatening those who should attempt to use them. "I am resolved to have the stamps distributed," said Colden, the governor. "Let us see who will dare to put the act into execution," said the Sons of Liberty. OL. 1765.

On the last day of October all the royal governors, except the governor of Rhode Island, took the oath to carry into execution the Stamp Act. On the next day the law was to go into effect. But not a stamp was to be

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seen ; instead, in every colony the bells were tolled, and the flags lowered to half-mast—indications that the passage of this act was regarded as “the funeral of liberty.”

1765.

The merchants of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, agreed to send no orders to England for merchandise, to countermand those already sent, and to receive no goods on commission till the act was repealed. They were sustained by the people, who pledged themselves not to use the products of English manufacturers, but to encourage their own. Circulars were sent throughout the land inviting to harmonious action ; these were responded to with a hearty good-will. Luxuries were dispensed with, and homespun was more honorable than ever.

The infatuated ministry, in view of this opposition, resolved to modify, not to repeal the law. It would detract from their dignity, to comply with the request of the colonists. “Sooner,” said one of them, “than make our colonies our allies, I would wish to see them returned to their primitive deserts.”

1766.

Infirm health had compelled Pitt to retire from active life. “My resolution is taken,” said he, “and if I can crawl or be carried to London, I will deliver my mind and heart upon the state of America.” When accused by Grenville of exciting sedition, “Sir,” said he in reply, “I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. Sorry I am to have the liberty of speech in this house imputed as a crime. But the imputation will not deter me ; it is a liberty I mean to exercise. The gentleman tells us that America is obstinate ; that America is almost in rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted.” The sentiment startled the house ; he continued : “If they had submitted, they would have voluntarily become slaves. They have been driven to madness by injustice. My opinion is, that the Stamp Act should be repealed, absolutely, totally, immediately.” The celebrated Edmund

Burke, then a young man rising into notice, advocated the repeal with great eloquence. CHAP.
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The House of Commons wished to inquire still further of the temper of the Americans before taking the vote. They accordingly called witnesses to their bar, among whom was Benjamin Franklin. His knowledge was the most perfect, and his testimony had the greatest effect upon their minds. He said the colonists could not pay for the stamps for want of gold and silver ; that they had borne more than their share of expense in the last war, and that they were laboring under debts contracted by it ; that they would soon supply themselves with domestic manufactures ; that they had been well disposed toward the mother country, but recent laws were lessening their affection, and soon all commerce would be broken up, unless those laws were repealed ; and finally, that they *never* would submit to taxes imposed by those who had no authority. The vote was taken, and the Stamp Act was repealed ; not because it was unjust, but because it could not be enforced. The people of the English commercial cities manifested their joy ; bonfires were lighted, the ships displayed their gayest colors, and the city of London itself was illuminated. Expresses were sent to the seaports, that the news might reach America as soon as possible. 1766.

The rejoicings in the colonies were equally as great. In Boston, the bell nearest to the Liberty Tree was the first to ring ; soon gay flags and banners were flying from the shipping, from private dwellings, and from the steeples of the meeting-houses. Amidst the joy, the unfortunate were not forgotten, and those immured in the debtor's prison, were released by the contributions of their friends. The ministers, from their pulpits, offered thanksgiving in the name of the whole people, and the associations against importing merchandise from England were dissolved. New York, Virginia, and Maryland, each voted a statue to Pitt, who became more than ever a popular idol. Mar.
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CHAPTER XXVI.

CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The English Ministry determine to obtain a Revenue.—Massachusetts invites to harmonious Action.—The Romney and the Sloop Liberty.—A British Regiment at Boston.—Collision with the Citizens.—Articles of Association proposed by Washington.—The Tax upon Tea.—Whigs and Tories.—The Gaspé captured.—The King's Maxim.—The Resolutions not to receive the Tea.—Tea thrown into Boston Harbor.—Its Reception at other Places.—More oppressive Laws passed by Parliament.—Aid sent to Boston.—Gage's Difficulties.—Alexander Hamilton.—The Old Continental Congress.—The Organization; the first Prayer.—The "Declaration of Rights."—The "American Association."—The Papers issued by the Congress.—The Views of Pitt in relation to them.

LORD GRENVILLE, the head of the ministry, was dismissed, and the Marquis of Rockingham took his place. This ministry soon gave way, and another was appointed by the king, at the head of which was placed Pitt, who, in the mean time, had been created Earl of Chatham.

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The following year, during Pitt's absence, Charles Townshend, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced that he intended, at all risks, to derive a revenue from America, by imposing a duty upon certain articles, which the colonists received from abroad, such as wine, oil, paints, glass, paper, and lead colors, and especially upon *tea*, as they obtained it cheaper from Dutch smugglers than the English themselves. It was suggested to him to withdraw the army, and there would be no need of a

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June.

CHAP. tax. "I will hear nothing on the subject," said he ; " it
XXVI. is absolutely necessary to keep an army there."

1767. The colonists were startled by this news. They now remembered the fatal reservation in the repeal of the Stamp Act, that Parliament had the absolute right to tax them. " We will form a universal combination to eat nothing, to drink nothing, and wear nothing, imported from England," passed as a watchword from one colony to another, and very soon the non-importation associations were again in vigor. " Courage, Americans ; liberty, religion, and science are on the wing to these shores. The finger of God points out a mighty empire to your sons," said one of the lawyers of New York. " Send over an army and fleet, and reduce the dogs to reason," wrote one of the royal governors to the ministry.

Suddenly the Romney, a man-of-war, appeared in the harbor of Boston. The question soon arose, Why is a vessel of war sent to our harbor ? The people had resisted no law ; they had only respectfully petitioned for redress, and resolved to dispense with the use of British goods. Since the arrival of the Romney, the haughty manner of the Commissioners of Customs toward the people had become intolerable. The Romney frequently impressed the New England seamen as they came into the harbor. One man thus impressed was forcibly rescued by his companions. These and similar outrages excited the bitterest animosity between the royal officials and the people.

The Massachusetts Assembly issued a circular to the other Colonial Assemblies, inviting to harmonious action in obtaining redress. A few months afterward the ministry sent peremptory orders to the Assembly to rescind their circular. Through the influence of Otis and Samuel Adams, the Assembly refused to comply with the arbitrary demand, but instead intimated that Parliament ought to repeal their offensive laws. Meantime the other Colonial Assemblies received the circular favorably, and also en-

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2.

din of drums. A collision finally took place, between a citizen and a soldier. This led to an affray between the soldiers and some rope-makers. A few evenings afterward a sentinel was assaulted ; soldiers were sent to his aid, and they were stoned by the mob. At length a soldier fired upon their assailants ; immediately six of his companions fired also. Three persons were killed and five wounded. The town was thrown into a state of great excitement ; in an hour's time the alarm bells had brought thousands into the streets. The multitude was pacified, only for the time, by the assurance of Hutchinson, who was now governor, that in the morning justice should be done. The next morning the people demanded that the troops should be removed from the town to Castle William ; and that Captain Preston, who, it was said, had commanded his soldiers to fire, should be tried for murder. Both these requisitions were complied with. Captain Preston and six of his men were arraigned for trial. John Adams and Josiah Quincy, both popular leaders, volunteered to defend them. They were acquitted by the jury of murder, but two of the soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter.

The result of this trial had a good effect in England. Contrary to the slanders of their enemies, it showed that the Bostonians, in the midst of popular excitement, were actuated by principles of justice. Those citizens who had been thus killed were regarded in the colonies as martyrs of liberty.

The Virginia Assembly passed resolutions as " bad as those of Massachusetts." The next day, the governor, Lord Boutetourte, dissolved the house for passing " the abominable resolves." The members immediately held a meeting, at which Washington presented the resolutions, drawn up by himself and his friend George Mason. They were a draft of articles of association, not to import from Great Britain merchandise that was taxed. " Such was

1769.
May.

their zeal against the slave-trade, they made a special covenant with one another not to import any slaves, nor purchase any imported." To these resolutions were signed the names of Patrick Henry, Washington, Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, and, indeed, of all the members of the Assembly. Then they were sent throughout the colony for the signature of every man in it.

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The non-importation associations produced their effect, and Lord North, who was now prime minister, proposed to remove all the duties except that on tea. That was retained at the express command of the king, whose maxim was, "that there should be always one tax, at least, to keep up the right of taxing." This removed part of the difficulty, for which the colonists were thankful; but they were still united in their determination not to import tea. For these concessions they were indebted to the clamors of those English merchants whose trade had been injured. For a year there was an apparent lull in the storm of popular feeling.

1770.

Governor Hutchinson issued a proclamation for a day of thanksgiving; this he required the ministers to read from their pulpits on the following Sabbath. He thought to entrap them, by inserting a clause acknowledging gratitude, "that civil and religious liberty were continued," and "trade encouraged." But he sadly mistook the men. The ministers, with the exception of one, whose church the governor himself attended, refused to read the proclamation, but, on the contrary, agreed to "implore of Almighty God the restoration of lost liberties."

The contest had continued so long that party lines began to be drawn. Those who favored the demands of the people, were called *Whigs*; those who sympathized with the government, were called *Tories*. These terms had been long in use in England, the former to designate the opposers of royalty; the latter its supporters.

Scarcely a colony was exempt from outrages commit-

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1770. ted by those representing the royal authority. In New York the people, on what is now the Park, then known as the Fields, erected a liberty-pole. They were accustomed to assemble there and discuss the affairs of the colony. On a certain night, a party of the soldiers stationed in the fort cut down the pole. The people retaliated, and frequent quarrels and collisions occurred. Though these disturbances were not so violent as those in Massachusetts, they had the effect of exciting in the people intense hatred of the soldiers, as the tools of tyranny.

Jan.

1772.
June
10.

An armed vessel, the *Gaspé*, engaged in the revenue service, took her position in Narraganset Bay, and in an insulting and arbitrary manner enforced the customs. Sometimes she wantonly compelled the passing vessels and market boats to lower their colors as a token of respect ; sometimes landed companies on the neighboring islands, and carried off hogs and sheep, and other provisions. The lieutenant in command was appealed to for his authority in thus acting. He referred the committee to the admiral, stationed at Boston. The admiral haughtily answered : " The lieutenant is fulfilling his duty ; if any persons rescue a vessel from him, I will hang them as pirates." The bold sailors and citizens matured their plans and executed them. The *Providence* packet, of a light draught and a fast sailer, was passing up the bay. The *Gaspé* hailed. The packet paid no attention, but passed on. Immediately the *Gaspé* gave chase. The packet designedly ran into shoal water near the shore ; the *Gaspé* followed, and was soon aground,—the tide going out, left her fast. The following night a company of men went down in boats, boarded her, made prisoners of the crew, and burned the vessel. A large reward was offered for the perpetrators of this bold act ; though well known, not one was betrayed.

The warehouses of the East India Company were filled with the " pernicious weed," and the company proposed

to pay *all* its duties in England, and then export it at their own risk. This would remove the difficulty, as there would then be no collections of the duty in American ports. But the king was unwilling to *sacrifice* his maxim, and Lord North seems to have been incapable of comprehending, that the Americans refused to pay the duty on tea, not because it was great or small, but because they looked upon a tax *thus imposed* as unjust. He therefore virtually proposed to the company to pay *three-fourths* of the duty in England ; to save the king's maxim, the government would collect the other fourth, or three pence on a pound, in America. It was suggested to North, that the Americans would not purchase the tea on those conditions. He replied : " It is to no purpose the making objections, for the king will have it so. The king means to try the question with the Americans." CHAP.
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Meantime public opinion in the colonies was becoming more and more enlightened, and more and more decided. " We must have a convention of all the colonies," said Samuel Adams. And he sent forth circulars inviting them to assert their rights, when there was a prospect of success. He saw clearly that the king and Parliament were resolved to see whether the Americans would or would not acknowledge their supremacy. 1772

When the conditions became known on which tea was to be imported, the people took measures to prevent its being either landed or sold. In Philadelphia they held a meeting, and requested those to whom the tea was consigned " to resign their appointments." They also denounced " as an enemy to his country," " whosoever shall aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea." Similar meetings were held in Charleston and New York, and similar resolutions were passed.

A ship, making a quick passage, arrived at Boston, with intelligence that several vessels laden with tea had sailed. Five thousand men immediately assembled to de-

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8.

liberate on the course to be pursued. On motion of Samuel Adams, they unanimously resolved to send the tea back. "The only way to get rid of it," shouted some one in the crowd, "is to throw it overboard." Those to whom the tea had been consigned were invited to meet at Liberty Tree, and resign their appointments. Two of the consignees were sons of Governor Hutchinson, who, at that time, was peculiarly odious on account of his double-dealing. This had been brought to light by a number of his letters to persons in England. These letters had fallen into the hands of Dr. Franklin, who sent them to the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly. They disclosed the fact, that nearly all the harsh measures directed against the colony, had been suggested by Hutchinson.

According to law, a ship must unload within twenty days, or be seized for non-payment of duties.

Presently a ship laden with tea came into the harbor. By order of the committee, it was moored at a certain wharf, and a company of twenty-five men volunteered to guard it. The owner promised to take the cargo back, if the governor would give his permit. Meantime came two other vessels; they were ordered to anchor beside the first. The committee waited again upon the consignees, but their answer was unsatisfactory. When the committee made their report to the meeting, not a word was said; the assemblage silently broke up. The consignees were terribly alarmed. That silence was ominous. Hutchinson's two sons fled to the fort, to the protection of the regulars. The father went quietly out of town. His object was to gain time till the twenty days should expire; then the ships would pass into the hands of the Commissioners of Customs, and the tea would be safe for his sons.

Nov.
30.

Another meeting of the people was protracted till after dark; on the morrow the twentieth day would expire, and the tea would be placed beyond their reach. At

length the owner of the vessel returned from his mission to the governor, and reported that he would not give the permit for the ships to leave the port. "This meeting," announced Samuel Adams, "can do nothing more to save the country."

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Immediately a shout, somewhat like a war-whoop, arose from a band of forty or fifty "very dark complexioned men, dressed like Mohawks," who were around the door. This band moved hastily down to the wharf where lay the tea ships. Placing a guard to protect them from spies, they went on board and took out three hundred and forty-two chests, broke them open, and poured the tea into the water. In silence the crowd on shore witnessed the affair; when the work was accomplished, they quietly retired to their homes. Paul Revere set out immediately to carry the news to New York and Philadelphia.

Dec.
18.

At New York, a tea ship was sent back with her cargo; the captain was escorted out of the city by the Committee of Vigilance, with banners flying and a band playing *God save the king*. Eighteen chests of tea, found concealed on board another vessel, were thrown into the dock. In Charleston tea was permitted to be landed, but was stowed in damp cellars, where it spoiled. The captain of the vessel bound for Philadelphia, when four miles below the city, learned that the citizens would not permit him to land his cargo; he prudently returned to England. At Annapolis, a ship and its cargo were both burned; the owner, to allay the excitement, himself applying the torch.

Dec
25.

Meantime the various committees of correspondence were making preparations to hold a congress composed of representatives from all the colonies. Yet they said, and no doubt honestly, that "their old good-will and affection for the parent country were not totally lost." "If she returned to her former moderation and good humor, their affection would revive."

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June.

When it became known in England that the audacious colonists would not even permit the tea to be lauded, the king and ministry determined to make their power felt ; and especially to make an example of Boston. Accordingly a bill was introduced and passed in Parliament, four to one, to close her port to all commerce, and to transfer the seat of government to Salem. Though her citizens offered remuneration for the tea destroyed, yet Massachusetts must be punished ; made an example, to deter other outbreaks. Parliament immediately passed a series of laws which violated her charter and took away her privileges. The Port Bill, it was complacently prophesied, will make Boston submit ; she will yet come as a penitent, and promise obedience to British laws.

Parliament went still further, and passed other laws ; one for quartering soldiers, at the people's expense, on all the colonies, and another in connection with it, by which officers, who, in enforcing this particular law, should commit acts of violence, were to be taken to England, and tried there for the offence. This clause would encourage arbitrary acts, and render military and official insolence still more intolerable. To these was added another law, known as the Quebec act ; it granted unusual concessions to the Catholics of Canada—a stroke of policy, if war should occur between the colonies and the mother country. This act revived much of the old Protestant feeling latent in the minds of the people. These laws, opposed by many in Parliament as unnecessary and tyrannical, excited in America a deep feeling of indignation against the English government.

Everywhere Boston met with sympathy. The town of Salem refused to accept the proffered boon of becoming the seat of government at the expense of her neighbor, and Marblehead offered her port, free of charge, to the merchants of Boston. In that city great distress was experienced ; multitudes, who depended upon the daily

labor they obtained from commerce, were out of employment, and their families suffered. The different colonies sent to their aid provisions and money ; these were accompanied by words of encouragement, to stand firm in the righteous cause. The ordinary necessities of life came from their neighbors of New England. "The patriotic and generous people" of South Carolina sent them two hundred barrels of rice, and promised eight hundred more, but urged them "not to pay for an ounce of the tea." In North Carolina "two thousand pounds were raised by subscription" and sent. Virginia and Maryland vied with each other in the good work. Washington presided at a meeting of sympathizers, and subscribed himself fifty pounds ; and even the farmers on the western frontiers of the Old Dominion sent one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour.

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These patriots were determined "that the men of Boston, who were deprived of their daily labor, should not lose their daily bread, nor be compelled to change their residence for want."¹

Even the citizens of Quebec, French and English, by joint effort sent them more than a thousand bushels of wheat, while in London itself one hundred and fifty thousand dollars were subscribed for their benefit. Notwithstanding all this distress no riot or outbreak occurred among the people.

General Gage was now Commander-in-chief of the British army in America, and had been recently appointed governor, in place of Hutchinson. He was sadly at a loss how to manage the Bostonians. If they would only violate the law, he could exercise his civil as well as his military authority. They held meetings, from time to time, and freely discussed their public affairs. They were under

¹ Bancroft, vol. vii, p. 75.

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1774. the control of leaders who never lost their self-possession, nor transcended their constitutional rights. The government, thinking to avoid the evil, forbade them to hold such meetings, after a certain day. They evaded the law "by convoking the meetings before that day, and *keeping them alive*." "Faneuil Hall was at times unable to hold them, and they swarmed from that revolutionary hive into Old South Church. The Liberty Tree became a rallying place for any popular movement, and a flag hoisted on it was saluted by all processions as the emblem of the popular cause."¹

During this time, the people throughout the colonies held conventions and chose delegates to the General Congress about to meet at Philadelphia. One of these meetings, held in the "Fields" in New York, was addressed by a youth of seventeen. The stripling charmed his hearers by his fervor, as he grappled with the question and presented with clearness the main points at issue. When he closed, a whisper ran through the crowd, "It is a collegian." The youth was Alexander Hamilton, a native of St. Kitts, of Scotch and French descent, his mother a Huguenot. The son combined the caution of the Scot with the vivacity of the Gaul. At an early age he lost his mother, whose memory he cherished with the greatest devotion. "A father's care he seems never to have known." At the age of twelve he was thrown upon the world to depend upon his own resources. He came to Boston, and thence to New York, where he found means to enter King's, since Columbia College. He had been known to the people simply as the West Indian, who walked under the trees in the college green, and unconscious of the observation of others, talked to himself. Henceforth a brilliant mind and untiring energies were to be consecrated to the welfare of the land that had adopted the orphan.

¹ Washington Irving.

When the time came for the meeting of the General Congress, known as the Old Continental Congress, fifty-five delegates assembled in the Carpenters' Hall, in the city of Philadelphia. Every colony was represented, except Georgia. Martin, the royalist governor, had prevented delegates from being chosen.

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Here for the first time assembled the most eminent men of the colonies. They held in their hands, under the Great Disposer of all things, the destinies of a people numbering nearly three millions. Here were names now sacred in the memories of Americans. George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edward and John Butledge, Gadsden, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Philip Livingston, John Jay, William Livingston, Dr. Witherspoon, President of Princeton College, a Scotch Presbyterian minister, who had come over some years before, but was said to be "as high a son of liberty as any man in America," and others of lesser note, but no less patriotism. They had corresponded with each other, and exchanged views on the subject of their country's wrongs; they had sympathized as brethren, though many of them were to each other personally unknown. It was a momentous crisis, and they felt the responsibility of their position.

The House was organized by electing the aged Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, Speaker, and Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, Secretary. A native of Ireland, when a youth he came to America. He was principal of the Quaker High School in Philadelphia, and was proverbial for his truth and honesty.

It was suggested that it would be becoming to open their sessions with prayer. This proposition was thought by some to be inexpedient; since perhaps the delegates could not all join in the same form of worship. At length Samuel Adams, who was a strict Congregationalist, arose and said: "I will willingly join in prayer with any gen-

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tleman of piety and virtue, whatever may be his cloth provided he is a friend of his country." On his motion, the Rev. Mr. Duché, a popular Episcopal clergyman, of Philadelphia, was invited to officiate as chaplain. Mr. Duché accepted the invitation. A rumor, in the mean time, reached Philadelphia that General Gage had bombarded Boston. When the Congress assembled the next morning, anxiety and sympathy were depicted on every countenance. The rumor, though it proved to be false, excited feelings of brotherhood, hitherto unknown.

The chaplain read the thirty-fifth psalm, and then, carried away by his emotions, burst forth into an extemporary prayer to the Lord of Hosts to be their helper. "It seemed," says John Adams, in a letter to his wife, "as if Heaven had ordained that psalm to be read on that morning. He prayed, in language eloquent and sublime, for America, for the Congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially for the town of Boston. It has had an excellent effect upon everybody here."

When the prayer was closed, a long and death-like silence ensued, as if each one hesitated "to open a business so momentous." At length Patrick Henry slowly arose, faltering at first, "as if borne down by the weight of his subject;" but the fires of his wonted eloquence began to glow, as he recited the colonial wrongs already endured, and foretold those yet to come. "Rising, as he advanced, with the grandeur of his subject, and glowing at length with all the majesty and expectation of the occasion, his speech seemed more than that of mortal man." He inspired the entire Congress with his liberal sentiments; they found a response in every heart when he exclaimed: "British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies; the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." When he closed, the members were not

merely astonished at his matchless eloquence, but the importance of the subject had overwhelmed them.

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The Congress appointed a committee, which drew up a "Declaration of Rights." In this they enumerated their natural rights to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property ; as British subjects, they claimed to participate in making their own laws ; in imposing their own taxes ; the right of trial by jury in the vicinage ; of holding public meetings, and of petitioning for redress of grievances. They protested against a standing army in the colonies without their consent, and against eleven acts passed since the accession of George III., as violating the rights of the colonies. It was added, "To these grievous acts and measures Americans cannot submit."

To obtain redress they resolved to enter upon peaceable measures. They agreed to form an "American Association," in whose articles they pledged themselves not to trade with Great Britain or the West Indies, nor with those engaged in the slave-trade—which was especially denounced—not to use British goods or tea, and not to trade with any colony which would refuse to join the association. Committees were to be appointed in the various districts to see that these articles were strictly carried into effect.

Elaborate papers were also issued, in which the views of the Congress were set forth still more fully. A petition to the king was written by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania ; he also wrote an Address to the people of Canada. The Memorial to the people of the colonies was written by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and the Address to the people of Great Britain by John Jay, of New York.

Every measure was carefully discussed, and though on some points there was much diversity of opinion, yet, as Congress sat with closed doors, only the results of these discussions went forth to the country, embodied in resolu-

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1774. tions, and signed by the members. These papers attracted the attention of thinking men in England. Said Chat-ham, "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America ; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must avow, and I have studied the master states of the world, I know not the people, or senate, who, for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in General Congress at Philadelphia. The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to it, and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty continental nation, must be vain."

CHAPTER XXVII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Spirit of the People.—Gage alarmed.—The People seize Guns and Ammunition.—The Massachusetts Provincial Congress; its Measures.—Parliament passes the Restraining Bill.—Conflicts at Lexington and Concord.—Volunteers fly to Arms, and beleaguer Boston.—Stark.—Putnam.—Benedict Arnold.—Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys.—Capture of Ticonderoga.—Lord Dunmore in Virginia.—Patrick Henry and the Independent Companies.—The News from Lexington rouses a Spirit of Resistance.—The second Continental Congress; it takes decisive Measures; adopts the Army before Boston, and appoints Washington Commander-in-chief.

WHILE Congress was yet in session, affairs began to wear a serious aspect in and around Boston. The people were practising military exercises. Every village and district had its company of *minute-men*—men pledged to each other to be ready for action at a minute's warning. England soon furnished them an occasion. The ministry prohibited the exportation of military stores to America, and sent secret orders to the royal governors, to seize all the arms and gunpowder in the magazines. Gage complied with these orders. When it became known that he had secretly sent a company of soldiers by night, who had seized the powder in the arsenal at Charlestown, and conveyed it to Castle William, the minute-men assembled at once. Their eagerness to go to the governor and compel him to restore it to the arsenal could scarcely be restrained.

Ere long various rumors were rife in the country—that Boston was to be attacked; that the fleet was bombarding

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1774. it ; that the soldiers were shooting down the citizens in its streets. Thousands of the sturdy yeomanry of Massachusetts and Connecticut credited these rumors ; they left their farms and their shops, and hastened to the rescue. Before they had advanced far they learned that the reports were untrue. General Gage was alarmed by this significant movement ; he did not apprehend its full import, neither did he rightly discern the signs of the times, nor read the spirit of the people ; he was a soldier, and understood the power that lies in soldiers and fortifications, but knew nothing of the power of free principles. He determined to fortify the neck which connects Boston with the mainland, and place there a regiment, to cut off all communication between the people in the country and those in the town.

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Intelligence of these proceedings spread rapidly through the land. The people took possession of the arsenal at Charlestown, from which the powder had been removed. At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, a company, led by John Sullivan, afterward a major-general, captured the fort, and carried off one hundred barrels of powder and some cannon. At Newport, in the absence of the men-of-war, forty-four pieces of artillery were seized and conveyed to Providence. In Connecticut, the Assembly enjoined upon the towns to lay in a double supply of ammunition, to mount their cannon, and to train the militia frequently. This spirit was not confined to New England, but prevailed in the middle and southern colonies, where the people took energetic measures to put themselves in a posture of defence.

Oct.
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In the midst of this commotion, Gage, thinking to conciliate, summoned the Massachusetts Assembly to meet at Salem ; but, alarmed at the spirit manifested at the town meetings in the province, he countermanded the order. The Assembly, however, met ; and as no one appeared to administer the oaths, and open the session, the

members adjourned to Concord, and there organized as a Provincial Congress. They elected John Hancock President, and Benjamin Lincoln Secretary. Lincoln was a farmer, and afterward became an efficient major-general in the revolutionary army. This was the first provincial Assembly organized independently of royal authority.

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They sent an address to Gage, in which they complained of the recent acts of Parliament ; of his own high-handed measures ; of his fortifying Boston Neck, and requested him to desist ; at the same time they protested their loyalty to the king, and their desire for peace and order. Gage replied that he was acting in self-defence, and admonished them to desist from their own unlawful proceedings.

The Assembly disregarded the admonition, went quietly to work, appointed two committees, one of safety, and the other of supplies,—the former was empowered to call out the minute-men, when it was necessary, and the latter to supply them with provisions of all kinds. They then appointed two general officers—Artemas Ward, one of the judges of the court, and Seth Pomeroy, a veteran of threescore and ten, who had seen service in the French war. They resolved to enlist twelve thousand minute-men, and invited the other New England colonies to increase the number to twenty thousand. The note of alarm was everywhere heard ; preparations for defence were everywhere apparent. In Virginia the militia companies burnished their arms and practised their exercises. Washington, their highest military authority, was invited, and often visited different parts of the country, to inspect these volunteers on their review days.

The attention of all was now turned to the new Parliament about to assemble. To some extent, a change had come over the minds of many of the English people ; the religious sympathies of the Dissenters were specially enlisted in favor of the colonists. The papers issued by

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the Continental Congress had been published and circulated extensively in England, by the exertions of Franklin and others. Their plain, unvarnished statements of facts, and their claim for the colonists to enjoy British as well as natural rights, had elicited sympathy.

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Chatham, though much enfeebled, hurried up to London to plead once more for American rights. He brought in a bill, which he hoped would remove the difficulties ; but the House spurned every scheme of reconciliation short of absolute submission on the part of the colonists. Lord North, urged on by his colleagues in the ministry, whom he had not strength of will to resist, went further than ever. The Boston Port Bill had not accomplished its design ; and now he introduced what was termed the New England Restraining Bill, which deprived the people of those colonies of the privilege of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. He declared Massachusetts was in rebellion, and the other colonies, by their associations, were aiding and abetting her. Parliament pledged itself to aid the king in maintaining his authority.

Mar.

The next month came intelligence to England, that the Colonial Assemblies had not only approved the resolutions of the Continental Congress, but had determined to support them. To punish them for this audacity, Parliament passed a second Restraining Act, to apply to all the colonies except New York, Delaware, and North Carolina. The object of this mark of favor signally failed ; these colonies could not be bribed to desert their sisters.

General Gage had learned, by means of spies, that at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston, the patriots had collected ammunition and military stores. These he determined to destroy. His preparations were made with the greatest secrecy ; but the Sons of Liberty were vigilant. Dr. Warren, one of the committee of safety, noticed the unusual stir ; the collection of boats at certain points ;

that the light infantry and grenadiers were taken off duty. He sent information of what he had seen and suspected to John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were at Lexington. It was rightly surmised that Concord was the object of the intended expedition. It was to leave Boston on the night of the eighteenth of April; on that day Gage issued orders forbidding any one to leave the town after dark. Again the vigilance of Warren had anticipated him. Before his order could go into effect, Paul Revere and William Dawes, two swift and trusty messengers, were on the way to the country, by different routes. A lantern held out from the steeple of the North Church—the concerted signal to the patriots in Charlestown—warned them that something unusual was going on. Messengers from that place hurried to rouse the country.

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About ten o'clock, under cover of the darkness, eight or nine hundred men, light infantry and grenadiers, embarked and crossed to Cambridge, and thence, with as little noise as possible, took up their line of march. To their surprise they heard in advance of them the tolling of bells, and the firing of alarm guns; evidently they were discovered. Lieutenant-colonel Smith sent back to Gage for reinforcements, and also ordered Major Pitcairn to press forward, and seize the two bridges at Concord. Pitcairn advanced rapidly and arrested every person he met or overtook, but a countryman, who evaded him, spurred on to Lexington, and gave the alarm. At dawn of day Pitcairn's division reached that place. Seventy or eighty minute-men, with some other persons, were on the green. They were uncertain as to the object of the British. It was thought they wished to arrest Hancock and Adams, both of whom had left the place. Pitcairn ordered his men to halt and load their muskets; then riding up he cried out,—“Disperse, you rebels.” “Down with your arms, you villains, and disperse,” was echoed by his officers. Confusion ensued; random shots were

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fired on both sides ; then, by a volley from the British, seven men were killed and nine wounded. The Americans dispersed, and the British soldiers gave three cheers for their victory ! By whom the first shot was fired is uncertain. Each party charged it upon the other. Be that as it may, here was commenced the eight years' war of the revolution.

Presently Colonel Smith came up, and in half an hour the entire body moved on toward Concord, six miles distant. Information of the firing at Lexington had already reached that place. The minute-men were assembled on the green near the church. About seven o'clock the enemy appeared, in two divisions. The minute-men retreated across a bridge to the top of a neighboring hill. The British placed a strong guard at the bridge, and spent two hours in destroying what stores they could find, as the greater part had been concealed, and pillaging some private dwellings. Meantime the little company on the hill increased rapidly, and soon it numbered about four hundred and fifty. They advanced upon the guard, who fired upon them, and skirmishing commenced. As the British began to retreat they were followed by an irregular and galling fire from behind trees, and fences, and houses. In vain they sent flanking-parties to free themselves from their assailants, who were increasing every minute ; the nimble yeomanry would retire before these parties, only to appear at a more favorable point. Colonel Smith was severely wounded, and many of his men killed. He had consumed more than two hours in retreating to Lexington ; there, fortunately for him, Lord Percy, who insultingly had marched out of Boston to the tune of Yankee Doodle, met him with a thousand men and two field-pieces. The fainting and exhausted troops were received in a hollow square, where they rested, while the fresh soldiers kept the indomitable "rebels" at bay with their field-pieces.

While the enemy were thus halting, General Heath,

whom the Massachusetts Provincial Congress had appointed to command the minute-men, came upon the ground, and also Dr. Warren. They directed the Americans, whose attacks were now more in concert, but still irregular. The British set fire to dwellings in Lexington, then renewed their retreat, pillaging and burning as they went. The Americans, greatly exasperated, harassed them at every step. Lord Percy's condition became very critical. The country was roused ; new assailants poured in from every side ; every moment he was more and more encumbered by the number of the wounded, while his ammunition was nearly exhausted. Had he been delayed an hour longer, his retreat would have been cut off by a powerful force from Marblehead and Salem. "If the retreat," writes Washington, "had not been as precipitate as it was—and God knows it could not well have been more so—the ministerial troops must have surrendered, or been totally cut off." In this affair, about eighty of the Americans were killed or wounded, and of the British nearly three hundred.

Intelligence of this conflict spread rapidly through the country ; couriers hastened from colony to colony. In New England, volunteers flew to arms, and in ten days an irregular army completely blockaded the British in Boston, by a line of encampments, that extended from Roxbury to beyond Charlestown—a distance of nine miles. The fire of other days glowed in the breasts of the old campaigners of the French war,—none were more ready than they. John Stark, whom we have seen leading his men in that war, waited not for invitation nor commission ; in ten minutes after he heard the news he was on his way. Israel Putnam, another name associated with deeds of daring in French and Indian warfare, was laboring in his field when the courier passed along. He left the work, mounted a horse, roused his neighbors, and, without changing his clothes, hastened to Boston. Putnam was

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1775. a native of Salem, Massachusetts, but for many years a resident of Connecticut. Though now almost sixty years of age, he was buoyant in spirits as a boy, impulsive and frank as he was fearless, and too generous to suspect others of guile.

At this crisis, the Massachusetts Congress took energetic measures. A regiment of artillery was formed, the command of which was given to the aged Gridley, who, thirty years before, commanded the artillery at the taking of Louisburg. In the other colonies, the people were not inactive; they seized arms and ammunition wherever found, repudiated the royal authority, and each for itself called a Provincial Congress.

It was suggested to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety to seize the two posts, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and thus secure the "key of Canada," as well as the cannon and other military stores there deposited. Benedict Arnold, who commanded a company in the camp before Boston, entered into the project with great ardor. Arnold was a man of impulsive temper, petulant, headstrong, and reckless of danger; he thirsted for an opportunity to distinguish himself. The Committee gave him the commission of colonel, with authority to raise men and accomplish the object. He learned that others were engaged in the same enterprise, and without waiting to enlist men, he set out immediately for Vermont. There he met the redoubtable Ethan Allen—an original character—who from his very singularities exerted a great influence over his companions. When he harangued them, as he often did, "his style, though a singular compound of local barbarisms, and scriptural phrases, and oriental wildness, was highly animated and forcible." The territory now known as the State of Vermont, was claimed at this time by both New York and New Hampshire; but the inhabitants preferred to live

under the rule of the latter, and formed combinations to resist the authority of New York. Allen was the leader of "the Green Mountain Boys," an association formed for this purpose. CHAP.
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These Green Mountain Boys, numbering about two hundred and seventy, with Allen at their head, were already on their way to Ticonderoga. Within a few miles of the head of Lake Champlain, Arnold overtook them. By virtue of his commission as colonel, he ordered Allen to surrender the command into his hands. Allen refused, nor would his men march under any other leader. It was finally arranged that Arnold should go as a volunteer, retaining the rank of colonel without the command. The following night the party reached Shoreham, a point on the lake opposite Ticonderoga. At dawn of day, as they had but few boats, only eighty-three men with Arnold and Allen had crossed over. May
10.

They could delay no longer, lest they should be discovered, and Allen proposed to move on at once to the fort. Guided by a boy of the neighborhood, a brisk run up the hill soon brought them to the entrance. They secured the two sentinels, one of whom they compelled to show the way to the quarters of Captain Delaplace, the commandant. The vigorous knocks of Allen at his door soon roused him. When he appeared, half-awake and half-dressed, Allen flourished his sword, and called upon him to surrender the fort. The commandant stammered out, "By whose authority do you act?" "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," thundered Allen. This was a demonstration not to be resisted. The cheers of Allen's men had already roused the garrison, all of whom were taken prisoners.

Two days later Seth Warner, Allen's lieutenant, with a detachment, took Crown Point. Arnold then obtained boats, pushed on, and captured St. John's in the Sorel. Altogether, sixty prisoners were taken, and what was far

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more important, two hundred cannons and a large supply of gunpowder.

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Two days after the affair at Lexington, Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, sent a company of marines, who, in the night, entered the capital, Williamsburg, and carried off from the public arsenal about twenty barrels of powder, and conveyed them on board an armed schooner lying in James river. When the inhabitants learned the fact the next morning, they were greatly exasperated. Numbers flew to arms with the intention of recovering the powder. By the persuasions of the leading citizens, and of the council, they were restrained from acts of violence.

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The Council, however, addressed a remonstrance to the governor, who promised, verbally, to restore the powder when it should be needed. The people deemed his answer unsatisfactory. When intelligence came of the conflict at Concord, it flashed upon their minds that the seizure of the powder and munitions of war in the colonies was concerted by the royal governors, in accordance with instructions from the ministry.

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2.

Patrick Henry invited the independent companies of the county of Hanover to meet him at a certain place on the second of May. They, seven hundred strong, obeyed the call. He made known why they were called together; spoke of the fight at Concord, and the occasion of it. Then, at their head, he marched towards Williamsburg, determined either to have the powder returned, or its value in money. On their way a messenger from the frightened governor met them, and tendered the money for the full value of the powder. The money was afterward sent to Congress.

The companies now disbanded, with the understanding that when called upon, they were to be ready to march at a minute's warning. Thus did Virginia emulate Massachusetts.

Dunmore, in the mean while, fled with his family on board a man-of-war, and thence issued one of his harmless proclamations, in which he declared "a certain Patrick Henry and his associates to be in rebellion." CHAP. XXVII.
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A few days before he had said, "The whole country can easily be made a solitude;" and he threatened to declare freedom to the slaves, arm them, and lay Williamsburg in ashes!

As the news from Lexington and Concord reached the various portions of the colonies the people rose in opposition. The whigs were indignant at the outrage, and the royalists censured Gage for his rash and harsh measures.

In New York, the Sons of Liberty, with Robert Sears, the sturdy mechanic, at their head, seized eighty thousand pounds of flour, which was on board of sloops ready to be taken to Boston for the king's troops; they shut up the custom-house, and forbade vessels to leave the harbor for any colony or port which acknowledged British authority; they secured the arms and ammunition belonging to the city, while the volunteers turned out and paraded the streets. The General Committee was dilatory; another was chosen to act with more energy. An association was formed whose members pledged themselves, "under all ties of religion, honor, and love of country, to submit to committees and to Congress, to withhold supplies from the British troops, and, at the risk of lives and fortunes, to repel every attempt at enforcing taxation by Parliament."

Similar was the spirit manifested in the Jerseys. In Philadelphia, thousands of the citizens assembled and resolved, "To associate for the purpose of defending with arms, their lives, their property, and liberty." Thomas Mifflin, the warlike young Quaker, urged them in his speech, "not to be bold in declarations and cold in action." Military companies were formed in the neighboring coun-

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ties, as well as in the city, who armed themselves and daily practised their exercises.

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In Maryland, Eden, the royalist governor, in order to conciliate, gave up to the people the arms and ammunition of the province.

In Charleston, the people at once distributed the twelve hundred stand of arms which they seized in the royal arsenal, while the Provincial Congress, with Henry Laurens, a Huguenot by descent, as their president, declared themselves "ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to secure freedom and safety." The officers of the militia threw up their commissions from the governor, and declared themselves ready to submit to the authority of Congress. Regiments of infantry and rangers were immediately raised.

Georgia, which had hitherto been lukewarm, now took decided ground. The people broke into the royal magazine, from which they took all the powder, five hundred pounds. The committee wrote words of encouragement and commendation to the people of Massachusetts, and sent them rice and specie.

In North Carolina, as the news passed from place to place, it awakened the spirit of resistance to tyranny. The highlands along her western frontier were settled by Presbyterians of Scotch-Irish descent, "who were said to possess the impulsiveness of the Irishman with the dogged resolution of the Covenanter." A county convention was in session when the courier arrived. Fired with indignation, the delegates resolved to throw off "the authority of the king and Parliament." Ephraim Brevard, "trained in the college at Princeton," and afterward a martyr in the cause, embodied their sentiments in resolutions, which declared: "All laws and commissions, confirmed by or derived from the authority of the king and Parliament to be annulled and vacated." To maintain their rights, they also determined to form nine military companies, and to

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frame laws for the internal government of the country. This was the famous Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

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Such was the spirit that pervaded the minds of the entire people. Throughout the land free principles had laid the train—the spark was applied at Lexington.

On the tenth of May the second Continental Congress commenced its session at Philadelphia. They organized without changing the officers of the year before. In a few days, however, Peyton Randolph resigned the presidency to return to Virginia and preside over the Assembly, which had been called by the governor.

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Thomas Jefferson was sent to supply his place as a delegate, and John Hancock was elected president. Harrison, of Virginia, in conducting him to the chair, said : “ We will show Britain how much we value her proscriptions.” For it was well known that Hancock and Samuel Adams were deemed rebels too great to be pardoned.

Dr. Franklin had returned only a few days before from England, where he had been for some years in the capacity of agent for some of the colonies. There his enlightened statesmanship and far-seeing judgment had won the respect of liberal-minded Englishmen. He was at once chosen a delegate. Also, in addition to the members of the first Congress, appeared George Clinton and Robert R. Livingston, from New York.

The members were encouraged, for the measures of the first Congress had been approved by the assemblies of all the colonies.

The first General Congress met to protest and petition ; the second to assume authority and take decisive measures. Then the door was open for reconciliation with the mother country, now it was almost closed. The face of affairs was changed ; blood had been wantonly shed,

CHAP. and a beleaguering host of rustic soldiery were besieging
XXVII. the enemy.

1775. Congress was imbued with the spirit of the time. In committee of the whole reports were called for on the state of the country. These disposed of, they passed to other matters ; reviewed the events of the last year ; investigated the causes which led to the conflicts at Lexington and Concord. The timid proposed to memorialize Parliament once more. No ! argued John Adams, and many others ; it is useless, we have been spurned from the throne, and our petitions treated with contempt ; such a memorial would embarrass our proceedings, and have no influence upon Parliament. Yet another petition was, in form, voted to the king, and while they denied any intention to cast off their allegiance, they proceeded to put the colonies in a posture of defence.

They formed a "Federal Union," by whose provisions each colony was to manage its own internal concerns ; but all measures pertaining to the whole community, such as treaties of peace or alliance, the regulation of commerce, or declaration of war, came under the jurisdiction of Congress. They recognized Him who holds in his hands the destinies of nations. They issued a proclamation for a day of solemn fasting and prayer.

Congress now assumed the authority of the central power of the nation. They forbade persons, under any circumstances, to furnish provisions to the British navy or troops ; took measures to enlist an army and to build fortifications, and to procure arms and ammunition. To defray expenses, they issued "Bills of Credit," amounting to two millions of dollars, for whose redemption they pledged the faith of the "United Colonies." In accordance with the request of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, they adopted the volunteers in the camp before Boston, as the continental army. It remained to appoint a Commander-in-chief. On this subject there were diver-

sities of opinion. Some thought a New England army would prefer a New England commander ; others strove to appoint a commander acceptable to all sections of the country. The members of Congress acknowledged the military talents of Washington, and appreciated his liberal views as a statesman. As chairman of the committee on military affairs, he had suggested the majority of the rules for the army, and of the measures for defence. At this time came intimations in a private letter from Dr. Warren to Samuel Adams, that many leading men in Massachusetts desired his appointment as commander-in-chief.

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Patrick Henry, when asked, on his return home from the first Congress, who of the members was the greatest man, had replied, "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is, by far, the greatest orator ; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor."

John Adams took occasion to point out what, under the present circumstances, should be the qualifications of a commander-in-chief, and closed by remarking, that they knew a man who had these qualifications—"a member of this house from Virginia." He alluded to Washington. A few days after, the army was regularly adopted, and the salary of the commander-in-chief fixed at five hundred dollars a month. That arranged, Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, nominated Washington for the office. The election was by ballot, and he was unanimously chosen. The next day the president of Congress formally announced to him his election. Washington rose in his seat and briefly expressed his gratitude for the unexpected honor, and his devotion to the cause. Then he added, "I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in this room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not

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CHAP. think myself equal to the command I am honored
XXVII. with." Refusing any pay, he continued, "I will keep an
1775. exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not,
they will discharge, and that is all I desire." Congress resolved "to maintain and assist, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes in the defence of American liberty."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

Battle of Bunker Hill.—Death of Warren.—Washington on his way to join the Army.—Generals Charles Lee and Schuyler.—State of Affairs in New York.—Sir William Johnson.—The Condition of the Army.—Nathaniel Greene.—Morgan and his Riflemen.—Wants of the Army.—Difficulties on Lake Champlain.—Expedition against Canada.—Richard Montgomery.—Allen's rash Adventure.—Montreal captured.—Arnold's toilsome March to Quebec.—That Place besieged.—Failure to storm the Town.—Death of Montgomery.—Arnold in his Icy-Fortress.

FOR two months the armies in and around Boston had watched each other. General Gage, in the mean time, had received large reinforcements. These were led by three commanders of reputation : Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Henry Clinton. We may judge of the surprise of these generals to find the king's regulars "hemmed in by what they termed a rustic rout, with calico frocks and fowling-pieces." "What !" exclaimed Burgoyne, "ten thousand peasants keep five thousand king's troops shut up ! Well, let us get in, and we'll soon find elbow-room." This vain boast was followed by no decided movement. Gage merely sent forth a proclamation, declared the province under martial law, and offered pardon to all the rebels who should return to their allegiance, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. These "rebels" were placed beyond the pale of the king's mercy.

The patriot soldiers, numbering about fifteen thousand, had come from their various towns, in independent companies, under their own leaders ; their friends in their

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CHAP. respective towns supplied them with provisions. The
XXVIII. Massachusetts troops were under General Ward ; John
1775. Stark led the New Hampshire volunteers ; Putnam commanded those from Connecticut, and Nathaniel Greene the regiment from Rhode Island. The artillery, consisting of nine pieces, was under the control of the venerable Colonel Gridley. The great majority of the soldiers were clad in their homespun working clothes ; some had rifles and some had fowling-pieces. The British greatly exasperated them by taunts and acts expressive of contempt. Opposed to the motley group of patriot soldiers, was a well-disciplined army of ten thousand men, under experienced commanders.

It was rumored that Gage intended to seize and fortify Bunker's Hill and Dorchester Heights—the one lying north and the other south of the town. In order to prevent this, some of the patriots proposed that they should take possession of the hill themselves. The more cautious were opposed to the enterprise, as extremely hazardous ; it might provoke a general action, and they were deficient in ammunition and guns. But the fearless Putnam felt confident, with proper intrenchments, the patriots could not fail of success. "The Americans," said he, "are never afraid of their heads, they only think of their legs ; shelter *them*, and they will fight forever." It was reported that the enemy intended to seize Bunker Hill on the night of the eighteenth of June, and therefore not a moment was to be lost. On the evening of Friday
June. the sixteenth, a company of about twelve hundred men,
16. with their arms, and provisions for twenty-four hours, assembled on the common at Cambridge. Very few of them knew where they were going, but all knew that it was into danger. Prayer was offered by President Langdon, of Harvard College. About nine o'clock they commenced their march, under the command of Colonel William Prescott, a veteran of the French war ; one in whom the

soldiers had implicit confidence. Charlestown Neck was strongly guarded, but they passed over it in safety, and were soon on the ground. Bunker Hill was designated in the orders, but Breed's Hill, as it had a better command of the harbor, was fortified instead. The ground was speedily marked out, and about midnight the men commenced their labors. Early daylight revealed to the astonished eyes of the British sailors in the harbor the strong redoubt that had sprung up so suddenly on the hill-top, and the Americans still busy at their work. Without waiting for orders, the sloop-of-war *Lively* opened her guns upon them ; a floating battery and other ships did the same. The firing roused the people of Boston. Gage, through his spy-glass, noticed Prescott, who was on the parapet inspecting the works. "Who is that officer in command," he asked ; "will he fight ?" "He is an old soldier, and will fight to the last drop of his blood," replied one who knew Prescott well. "The works must be carried," remarked Gage. An hour later the plan of attack was decided upon by a council of war.

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From the heights the Americans saw and heard the bustle of preparation. Repeated messages were sent to General Ward for the promised reinforcements. Putnam hurried to Cambridge to urge the demand in person. Ward hesitated lest he should weaken the main division. It was eleven o'clock before Stark and Reed, with their regiments, were ordered to the relief of Prescott, and the wearied soldiers, who had been laboring all night at the redoubt.

About noon, twenty-eight barges filled with soldiers, under the command of Generals Howe and Pigott, left Boston. The ships kept up an incessant cannonade to cover their landing. General Howe discovered that the works were stronger than he anticipated, and he sent to General Gage for reinforcements ; his men, while waiting, were regaled with refreshments and "grog." Meantime

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the Americans strengthened their works, and formed a rustic breastwork ; to do this, they pulled up a post-and-rail fence, placed it behind a stone fence, and filled the space between with new-mown grass. This extended down the side of the hill north of the redoubt to a swamp.

Now they were cheered by the sight of Stark, who appeared with five hundred men. As he marched leisurely along, some one suggested a rapid movement. The veteran replied, " One fresh man in action is worth ten tired ones ; " and he moved quietly on. A part of his force halted with Putnam at Bunker Hill, and a part joined Knowlton behind the fence breastwork. About two o'clock, Dr. Warren, who had recently been appointed major-general, but had not received his commission, arrived. He came, as did Pomeroy, to serve in the ranks. When Putnam pointed him to the redoubt, and said, " There you will be under cover," " Don't think," replied Warren, " that I seek a place of safety—where will the attack be the hottest ? " Still pointing to the same spot Putnam answered : " *That* is the enemy's object ; if that can be maintained the day is ours." When Warren entered the redoubt, the soldiers received him with hearty cheers. Prescott offered him the command, which he gracefully declined, saying : " I shall be happy to learn from a soldier of your experience."

The day was clear and bright : the British, in their brilliant uniforms, presented a fine appearance. Thousands watched every movement from the house-tops in Boston and from the neighboring hills. Fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers were to meet the enemy, for the first time, in a regular battle. The expedition had commenced with prayer on Cambridge green, and now minister McClintock, of New Hampshire, was passing among the men praying and exhorting them to stand firm.

About half-past two o'clock, the British, confident of an easy victory, advanced ; one division, under Genera

Pigott, marched up the hill to storm the redoubt in front, while the other, under General Howe, advanced against the fence breastwork, in order to gain the rear and cut off the retreat. The redoubt was commanded by Prescott. Stark, Knowlton, and Reed, with some of the New Hampshire and Connecticut men, were at the fence. As he saw the enemy advancing, Prescott, with his usual presence of mind, passed among his men and encouraged them. "The redcoats," said he, "will never reach the redoubt, if you will but withhold your fire till I give the order, and be careful not to shoot over their heads." The impetuous Putnam, who seems to have had no special command, was everywhere. "Wait till you see the whites of their eyes, aim at their waistbands, pick off the handsome coats, steady my lads," were his directions as he rode along the lines. "Wait for orders and fire low," was the policy that controlled the movements on Bunker Hill.

The British, as they advanced, kept up an incessant discharge of musketry. Not a sound issued from the Americans. When Pigott's division came within forty paces, those in the redoubt levelled their guns for a moment, then Prescott gave the word: "Fire!" Whole ranks were cut down. The enemy fell back, but urged on by their officers, again advanced. The Americans allowed them to come nearer than before, but received them more warmly. The carnage was dreadful; Pigott himself ordered a retreat. At the same moment Howe's division was also retreating. The brave band who guarded the fence, had allowed him to advance within thirty paces, then had poured in their reserved fire with deadly effect. Both divisions retired down the hill to the shore. Gage had threatened that he would burn the town of Charlestown if the Americans should occupy the heights. The threat was now carried into execution, by bombs thrown from the ships and Copp's Hill. The conflagration added new horrors to the scene.

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The British resolved upon a second attack. This proved a counterpart of the first. By volleys discharged at the right moment, and with unerring aim, their whole force was driven back. Their officers labored to check them, even urged them on with their swords, but in vain; they retreated to the shore. "If we drive them back once more," exclaimed Prescott, "they cannot rally again." "We are ready for the redcoats again," was the response from the redoubt.

General Clinton watched the movements from Copp's Hill. He witnessed the repulse of the "king's regulars" with astonishment; he hastened over as a volunteer with reinforcements. Some officers were opposed to another attack; they thought it little short of butchery to lead men in the face of such sharp-shooting. Now they learned that the ammunition of the Americans was nearly exhausted. They resolved to carry the redoubt at the point of the bayonet. The attack was to be specially directed against an open space which they had noticed between the breastwork and the fortified fence. The Americans used what little powder they had with great effect; they could pour in but a single volley upon the enemy; but by this a number of British officers were slain. The British, however, advanced with fixed bayonets, and assailed the redoubt on three sides. The first who appeared on the parapet, as he cried out, "The day is ours," was shot down. Now followed a desperate encounter; those Americans who had not bayonets fought with stones and the butts of their muskets. It was impossible to maintain the ground; Prescott gave the word, and they commenced an orderly retreat. The aged Pomeroy clubbed his musket and retreated with his face to the enemy. Stark, Knowlton, and Reed, kept their position at the fence till their companions had left the redoubt and passed down the hill, and thus prevented the enemy from cutting off the retreat; then they slowly retired.

About three thousand British were engaged in this battle, and about fifteen hundred Americans. The British lost more than one thousand men, an unusual proportion of whom were officers, among whom was Major Pitcairn, of Lexington memory ; while the Americans lost but four hundred and fifty, but among these was Dr. Warren. He was one of the last to leave the redoubt ; he had scarcely passed beyond it when he fell. On the morning of that day he had expressed himself willing, if necessary, to die for his country.—That country has embalmed his name as one of the bravest and noblest of her sons.

The raw militia had met the British “regulars,” and had proved themselves their equals ; they left the field only when destitute of ammunition.

The British ministry was not satisfied with this victory, nor were the Americans discouraged by this defeat. When the news of the battle reached England, General Gage was at once recalled. When Washington learned of it from the courier who was hastening to Congress with the news, he exclaimed : “The liberties of the country are safe !”

This famous battle took place on the seventeenth of June ; on the twenty-first Washington, accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler, left Philadelphia to join the army as Commander-in-chief. General Charles Lee was an Englishman by birth ; a soldier by profession, he had been engaged in campaigns in various parts of Europe, and in the French war. Frank in disposition, but sarcastic in manner, and evidently soured by disappointment, he had resigned the British service, and for some reason indulged in feelings of bitter animosity to the English name. His connection with their cause was counted of great consequence by the Americans.

General Philip Schuyler was a native of New York, of Dutch descent. As a man of wealth, position, education, and well-known integrity, he had great influence in

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that province. He had some experience, also, in military affairs ; during the French war, when a youth of two and twenty, he campaigned with Sir William Johnson and his Mohawks. Though in his native province the rich and influential were generally loyalists, from the beginning of the troubles Schuyler ardently espoused the cause of the colonists. He was versed in civil affairs, having been a member of the New York General Assembly, and recently a delegate to Congress, where his practical good sense had attracted attention. At this time, danger was apprehended from the Mohawks, who lived in the northern and central parts of New York. It was feared that, influenced by the Johnson family, they would rally against the colonists. Sir William Johnson, of whom we have spoken, the ancestor of this family, was of Scotch-Irish descent, a man of vigorous mind but of coarse associations ; he had acquired great influence over the Indians by adopting their customs, had married an Indian wife, sister of Brandt, the chief, afterward so famous. For nearly thirty years he was agent for the Five Nations ; he became rich by traffic, and lived in his castle on the Mohawk river, in baronial style, with Scotch Highlanders as tenants. Sir William was dead, but his son and heir, John Johnson, and his son-in-law, Guy Johnson, were suspected of tampering with the Mohawks. No one knew the state of affairs in New York better than Schuyler ; he was acquainted with the tory aristocracy ; he understood the Johnsons, and to him Washington intrusted the charge of that province.

As a singular incident it may be noted, that as Washington approached New York by way of New Jersey, the ship on board of which was the royalist governor Tryon, who was just returning from England, came into the harbor. The committee appointed to do the honors was somewhat perplexed. Fortunately their principles were not tested : these two men, the one the representative of

the Continental Congress, the other of the king, did not reach the city at the same time. The escort that received Washington, were at leisure, a few hours later, to render to Governor Tryon the same honor.

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The Commander-in-chief was met at Springfield by the committee of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and escorted to the camp. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed; the soldiers everywhere greeted him with hearty cheers. Such a welcome, while it gratified his feelings, was calculated to increase his sense of responsibility. A great work was before him—a work not yet begun; he was to bring order out of confusion; to lead on the cause of freedom to a successful issue. In his letters written about this time, he expresses a calm trust in a Divine Providence, that wisely orders all things.

A personal survey of the army revealed more perfectly the difficulties to be overcome. It numbered about fourteen thousand men; to be effective, it must be increased to twenty or thirty thousand. The troops were unorganized and undisciplined, without uniforms, poorly clad, and imperfectly armed. To discipline these volunteers would be no easy task; they could not be subjected to strict military rule. Even among this noble band of patriot officers, were jealousies to be soothed, and prejudices to be regarded. Some felt that they had been overlooked or underrated in the appointments made by Congress.

A council of war resolved to maintain the present line of works, to capture the British, or drive them out of Boston. Washington chose for his head-quarters a central position at Cambridge; here were stationed Major-general Putnam and Brigadier-general Heath. General Artemas Ward was stationed with the right wing at Roxbury, and General Charles Lee commanded the left on Prospect Hill. Under Lee were the Brigadier-generals Greene and Sullivan, and under Ward the Generals

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Spencer and Thomas. Of this number, Greene merits special notice. His father a farmer, miller, and anchor smith, as well as occasionally a Quaker preacher, endeavored to train his son in his own faith. The son's tastes were decidedly military. Of a genial disposition, he was fond of social amusements, but never at the expense of things more important. He cultivated his mind by reading the best English authors of the time on science and history ; to do this he snatched the moments from daily toil. Industrious and strictly temperate, his perceptions were clear, and his love of order almost a passion. With zest he read books on military tactics, and before he had laid aside the Quaker costume, he took lessons in the science of military drill, by watching the exercises and manœuvres of the British troops on parade on Boston Common. Their order and precision had a charm for the embryo general. None took a deeper interest than he in the questions that agitated the country, and he was more than once chosen by the people to represent them in the Colonial Legislature.

The army was now joined by some companies of riflemen, mostly Scotch and Irish ; backwoodsmen of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, enlisted by orders of Congress. They had marched six hundred miles in twenty days. If their peculiar dress, the hunting-shirt, and their motto, " Liberty or Death," worn on their head-band, their robust appearance, their stature, scarcely one of them being less than six feet, excited admiration, much more did their feats of sharp-shooting. " When advancing at a quick step," it was said, " they could hit a mark of seven inches diameter at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards." Their leader, Daniel Morgan, was a native of New Jersey, though brought up on the frontiers of Virginia. When a youth, his education had been neglected ; he could scarcely read or write ; unpolished in his manners, generous in his impulses, honorable in his own feelings, he instinctively scorned meanness or duplicity in

others. In his twentieth year, as a wagoner, he took his first lessons in warfare in Braddock's unfortunate campaign. His character adapted itself to emergencies. When left to act in responsible situations, his good sense was never at fault ; wherever placed, he performed well his part.

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As soon as he obtained the requisite information, Washington laid before Congress the state of the army, with suggestions as to the best means to furnish it with provisions, munitions, and men. He also suggested that diversities of uniform had a tendency to encourage sectional feelings, and recommended Congress to provide, at least ten thousand hunting-shirts, adding, "I know nothing in a speculative view more trivial, yet which, if put in practice, would have a happier tendency to unite the men, and abolish those provincial distinctions that lead to jealousy and dissatisfaction." This was the origin of the peculiar uniform of American soldiers. A few days after this report was sent to Congress, it was discovered that, by mistake, a false return of the powder in the camp had been made—the supply was nearly exhausted. This discovery crippled every movement, and left the Americans at the mercy of the enemy, should they be attacked. Their only safety lay in silence and inaction. Messengers were hurried in every direction to collect and send to the camp all the powder that could be obtained. In about a fortnight they procured a small supply.

We now turn to affairs in New York, where, it will be remembered, Schuyler had command. After their brave exploits on Lake Champlain, Arnold and Allen both claimed authority over the captured forts—the former referred to Massachusetts, the latter to Connecticut, to confirm their respective claims. As these forts belonged to New York, Allen wrote to the Congress of that province for supplies of men and money to defend them. But the whole matter was, at length, referred to the Continental

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Congress, which decided that New York should have the charge of the forts, and authorized it to call upon New England for aid in their defence. The call was made upon Connecticut, in answer to which Colonel Hinman, with a thousand men, was sent to join Arnold. Allen's Green Mountain Boys were by this time disbanded, as their term of enlistment had expired. These war spirits, Arnold and Allen, had urged upon the Continental Congress to furnish them means to invade Canada. Allen, in company with Seth Warner, went in person to that body for authority to raise a new regiment. It was granted, and the New York Congress was recommended to receive this regiment of their ancient enemies into the regular army. They were to choose their own leader. For some reason Warner was chosen, and Allen entirely neglected; but not to be baffled when a fight was on hand, he joined the army as a volunteer. Arnold claimed the entire authority at Ticonderoga, after the departure of Allen, and difficulties arose between him and Hinman. A committee sent from the Congress of Massachusetts to inquire into the matter, decided that the command belonged to Hinman. Arnold swore he would not be second, disbanded his men, threw up his commission, and hurried to Cambridge.

Congress was, at first, opposed to the invasion of Canada, and even thought of dismantling the forts on Lake Champlain. Recent intelligence that the authorities of that province were making preparations to recapture the forts and to regain the command of the lake, induced them to determine upon its invasion in self-defence. Schuyler learned that seven hundred of the king's troops were in Canada; that Guy Johnson, with three hundred tenants and Indians, was at Montreal; that St. John's was fortified, and war-vessels were building there, and almost ready to pass by the Sorel into the lake. Yet he was encouraged by rumors that some of the inhabitants were disaffected, and might be induced to join against the

mother country ; if so, the British would be deprived of a valuable recruiting station. Two expeditions against Canada were determined upon, one by way of Lake Champlain, the other by the rivers Kennebec and Chaudiere. The former under Schuyler ; the latter was intrusted to Arnold, who was in the camp chafed and disappointed, but ready for any daring enterprise that promised distinction.

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Operations were to commence by way of the lake, where were assembled the New York troops, and some from New England. Schuyler was ably seconded by Brigadier-general Richard Montgomery. Montgomery was a native of Ireland ; had, when a youth, been the companion of Wolfe in the French war. He resigned the British service, and remaining in America, settled in New York, where he married. A man of education and refinement, his generous sentiments led him to espouse ardently the cause of popular rights.

General Schuyler passed from Ticonderoga down the lake, and took possession of the Isle aux Noix, in the Sorel river. This position commanded the entrance into Lake Champlain. He then made an attempt on St. John's, but finding it more strongly garrisoned than had been represented, he retired to the Isle aux Noix, with the intention of fortifying that important post, but severe sickness compelled him to return to Albany. The command devolved upon Montgomery. Schuyler was soon able to send him supplies and ammunition, and also reinforcements under General Wooster.

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Ethan Allen, as usual, without orders, went on one of his rash expeditions. With only eighty-three men, he attempted to take Montreal, was overpowered, and taken prisoner with his men. He himself was sent in irons to England, to be tried as a rebel. Here closed the connection of this daring leader of the Green Mountain Boys, with the war of the Revolution. He was not tried, but

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1775. Montgomery sent a detachment which took Fort Chambly, a few miles further down the river, thus placing troops between St. John's and Canada. Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of that province, made exertions, but without success, to raise a force for the relief of St. John's. But when on his way he was repulsed at the passage of the St. Lawrence by Colonel Seth Warner ; another party going up the Sorel on the same errand was also driven back. **Nov. 8.** The garrison at St. John's presently surrendered, and immediately the energetic Montgomery pushed on to Montreal, which submitted at the first summons, while Carleton with a few followers fled down the river to Quebec. This was a very seasonable capture for the Americans, as it supplied them with woollen clothes, of which necessities they were in great need.

Montgomery made great exertions in the midst of discouragements, arising from insubordination, desertions, and the lateness of the season, to push on and join Arnold before Quebec. **Sept.** Two months before this time, that leader had left the camp before Boston with eleven hundred men, among whom were three companies of riflemen, under Morgan, to pass up the Kennebec, and thence across the wilderness to Quebec, there to unite with the force from New York. Aaron Burr, then a youth of twenty, accompanied this expedition as a volunteer. It was a perilous undertaking. The journey was one of intense suffering and incessant toil. Six weeks they spent in dragging their boats up the river, and carrying the baggage around rapids ; they cut their way through thickets and briars, forded streams, climbed mountains, breasted storms, and were so much in want of food that they devoured their dogs, and even their moccasins. Their number was reduced to about six hundred effective men ; one entire division had returned home with the sick and disabled. In a

forlorn condition the remainder suddenly appeared at Point Levi, opposite Quebec. The inhabitants were astonished at the apparition, and could Arnold have crossed immediately, he might have taken the town ; but he was unable to do so for want of boats. In a few days came Carleton from Montreal ; he put the town in a state of defense, and increased his force to twelve hundred men, by enlisting traders, sailors, and others.

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Although two armed vessels were on the watch, Arnold managed to cross the St. Lawrence, clambered up the Heights of Abraham, by the same rugged path that Wolfe had used, and boldly challenged the garrison to battle. The contest was declined. It was useless for him to attempt to besiege the town without cannon, so he moved twenty miles up the river, where he met Montgomery. The toilsome march through the wilderness nearly stripped Arnold's men of their clothes ; the woollens obtained at Montreal were to them also an acceptable protection against the rigors of a Canada winter.

Their united force amounted to only nine hundred men. With these, Montgomery, who assumed the command, advanced to Quebec. The flag he sent to demand a surrender was fired upon. A battery must be built ; the ordinary material was not at hand, but ingenuity supplied its place. Gabions were filled with snow and ice, over which water was poured, and a Canada winter soon rendered them solid, but no ingenuity could render the ice otherwise than brittle—every shot from the town shattered it in pieces. It was now found that their cannon were too small. They could not batter the walls, and it was as fruitless to attempt to scale them. Some other plan must be adopted.

It was determined to make a sudden attack on the lower town. Montgomery, with one division, was to advance upon the south side, while Arnold was to make an attempt upon the north. At the same time, feint move-

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ments were to be made against the upper town, and signal rockets fired from the different points to distract and divert the attention of the enemy. On the thirty-first of December a blinding snow-storm favored their enterprise. At two o'clock on the morning of that day they were on the march. The feint that was to cover the movement of Montgomery was successful. Undiscovered he descended from the Heights of Abraham, passing safely around Cape Diamond to the defile that led to the town. The pass, at all times difficult, was now obstructed by ice and drifting snow. It was defended by barriers guarded by Canadian militia. Taken by surprise, they fled from the picket. Montgomery passed the first barrier unopposed. As he stepped beyond it, sanguine and exultant with hope, he exclaimed : " Push on, my brave boys ; Quebec is ours ! " Just then, a single gun loaded with grape-shot was fired from a battery ; he fell, and by his side his aids and many others, who had answered to his cheering call. The soldiers, disheartened at the fall of their brave leader, were willing to abandon the town, under the lead of Quartermaster Campbell, leaving the bodies of the slain Montgomery, Cheeseman, and MacPherson where they fell.

By some neglect, no feint movement was made to cover the march of Arnold. He was harassed by a flanking fire as he pushed on to the entrance of the town. His leg being shattered by a ball, he was unable to lead his men against the battery. Morgan assumed the command, and with his riflemen stormed it, and captured the men. At daylight he reached the second battery, which was also carried ; but now the forces of the British were concentrated at this point. Morgan's party made a brave resistance, but were overpowered by numbers, and compelled to surrender. He himself was the last to submit. When called upon by the British soldiers to deliver up his sword, he refused, planted himself against a wall, and defied them to take it. They threatened to shoot him ; his men expos-

tulated. At length he saw a man—a priest he knew him to be from his dress ; to him he gave it, saying : “ I will give my sword to you, but not a scoundrel of those cowards shall take it out of my hands.” The bravery of Morgan and his men was appreciated by Carleton ; as prisoners, they were treated with special kindness.

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Arnold now retired about three miles up the river, and there in a camp whose ramparts were formed of frozen snow and of ice, he blockaded Quebec through the winter. Here we leave him for the present.

Montgomery was at first buried at Quebec. When nearly half a century had passed away, New York remembered her adopted son. She transferred his remains to her metropolis, and with appropriate honors reinterred them in St. Paul's church-yard.

1818

CHAPTER XXIX.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Meeting of Congress ; alarming Evils require its Attention.—British Cruisers.—Portland burned.—Efforts to defend the Coast.—Congress acts with Energy.—Parliament resolves to crush the Rebels.—Henry Knox.—Difficulties in the Army.—Provincial Prejudices.—Success of the Privateers.—British Theatricals.—The Union Flag.—Affairs in New York.—Rivington's Gazette.—Governor Tryon.—General Lee in the City.—The Johnsons.—Dunmore's Measures in Virginia ; Norfolk burned.—Defeat of North Carolina Tories.—Lee at the South.—Cannon and Powder obtained.—Dorchester Heights fortified.—Boston Evacuated.—Washington in New York.—British and German Troops in Canada.—Numerous Disasters.—The Retreat from Canada.—Horatio Gates.—A British Fleet before Fort Moultrie.—Gloomy Prospects.

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5.
Oct.**

WHEN the Continental Congress reassembled, delegates from Georgia took their seats, for the first time, and the style was assumed of **THE THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES.**

During the session, a delegate from beyond the mountains presented himself as the representative of the colony of Transylvania, the germ of the present State of Kentucky, (settled by those bold pioneers, Boone, Harrod, and Henderson), but the delegate of the fourteenth colony was rejected, on the ground that Virginia claimed the territory.

Alarming evils required the prompt attention of Congress. The army was almost destitute of ammunition and military stores ; the coast, to a great extent, unprotected ; British cruisers hovered on the shores of New England ; demanded of the inhabitants supplies ; burned

and pillaged the towns. The notorious Captain Wallace was stationed in Narragansett Bay ; Stonington and Bristol had been bombarded, and Newport was threatened with destruction. The British Admiral, Graves, it was said, had issued orders to burn all the rebel towns from Halifax to Boston. This was no idle rumor. At Falmouth, now Portland, in Maine, the destruction began. This patriotic little town had, some time before, resolutely repulsed Lieutenant Mowatt of the British navy. One evening he appeared with several vessels in the harbor, prepared to mete out the punishment due for such rebellion. He informed the inhabitants of his intention, and allowed them two hours "to remove the human species out of the town." A further respite until nine o'clock next morning was with difficulty obtained. The people removed during the night ; then, by means of bombs and carcasses, this flourishing village of three hundred houses was laid in ashes. The other towns assumed a posture of defence, and avoided a similar ruin.

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The colonies separately took measures to defend their coasts against such attacks. Already Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina had appointed Naval Boards, and equipped armed vessels. The British ships had been driven from the harbor at Charleston ; a powder-ship had been captured by a South Carolina vessel. Washington had sent cruisers into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Massachusetts Bay, to intercept supplies intended for the enemy. One of these, the schooner Lee, commanded by Captain Manly, deserves particular mention. She did the country good service. Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, now equipped a few small vessels. Although a few harbors were thus defended, the force that protected the coast was still insufficient.

Congress applied themselves vigorously to remedy these evils. They forwarded some of the powder seized by

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the South Carolinians to the camp ; appointed a secret committee to import it from the West Indies ; took measures to establish mills for its manufacture, and founderies for the making of cannon. They licensed privateers, and ordered gun-boats to be prepared for the defence of the harbors ; appointed a Naval Committee, which was authorized to build thirteen frigates ; but, alas ! want of funds interfered sadly with the accomplishment of these proposed measures.

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In this Naval Committee we recognize the germ of the Navy Department. About this time a secret committee was authorized to open a private correspondence with the friends of the cause in England, Ireland, and elsewhere ; this grew into the State Department. Thus was the Continental Congress gradually laying the foundation of the present government of the United States.

Parliament, in the mean time, took measures to crush the "rebels ;" enacted laws against them, cruel in the extreme ; gave orders to treat them in warfare not as equals, but as criminals, who should be thankful to escape the gallows. The ministry proclaimed all ships trading to the colonies lawful prizes ; and the crews of all captured colonial trading vessels virtually slaves ; these were doomed to serve in the royal navy as marines. Parliament also voted to increase their army in America to forty thousand men—of this number twenty-five thousand

Nov.

had yet to be raised. They could not be obtained in Great Britain ; men would not enlist. Lord Howe had written to the ministry that Catholic Irish soldiers could not be trusted, and suggested the employment of German troops. Negotiations were accordingly commenced with two of the little German principalities, Brunswick and Hesse Cassel ; and the English monarch hired seventeen thousand Germans, or Hessians, to aid him in subduing the descendants of Englishmen in America. In vain did

the best and most humane in Parliament oppose these measures. There was in England an honorable minority, who felt for the cause of the colonists. Burke and Barre stood firm ; Conway and the Duke of Grafton resigned their offices, and joined the opposition ; Lord Effingham and the son of Pitt threw up their commissions in the army, rather than take part in the unnatural struggle. The mercantile interests of the country, and especially the Corporation of London, were opposed to the measures of Parliament. Intelligence of them aroused the Americans to greater exertions, and deepened their hostility to the mother country.

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Since the battle of Bunker Hill, the armies in and around Boston had been inactive—the British from choice, the Americans from want of ammunition. Washington was anxious to be ready, when the bay should be frozen to pass over to the town on the ice. But he must have powder and ordnance.

Henry Knox, a bookseller of Boston, had entered with great zeal into the cause of his country. He had an intuitive skill in the use of artillery, which he first displayed on Bunker Hill, and afterward in planning the defences of the camp. His aptness and energy attracted the attention of Washington. Knox proposed to go to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and bring from those places the cannon and powder that could be spared. Washington approved the suggestion, wrote to Schuyler at Albany to give his assistance, and to Congress, recommending Knox as colonel of a regiment of artillery. Knox immediately set out.

Other difficulties surrounded the army. The soldiers had enlisted but for one year, their terms would expire before the first of January. In anticipation of this, a committee of the Continental Congress, consisting of Doctor Franklin, Colonel Harrison, of Virginia, and Thomas Lynch, of Carolina, met at Cambridge, with committees

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from the New England colonies, to reorganize the army, and to devise means to increase it to thirty-two thousand.

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The committees were in favor of an attack upon Boston as soon as practicable. Their plans were well laid, but how could they be carried out? The soldiers were unwilling to re-enlist; the zeal of the patriot army had begun to flag; winter was coming on; they were ill-fitted to endure its hardships; their fuel was scanty and their clothing poor; their families needed their presence; the attractions of home presented a delightful contrast to the privations of a winter campaign. Their patriotism was not extinct, but they were weary and discouraged. Says Washington, in a letter: "The desire of retiring into a chimney-corner seized the troops as soon as their terms expired."

Those who were willing to re-enlist, would do so only on certain conditions. They must know under what officers they were to be placed. Provincial prejudices had their effect; the men of one colony hesitated to serve with those of another, or under officers not of their own choosing. It is pleasing to record one instance of high-minded patriotism—doubtless there were many. Colonel Asa Whitcombe, a worthy and experienced officer, was not reappointed on account of his advanced age. His men took offence, and refused to re-enlist. The colonel set them an example by enlisting himself as a private soldier. A younger officer immediately resigned the command of his regiment that Whitcombe might be appointed, which was done.

On the first of December, some days before their terms expired, a portion of the Connecticut troops began to return home; they were unwilling even to remain in camp till their places could be supplied. Their arms were retained at an assessed value.

In the midst of this gloom, the privateers did good service. The camp was thrown into ecstasies by the

arrival of a long train of wagons laden with military stores. CHAP
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The brave Captain Manly had captured off Cape Ann a brigantine laden with guns, mortars, and working tools, 1775, designed for the British army. Among the cannon thus obtained was an immense mortar. This was deemed so great a prize, that in the joy of the moment, it was proposed to give it a name. "Old Putnam mounted it, dashed on it a bottle of rum, and gave it the name of Congress."

The blockade of the British was so stringent, that they began to suffer seriously for fuel and fresh provisions: they could obtain none from the land side, while the coast was closely watched. Abundant supplies were sent from England, but these were often wrecked or captured. Some of the poorer houses were taken down to supply fuel, and many of the poorer people sent out of the town, in order to lessen the demand for provisions.

To the grief of the patriot inhabitants, the Old South Church, that time-honored and sacred edifice, was converted into a riding-school for Burgoyne's light-horse, and the pastor's library used to kindle fires. In retaliation, the soldiers converted the Episcopal church at Cambridge into barracks, and melted the leaden pipes of the organ into bullets. The British officers beguiled their time by getting up balls and theatricals. Among the plays performed was one, written by General Burgoyne, caricaturing the American army and its officers.

On the first of January the Union Flag was unfurled, 1776, for the first time, over the camp at Cambridge. It was emblematic of the state of the country. The English cross retained in one corner, intimated a still existing relation with the mother country, while the thirteen stripes of red and white that represented the thirteen colonies, now united for self-government and resistance to

CHAP. XXIX. oppression, were broadly significant of the New Republic that was to grow out of this union.

1776. The year opened drearily for the patriots. There were less than ten thousand men in the camp, among whom were many undisciplined recruits, and many without arms. The people were impatient,—why not capture or drive the enemy out of Boston? they asked on all sides. The situation of Washington was painful in the extreme: he could not publish his reasons, lest the enemy should learn his weakness. Under these circumstances, he writes thus to a confidential friend: “We are now left with a good deal less than half-raised regiments, and about five thousand militia. * * * If I shall be able to rise superior to these, and many other difficulties, which might be enumerated, I shall most religiously believe that the finger of Providence is in it, to blind the eyes of our enemies.”

About this time, ships commanded by Sir Henry Clinton left the harbor of Boston on a secret expedition. It was justly surmised that he was bound for New York. We turn once more to the state of affairs in that province.

As has been said, much of the wealth and influence of New York was on the side of the Tories. Richmond and Queen’s counties had refused to send delegates to the Provincial Congress. Governor Tryon, who had retired to a British man-of-war in the harbor, kept up a correspondence with the friends of the royal cause in the city. There was published the most influential Tory journal in the country, “*Rivington’s Gazette*”—“a thorn in the side of the patriots.” Many who were opposed to this journal were unwilling to adopt violent measures; the committee of safety refused to interfere with it. Colonel Isaac Sears, one of the boldest and most energetic of the New York Sons of Liberty, collected, in Connecticut, about a hundred horsemen, dashed into the city, broke the press and carried away the types to New Haven.

The possession of New York, as it was "the key to the whole continent, a passage to Canada, to the great Lakes, and to all the Indian nations," was all-important to the patriots. It was determined to place troops there. Sears, seconded by the authority of Governor Trumbull, proceeded to form regiments in Connecticut. Washington ordered General Charles Lee to take command of these regiments, and proceed with them to New York, put that city in a state of defence, call in aid from New Jersey to disarm the Tories on Long Island and elsewhere—duties which Lee proceeded forthwith to perform. Governor Tryon threatened to bombard the city if he entered it with the Connecticut troops. The people were greatly alarmed. The Provincial Congress requested Lee not to advance for the present. He was determined to push on with a sufficient number of troops to secure the city, and threatened in his turn, "if they make a pretext of my presence to fire on the town, the first house set on flames by their guns shall be the funeral-pile of some of their best friends." He entered the city on Sunday, February fourth, and encamped on the spot where the City Hall now stands, then a suburb known as "The Fields."

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The threats and counter-threats had wrought up the feelings of the people to a state of intense excitement. During the day this was greatly increased; cannon were heard from the Narrows. Sir Henry Clinton was entering the harbor. Many of the inhabitants hastened from the city; on the afternoon of that Sabbath day, Kingsbridge was thronged with people and wagons, on their way to the country. But these fears were soon relieved. Clinton gave notice that he came merely to pay a visit to his "friend Tryon." He remained but a short time, then sailed away to North Carolina. His mysterious expedition and his "whimsical civility" to his "friend Tryon" gave rise to much speculation; though, as he had but few

CHAP. troops, his movements had, as yet, created but little alarm
 XXIX. Lee now proceeded to put the city in a state of defence.

1776.

Jan. Serious difficulties threatened the interior of the prov-
 20. ince. Guy Johnson had retired to Canada ; Sir John Johnson had fortified his " Hall," and gathered about him his Highlanders and Mohawks. Schuyler proceeded to disarm and disband this dangerous company. Sir John gave his parole not to take up arms against America. A few months afterward he was suspected of breaking his word ; to avoid arrest, he fled to Canada, where he received a colonel's commission, and organized the regiments called the " Royal Greens," afterward so renowned for deeds of cruelty.

June. During this winter, Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, who, like Tryon, had taken refuge in one of the king's ships, had been engaged in intrigues against the colonists.
 Dec. He sent a vessel to Boston with supplies, which, however, was captured. In a letter found on board, he had invited General Howe to transfer the seat of war to the South ; he also landed at Norfolk, carried off a printing press, published a proclamation that promised freedom to the slaves or indented white servants of the patriots, who would join his cause. With a force thus collected he took possession of the town. Fugitive slaves and others began to flock to his banner. Virginia raised new regiments to dislodge him, and oppose strong movements that were making in his favor. The second regiment, under Woodford, took possession of the narrow neck which connects Norfolk with the mainland, and compelled Dunmore to re-embark. Jan., Soon after he returned, bombarded the town, and landed 1776. a party who burned a portion of it to the ground. The patriots burned the remainder lest it should afford shelter to its enemies. Thus perished the principal shipping port of Virginia, her largest and richest town.

The British were secretly planning an invasion of the South. Governor Martin, of North Carolina, who, like many of the royal governors of that day, carried on operations from on board a ship, was stirring up the Tories of that province, many of whom were Highlanders. He hoped to gather a land force to co-operate with Sir Peter Parker, who was on his way from Ireland with a fleet of ten ships, on board of which were seven regiments. The movements of Sir Henry Clinton could now be accounted for. He had left Boston to take command of the land forces in this intended invasion : he stopped to confer on the subject with Tryon, who had been governor of North Carolina.

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Martin had commissioned two prominent Scotchmen, McDonald and McLeod—both recent emigrants, and officers of the British army. General McDonald enlisted some fifteen hundred men, and marched for the coast, but the North Carolina patriots were on the alert. He was intercepted at Moore's Creek Bridge, sixteen miles from Wilmington. Colonel McLeod was killed ; McDonald and eight hundred and fifty loyalists were taken prisoners. He and his officers were sent away to the north.

Feb.

This defeat, which at the first glance may appear of little consequence, was important in its bearing ; it interfered for a time with the plans of Clinton and Martin. This delay was most valuable to the patriots ; they had time to collect forces and mature plans for defence. General Lee was appointed by Congress to take command of the southern army and to watch Clinton, who was hovering on the coast in expectation of the British squadron. After long delays it arrived at the mouth of Cape Fear River. Congress learned from intercepted letters that Charleston was to be attacked. There, at the first alarm, six thousand men, from Virginia and the Carolinas, had assembled. The indefatigable Lee reached the city just as Clinton appeared in the harbor. Had the enemy attacked that place at once, they might have taken it with

May

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ease. It was, wrote Lee, "perfectly defenceless. The opportunity was not improved, and both parties began to fortify and prepare for a contest. Here we leave them for the present, and return to the camp before Boston.

Dec.,
1776.

During the month of January there was little improvement in the state of the army. On the tenth of February Washington writes: "Without men, without arms, without ammunition, little is to be done." The patriots had looked hopefully toward Canada, only to be disappointed. Montgomery had fallen; Morgan and his brave band were prisoners; the remnant of the shattered forces that lingered with Arnold in his icy fortress before the walls of Quebec, could accomplish nothing. The whole line of the Atlantic coast was threatened; and in view of these circumstances Washington was anxious to strike a decisive blow, that should encourage the desponding and revive popular enthusiasm. In truth, the state of public feeling demanded such a course. Congress had authorized him to push the attack upon Boston, to the destruction of the town, should it be necessary. John Hancock, who had large possessions there, said: "Do it, and may God crown your attempt with success." When the bay became frozen, Washington was impatient to cross over on the ice; again and again he proposed an attack, but a council of war as often decided that the force was still too weak, the ammunition too scant. Meanwhile, Putnam was actively engaged in constructing works on the neighboring heights. Many of the labors conducted by the brave old general had to be attended to in the night-time, to avoid the fire from the enemy's ships. Toward spring, affairs began to wear a brighter aspect. Ten new regiments of militia were enlisted; the great want that paralyzed every effort—powder—was supplied from various quarters; some was obtained from New York, some from Bermuda: the Connecticut mills were also in operation.

Now, to the great joy of the camp, Knox returned with his long train of sledges laden with ammunition, and cannon of various kinds. With the joy was mingled admiration for the energy displayed. He had travelled more than four hundred miles, over frozen streams and through a wilderness obstructed by the snows of winter. The dull monotony of inaction gave way to bustle and excitement. All was now ready for active operations. The heights that commanded the town must be seized and fortified. Putnam had already fortified Lechmere Point, on the north; there he had mounted his famous "Congress:" that point had only to be supplied with more large cannon and with powder. Now the main object was to secure Dorchester Heights, which commanded the town on the south, and also the harbor. This would compel the enemy to leave the town, or bring on a general engagement: plans were laid accordingly.

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To divert the attention of the enemy while preparations were in progress, Boston was to be bombarded, and cannonaded from different points. Should the Americans attain the heights, and the enemy attempt to dislodge them, Putnam, with four thousand picked men, was prepared to cross Charles river and attack the north part of the town.

Washington, deeply impressed with the importance of the coming struggle, issued orders forbidding "all playing at cards or other games of chance," adding, "In this time of public distress, men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality." He also warned the troops, "If any man in action shall presume to skulk, hide himself, or retreat from the enemy without orders, he will be instantly shot down as an example of cowardice."

The fourth of March was fixed upon for the enterprise. On the evening of that day, the detachment under General Thomas, designed to occupy the heights, moved as

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quietly as possible. In the advance were eight hundred men ; then came the carts with the intrenching tools ; then twelve hundred more men, and in the rear were three hundred wagons laden with bales of hay and bundles of fagots to be used in making the breastwork. They reached the heights about eight o'clock ; amid the roar of artillery—for the enemy were returning the fire directed against them with great spirit—the noise of the wagons and the necessary bustle of the movement had been unheard. Though the earth was frozen eighteen inches deep, they threw up an embankment, and used their hay and other material to great advantage. During that night of labor, the Commander-in-chief was drawn by his interest to the spot. In the morning the fortification appeared very formidable. General Howe, as he examined it through the mist, exclaimed : “ The rebels have done more work in one night than my whole army would have done in a month.” The patriots, at this crisis, watched the movements of the enemy with intense interest. A cannonade was opened upon the heights, but without much effect. Howe did not attempt to storm the works. A night attack was resolved upon, but a furious storm arose, the ships of war could render no service, nor could the boats land in the heavy surf. Before the storm was over, the Americans were too strong to be assaulted. A council of war advised Howe to evacuate the town, as both it and the shipping were exposed to a destructive bombardment. To insure the safety of his army during the embarkation, Howe appealed to the fears of the inhabitants ; he intimated he would burn the town if his troops were fired upon. A deputation of citizens made this known, in an informal manner to Washington, and the British were suffered to depart unmolested.

Eleven days were employed in the embarkation. About fifteen hundred loyalists made ready to leave with the departing army ; thus was the good city of Boston purged

of its Tory population. Authorized by Howe, the British demanded of the inhabitants all the linen and woollen goods ; salt, molasses, and other necessities were destroyed. Crean Brush, a New York Tory, who was commissioned to take charge of the goods that were seized, took advantage of his authority, and broke open and pillaged stores and private houses, as did some of the soldiers. The embarkation was hastened, at the last, by a false alarm that the Americans were about to assault the town.

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On the next Monday, March eighteenth, Washington entered the city. He was received with joy by the remaining inhabitants. After a siege of ten months Boston was again free ; above it waved the Union flag of thirteen stripes. The British fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty vessels, lay for some days in Nantasket roads, and then bore away. Washington feared its destination was New York. As soon as possible he hastened thither with the main body of the army. Five regiments remained at Boston with General Ward. Soon afterward he resigned, but served the cause in the Massachusetts council and in Congress.

Mar
18.

The land rejoiced greatly at this success. On motion of John Adams, Congress gave Washington a unanimous vote of thanks, and ordered a gold medal to be struck in commemoration of the event.

The expenses of the war were so great, that just before this Congress had been obliged to issue four additional millions of continental paper. A financial committee had been appointed, and now an auditor-general and assistants were to act under this committee ; this assumed the form of a Treasury Department. Two months later Congress established a War Office, and appointed a committee of five members to superintend its operations. To act as chairman of this committee, John Adams resigned the office of chief justice of Massachusetts.

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17.

April

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1776. Washington reached New York on the thirteenth of April ; there he found much to be done. The Heights of Long Island, Kingsbridge, the main avenue from the city by land, were at best but imperfectly guarded, and many prominent points on the river and Sound were entirely undefended.

Governor Tryon and the British ships in the harbor were in constant communication with the Tories in the city. To guard against these dangers, external and internal, Washington had but eight thousand effective men. General Greene was sent with one division to fortify what is now Brooklyn Heights, on Long Island, as they commanded New York. He was also to make himself familiar with the surrounding country. Urged by the commander-in-chief, the committee of safety were induced to prohibit all intercourse with Governor Tryon. Any such intercourse, if discovered, was to be severely punished. But Tryon, aided by spies and agents, continued his efforts in the king's cause. A conspiracy, to which he had instigated the Tories, was fortunately discovered. Some of these may have been true loyalists, but there were others basely won by the promise of reward. In low taverns and drinking-saloons the patriot soldiers were tampered with. The mayor of the city was arrested, as well as some of Washington's body-guard, charged with being concerned in the plot. One of the guard, Thomas Hickey, a deserter from the British army, was hanged, " for mutiny, sedition, and treachery." This example alarmed the Tories, and we hear of no more plots.

June
28.

May
17. For the first time Washington learned of the measures of the British Parliament. The hired Hessian and German troops were landing in Canada. New apprehensions were awakened for the army in that province. Great efforts were made to reinforce it , regiments were sent under Sullivan and Thompson. Early in the spring Gen-

eral Wooster had joined Arnold, and taken the command at Quebec. But it was not easy for Arnold to act in concert with a superior officer ; as usual, he had difficulty with Wooster, and retired to Montreal. Soon after Wooster was recalled, and Thomas, now a major-general, was appointed to the northern army. General Carleton was strongly reinforced, and Thomas was compelled to make a hasty retreat from before Quebec—so hasty, that the baggage, the artillery, and even the sick were left behind. The noble humanity of Carleton deserves to be recorded. He sought out the sick, many of whom had hid from him in terror, conveyed them to the general hospitals, and promised that on their recovery they should be permitted to return home. Thomas hastened to the Sorel, where, on the second of June, he died of the small-pox, which prevailed greatly in the army. Though the army once more changed its commander, there was no change in its prospects ; they continued to be of the gloomiest character. Carleton came pressing on with a force of thirteen thousand men. General Thompson, with a portion of the American troops, was defeated at Three Rivers ; and he, with his officers and many of his men, were taken prisoners. Those who escaped joined Sullivan on the Sorel.

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Arnold had been equally unfortunate at Montreal. He stationed a detachment of four hundred men at a point called The Cedars, about forty miles above that place, in order to intercept the stores sent to the enemy. As this post was threatened with an attack, it was shamefully surrendered by Colonel Butterworth, without a blow. A reinforcement sent to their aid was also taken prisoners. Arnold now joined Sullivan. A council of war decided upon a retreat, and the wreck of the army passed out of Canada, followed by a strong British force.

The army was in a deplorable condition when it reached Crown Point. To use the words of John Adams, it was "defeated, discontented, dispirited, diseased, no clothes,

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1776 beds, blankets, nor medicines ; no victuals but salt pork and flour." Thus ended this invasion, famous for its daring exploits and numerous disasters.

Congress approved of Sullivan's prudent retreat ; they did not, however, confirm him in the authority that had devolved upon him on the death of General Thomas. They appointed Major-general Gates to the command, and awarded Sullivan a vote of thanks—an honor as unsatisfactory to him as it was empty in itself. Sullivan was deeply wounded, as was General Schuyler, for Gates claimed the command, not only of the forces on Lake Champlain, but of the whole northern army.

Horatio Gates, like Lee, was of foreign birth ; like him, he was a disappointed man. Of his very early life little is known. He served in America under Braddock, in the West Indies under Monckton ; but as he did not receive from his native England the honors which he thought his due, he sold his commission in the British army, and retired to Virginia, where he renewed his acquaintance with Washington, and with his former associate, General Lee. Gates was ambitious, and the revolution opened a path to distinction. As an office-seeker he had, it is said, learned to "flatter and accommodate himself to the humors of others." He could be "the boon companion of gentlemen, and 'hail fellow well met' with the vulgar." He ingratiated himself with the New Englanders, with whom, for some reason, Schuyler was unpopular. Through their influence, it is thought, Gates obtained what he aimed at—promotion. The enemies of Schuyler advanced serious charges against him ; attributed to him the failure of the Canada expedition, and even hinted at treason. There is an instinct common to noble minds by which they discern truth in others. Washington never doubted the integrity of Schuyler, nor did Congress sustain Gates in his claim to supersede him. The appoint-

ment of the latter, they said, referred only to the forces while in Canada ; elsewhere he was subordinate to Schuyler. The difficulty was passed over, as the result of a mistake, and the rival commanders assumed the appearance of satisfaction.

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We now return to Charleston, where we left both parties preparing for a contest. On the fate of Sullivan's Island, the key to the harbor, the result seemed to depend. One party was making ready to attack, the other to defend it. On the south-west point of this island was a fort commanded by Colonel William Moultrie. Fort Moultrie was constructed of logs of palmetto, a wood soft and spongy ; cannon-balls could not splinter it. Lee, not familiar with the palmetto, thought it madness to attempt to defend so fragile a fort ; he contemptuously styled it the "Slaughter-pen." This important post was threatened by sea and land. Before it lay the British fleet under Sir Peter Parker. Sir Henry Clinton, with two thousand men, had taken possession of Long Island, which lay to the east of Sullivan's Island, and was separated from it only by a narrow creek. Here he was erecting batteries to cover his passage across the creek, to assault the fort when the fire of the ships should make a breach. To oppose him the Americans stationed a force under Colonel Thompson on the opposite side of the creek. Lee took his position on a point of the mainland north of the island, where he stood ready, at any moment, to aid either Thompson or Moultrie.

The strength of the fort was now to be tested. On the twenty-eighth of June the formidable fleet of Parker advanced and commenced a "most furious fire," which was returned with great spirit. The firing had but little effect upon the low wooden fort, while the ships of the enemy were almost torn in pieces. In the midst of the terrific roar of artillery the Americans stood bravely to

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1776. their guns ; some of them remained at their posts even after they had lost a limb. For ten hours the battle raged without intermission. Then Sir Peter drew off his ships. Among the slain was Lord Campbell, ex-governor of the province, who fought as a volunteer on board the admiral's ship.

Sir Henry Clinton made repeated attempts to reach Sullivan's Island, but was as often foiled by the batteries of Thompson. Several of the ships ran aground ; one, the *Acteon*, was set on fire with her guns loaded and colors flying, and then abandoned. The Americans, determined to secure a trophy, boarded the burning vessel, fired her guns at the retreating enemy, took possession of her colors, loaded three boats with stores, and departed in safety, before she blew up. Among the many heroic incidents connected with this battle, one is related of Sergeant Jasper. The flag-staff was cut by a ball, and the flag fell outside the fort. Jasper immediately leaped down, and, amid the "iron hail," picked up the flag, tied it to a pole, deliberately placed it on the parapet, and then returned to his companions at the guns. Governor Rutledge appreciated the heroic deed ; a few days after he presented his own sword to Jasper, and offered him a lieutenant's commission. He accepted the sword, but modestly declined promotion, on the ground that he could neither read nor write.

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On the very day that this battle took place at the South, a British fleet of forty vessels entered the harbor of New York. On board was General Howe, and with him the late garrison of Boston. Since the evacuation of that place he had been at Halifax awaiting the arrival of his brother, Admiral Howe. He landed his forces on Staten Island, where he was received with demonstrations of joy by the Tories. Clouds of deeper darkness were gathering around New York. The Admiral with more forces might be expected at any moment ; the crisis so long dreaded was at hand. The American soldiers were ordered

to be each day at their alarm posts, and to be in readiness for instant action. Orders to the same effect were sent up the river. Rumors of disaffection in that quarter added the fear of treachery to the general alarm. Such was the state of things ;—the northern army defeated and broken, the fleet of Sir Henry Clinton on its way from the South, Admiral Howe on his way from England, the harbor of New York filled with the enemy's ships,—when an event took place, most important in American history. The colonies declared themselves independent of all foreign authority, and took their place among the nations of the earth.

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CHAPTER XXX.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The Question of Independence ; Influences in favor of.—The Tories.—“Common Sense.”—The Declaration ; its Reception by the People and Army.—Arrival of Admiral Howe.—His Overtures for Reconciliation.—The American Army ; its Composition.—Sectional Jealousies.—The Forts on the Hudson.—The Clintons.—Battle of Long Island.—The Masterly Retreat.—Incidents.—Camp on Harlem Heights.—Howe confers with a Committee of Congress.—Nathan Hale.—The British at Kipp's Bay.—New York evacuated. Conflict at White Plains.—The Retreat across New Jersey.—Waywardness of Lee.

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1776. THE alienation between the colonies and the mother country began at the close of the French war. It was not the result of any one cause, but of many ; the change of feeling was not instantaneous, but gradual. As the struggle took a more decided form, many, who were determined in their resistance to oppression, were unwilling to cast off their allegiance to the land to which their fathers still gave the endearing name of “home.” There were, however, among the true Sons of Liberty a few who had seen the end from the beginning. Such men as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry foresaw the haughty obstinacy of the British ministry, and foretold the result. “Independent we are and independent we will be,” said Adams ; and Henry exclaimed, in the Virginia Assembly : “We must fight ! An appeal to arms and the God of Hosts is all that is left us !”

What had long been felt by the few, now flashed upon

the minds of the many, that they could never enjoy their rights but as a self-governing nation. Would the oppressions of the home government justify separation, which would involve all the horrors of a protracted and doubtful war? This question became the subject of discussion in the Provincial Assemblies, and among the people themselves.

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It was not arbitrary and unjust laws alone, nor the refusal of political rights, that had estranged the American people. Religious views had their influence in moulding public sentiment in favor of independence. Long-continued and persistent efforts to establish the Episcopal church in New England, had roused the latent hostility of the Congregationalists—they would not submit to English control in matters of religion. The Presbyterians of the middle and southern colonies, derived, as they were, from the dissenting Scottish church, had a traditionary feeling of opposition to the same influence. Both pastors and people were stanch Whigs, and went hand in hand with the ministers and people of New England. Even in Virginia, where the Episcopal church was established by law, and where the majority of the people were its advocates, the attempt to place over them a bishop was denounced by the House of Burgesses as a “pernicious project.” Though strenuous churchmen, they were jealous of external influences, and repudiated the control of the mother church. On the contrary, the Episcopal clergy, great numbers of whom were Englishmen by birth, from their associations were inclined to favor the royal authority. Nor should we judge them harshly; they acted in accordance with their views of the intimate connection of church and state. These views influenced the members of that church more in the northern than in the southern colonies, and great numbers of them faithfully adhered to the “Lord’s anointed,” as they termed the king.

The peace-loving Quakers, numerous in Pennsylvania,

CHAP. New Jersey, and Delaware, opposed war as wrong in itself.
XXX. The Moravians held similar views. These grieved over
1776. the violation of their rights, yet they hoped by pacific measures to obtain justice.

There were others who, though not opposed to war, believed it to be wrong to rise in opposition to the rule of the mother country. There were also the timid, who deemed it madness to resist a power so colossal. There were the low and grovelling, who sought only an opportunity to plunder; the time-serving and the avaricious, who, for the gain they might acquire as contractors for the British army, or by furnishing provisions for prisoners, joined the enemies of their country.

The evacuation of Boston strengthened the already strong feeling in favor of independence so prevalent in New England. In the South, the recent risings of the Tories in North Carolina, the ravages of Dunmore in Virginia, and the attack upon Charleston, served still more to alienate the affections of the people; while their success in repelling the invasion gave them assurance. For many reasons they wished to be independent. Then they could form treaties with other nations, and the brand of rebel, so repugnant to an honorable mind, would be removed. In truth, Congress had already taken the ground of an independent government by offering free trade to other nations, in all merchandise except that of British manufacture, and slaves,—the latter traffic they had prohibited some months before.

About the first of the year, a pamphlet was issued in Philadelphia, under the title of "Common Sense," which had a great influence upon the public mind. Its author, Thomas Paine, an Englishman, had been in the country but a few months. In a style adapted to convince the popular mind, he exposed the folly of delaying any longer a formal separation from the mother country. The pamphlet had a very great circulation, and a proportionate

influence in deciding the timid and wavering in favor of independence.

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On the seventh of June, Richard Henry Lee introduced a resolution into Congress, declaring, "That the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States, and that their political connection with Great Britain is and ought to be dissolved." Upon this resolution sprang up an animated discussion. It was opposed, principally, on the ground that it was premature. Some of the best and strongest advocates of colonial rights spoke and voted against the motion, which passed only by a bare majority of seven States to six. Some of the delegates had not received instructions from their constituents on the subject, and others were instructed to vote against it. Its consideration was prudently deferred until there was a prospect of greater unanimity. Accordingly on the eleventh a committee, consisting of Doctor Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston, of New York, was appointed to prepare a Declaration. To give opportunity for union of opinion, the consideration of the subject was postponed to the first of July. At the same time two other committees were appointed; one to draw up a plan for uniting all the colonies, the other to devise measures to form foreign alliances.

On the twenty-eighth the committee reported the declaration to the house. It was drawn by Jefferson, and contained a gracefully written summary of the sentiments of the people and Congress. After a few verbal alterations suggested by Adams and Franklin, it was approved by the committee. The house, however, struck out a few passages. One of these reflected severely upon the British government; another denounced the slave-trade; another censured the king for his attempts to prevent, by the refusal of his signature, the enactment of laws designed to

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prohibit that traffic. They were unwilling to offend the friends of the colonies in Britain, and feared lest these strong expressions might prevent the declaration from receiving a unanimous vote. The vote was taken by States ; the delegates were not unanimous, but there were a sufficient number to give the vote of all the colonies, New York alone excepted, which was given in a few days. The announcement was delayed till the declaration should receive a few amendments, and then, on *July the fourth*, it was formally adopted, and the thirteen colonies became **THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

**July
4.**

The bell of the State House, in which Congress held its sessions, has upon it the inscription : "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof"—words taken from the Bible. Congress sat with closed doors, but it was known far and wide, that the subject of independence was under discussion. Crowds assembled outside the Hall, and waited anxiously to learn the result. At mid-day the appointed signal was given. The bell was struck, and to its tones responded the joyous shouts of multitudes. The friends of liberty and independence breathed more freely ; the declaration was made ; the hesitancy of indecision was over, and the spirit of determination arose. It was published ; it was read to the army ; the soldiers received it with shouts of exultation and pledges to defend its principles ; it was announced in the papers ; from the pulpits, and everywhere the Whigs hailed it with joy. Hopes of reconciliation, which had so much paralyzed measures of defence, were at an end ; there was now no neutral ground. The timid though honest friends of their country, who had so long hesitated, generally sided with liberty. The Tories were in a sad condition ; the great majority of them were wealthy, and had hoped that the difficulties would yet be arranged. Laws passed by the new State authorities had rendered them liable to fines and imprisonments, and their

property to confiscation. They endured many outrages, and were subjected to "tarrings and featherings" innumerable, by self-constituted vigilance committees. Congress, to prevent these outrages, gave the supervision of Tories to committees of inspection. The most obnoxious were fain to emigrate, and the committee admonished or restrained the others within certain limits.

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The soldiers in New York manifested their zeal by taking a leaden statue of King George, which stood in the Bowling Green, and running it into bullets, to be used in the cause of independence. To impress upon their minds a sense of the dignity of their position, as well as to improve this irregularity, Washington, in the orders, the following day, referred to the subject. "The general hopes and trusts," said he, "that every officer and soldier will endeavor so to live and act, as becomes a Christian soldier defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

A few days after the public Declaration of Independence, the booming of cannon from the British vessels in the harbor of New York announced the arrival of Admiral Howe. To his brother and himself had been committed the general control of American affairs.

Before he proceeded to hostilities, the admiral addressed a circular to the people; he offered them pardon if they would cease to be rebels, lay down their arms, and trust the king's mercy. As soon as this circular reached Congress, that body caused it to be published in all the newspapers, that the people might see that Britain would grant nothing, and accept no concession short of absolute submission. "They must fight or be slaves."

Howe also attempted to open a correspondence with Washington. As Parliament refused to acknowledge titles conferred by Congress, his letters were addressed, first to Mr. George Washington, then to George Washington, *Esquire, &c., &c.*, hoping that the &c.'s would

CHAP. remove the difficulty ; but the Commander-in-chief, justly
XXX. tenacious of the dignity of his office, and of the honor of
1776. his country, politely but firmly refused to receive them.
The messenger expressed his regret that the correspondence could not be opened. His lordship, he said, wished for peace ; he was vested with great powers. Washington replied that he understood Lord Howe had power to grant pardons ; the Americans had defended their rights ; they had committed no crime, and needed no pardon.

The Admiral was disappointed, he really desired peace. The reception he had met with had encouraged his hopes ; he had received loyal addresses from the Tories of New Jersey, Long and Staten Islands ; Governor Tryon had assured him there were many others, secret friends of England, who might be induced to join him. But, to his surprise, his circular, from which he had hoped much, produced little or no effect. He was now convinced that nothing could be accomplished except by force of arms. Meanwhile his army, now on Staten Island, received many accessions ; Sir Henry Clinton had arrived, and more Hessian troops had landed. His whole force was about thirty-five thousand.

As it had become more and more evident that New York was to be the theatre of the war, further preparations had been made to defend the city and neighborhood. Pennsylvania had sent four continental regiments, commanded respectively by Colonels St. Clair, Shee, Anthony Wayne, and Magaw ; three provincial battalions, under Colonels Miles, Cadwallader, and Atlee, and rifle regiments, under Colonels Hand and Allen. These were all commanded by Brigadier-general Mifflin, of that State.

Virginia sent troops under Major Leitch, and from Maryland came the brave company known as Smallwood's regiment, who afterward distinguished themselves in many conflicts, while from Delaware came a regiment under Colonel Hazlet. In addition to these, Pennsylvania,

Maryland, and Delaware, furnished troops to form what was called "a flying camp," a sort of reserve, stationed in New Jersey, in a favorable position, and ready to act in emergencies. This was under Brigadier-general Mercer.

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In the troops thus drawn together from different parts of the country, there were marked differences in appearance and discipline. The New England officers were most of them farmers and mechanics—brave, honorable, but plain men. Their soldiers were men of the same stamp; in many cases their intimates and associates in private life. Their intercourse with each other was less formal than was consistent with strict military discipline. They met not as mere soldiers, but as a band of brethren, united in a cause in which each had a personal interest. With the portion of the army drawn from the other States, the case was different; with them, there was a marked distinction between the officers and soldiers. The officers were brave and honorable also, but city bred—"gentlemen," as they called themselves—and from wealthy families, while the "common soldiers, for the most part, were a very inferior set." Sectional jealousies arose. The Marylanders, in "scarlet and buff," looked down upon the rustic soldiery in "homespun," while the officers of the other provinces were inclined to despise their associates from New England. These jealousies became so great an evil, that Washington strongly reprobated them in general orders.

As the British were masters of the bay of New York, it was feared they would surround the American army in the city, and take possession of the Hudson, that great highway to the interior. To prevent this, General Mifflin was sent with the Pennsylvania troops to guard the forts at the north end of the island. One of these stood just below, the other just above Kingsbridge, the only avenue to the mainland; they were known as Forts Washington and Independence. On the west side of the Hudson,

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1776. nearly opposite Fort Washington, stood Fort Lee. Near the entrance to the Highlands, and just opposite the well-known promontory of Anthony's Nose, was Fort Montgomery. Six miles higher up the river was Fort Constitution.

The posts last named were under the command of Colonel James Clinton. His brother George commanded the militia of Ulster and Orange counties. These brothers were of Irish descent, natives of New York, and their ancestors were identified with the early settlements on the Hudson. They had been soldiers from their youth—like many of the Revolutionary officers—they had been trained in the French war, in which one of them had served as a captain at twenty, and the other as a lieutenant at seventeen years of age. The elder, James, had also served under Montgomery at the capture of Montreal, while George had been active in the service of his country as a member of the New York Legislature, and as a delegate to the Continental Congress.

In spite of obstructions thrown across the channel, two British vessels, the *Phoenix* and the *Rose*, passed up the Hudson. The latter was commanded by the notorious Captain Wallace, who had pillaged the shores of Rhode Island. They passed the forts unharmed, and gallantly returned the fire from Fort Washington. As they boldly pushed their way up the river, their appearance created great alarm. Signal guns were heard from the forts, and false rumors increased the general excitement. The sturdy yeomanry left their harvests uncut in their fields, and hastened to join the forces under Clinton to defend the passes of the Highlands. These fears were in a great measure groundless. The vessels quietly anchored here and there, while their boats took soundings; but the event proved the inefficiency of the defences at the mouth of the Hudson.

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12.

The Americans, from the Jersey shore and the city

continued to watch, with intense interest, the movements of the enemy on Staten Island. A spy reported that they were about to land on Long Island, with twenty thousand men, and take possession of the Heights, which commanded New York; he had heard the orders read, and the conversation of the officers in the camp. The next day the roar of artillery was heard from Long Island, and soon the news reached the city that the enemy had landed at Gravesend Bay.

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General Greene had thrown up a line of intrenchments and redoubts across the neck of the peninsula upon which stood the village of Brooklyn. He had made himself acquainted with the ground in the neighborhood, and nearly completed his plans for defence, when he was suddenly taken ill with a raging fever. He was still unable to be at his post, and Sullivan held the temporary command.

Between the American intrenchments and Gravesend Bay lay a range of thickly-wooded hills, that stretched across the island from south-west to north-east. Over and around these hills were three roads: one along the shore passed around their south-western base; another crossed over their centre toward Flatbush; while a third, which was near the north-east extremity of the range, passed over them from the village of Bedford to Jamaica.

Nine thousand of the British had already landed at Gravesend, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and his associates, the Earls of Cornwallis and Percy, and Generals Grant and Erskine. Colonel Hand, who was stationed there, retired on their approach to a position that commanded the central or Flatbush road. The British continued to land more forces secretly in the night time, but for several days nothing occurred, except skirmishing between the enemy and the troops at the outposts, along the wooded hills.

At the first alarm, the Commander-in-chief had hastened to send to the aid of Sullivan a reinforcement of six

CHAP. battalions,—all he could well spare. He exhorted these
XXX. soldiers to be cool, and not to fire too soon. They ap-
1776. peared in high spirits, though most of them were going
into battle for the first time.

Aug. On the twenty-fourth, Washington, somewhat relieved
24. from his apprehensions with regard to the city, crossed
over to Brooklyn to inspect the lines. He was pained to
observe a great want of system among the officers, and of
discipline among the soldiers. A strong redoubt had been
thrown up at the central pass, but the plans for defence
were imperfect, and affairs in much confusion.

On his return, he appointed General Putnam to the
command, with orders to remedy these evils. The “brave
old man” hastened with joy to the post of danger.

From day to day the number of tents on Staten Island
became gradually less, and one by one ships dropped
silently down to the narrows. Washington became con-
vinced that the British designed to attack the lines at
Brooklyn. He sent over further reinforcements, among
which was Haslet’s Delaware regiment—troops whose sol-
dierly bearing and discipline had won his special regard.

He proceeded in person to aid Putnam with his coun-
sel. On the evening of the twenty-sixth he returned to
New York, perplexed and depressed, for a dark cloud of
uncertainty and danger hung over the future.

His fears were soon realized. On that very evening
the British proceeded to carry out their plan of attack.
By this plan, Sir Henry Clinton was to march along by-
paths across to the eastern or Jamaica road, to seize the
pass in the Bedford hills, thence proceed onward, and turn
the left flank of the Americans; General Grant was to
pass along the shore-road, and attack them on the right,
while General De Heister, with his Hessians, was to
threaten the central pass, where Colonel Hand was sta-
tioned with his riflemen.

At nine o’clock, Sir Henry, guided by a Long Island

Tory, commenced his march toward the eastern road ; about midnight, Colonel Grant's division moved in an opposite direction, along the western or shore-road. Colonel Atlee, who was stationed there with a small company of militia, was driven back from point to point. News of Grant's approach soon reached General Putnam. Lord Stirling, with Smallwood's and Haslet's regiments, was sent to the relief of Colonel Atlee. About daylight they came up with him, and soon the front of the approaching enemy appeared in view.

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Presently the redoubt at the central pass was cannonaded from Flatbush. This firing attracted the attention of Sullivan, who went to the relief of Colonel Hand.

Thus the object of the British was in part accomplished. The attention of the Americans was diverted, their troops were scattered beyond the lines ; silently and rapidly the forces of Clinton were moving on to cut off their return. He had found the eastern pass unguarded, and continued his march undiscovered, and now signal-guns announced that he was close upon the American lines. The Hessians advanced at once upon the redoubt. Colonel Grant pushed on. Sullivan and Stirling both perceived their danger, and endeavored to retreat, but in vain. The enemy had gained their rear ; they were completely entrapped and hemmed in. It is true, a portion of Stirling's troops escaped by fording a creek ; the remainder, most of whom were of Smallwood's regiment, took a brave but desperate stand. A scene of carnage ensued ; more than two hundred and fifty of them were slain within sight of the lines. Some of these were most cruelly and wantonly bayoneted by the merciless Hessians. At length Stirling sought De Heister and surrendered. Sullivan's forces were driven back and forth by the two divisions of the enemy, and treated in a like barbarous manner ; some were taken prisoners, among whom was Sullivan himself ; others fought their way back to the

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CHAP. lines. Some portion of this conflict took place amid the
XXX. hills now embraced in the beautiful cemetery of Green-
1776. wood.

Washington reached the spot just in time to witness the catastrophe. As from the lines he saw his brave troops surrounded and cruelly slaughtered—touched to the heart with deep and humane sorrow, he wrung his hands and exclaimed : “Good God ! what brave fellows I must lose this day !”

The loss of the Americans in this battle was very severe ; of the five thousand engaged, nearly two thousand were slain or taken prisoners, while out of sixteen thousand the British lost but about four hundred. They made no assault on the American lines, but encamped directly in front of them, and prepared to carry them by regular approaches.

Although reinforced the next day, by Mifflin’s and Glover’s regiments, the Americans had still a very inferior force. On the morning of the twenty-ninth, as General Mifflin, with Adjutant-general Reed and Colonel Grayson, was inspecting the outposts at Red Hook, a light breeze, that dispersed the fog for a moment, revealed to them the enemy’s fleet. They were justly alarmed ; the unusual stir among the boats convinced them that some great movement was on foot. It was probable the enemy intended to pass up the bay and surround them. They hastened to Washington, who summoned a council of war, and it was decided that the army should that night be secretly withdrawn from the island. It was a hazardous enterprise, and much was to be done ; boats were to be collected, and preparations for the removal of nine thousand men were to be made, in the face of the enemy, rapidly, and yet so silently and cautiously, as not to awaken the slightest suspicion. It was already noon, but the orders were issued, and all the boats around Manhattan Island were impressed and in readiness at eight o’clock

that evening. And at the silent midnight hour the regiments, one by one, began to march to the ferry, and in boats manned by Glover's regiment, most of whom were Marblehead fishermen, they were borne to the city. By eight o'clock the entire army, with their military stores, cattle, horses, and carts, were safely landed.

Several incidents occurred, which have a peculiar interest as connected with this famous retreat. General Mifflin, who was stationed nearest to the enemy's lines, was to remain at his post until the others had embarked. Colonel Scammell, who was sent to hasten forward a particular regiment, mistook his orders, and sent on Mifflin with his whole covering party; and great was the consternation of the Commander-in-chief when they joined the others at the ferry. "This is a dreadful mistake, General Mifflin," said he, "and unless the troops can regain the lines before their absence is discovered by the enemy, the most disastrous consequences are to be apprehended." They returned to their post with all expedition. "This was a trying business to young soldiers," says one of their number, "it was, nevertheless, strictly complied with, and we remained not less than an hour in the lines before we received the second order to abandon them."¹

A story is told of a woman, wife of a suspected Tory, who lived near the ferry. She sent her negro servant to the British with news that the Americans were retreating. He reached the Hessian outposts in safety, but they did not understand his language, and detained him a close prisoner till morning. Then an English officer, who examined him, learned the truth, but it was too late. The British did not reach the ferry till the last boat was beyond musket shot. It was an August morning; but for a dense fog, the boats which left after daylight must have been discovered. The safe retreat of the patriot army

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¹ Graydon's Memoirs.

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was by many attributed to a peculiar Providence. It was a trust in this Providence, a calm assurance of ultimate success under its guiding care, that strengthened the hearts of the patriots in their darkest hour of trial.

A few days after this retreat, Admiral Howe, who hoped the Americans would now accept peace on *his terms*, sent General Sullivan on parole with a letter to Congress. He invited them to send, in an informal manner, a committee to confer with him on some measures of reconciliation. He would receive them as private gentlemen, as the ministry would not acknowledge the legal existence of Congress. Accordingly, John Adams, Doctor Franklin, and Edward Rutledge, held a conference with him at a house on Staten Island, opposite Amboy.

Doctor Franklin and Lord Howe had often conversed together in England on the present difficulties. His lordship made known the terms on which peace could be obtained. These terms were unconditional submission. When told that the Congress and people would treat on no other basis than that "of a free and independent nation," he expressed regret, that he should be compelled to distress the Americans. Doctor Franklin reciprocated his good will, but quietly remarked, "The Americans will endeavor to lessen the pain you may feel, by taking good care of themselves." Thus ended the much talked-of interview. The result was good. The people were strengthened in the belief that England had no terms to offer, which would lead them to regret the course they had adopted.

The British, now in possession of Long Island, extended their lines along the East River, and stationed in them a large number of Hessian troops, of whom reinforcements had come within a few days. The defeat at Brooklyn had a very disheartening effect on the minds of the militia, great numbers of whom deserted, and soon Wash-

ington's army was less than twenty thousand men, and on many of these little dependence could be placed. The question soon arose, Should New York be defended to the last, or should it be evacuated? Some proposed to burn it to the ground, as "two-thirds of the property belonged to Tories," rather than it should furnish comfortable winter-quarters for the enemy. Congress decided that the city should not be burned.

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The sick and wounded, in the meanwhile, were transferred to Orange, in New Jersey, and most of the military stores were removed to Dobbs' Ferry, that the garrison might be unencumbered should they be obliged to make a hasty retreat. It was decided by a council of war that Putnam, with five thousand troops, should remain to garrison New York, while General Heath, with the main body, was to fortify the heights in the neighborhood of Kingsbridge, where, presently, Washington transferred his headquarters.

Washington was anxious to learn the designs of the enemy on Long Island. At the suggestion of Colonel Knowlton, Nathan Hale volunteered to go on the perilous errand. Hale was a native of Connecticut, a graduate of Yale College, had thoughts of studying for the ministry, and at the commencement of the war was a teacher of youth. After the battle of Lexington, he hastened to Boston to join the army, in which he served as a lieutenant. On one occasion, to induce his men to continue their term of enlistment, he offered them his own pay. Soon after he received from Congress the commission of captain.

He passed to the island, obtained the knowledge desired, notes of which he took in Latin. As he was returning he fell in with a party of the enemy, was recognized by a Tory relative, seized and taken to Howe's headquarters, and, without much ceremony, was ordered to be executed the next morning.

The provost-marshal, named Cunningham, treated

CHAP. him with great brutality, denied him a Bible, tore up the
 XXX. letter he had written to his mother, giving as a reason,
 1776. "that the rebels should never know they had a man who
 could die with such firmness." The last words of Hale
 were : "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for
 my country."

The entire British fleet was within cannon-shot of the city, and some of their vessels had passed up the Hudson and East rivers. They had landed troops on the islands at the mouth of Harlem river, and there erected a battery. Soon British and Hessians, under Clinton and Colonel Donop, crossed over from the camp on Long Island to Kipp's Bay, three miles above the city. Washington heard the cannonading in that quarter, and, as he was on the way to learn the cause, met the militia, who, on the first approach of the enemy had fled in sad confusion, followed by two brigades of Connecticut troops, who that very morning had been sent to support them. He strove to rally them, but in vain ; neither entreaties nor commands had any effect upon these panic-stricken soldiers. Mortified and indignant at their cowardice, he dashed his hat upon the ground, and exclaimed : "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America ?" The enemy in pursuit were now not more than eighty yards from him, but in his excitement he forgot his own safety, and had not an attendant seized the bridle of his horse and hurried him from the field, he must have fallen into their hands.

Sept.
15.

Washington ordered General Heath to secure Harlem Heights, and sent an express order to Putnam to evacuate the city, and retire to those heights with all speed ; for he feared that the enemy would extend their lines across the island from Kipp's Bay, and cut off his retreat. Fortunately the British did not pursue their advantage. Putnam retreated along the west side of the island by the Bloomingdale road. His line, encumbered with women and children, was exposed to the fire of the ships lying in the

Hudson He ordered, encouraged, and aided, and by his extraordinary exertions, it is said, saved his corps from entire destruction. However, his heavy artillery and three hundred men fell into the hands of the enemy.

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1776.

Now the British had possession of the city, and the main body of the Americans was encamped on the northern portion of the island, across which they threw a double row of lines, about four and a half miles below Kingsbridge. Two miles above these lines, was Fort Washington, and a few miles below them were the British lines, extending also from river to river.

On the sixteenth the enemy made an attack upon the American advanced posts, but were repulsed and driven off by Virginia and Connecticut troops, but their commanders, Major Leitch, and the brave Colonel Knowlton, one of the heroes of Bunker Hill, both fell in this encounter. The spirits of the soldiers, depressed by repeated defeats and disasters, were somewhat revived by this successful skirmish.

Sept.

The armies watched each other for some weeks. Many were sick in the American camp; "it was impossible to find proper hospitals; and they lay about in almost every barn, stable, shed, and even under the fences and bushes."

Sir William Howe now began to collect forces at Throg's Neck, a peninsula in the Sound about nine miles from the American camp. This peninsula was separated from the mainland by a narrow creek and a marsh, which was overflowed at high tide. By means of the bridge and fords, Howe hoped to pass over to the mainland and gain the rear of the Americans, and cut off their communication with New England, whence they received most of their supplies. His plans, though well laid, were defeated. General Heath was on the alert; he was joined by Colonel William Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill, and by Hand with his riflemen, and others; every pass was guarded, and the planks of the bridge removed. Howe,

- CHAP. with his usual caution, waited six days for reinforcements.
XXX. By this time General Lee, now more a favorite than ever,
1776. had returned from his successful campaign at the South, and Sullivan, Stirling, and Morgan had been restored to the army by exchange. While Howe thus delayed, it was decided, in a council of war, that every American post on New York island, excepting Fort Washington, should be abandoned. This plan was promptly executed. The army, in four divisions, commanded by Generals Lee, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln, withdrew across Kingsbridge, and gradually concentrated their forces in a fortified camp near the village of White Plains.
- Oct.
28.

Still hoping to gain their rear, Howe moved on toward New Rochelle, where he was reinforced by light-horse troops, and Hessians under General Knyphausen, who had recently arrived from Europe. He advanced upon the camp. Scarcely had the Americans intrenched themselves at White Plains, when a rumor of his approach reached them. On the twenty-eighth, as Washington, accompanied by his general officers, was reconnoitring the heights in the neighborhood, the alarm was given that the enemy had driven in the picket-guards, and were within the camp. When he reached headquarters he found the army already posted in order of battle. The enemy did not advance upon them ; they turned their attention to a height known as Chatterton's Hill, which lay a little south of the camp, and was separated from it by the river Bronx. This height was occupied by sixteen hundred men under General McDougall, and the attack was made at this point. After a feeble resistance, the militia fled, but Hazlet's and Smallwood's regiments, so famous on Long Island, made a brave stand, and repeatedly repulsed the enemy ; but, at length, overpowered by numbers, they retreated across the bridge to the camp. This battle of

White Plains was a spirited encounter, in which each of the parties lost about four hundred men. CHAP
XXX.

The British took possession of the hill, and began to intrench themselves ; and now, for the third time, the “armies lay looking at each other ;” they were within long cannon-shot. 1776

Could the undisciplined, war-worn, and disheartened Americans hope to escape from a force so well equipped and so powerful? That night was to them an anxious one. It was passed in severe labor ; they doubled their intrenchments and threw up redoubts. Some of these were hastily constructed of stalks of corn, pulled up from a neighboring field, with the earth clinging to the roots. These piled with the roots outward, presented an appearance so formidable, that Howe, deceived as to their strength, did not attack them, but ordered up reinforcements.

Howe's cautious conduct of the war has been severely criticised, and various reasons have been assigned, but it has never been satisfactorily explained ; whatever his reasons may have been, his delay at this time cost him another golden opportunity. Washington withdrew his army in the night-time to the heights of North Castle, a strong position, about five miles distant. His enemy had again eluded him, and Howe retired with his forces to Dobb's Ferry, on the Hudson. Nov.
4.

This movement awakened new fears ;—did he intend to pass down the river to Fort Washington, or to cross into New Jersey? “He must attempt something,” writes Washington, “on account of his reputation, for what has he done yet with his great army?”

To meet the threatened dangers a new disposition was made of the American forces. Lee, with a portion, was to remain at North Castle ; Putnam, with another, was to guard the west side of the Hudson ; Heath, the guardian of the passes of the Highlands, was to encamp at Peekskill ; while General Greene commanded at Fort Lee, and

CHAP. Colonel Magaw, with the Pennsylvania troops, occupied
XXX. Fort Washington.

1776. With respect to maintaining Fort Washington, there was a diversity of opinion, as neither that fort nor the obstructions across the channel had prevented the passage of vessels up the Hudson. Washington, with Lee, Reed, and others, was in favor of withdrawing the troops at once. He addressed a letter to Greene, in which he advised this course, but left the matter to his discretion. Greene and Magaw, who were both on the spot, and knew the condition of the fort, decided that it could be maintained, and made preparations accordingly. This was, as the result proved, an injudicious decision. The post was comparatively useless; it was accessible on three sides from the water; the fort was very small, and would not contain more than a thousand men, the lines were very extensive, and the garrison insufficient to man them.

Washington visited the posts along the river. When he arrived at Fort Lee, he was greatly disappointed to find that the troops had not been withdrawn from Fort Washington; and, before he could make a personal examination, the fort was invested. It was attacked on all sides. The garrison, after a brave resistance, which cost the enemy four hundred men, was driven from the outer lines, and crowded into the fort, where they were unable to fight to advantage, and were exposed to the shells of the enemy. Further resistance was impossible, and Colonel Magaw surrendered all his troops, two thousand in number. During this action, the troops of Cadwallader especially distinguished themselves. Of the officers, Colonel Baxter, of Pennsylvania, fell while cheering on his men.

Nov.
16.

From the New Jersey shore, the Commander-in-chief witnessed a portion of the battle, and again he saw some of his brave troops bayoneted by the merciless Hessians, and wept, it is said, "with the tenderness of a child."

It was resolved to abandon Fort Lee, but before it

was fully accomplished, Cornwallis, with a force six thousand strong, crossed the Hudson to the foot of the rocky cliffs known as the Palisades. The force sent down from North Castle was encamped at Hackensack, which lay between the river of that name and the Hudson, and Washington saw at once that the object of the enemy was to form a line across the country, and hem them in between the rivers. To avoid this he retreated, with all his forces, including the garrison of Fort Lee, to secure the bridge over the Hackensack, thence across the Passaic to the neighborhood of Newark. This retreat was made in such haste that nearly all the artillery was abandoned, the tents left standing, and the fires burning. That night the enemy found shelter in the tents of the deserted camp.

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1776.

From Newark, the army moved on across the Raritan to Brunswick, thence to Princeton, where they left twelve hundred men, under Lord Stirling, to check the enemy, while the main body proceeded to Trenton, and thence beyond the Delaware. The enemy pressed so closely upon them, that the advance of Cornwallis entered Newark at one end, as their rear-guard passed out at the other, and often during this march, "the American rear-guard, employed in pulling up bridges, was within sight and shot of the British pioneers, sent forward to rebuild them."

Thus less than four thousand men—a mere shadow of an army—poorly clad, with a scant supply of blankets, without tents, and enfeebled for want of wholesome food, evaded, by an orderly retreat, a well appointed force that far outnumbered them, well fed, well clothed, well disciplined, and flushed with victory. When the enemy reached the Delaware, they were unable to cross over, not a boat was to be found; Washington had taken the precaution to have them all secured for a distance of seventy miles, and transferred to the west side. Thus ended this famous retreat, remarkable for the manner in which it was conducted, and the circumstances under which it took place.

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Cornwallis was anxious to procure boats and push on to Philadelphia, but Howe decided to wait till the river should be frozen. Meanwhile, the Hessians were stationed along the eastern bank for some miles above and below Trenton.

During his harassed march, Washington had sent repeated and urgent orders to Lee to hasten to his aid with reinforcements. Notwithstanding the emergency, which he well knew, Lee lingered for two or three weeks on the east side of the Hudson, and when actually on the march, proceeded so slowly, that he did not reach Morristown until the eleventh of December.

Lee had a high opinion of his own military abilities, and evidently desired an independent command. The deference which the Americans had paid to his judgment, and the importance they attached to his presence in the army, had flattered his natural self-conceit ; his success at the South, and the correctness of his views in relation to Fort Washington, had strengthened his influence over them, and now, in this time of depression and discouragement, he hoped by some brilliant exploit to retrieve the fortunes of the army, and gain more glory to himself. In this mood he writes : " I am going into the Jerseys for the salvation of America." And again : " I am in hopes to reconquer, if I may so express myself, the Jerseys ; it was really in the hands of the enemy before my arrival." While he pondered over these vain projects, he disregarded the authority of the Commander-in-chief, and, to say the least, subjected him to cruel inconvenience. We have no reason to believe that Lee was untrue to the cause he had embraced, but his wayward conduct, at this time and afterward, has diminished the grateful respect with which Americans would have cherished his memory.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Discouragements.—Effects of Howe's Proclamation.—Affairs on Lake Champlain.—Heroism of Arnold.—Carleton retires to Canada.—Capture of Lee.—Troops from the Northern Army.—Battle of Trenton.—Battle of Princeton.—Death of Mercer.—Washington retires to Morristown.—Cornwallis in his Lines at Brunswick.—Encouragements.—Putnam at Princeton.—Ill-treatment of American Prisoners; their Exchange under Negotiation.—Appointment of General Officers.—Muhlenburg.—Wayne.—Conway.—Medical Department.—The Navy.—Marauding Expeditions.—Peekskill.—Danbury.—Death of Wooster.—Retaliation at Sag Harbor.—Efforts to recruit the Army.—Schuyler and Gates.—The National Flag.

As the news of this retreat went abroad, the friends of the cause were discouraged. What remained of the army was fast wasting away; their enlistments were about to expire, and the militia, especially that of New Jersey, refused to take the field in behalf of a ruined enterprise. Many thought the States could not maintain their independence; but there were a few who, confident in the justice of their cause, were firm and undaunted. Among these was Washington. In a conversation with General Mercer he remarked: "That even if driven beyond the Alleghanies, he would stand to the last for the liberties of his country."

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Howe felt certain the game was his own; he had only to bide his time. He sent forth another proclamation, in

CHAP. which he called upon all insurgents to disband, and Con-
XXXI. gress to lay down their usurped authority ; and offered
1776. pardon to all who should accept the terms within sixty
days. Many persons, most of whom were wealthy, com-
plied. Among these were two of the delegates from Penn-
sylvania to the late Continental Congress, and the presi-
dent of the New Jersey Convention which had sanctioned
the Declaration of Independence, and others who had
taken an active part in favor of the Revolution. For ten
days after the proclamation was issued, from two to three
hundred came every day to take the required oath.

The movements of the enemy, and the effect produced
by the proclamation, caused great excitement in Phila-
delphia. Putnam, who had been sent to command there,
advised that, during this season of peril, Congress should
hold its sessions elsewhere, and it adjourned to meet again
at Baltimore.

Dec.
12.

At this time a reinforcement of seven regiments was
on its way from Canada. We now return to the forces on
Lake Champlain, where we left Schuyler and Gates in a
sort of joint command.

The army driven out of Canada, broken, diseased, and
dispirited, rested first at Crown Point, and then at Ticon-
deroga. During his retreat, Sullivan wisely secured or
destroyed all the boats on Lake Champlain. Its shores
were an unbroken wilderness ; thus the British were un-
able to follow up their pursuit by land or by water.

Sir Guy Carleton, flushed with victory, and full of
ardor, determined to overcome all obstacles and push his
victory to the utmost. He would obtain the command
of the Lakes Champlain and George, and by that means
subdue northern New York, and then proceed to take
possession of Albany, where he hoped to take up his win-
ter-quarters. From that point, he hoped, by means of
the Hudson, to co-operate with the Howes at New York,
to cut off the communication between New England and

the States west and south. This he believed would bring the contest to a speedy close, and secure to himself a share of the honors of the victory. He exerted himself with so much energy and success, that at the end of three months he had a well-equipped fleet. The frames of five large vessels, that had been brought from England, were put together at St. John's on the Sorel. These, with twenty smaller craft, and some armed boats, which had been dragged up the rapids of that river, were now launched upon the lake.

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The Americans were not idle. General Gates authorized Arnold, who was somewhat of a seaman, to fit out and command a flotilla. Arnold threw himself into the enterprise with all the energy of his nature, and soon was master of a force, in vessels and men, nearly half as large as that of Carleton. He moved his little fleet across a narrow strait between Valcour Island and the mainland, in such a position that the whole force of the enemy could not be made to bear upon him at one time; there he awaited the contest. As Carleton, with a favorable wind, swept briskly up the lake, he passed the island behind which Arnold's flotilla lay snugly anchored, before he observed it. The wind was such that the larger ships could not beat up the strait, but the smaller vessels advanced, and a desperate encounter ensued, which was continued until evening came on. Then Carleton arranged his squadron so as to intercept Arnold's escape, and awaited the morning; when, if his larger vessels could be made to bear, he felt certain of the prize. The night proved dark and cloudy; favored by this circumstance, Arnold slipped by the enemy, and at daylight was some miles on his way to Crown Point. But as most of his vessels were in bad condition, they could make but little headway; only six reached that place in safety, two were sunk, and the others were overtaken by Carleton a few miles from the Point.

Oct
6

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where one was captured with the crew. Arnold fought desperately, until his galley, the Congress, was cut to pieces, and one-third of her crew killed. Determined that his flag should not be struck, he ordered his vessels to be grounded and set on fire. When this was done, he, with his men, leaped out and waded to the shore, and by well-directed rifle-shots kept the enemy at bay till the vessels were consumed, and with them the still waving flag ; then giving a triumphant cheer, they moved off through the woods to Crown Point, where they found the remnant of the fleet. They stayed only to destroy the houses and the stores at the fort, and then embarked for Ticonderoga. Before the enemy arrived, Gates, who commanded at that post, had so strengthened his position that Carleton decided not to attack it, but to retire to Canada, and postpone his wintering in Albany to some future day.

As the forts on the Lakes were safe for the present, General Schuyler detached the seven regiments, of which we have spoken, to the relief of Washington. When Lee learned that three of these regiments were at Peekskill, he ordered them to join him at Morristown. The remaining four, under General Gates, were passing through northern New Jersey toward Trenton.

Gates was detained by a severe snow-storm, and uncertain as to the exact position of the army, he sent forward Major Wilkinson with a letter to Washington, stating his position, and asking what route he should take to the camp. Wilkinson learned that Washington had crossed the Delaware ; and as General Lee, the second in command, was at Morristown, he made his way thither. Just at this time, Lee with a small guard was quartered, for the night, at a tavern at Baskenridge, three miles from his army, which was left under the command of Sullivan. Here he was joined by Wilkinson, on the morning of the thirteenth of December. Lee took his breakfast in a leisurely manner, discussed the news, and had just finished

Dec.
18.

a letter to General Gates, when, much to his surprise, the house was surrounded by a party of British dragoons. He had not dreamed that an enemy was near, and his guards were off duty. But a Tory of the neighborhood had learned the evening before where he intended to lodge and breakfast, and had, during the night, ridden eighteen miles to Brunswick, to inform the enemy, and to pilot them to the spot. For a few moments all was confusion. The dragoons were calling for the General, and the General was calling for the guards, who were scattered in all directions. "The scene was soon closed. General Lee, without a hat, clad in a blanket-coat and slippers, was mounted on a horse that stood at the door, and borne off in triumph to the British army at Brunswick."

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Had Lee, by some fortunate accident, succeeded in retrieving the fortunes of the army, unsuccessful under Washington, it is probable that the wishes of the people might have turned toward him as commander-in-chief. For men are too apt to judge of those who live in the same age with themselves, merely by their success; and too often they yield to what is self-confident and assuming, the honor and respect due to sober judgment and high moral principles.

Under these circumstances, Lee's success would have proved most unfortunate for the country, for he had neither the judgment nor the principle necessary to guide it safely through the approaching crisis.

After the capture of Lee, the troops under Sullivan moved on at once to join the Commander-in-chief. General Gates, who had left his regiments at Morristown, reached the camp on the same day. As Washington had now a force of about six thousand men fit for service, he was anxious to strike a blow, that should revive the courage of the army and the people, before the disbandment of those troops, whose terms of enlistments were about to

CHAP. expire. The prospect of success was doubtful, but he felt
XXXI. that, under the circumstances, inaction would ruin the
1776. cause, and defeat could do no more.

Howe was in New York ; Cornwallis, who was on the eve of embarking for England, was there also. The British forces in New Jersey, though strong, were much scattered. The Hessians, who were in the advance, were carelessly cantoned at different points along the eastern bank of the Delaware. Colonel Donop was stationed at Burlington, and his forces were quartered above and below that point. Colonel Rahl, who had distinguished himself at White Plains and Fort Washington, was at Trenton, with a force of fifteen hundred men. This brave but careless commander took his ease, enjoyed his music and bath, and when it was proposed to throw up works upon which to mount cannon, in readiness against an assault, said, merrily : "Pooh ! pooh ! an assault by the rebels ! Let them come ; we'll at them with the bayonet." The Hessians were a terror to the people ; they plundered indiscriminately Whig and Tory. The American soldiers hated them intensely for their savage bayonetings on the battle-field, and were eager to avenge the outrages inflicted upon their friends and countrymen.

Washington proposed to cross the river and surprise the Hessians at different points. A council of war was held, and Christmas night was fixed upon for the enterprise. By the plan proposed, Washington himself was to cross nine miles above Trenton, and march down upon that place. Colonel Ewing, with the Pennsylvania militia, was to cross a mile below the town, and secure the bridge over Assunpink creek, at the south side of it, and thus cut off the enemy's retreat. Adjutant-general Reed and Colonel Cadwallader, who were stationed at Bristol, nearly opposite Burlington, were to cross below that place

and advance against Count Donop's division. The attacks were to be simultaneous, and five o'clock on the morning of the twenty-sixth was the hour agreed upon. CHAP.
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1776.

Just after sunset, on Christmas night, the division under Washington, twenty-four hundred in number, began to pass over. With this division was a train of twenty field-pieces, under the command of Colonel Knox. The river was filled with floating ice, and the weather was intensely cold. The boats were guided by Colonel Glover, and his regiment of Marblehead fishermen, the same who had guided the boats on the memorable retreat from Long Island. The night was extremely dark and tempestuous, and the floating ice and strong wind drove them out of their course again and again.

Washington had hoped to be on the march by midnight, but hour after hour passed, and it was four o'clock before the artillery was landed, and the troops ready to move on. They marched in two divisions, one led by Washington, (with whom were Generals Greene, Stirling, Mercer, and Stephen,) by a circuitous route to the north of the town, while the other, under Sullivan, with whom was Colonel John Stark, with his New Hampshire band, was to advance by a direct road along the river, to the west and south side. Sullivan was to halt at a certain point to allow time for the main division to make the circuit.

It was eight o'clock before this division reached the immediate neighborhood of Trenton; they had struggled through a terrible storm of hail and snow; it had impeded their march, but it had also aided to conceal their movements from the enemy. Washington, who had pushed on with the advance, asked of a man who was chopping wood by the road-side the way to the Hessian picket. He answered gruffly, "I don't know," and went on with his work. "You may tell," said Captain Forrest, of the artillery, "for that is General Washington." "God bless

Dec
26.

CHAP. and prosper you ! ” exclaimed the man, raising his hands
XXXI. to heaven, “ the picket is in that house, and the sentry
1776. stands near that tree.”

In a few minutes the picket-guards were driven in. Late as it was, the Hessians were completely surprised. According to their custom, they had indulged freely in the festivities of Christmas, and were resting thoughtless of danger, when the drums suddenly beat to arms. All was confusion. At the first alarm, Colonel Rahl, who learned from the lieutenant of the picket-guard that a large force was advancing to surround him, endeavored to rally his panic-stricken troops. He seems to have meditated a retreat to Princeton ; he had, in fact, passed out of the town, but the ambition of the soldier triumphed in his breast ; how could he fly before the rebels he had despised ? He rashly returned to the charge. By this time Washington had gained the main street, and opened a battery of six field-pieces, which swept it from end to end. As Rahl advanced, at the head of his grenadiers, he fell mortally wounded. At the fall of their leader his soldiers attempted to retreat, but they were intercepted by Colonel Hand, with his Pennsylvania riflemen ; and, hemmed in on all sides, they grounded their arms and surrendered at discretion.

Stark, with his detachment, had assaulted the south side of the town, and the firing in that quarter had added to the general confusion. A party of British light-horse, and five hundred Hessians stationed there “ took headlong flight, by the bridge across the Assunpink,” and thus escaped and joined Donop at Bordentown. Had Colonel Ewing been able to cross, according to the arrangement, their escape would have been prevented.

The Americans took one thousand prisoners, of whom thirty-two were officers ; of their own number, only two were killed, and two were frozen to death on the march. Several were wounded, among whom was James Monroe,

afterward President of the United States, who was at this time a lieutenant in the army. CHAP.
XXXI

The attack designed by Reed and Cadwallader, like that of Colonel Ewing, was prevented by the ice, which made it impossible for them to embark their cannon. Thus the success was incomplete, and Washington at Trenton, encumbered by his prisoners, with a strong force of the enemy below him, under Count Donop, and another in his rear at Princeton, prudently resolved to recross the Delaware. 1776.

Before he left the town, he, with General Greene, visited Colonel Rahl, who survived until the evening of the day after the battle. The dying Colonel remembered his grenadiers, and during this visit he commended them to the consideration of Washington. Rahl lies buried in the grave-yard of the Presbyterian church in Trenton.

When Washington had disposed of his prisoners, and allowed his troops a little time to recruit, he resolved to return and follow up his success, before the enthusiasm it had awakened had time to cool. Meantime, he had received from Reed and Cadwallader, who had crossed on the twenty-seventh, the encouraging news that all the Hessian posts on the river were deserted; that Count Donop had retreated with all haste to Brunswick, with a portion of his forces, while the remainder had made their way to Princeton. Dec.
27.

"A fair opportunity is now offered," writes Washington at this time, "to drive the enemy out of New Jersey," and he formed his plans accordingly. The American forces, now no longer needed to guard the Delaware, were gradually concentrating at Trenton. Parties were sent to harass the retreating enemy, and General Heath was ordered to make a demonstration from the Highlands, as if he intended to attack New York. The New England regiments, whose terms were about to expire, were induced by a bounty of ten dollars and the persuasions of their

CHAP. officers to remain six weeks longer. Men of standing and
XXXI influence were sent abroad to rouse the militia of New
1776. Jersey to avenge the outrages inflicted upon the people
by the Hessians. Matters began to wear a brighter aspect,
and hope and enthusiasm were revived.

At this crisis, Washington received the highest mark of confidence in the gift of the people—Congress invested him with unlimited military authority for six months. The letter of the committee which conveyed to him this resolution closed with these words: "Happy is it for this country that the general of their forces can safely be intrusted with the most unlimited power, and neither personal security, liberty, nor property be in the least endangered thereby."

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of Howe when he learned that his Hessians, veterans in war, had fled before the militia. Cornwallis was hurried back to resume his command in the Jerseys.

Washington, anxious to ascertain the movements and designs of the enemy, sent forward Colonel Reed, who was well acquainted with the country, to reconnoitre. With Reed were six young horsemen, members of the "Philadelphia City Troop," full of fire and zeal, but who had never seen active service. No reward could induce the terror-stricken people to approach Princeton and bring them information. Nothing daunted, the party dashed on till they were in view of the top of the college building, when they observed a British dragoon passing from a barn to a farm-house. Supposing him to be a marauder, they determined to capture him, and obtain the desired information. Presently they saw another, and another. They charged at once and surrounded the house, "and twelve dragoons, well armed, with their pieces loaded, and hav-

ing the advantage of the house, surrendered to seven horsemen, six of whom had never seen an enemy before, and, almost in sight of the British army, were brought into the American camp at Trenton, on the same evening." ¹ The sergeant of the dragoons alone escaped. The information obtained from these prisoners was most important. Cornwallis, with a body of picked troops, had joined Colonel Grant the day before at Princeton, and they were ready to march the next day upon Trenton, with a strong force of seven or eight thousand men.

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In anticipation of an attack, Washington arranged his men, in number about six thousand, in a favorable position on the east bank of Assunpink creek. As the enemy approached, on the second of January, their advance was harassed, and so effectually held in check, by forces sent forward under General Greene and Colonel Hand, that they did not reach Trenton till near sunset. The fords and bridge over the creek were carefully guarded and defended by the American batteries. Cornwallis made repeated attempts to cross, but was as often repulsed ; at each repulse a shout ran along the American lines. Thinking that the struggle might be a desperate one, the British commander concluded to defer it till the next day, and retired with the boast that he would "bag the fox in the morning." Both armies kindled their camp-fires, and once more they rested in sight of each other.

Jan.
2.

Never had the prospect of the Americans been so gloomy. The officers gathered at the quarters of General Mercer to hold a council of war ; to retreat was impossible ; behind them was the Delaware, filled with floating ice. Who could propose an expedient that would relieve them from the present dilemma ? Such an expedient, one of the boldest and best conceived of the whole war,

¹ Life of Colonel Reed, p. 369.

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— had crossed the mind of the Commander-in-chief. He judged that the main division of the British forces was with Cornwallis ; that Princeton and Brunswick, where their stores were deposited, could be but imperfectly guarded. He proposed to march by a circuitous and obscure road, around the left flank of the enemy, to Princeton, capture the forces there, and then push on and seize the stores at Brunswick. The plan was accepted at once, and the officers entered into it with alacrity. The stores were sent down the river to Burlington, and various stratagems were resorted to to deceive the enemy. Small parties were left behind, some to be noisily employed in digging trenches within hearing of their sentinels ; others to relieve the guards and replenish the camp-fires, and preserve all the appearance of a regular encampment ; at daylight these were to hasten after the army.

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About midnight the Americans began their silent march. The road over which they moved was new and rough, and at sunrise they were still three miles from Princeton. Here they halted, and formed into two divisions, one of which, under Washington, was to proceed by a cross-cut to the town, while the other, under General Mercer, was to gain the main road, and destroy the bridge, when they had passed over, to prevent the approach of Cornwallis.

Jan.
3.

Three British regiments had passed the night at Princeton, and two of them were already on their march to join the forces at Trenton. Colonel Mawhood, commander of the foremost, when about two miles from the town, caught sight of Mercer's division. Believing it a party of Americans who had been driven from Trenton, he sent back a messenger to Princeton to hurry on the other regiments, that they might surround them, and cut off their retreat. Presently Mercer espied the British, and now both parties rushed to gain a favorable position on a rising ground. The Americans were successful, and with

their rifles opened a severe fire upon the enemy, who returned it vigorously. Almost at the first fire Mercer's horse was shot under him, and the second officer in command fell mortally wounded. The enemy took advantage of the confusion that followed the fall of the leaders, and rushed on with the bayonet. The Americans, who were without bayonets, unable to withstand the charge, gave way. As Mercer, now on foot, endeavored to rally them, he was struck down, bayoneted, and left on the field apparently dead.

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As his men retreated in confusion, a body of Pennsylvania militia, which Washington had sent to their aid, appeared in sight. Mawhood instantly checked his pursuit of the fugitives, and opened upon these fresh troops a heavy fire of artillery, which brought them to a stand.

Convinced by the continued firing that the conflict was serious, Washington spurred on in advance of his division, and just at this crisis had reached a rising ground near by, from which he witnessed the scene. He saw the scattered forces of Mercer, the hesitation of the militia; every thing was at stake. He dashed forward in the face of Mawhood's artillery, exposed both to the fire of the enemy and the random shots of his own soldiers, and waving his hat called upon the faltering and broken forces to follow him. Inspired by his voice and example, they rallied at once and returned to the charge. At this moment a Virginia regiment emerged from a neighboring wood, and with loud cheers engaged in the conflict; while the American artillery, now within range, began to shower grape-shot upon the enemy. The fight was desperate, but the field was won. Mawhood, who, a few minutes before, had felt certain of victory, now with great difficulty forced his way back to the main road, and retreated with all haste toward Trenton.

The second regiment was attacked by the brigade under St. Clair; broken and scattered, it fled across the

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1777. fields towards New Brunswick. Alarmed at the general rout, a part of the third regiment fled in the same direction, while another portion took refuge in the college building. The American artillery was immediately brought to bear upon it, and they soon surrendered.

The British loss in this battle was about one hundred slain, and three hundred prisoners, while the Americans lost but few ; among these was the brave Colonel Haslet. Mercer, who was left on the field for dead, was after the battle discovered by Colonel Armstrong, still alive, but suffering greatly from his wounds, and exposure to the cold. He was borne to a neighboring farm-house, where, after a few days, he expired. As a soldier, he was brave ; as a man of sterling merit, he was worthy the respect of his adopted countrymen, for, like Montgomery, he was of foreign birth, and like him, he has won an honorable name among the heroes of the Revolution.

Washington, eager to secure the stores so necessary for his army, pushed on some distance toward Brunswick. A little reflection convinced him that his troops, in their exhausted condition, could not reach there before they would be overtaken. They had been a night and a day without rest ; they were thinly clad, and some of them were barefoot. He stopped and held a consultation with his officers on horseback. They decided that it was injudicious to proceed. Grieved and disappointed, that they were unable to reap the advantage of their recent success, they turned their steps toward Morristown.

When morning revealed to the enemy on the banks of the Assunpink the deserted camp of the Americans, Cornwallis was greatly at a loss to divine to what covert the "fox" had fled. Soon the booming of cannon at Princeton gave him the desired information. His thoughts turned at once to the stores at Brunswick : he must save

them from the hands of his enemy. His march back to Princeton was much impeded. The Americans had not forgotten to throw obstacles in his way. He found the bridge over Stony Creek, a few miles from the town, broken down, and the party of Americans left for that purpose still in sight. Impatient of delay he urged on his soldiers, who, although the waters were breast high, dashed across the stream. Believing that Washington was in full march for Brunswick, he halted not at Princeton, but hurried on in pursuit with so much eagerness, that he did not observe that the Americans had diverged from the road.

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The American army retreated to a strong position at Morristown. There the soldiers provided themselves huts, and remained until the last of May.

For six months after the battle of Princeton no enterprise of importance was undertaken by either party.

The yeomanry of New Jersey were now thoroughly roused to preserve their State from further depredations. They warmly seconded the efforts of Washington, and greatly aided the detachments from the army, who were on the alert to cut off the foraging parties of the enemy ; and so effectually did they harass them, that they scarcely ventured out of sight of their camp. Thus unable to obtain provisions for his army, Cornwallis gradually withdrew within his lines, at Brunswick and Amboy, that he might be in communication with New York by water, whence alone he could draw his supplies. Thus those who, a few weeks before, were in possession of nearly all New Jersey, were now able to retain scarcely more of her soil than was sufficient for a camp.

The success that had crowned the American arms at Trenton and Princeton cheered the hearts and revived the hopes of the patriots ; but they knew well that the enemy was checked, not conquered ; that the struggle must be renewed, and the result was still doubtful.

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Washington had established his head-quarters at Morristown, while the right wing of his army, under Putnam, was stationed at Princeton, and the left was in the Highlands, under General Heath. Along this extended line, at convenient distances, were established cantonments. Though weak in numbers, the army was so judiciously posted that the enemy, deceived by its apparent strength, hesitated to attack it.

Putnam, who had with him but a few hundred men, resorted to stratagem to hide his weakness. A British officer, who lay mortally wounded at Princeton, desired the presence of a military comrade in his last moments. The kind hearted general could not deny the request; he sent a flag to Brunswick in quest of the friend, who entered Princeton after dark. Every unoccupied house was carefully lighted, lights gleamed in all the college windows, and the Old General marched and countermarched his scanty forces to such effect, that the British soldier, on his return to the camp, reported them as at least five thousand strong.

The winter at Morristown was a season of comparative quiet, during which the Commander-in-chief was engaged in earnest efforts to improve the state of his army. The evil effects of the system of short enlistments adopted by Congress, and repeatedly protested against by Washington, were severely felt at this juncture. The terms of great numbers were about to expire, and new recruits came in but slowly. To guard against the ravages of small-pox, which at times had been fatally prevalent in the army, these were inoculated as fast as they came in.

The exchange of prisoners had become a subject of negotiation. At first the British refused to exchange on equal terms, on the plea that the Americans were rebels, but Howe, who had at this time about five thousand on his hands, opened a correspondence with Washington on the subject. Now the Americans in their turn objecte

to an exchange. Their captured countrymen had been left to the tender mercies of the New York Tories, crowded into warehouses, which had been converted into prisons, or into loathsome hulks anchored in the bay ; fed with impure food, and left to languish in filth and nakedness. Thrilling tales are told of the sufferings of those confined in the sugar-house, and on board the Jersey, a prison-ship. More than ten thousand wretched American prisoners died during the war, and were buried without ceremony in shallow graves at Brooklyn, on Long Island. Of those who survived, scarcely one ever fully recovered from the effects of these hardships.

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Washington refused to recruit the British army by an exchange of well-fed and hale Hessian and British prisoners, for emaciated and diseased Americans, whose terms of enlistment had expired, and who were scarcely able, from very weakness, to return to their homes. His policy was sanctioned by Congress—a severe policy, but authorized by the necessities of the times.

To supply the want of field-officers, Congress commissioned five major-generals : Stirling, St. Clair, Mifflin, Stephen, and Lincoln. The latter we have seen as the secretary of the first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. He was afterward the efficient commander of the militia of that State, and now he was promoted over the heads of all the brigadiers. In these appointments, Arnold, whose meritorious conduct on the battle-field, as well as his seniority as a brigadier, entitled him to promotion, was entirely overlooked. He complained bitterly of this injustice ; the wound rankled in his proud breast ; from this hour, till he found consolation in revenge, he seems to have brooded over the disrespect shown him by his countrymen.

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19.

Eighteen brigadier-generals were also commissioned, among whom were Glover, the leader of the Marblehead fishermen ; George Clinton, of New York, the sturdy

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1777. guardian of the Highlands, and afterward Vice-President. Woodford and Muhlenburg, of Virginia—the latter a Lutheran clergyman, who at the commencement of hostilities had “laid aside the surplice to put on a uniform,” raised a company of soldiers, and who continued in the army till the close of the war—and Hand and Anthony Wayne, of Pennsylvania. Wayne was by nature a soldier; even in his school-days he turned the heads of his companions by telling them stories of battles and sieges, and drilled them in making and capturing mud forts. In later years he was so distinguished for his daring, that he became known in the army by the appellation of “Mad Anthony.”

An Irish adventurer named Conway, who professed to have served for thirty years in the French army, and to be thoroughly skilled in the science of war, was also commissioned. He proved, however, more famous for intrigues than for military genius or courage.

Congress also authorized the enlistment of four regiments of cavalry. The quartermaster's department was more perfectly arranged, and General Mifflin was placed at its head.

The hospital department was also reorganized, and placed under the charge of Doctor Shippen, of the Medical College at Philadelphia. His principal assistant was Doctor Craik, the friend and companion of Washington in his expeditions against Fort Du Quesne.

Doctor Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and afterward celebrated in his profession, was appointed surgeon-general. The office of adjutant-general, resigned by Colonel Reed, was given to Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts.

Nor was the navy neglected. Of the vessels authorized to be built, several frigates had been finished and equipped, but the want of funds prevented the completion of the remainder, for the Continental money began to depreciate.

and loans could not be obtained. The entire American fleet, under Admiral Hopkins, was at this time blockaded at Providence. But privateers, especially from New England, were eager in pursuit of British vessels trading to the West Indies, of which they captured nearly three hundred and fifty, whose cargoes were worth five millions of dollars. A profitable trade, principally by way of the West Indies, was also opened with France, Spain, and Holland, but it was attended by great risks, and a large number of American vessels thus engaged fell into the hands of British cruisers.

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In the spring, while Washington still remained at Morristown, the British commenced a series of marauding expeditions. A strong party was sent up the Hudson to seize the military stores at Peekskill. General McDougall, finding it impossible to defend them against a force so superior, burned them, and retired with his men to the hills in the vicinity. As General Heath had been transferred to the command in Massachusetts, Washington sent Putnam to command in the Highlands.

A month later Cornwallis made an attack on a corps under General Lincoln, stationed at Boundbrook, a few miles from Brunswick. The militia, to whom the duty was intrusted, imperfectly guarded the camp. Lincoln with difficulty extricated himself, after losing a few men and some cannon.

April
18.

Presently a fleet of twenty-six sail was seen proceeding up the Sound; anxious eyes watched it from the shore. It was the intriguing Tryon, now a major-general, in command of a body of Tories, two thousand strong, who was on his way to destroy the military stores collected at Danbury, Connecticut. He landed on the beach between Fairfield and Norwalk, on the afternoon of the twenty-fifth, and immediately commenced his march.

April

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The alarm spread ; General Silliman, of the Connecticut militia, called out his men, and sent expresses in every direction. Arnold, who had been sent by Washington, some months before, to prepare defences at Providence, and obtain recruits, happened to be in New Haven when the express arrived with the intelligence of the inroad. He hastened with some volunteers to join Generals Wooster and Silliman, whose forces amounted to about six hundred militia ; and the whole company moved after the marauders.

Tryon, who had marched all night, reached Danbury on the afternoon of the twenty-sixth. He commenced at once to destroy the magazines of stores. Although the inhabitants had abandoned their homes at his approach, he permitted his soldiers to burn almost every house in the village. By morning the work of destruction was complete. The militia were approaching, and the marauders were compelled to run the gauntlet to their ships, twenty miles distant.

The Americans were separated into two divisions, one under Wooster, the other under Arnold ; while the former was to harass the enemy in the rear, the latter was to make a stand at a convenient point in advance and obstruct their progress.

The brave Wooster, though sixty-eight years of age, led forward his men with great spirit. When they, unused to war, faltered in the face of the enemy's musketry and artillery, he rode to the front and cheered them. "Come on, my boys," cried he, "never mind such random shots." At that moment a musket-ball pierced his side, and he fell from his horse mortally wounded. His soldiers now retreated in confusion.

Arnold had made a stand at Ridgefield, two miles beyond the spot where Wooster fell, and while the enemy was delayed by this skirmishing, he had thrown up a barricade or breastwork. He acted with his usual daring,

out, after a spirited resistance, his little force was overpowered by numbers and driven back. As he was bringing off the rear-guard his horse was shot under him ; before he could disengage himself from the struggling animal, a Tory rushed up with a fixed bayonet, and cried out, " You are my prisoner." " Not yet," replied Arnold, as he coolly levelled his pistol and shot him dead. He then escaped, rallied his men, and renewed the attack.

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The determined resistance of the militia retarded the British so much, that they were forced to encamp for the night. The next day they were greeted with the same galling fire from behind trees, fences, and houses, which continued until they came within range of the guns of their ships. They speedily embarked, fain to escape the rifles of the exasperated yeomanry.

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27.

General Wooster was conveyed to Danbury, where he died surrounded by his family. His loss was greatly deplored by the patriots. A neat monument in the cemetery of that place now marks his grave.

When Congress learned of the gallant conduct of Arnold, they commissioned him a major-general, and presented him with a horse richly caparisoned. Yet even this tardy acknowledgment of his military merit was marred,—the date of his commission still left him below his proper rank. He seemed to feel this second slight more keenly than the first.

The Americans resolved to retaliate in kind, and Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, of Connecticut, with one hundred and seventy men, passed over the Sound to the east end of Long Island. They carried their boats, during the night, fifteen miles across the neck, launched them on the bay, passed over to Sag Harbor, and destroyed a great amount of provisions and forage, collected there for the British. In addition, they burned twelve vessels.

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CHAP. took ninety prisoners, and returned without losing a man,
XXII. having passed over ninety miles in twenty-five hours.

1777. Though strenuous efforts were made to obtain recruits, the smallness of the American army still continued ; want of funds crippled every measure. At the instance of Washington, Congress declared that those redemptioners or indented servants who enlisted in the army should, by that act, become freemen ; and bounties in land were offered the Hessians to induce them to desert.

Meanwhile General Schuyler labored with great zeal in the northern department. But his feelings were severely tried by the aspersions which his enemies cast upon his character, and conduct of affairs. In the autumn of 1776 he wrote : " I am so sincerely tired of abuse, that I will let my enemies arrive at the completion of their wishes as soon as I shall have been tried ; and attempt to serve my injured country in some other way, where envy and detraction will have no temptation to follow me." But Congress would not accept his resignation. During the winter he made repeated appeals to the Commander-in-chief for reinforcements and supplies, which, for want of means, could not be sent. There were but six or seven hundred men at Ticonderoga ; Carleton, he thought, might cross Lake Champlain on the ice and attack them ; if successful, he might follow out his original plan and push on to Albany. As the abuse of which Schuyler complained was continued, early in April he proceeded to Philadelphia, and demanded of Congress a committee to inquire into his conduct. Meantime General Gates had been ordered to take command at Ticonderoga.

Schuyler's patriotism was not an impulse, not a matter of mere words, nor did injustice rouse in his breast, as in that of Arnold, the dark spirit of revenge. However, the committee reported in his favor ; and, with his character and conduct fully vindicated, he returned to the charge of the Northern Department. The ambitious Gates was

deeply chagrined and disappointed ; he had flattered himself that Schuyler would never resume his command, and regarded himself as virtually his successor. Professing to be aggrieved, he hastened to Philadelphia to seek redress at the hands of Congress.

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The want of a national flag was greatly felt, especially in the marine service. Congress adopted the "Union Flag," with its thirteen stripes, but displaced the "Cross of St. George," and substituted for it thirteen stars ; to which one star has since been added for each additional State.

June.

CHAPTER XXXII.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The Struggle excites an Interest in England and France.—Baron De Kalb.—Privateers fitted out in France.—Negotiations for Munitions of War.—Howe's Manœuvres.—Burgoyne on his Way from Canada.—Ticonderoga Captured.—St. Clair's Retreat to Fort Edward.—Efforts to arrest the Progress of Burgoyne.—Capture of General Prescott.—The secret Expedition.—The British Fleet puts to sea.—The American Army at Germantown.—La Fayette.—Pulaski and Kosciusko.—Aid sent to Schuyler.—Howe lands at Elkton.—Battle of Brandywine.—Possession taken of Philadelphia.—Battle of Germantown.—Hessians repulsed at Fort Mercer.—Winter Quarters at Valley Forge.

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THE unfortunate result of the battle of Long Island ; the loss of New York and Fort Washington ; and the retreat across New Jersey, were all significant of the weakness of the patriot army. Intelligence of these disasters disheartened the friends of the cause in Europe. Edmund Burke, their firm friend, remarked that, although the Americans had accomplished wonders, yet the overpowering forces to be brought against them in the following campaign, must completely crush their hopes of Independence. Said he : " An army that is obliged, at all times, and in all situations, to decline an engagement, may delay their ruin, but can never defend their country."

The intelligent portion of the people of France were not indifferent spectators of this struggle ; it was watched with intense interest by her merchants, her manufacturers,

her statesmen. From the day on which Canada was wrested from her, France had ardently hoped that her proud rival might in turn lose her own American colonies. Ten years before the commencement of hostilities, Choiseul, the enlightened statesman and prime minister of Louis XV., sent an agent through the colonies, to ascertain the feelings of the people. That agent was Baron De Kalb, the same who afterward so nobly served the cause in the American army. He was indefatigable in "collecting pamphlets, newspapers, and sermons," which he sent to his employer. Choiseul gathered from them the proofs that the British king and ministry, by their blindness and injustice, were fast alienating the good will of their colonists; and he hoped by offering them, without restriction, the commerce of France, to alienate them more and more. Thus the minds of the French people and government were prepared to afford aid, but not under the present aspect of affairs.

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Early in the spring, intelligence reached Europe, that the American army, which was supposed to be broken beyond recovery, had suddenly rallied, boldly attacked, and driven the invaders out of New Jersey. It was scarcely thought possible. How could a handful of ill-disciplined, ill-armed yeomanry, so destitute of clothes that some of them froze to death while on duty, and others stained the snow with the blood that flowed from their naked feet, meet and defeat a regular army? Surely, men who would thus cheerfully suffer, deserved independence! A thrill of enthusiasm was excited in their favor. They were regarded as a nation of heroes, and Washington, because of his prudence and skill, was extolled as the American Fabius.

With the connivance of the government, American privateers were secretly fitted out, and even permitted to sell their prizes in French ports, in spite of the protests

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of the British ambassador. The government itself secretly sent arms and military stores for the American army.

1777. This was done by means of a fictitious trading-house, known as "Hortales and Company." These supplies were to be paid for in tobacco, sent by the way of the West Indies. Soon after the battle of Lexington, secret negotiations on the subject had been entered upon in London by Beaumarchais, an agent of the French court, and Arthur Lee, who for some years had resided in that city as a barrister. The latter was a brother of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, for which colony he had acted as agent in England. The Secret Committee of Congress, in the mean time, sent Silas Deane to Paris, as an agent to obtain supplies. Though Deane appeared in that city simply as a merchant, he became an object of suspicion, and was closely watched by British spies. Beaumarchais now made arrangements with him to send three ships laden with military stores to the United States. Unfortunately two of these ships were captured by British cruisers; the third, however, arrived opportunely to furnish some of the regiments recently enlisted at Morristown.

April.

Three months after the Declaration of Independence, Doctor Franklin was sent to join Deane in France, and thither, Lee was also directed to repair. To these commissioners Congress delegated authority to make a treaty of alliance with the French court. They were admitted to private interviews by Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and encouraged, but the government was not yet prepared to make an open declaration of its true sentiments.

The British ministry, by means of spies, obtained information of some of these proceedings. They immediately issued letters of marque and reprisal against the Americans, while Parliament cheerfully voted supplies and men to prosecute the war.

Feb.

As the spring advanced, the enemy's movements were watched with anxious interest. That he might observe them to better advantage, Washington, on the twenty-eighth of May, removed his camp to the heights of Middlebrook, a strong and central position. Early in June, Sir William Howe, who had received large reinforcements, and supplies of tents and camp equipage, established his head-quarters at Brunswick, about ten miles distant. He commenced a series of manœuvres, and made a feint movement toward Philadelphia, in the hope of drawing Washington from the heights into the open plain, where British discipline might prevail; the latter was too cautious to be thus entrapped, and Howe, foiled in his attempt, retraced his steps to Brunswick. Presently he evacuated that place, and hastened with all speed toward Amboy. Washington sent an advance party in pursuit, but suspecting this move was also a feint, he followed slowly with the main body. The suspicion was just; Howe suddenly wheeled, and by a rapid movement endeavored to turn the Americans' left, in order to gain the passes and heights in their rear, but Washington saw his object in time to gain his stronghold. Unable to bring on an engagement, Howe in a few days withdrew his forces to Staten Island.

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May.

June
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Just before this time, important news had been received from the North. Burgoyne, who had succeeded Sir Guy Carleton, was about to advance by way of Lake Champlain, while a detachment under General St. Leger and Sir John Johnson, was to make its way by Oswego to the Mohawk river. On the very day that the British left New Jersey, further intelligence came from St. Clair that the enemy's fleet was actually approaching Ticonderoga, where he was in command.

The force under Burgoyne was not precisely known; it was, however, thought to be small, but in truth he had a finely equipped army of nearly ten thousand men, four-

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fifths of whom were regulars, British and Hessian ; the remainder Canadians and Indians. It was furnished with one of the finest parks of field-artillery, under the command of General Phillips, who had acquired his great reputation as an artillery officer in the wars of Germany. He was also ably supported by the second in command, General Fraser, an officer of great merit, and who was characterized as the soul of the army. The Hessians were under Baron Reidesel.

June. Near Crown Point, Burgoyne met the chiefs of the Six Nations in council, and induced four hundred of their warriors to join him. A few days later he issued a bombastic proclamation, in which he threatened to punish the patriots who would not immediately submit, and to let loose upon them the Indians.

St. Clair, who had but three thousand men, wrote to General Schuyler at Albany, that he could not defend Ticonderoga unless he had reinforcements, ending his letter by saying : " Every thing will be done that is practicable to frustrate the enemy's designs ; but what can be expected from troops ill-armed, naked, and unaccoutred ? " Still unaware of the force of the enemy, he trusted in his position, and that he could hold out for some time.

There was an abrupt hill on the edge of the narrow channel which connects Lakes Champlain and George. This hill commanded Fort Ticonderoga, and also Fort Independence, on the east side of Champlain. It was thought by St. Clair, and others, to be absolutely inaccessible for artillery. But the " wily Phillips," acting on the principle that " where a goat can go, a man may go ; and where a man can go, artillery may be drawn up," suddenly appeared on this hill-top. For three days he had been at work taking his cannon up the height, and in twenty-four hours he would be ready to " rain iron hail " on both the forts, from his Fort Defiance.

The Americans must now evacuate the forts, or be

made prisoners. St. Clair chose the former. He could only escape in the night, and his preparations must be made in the face of the enemy. The two hundred bateaux were to be laden with stores, the women, the sick and wounded, and sent up South River. St. Clair, with the main body, was to pass to Fort Independence, and with its garrison march through the woods to Skeenesborough, now Whitehall. With the greatest secrecy and speed, the arrangements were made ; the boats, concealed by the deep shadows of the mountains, were under way ; the main body had passed over the drawbridge to Independence, and was on its march, and the rear division was just leaving Ticonderoga, when suddenly, about four o'clock in the morning, the whole heavens were lighted up ; a house on mount Independence was on fire, and its light revealed the Americans in full retreat. Alarm guns and beating of drums aroused the British. General Fraser was soon in motion with his division, the abandoned forts were taken possession of, and by daylight measures concerted to pursue the fugitives both by land and water. Fraser was to pursue St. Clair with his division, and General Reidesel to follow with his Hessians, while Burgoyne himself sailed in his ships to overtake the American flotilla. On the afternoon of the next day, the flotilla reached Whitehall ; but scarcely were they landed, when the roaring of artillery told that the British gunboats had overtaken the rear-guard of galleys. Presently, fugitives from these brought intelligence that the British frigates had landed Indians, who were coming to cut off their retreat. Every thing was abandoned, and set on fire ; all took to flight toward Fort Anne, at which place, after a most harassing night-march, they arrived. The enemy appeared the same day, but were held in check by sharp skirmishing. The Americans thought this the vanguard of Burgoyne's army, and they set Fort Anne on fire, and retreated

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1777. General St. Clair continued his retreat, and at night arrived at Castleton ; his rear-guard, contrary to his express orders, stopped six miles short of that place. The next morning, the guard was startled by an attack from Fraser's division, which had marched nearly all night. At the first onset a regiment of militia fled, but the regiments of Warner and Francis made a spirited resistance ; yet they were compelled to yield to superior numbers, and make the best retreat they could. St. Clair, in the mean time, pushed on through the woods ; after seven days, he appeared at Fort Edward, with his soldiers wearied and haggard from toil and exposure.

Schuyler sent at once a strong force to put obstructions in Wood Creek ; to fell trees and break down the bridges on the road from Fort Anne to Fort Edward. This being the only road across that rough and thickly wooded country, it took Burgoyne three weeks to remove these obstructions and arrive at Fort Edward. The British hailed with shouts of exultation the Hudson ; the object of their toil. It would be easy, they thought, to force their way to Albany, in which place Burgoyne boasted he would eat his Christmas dinner.

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Schuyler now retreated to Saratoga. In these reverses the loss of military stores, artillery, and ammunition was immense, and the intelligence spread consternation through the country. The American army under Schuyler consisted of only about five thousand men, the majority of whom were militia ; many were without arms, while there was a deficiency of ammunition and provisions.

Just at this time, a daring and successful adventure mortified the enemy, and afforded no little triumph to American enterprise. The commanding officer at Newport, General Prescott, famous for the arbitrary and con

temptuous manner in which he treated the "rebels," offered a reward for the capture of Arnold, who replied to the insult by offering half the sum for the capture of Prescott. It was ascertained, by means of spies, that the latter was lodging at a certain house in the outskirts of the town. On a dark night a company of select men, with Colonel Barton at their head, crossed Narraganset Bay, in whale-boats, threading their way through the British fleet. They secured the sentinel at the door, burst into the house, and seized Prescott, who was in bed. The astonished General only asked if he might put on his clothes. "Very few and very quick," replied Barton. He returned with his prisoner across the bay without being discovered. This was a counterpart to the capture of Lee, for whom Prescott was afterward exchanged.

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The uncertainty as to the designs of the enemy was perplexing. Washington learned from spies in New York that Howe was preparing for an expedition by water, but its destination was a profound secret. Burgoyne was evidently pressing on toward the South, to obtain possession of the Hudson. Did Howe intend to move up that river to co-operate with him, and thus cut off the communication between New England and the other States; to make an attack on Boston, and thus employ the militia of those States at home, and prevent their joining Schuyler, or to endeavor to reach Philadelphia by water? were questions difficult to answer. In the midst of these speculations as to its destination, the British fleet, on board of which were about eighteen thousand men, under the command of Howe, passed out through the Narrows, and bore away. Intelligence came in the course of ten days that it was seen off Cape May, and Washington moved the army across the Delaware to Germantown, a few miles from Philadelphia.

July
30.

Presently it was ascertained that the fleet had sailed to the eastward. Was it to return to New York, or had

CHAP. it sailed for Boston ? Till the designs of the enemy were
 XXXII. more definitely known, the army was held in readiness to
 1777. march at a moment's notice.

While waiting for time to unravel these mysterious movements of Sir William, Washington visited Philadelphia to consult with Congress, and to give directions for the further construction of fortifications on the Delaware, to prevent the enemy from ascending to the city. Some months before, Arnold, after refusing the command in the Highlands, offered him by Washington to soothe his wounded feelings, had accepted that in Philadelphia, and with the aid of General Mifflin, had already partially constructed defences.

The Duke of Gloucester, the brother of the king of England, at a dinner given him by French officers in the town of Mentz, had told the story, and the cause of the rebellion then going on in America. A youth of nineteen belonging to one of the noble families of France was a listener. For the first time, he heard of the Declaration of Independence, and the full particulars of the struggle for liberty then in progress in the colonies beyond the Atlantic. His generous sympathies were enlisted ; he could appreciate the nobleness of their cause, and his soul was fired with the desire to fly to their aid. Though happily married, and blest with wealth, high social position, and domestic joys, he was willing to leave them all, and risk his life in the cause of freedom. This young man was the Marquis De Lafayette.

Though the French government was not prepared to take a decided stand, while the issue seemed doubtful, yet this consideration, instead of checking, inflamed his ardor. " Now I see a chance for usefulness, which I had not anticipated. I have money ; I will purchase a ship, which will convey to America myself, my companions, and the freight for Congress." Such were his words ; and he se-

cretly purchased a vessel, which Deane loaded with military stores, and accompanied by eleven officers, among whom was the Baron De Kalb, he sailed directly for the United States. He landed on the coast of South Carolina, and proceeded at once to Philadelphia, to have an interview with Congress. The number of foreign officers who were applicants for employment in the army was so great, that Congress found difficulty in disposing of them. Deane had been authorized to engage a few competent officers, but he seems to have accepted all who applied ; and many came as adventurers, and “ even some who brought high recommendations, were remarkable for nothing but extravagant self-conceit, and boundless demands for rank, command, and pay.”¹

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But the earnest disinterestedness of Lafayette captivated all hearts. Though he offered to serve as a volunteer without pay, Congress commissioned him a major-general, but without any special command. A few days after this Washington and Lafayette met—names to be ever linked in the annals of freedom. Congress also accepted the services of Count Pulaski, already famous for his patriotic defence of his native Poland. His fellow-countryman, Thaddeus Kosciuszko—a youth of twenty-one—afterward equally celebrated in fighting, though unsuccessfully, for the liberties of the same Poland, was already with General Schuyler, acting in the capacity of engineer.

Aug
8

It was now ascertained that Sir Henry Clinton, whom Howe had left in command in New York, had a force sufficient, not merely to penetrate up the Hudson and co-operate with Burgoyne, but to send detachments and create a diversion in favor of Howe in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

Just at this time came urgent appeals from Schuyler,

¹ Hildreth, vol. iii. p. 194.

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and Washington detached to his aid two brigades from the Highlands, and soon after Colonel Morgan with his riflemen, to counteract the Indians, of whom the militia had a great dread. He had already sent Arnold, who would be of special service in that region—the scene of some of his brilliant exploits. Now he directed General Lincoln, who was in Massachusetts, to repair thither with a portion of the militia of that State, and sent an express to Putnam to hold himself in readiness to repel any attack from Clinton, and prevent his forming a junction with Burgoyne. We will now leave the affairs in the North till we have disposed of those connected with Howe's expedition.

In the midst of uncertainty, Washington was about to issue orders for the army at Germantown to move toward New York, when an express brought him the intelligence that the British fleet had passed into the Chesapeake. The mystery was easily explained. Howe had learned of the obstructions in the Delaware, and he now designed to land his troops at the head of the Chesapeake, and march thence to Philadelphia, while the fleet should return, and in concert with the land forces, reduce the forts on the Delaware. After being delayed some weeks by adverse winds, his army was now landed at Elkton, about sixty miles from Philadelphia. His first demonstration was to issue another of his famous proclamations ; again he offered pardon to those rebels who would submit, and promised protection to those persons who would remain peaceably at home.

Aug.
25.

The main body of the American army was still at Germantown, where the militia, that had been called out, had assembled. Washington was sadly deficient in men and means to meet the British in open conflict ; and there were no hills in the region, which he could occupy. He had only eleven thousand effective men ; there was none of that enthusiasm which was then bringing the militia in

thousands to repel Burgoyne. The Quakers of Delaware and Pennsylvania were at best but lukewarm in the cause, while the Germans wished to be neutral, and to avoid the expense.

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Washington concentrated his army in the vicinity of Wilmington, but after examining the country resolved to fall back beyond the Brandywine creek, which was everywhere fordable. The main road to Philadelphia crossed the creek at Chadd's Ford. This, it was thought, would be the main point of attack. A hill overlooking the ford had been intrenched, and there Wayne was stationed with the artillery. The right wing was commanded by Sullivan, who had just arrived with three thousand men from Jersey; his division extended two miles up the creek. The left wing, under General Armstrong—the same who destroyed the Indian town of Kittaning—extended a mile below; while General Greene, with the reserve, was stationed in the rear of the centre on the hills.

In the morning, the enemy, in heavy column, was descried moving toward Chadd's Ford. This division could be only partially seen, because of intervening woods, but it appeared to be the main body of the enemy. Skirmishing soon commenced between the riflemen and the enemy, who made several attempts to cross the ford, but were as often repulsed.

Sept
11.

Near mid-day a note from Sullivan stated he had heard that Howe, with a large body of troops, was passing up another road, with the intention of reaching the upper fords of the creek, and then turning the right flank of the Americans. Washington sent a company to reconnoitre. In the mean time, he determined to throw his entire force on the enemy immediately in his front, and rout them before they could obtain assistance from the division marching the other road; his orders were given for both wings to co-operate. This would have been a skilful move, and,

CHAP. in all probability, have secured the defeat of Knyphausen
XXXII. who, with his Hessians, was in front.

1777. At the moment Sullivan was complying with the order, unfortunately Major Spicer came from the upper fords, and reported that there was no enemy in that quarter. This information was transmitted to the Commander-in-chief, who, in consequence, countermanded the former order, till he could receive further information. After waiting some time, a patriot of the neighborhood, with his horse in a foam, dashed into the presence of Washington, and declared that Howe was really passing the fords, and rapidly gaining the rear of the American army. Washington replied, that he had just heard there was no enemy in that quarter. "You are mistaken, general," exclaimed the excited countryman; "my life for it, you are mistaken." And tracing the course of the roads in the sand, he showed him the position. All doubts were removed in a few minutes, by the return of the party sent to reconnoitre with intelligence that a large body of the enemy was fast gaining their rear.

Lord Cornwallis, led by Tory guides, had marched a circuit of seventeen miles, and Knyphausen was merely waiting at Chadd's Ford for that circuit to be accomplished.

Sullivan was ordered to oppose Cornwallis, and Greene, with the reserve, to give aid where it might be needed. Sullivan made a vigorous resistance, but was forced to fall back to a piece of woods, in which the British became entangled. The Americans rallied on a hill, and there made a still firmer resistance, but were at length compelled to fall back. Greene was now ordered to move to their support, which he did with such rapidity, that his men marched, or rather ran, five miles in less than an hour. Such was the skilful disposition of his soldiers, that they not only checked the enemy, but opened their ranks and let the retreating Americans pass through. This

brave conduct of the reserve saved Wayne's division from a complete rout. He had stubbornly withstood the Hessians at the Ford, but when he saw the forces under Sullivan retreating, unable to cope with half the British army, he gradually, and in order, fell back. The Hessians were not disposed to press upon their determined foe. Thus ended the battle of Brandywine. The Americans were driven from the field, but the soldiers were not aware that they had suffered a defeat ; they thought they had received only a check. Though some of the militia gave way at once, the great majority fought bravely, met the enemy in deadly conflict with the bayonet, and forced them back ; but, at last, numbers prevailed.

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Lafayette behaved with great bravery and prudence ; he had leaped from his horse to rally the troops, when he was severely wounded in the leg. Count Pulaski also distinguished himself greatly—riding up within pistol-shot of the enemy to reconnoitre. Congress promoted him to the rank of brigadier-general, and gave him the command of the horse.

Sir William Howe loved repose, and he did not press his advantage, but remained two days encamped near the field of battle.

During this time, the Americans retreated, first to Chester, and on the twelfth safely crossed the Schuylkill, and thence proceeded to Germantown ; there Washington let them repose a day or two. They were in good spirits, he prepared to meet the enemy again, and with this intention crossed the river. About twenty-five miles from Philadelphia the two armies met, but a furious storm prevented a conflict. The rain so much injured the arms and ammunition that Washington deemed it prudent once more to recross the river, and retire to Pott's Grove, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. General Wayne was detached, in the meanwhile, with fifteen hundred men, to secretly gain the rear of the British army, and cut off their

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baggage ; but a Tory carried information of the enterprise, and Wayne himself was surprised, and after the loss of three hundred men forced to retreat.

When it seemed certain that the city must fall into the hands of the British, the military stores were removed, and a contribution levied upon the inhabitants for blankets, clothes, shoes, and other necessaries for the army during the approaching winter.

It was a time of great danger, and Congress again clothed Washington with absolute power, first for sixty days, and soon after for double that period. This done, that body adjourned, first to Lancaster, and then in a few days to York, beyond the Susquehanna.

Sept.
22.

Howe, by a night march, was enabled to pass the Schuylkill ; he then pushed on a detachment which took possession of Philadelphia, while the main body of his army halted at Germantown.

Though the city was in the hands of the enemy, the Americans still held possession of the forts on the lower Delaware.

With much exertion, Admiral Howe had brought the fleet round from the Chesapeake, and anchored it below the forts. Fort Mifflin was situated on a low mud island, at the confluence of the Schuylkill and the Delaware. Directly opposite, at Red Bank, on the Jersey shore, was Fort Mercer. These were furnished with heavy cannon. Heavy timbers framed together, with beams projecting, and armed with iron spikes, were sunk in the river by means of weights ; in addition to these obstructions, were floating batteries above.

Washington having learned, from intercepted letters, that a detachment had left Germantown to aid the fleet in an attack on these forts, resolved to surprise the remainder. After a night's march of fourteen miles, he entered Germantown at sunrise. A dense fog concealed

the outskirts of the town, and he was unable to learn the precise position of the enemy, or that of his own troops. The British, taken by surprise and thrown into confusion, gave way on all sides. The Americans, instead of pursuing their advantage, lingered to attack a strong stone house, in which a few of the enemy had taken refuge, when an unaccountable panic seized them: the complete victory within their grasp was lost. The enemy now rallied and attacked in their turn; but the Americans retreated without loss, and carried off all their cannon and their wounded.

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Washington, in writing to Congress, says: "Every account confirms the opinion I at first entertained, that our troops retreated at the instant when victory was declaring herself in our favor." And such is the testimony of many officers in their letters to their friends.

The effect of the bold attack upon Germantown was soon perceptible, in the spirit of the Americans. One writes: "Though we gave away a complete victory, we have learnt this valuable truth, that we are able to beat them by vigorous exertions, and that we are far superior in point of swiftness; we are in high spirits." Again we find expressions of confidence of a different character. An officer writes: "For my own part, I am so fully convinced of the justice of the cause in which we are contending, and that Providence, in its own good time, will succeed and bless it, that were I to see twelve of the United States overrun by our cruel invaders, I should still believe the thirteenth would not only save itself, but also work out the deliverance of the others."

Howe immediately withdrew his troops from Germantown. He must either obtain possession of the forts, that his fleet might come up, or evacuate the city for want of provisions. The Americans, on the other hand, resolved to defend the forts to the last extremity. Howe sent Count Donop, with twelve hundred picked men, grena-

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diers, to make an assault on Fort Mercer, while the men-of-war should open on Fort Mifflin and the floating batteries. The outworks of Fort Mercer were not fully completed, when Count Donop suddenly appeared. Colonel Christopher Greene ordered the men—four hundred Rhode Island Continentals—to keep out of sight as much as possible. To deceive the enemy, he made a short stand at the outer works, and then retreated rapidly to the inner redoubt. The enemy advanced in two columns; the Americans received them with a brisk fire, and then retreated in haste. The Hessians thought the day their own, and with shouts of triumph rushed to storm the inner redoubt. They were met by an overwhelming discharge of grape-shot and musketry, and completely repulsed, with the loss of four hundred men; the Americans lost but eight slain and twenty-nine wounded. After the battle, as an American officer was passing among the slain, a voice called out: "Whoever you are, draw me hence." It was Count Donop. A few days afterward, when he felt his end approaching, he lamented his condition. "I die," said he, "the victim of my ambition, and of the avarice of my sovereign."

Fort Mifflin was commanded by Colonel Samuel Smith, of Maryland. In their attack upon it, the British lost two men-of-war—one of which was blown up, the other burned.

Meantime the enemy received reinforcements from New York, and were able to take possession of another island, on which they erected batteries, and opened an incessant fire upon Fort Mifflin. After a most undaunted defence, both forts were abandoned, and the enemy left to remove the obstructions in the river at their leisure.

Nov
16.

On the twenty-ninth, Washington retired to White Marsh, fourteen miles from Philadelphia. Before going into winter-quarters, Howe thought to surprise his camp. A Quaker lady, Mrs. Darrah, overheard some British

officers speaking of the intended expedition ; she immediately gave Washington information of what was going on. Preparations were made to give the British a warm reception. A company was sent to harass them on their night-march. Finding themselves discovered, they hesitated to press on. The next day, Howe labored to draw Washington into the plain, where British discipline might be successful. When he saw the effort was useless, he retired to Philadelphia.

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Congress now summoned the militia to repair to the main army. A few days after Howe's withdrawal from Germantown, Washington also retired to winter-quarters at Valley Forge, a rugged hollow on the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. He could thus protect the Congress at York, as well as his stores at Reading.

We now turn to relate events—most important in their influence—which, during the last few months, had transpired in the North.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The Invasion from Canada.—Appointment of General Gates.—Burgoyne's Advance.—Jenny McCrea.—St. Leger besieges Fort Stanwix.—The Attempt to relieve it.—St. Leger retreats.—Battle of Bennington.—Change of Prospects.—Battle of Behm's Heights.—Ticonderoga besieged.—Burgoyne surrenders his Army at Saratoga.—The Prisoners.—Capture of Forts on the Hudson.—Schuyler.

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THE unlooked for loss of Ticonderoga, with the disasters that so rapidly followed, startled the people of the northern States more than any event of the war. So little did Congress appreciate the difficulties under which Schuyler and his officers labored, that they attributed these misfortunes to their incapacity. John Adams, then President of the Board of War, gave expression to this feeling when he wrote: "We shall never be able to defend a post till we shoot a general." In the excitement of the moment, Congress ordered all the northern generals to be recalled, and an inquiry instituted into their conduct. The northern army would thus be without officers; but, on a representation to this effect, Washington obtained a suspension of the injudicious order. Clamors against Schuyler were renewed with greater violence than ever. In truth, many members of Congress were influenced by an unreasonable prejudice, which had been excited in New England against him. When Washington, whose confidence in Schuyler was unshaken, declined to make any

change in the Northern Department, "Congress made the nomination ; the Eastern influence prevailed, and Gates received the appointment, so long the object of his aspirations, if not intrigues."¹

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The correspondence between Washington and Schuyler makes known the plan upon which they agreed to repel the invaders. This was to keep bodies of men on their flank and rear, intercept their supplies, and cut off the detachments sent from the main army. We shall see how completely this plan succeeded.

Confident of subduing the "rebels," Burgoyne, on his arrival at Fort Edward, issued a second proclamation, in which he called upon the people to appoint deputies to meet in convention at Castleton, and take measures to re-establish the royal authority. To counteract this, Schuyler issued a proclamation, threatening to punish those as traitors who in this manner should aid the enemy. Burgoyne's proclamation had no effect ; the hardy yeomanry were too patriotic. The whole northern portion of the country was deeply moved, and the militia rallied to arms.

The Indians of Burgoyne's army prowled about the country, murdering and scalping. A beautiful girl, Jenny McCrea, the daughter of a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, of New Jersey, who died before the war, was visiting a friend in the vicinity of Fort Edward. Her family were Whigs ; she was, however, betrothed to a young man, David Jones, a Tory, who had gone to Canada some time before, and was now a lieutenant in Burgoyne's army. When Fort Edward was about to be abandoned, her brother urged her to leave with the families of the neighborhood, who were going out of danger to Albany. She lingered ; she hoped, perhaps, to see her lover, but as

¹ Washington Irving.

CHAP. danger drew nearer she prepared to comply with her
XXXIII. brother's request.

1777. At the moment of leaving, a band of Indians, sent by Burgoyne to harass the Americans, burst into the house, and carried her off a captive. Anxious for her safety, she promised her captors a reward, if they would take her to the British camp. On the way, the Indians quarrelled as to who should have the promised reward, and one of them in a rage killed the poor girl, and carried off her scalp. This murder sent a thrill of horror throughout the land. The people remembered the murders of former days, when the Indians were urged on by French influence ; and now they asked, Must those scenes be re-enacted by the savage hirelings of England, our mother country ? And they flocked in thousands to repel such an enemy. Thus "the blood of this unfortunate girl was not shed in vain. Armies sprang up from it. Her name passed as a note of alarm along the banks of the Hudson ; it was a rallying-word among the green mountains of Vermont, and brought down all her hardy yeomanry." 1

Ang. St. Leger had passed up the Oswego, and was besieging Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler. This fort was on the
8. Mohawk, at the carrying-place to Lake Oneida. With St. Leger was Sir John Johnson, with his Royal Greens, and his savage retainers, the Mohawks, under the celebrated chief, Brant. This Brant had been a pupil in Wheelock's school—since Dartmouth College—established for the education of Indians and others. The fort was held by two New York regiments, under Colonels Gansevoort and Willet. General Herkimer raised the militia of the neighborhood, and went to relieve the fort. But owing to the impatience of his men, he fell into an ambuscade of Tories and Indians. Johnson's Greens were Tories from this vicinity, and neighbor met neighbor in deadly

Washington Irving.

conflict. It was one of the most desperate encounters of the war ; quarter was neither given nor asked. There were instances, when all was over, where the death-grasp still held the knife plunged into a neighbor's heart. It seems as if the fight had been presided over by demons. The brave old Herkimer was mortally wounded, but leaning against a tree, he continued to encourage his men, till a successful sortie from the fort compelled the enemy to defend their own camp. The Americans retreated, taking with them their worthy commander, who died a few days after.

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The fort was still in a precarious condition, and must be relieved. When intelligence of this came to the army, Arnold volunteered to march to its aid. To frighten the Indians he employed stratagem. He sent in advance the most exaggerated stories of the number of his men, and proclaimed that Burgoyne had been totally defeated. As anticipated, the Indians deserted in great numbers. The panic became so great, that two days before Arnold arrived at the fort, St. Leger had retreated, leaving his tents standing.

Aug
22.

General Schuyler now moved from Saratoga down to the mouth of the Mohawk, and there intrenched himself. The British had the full command of Lake George ; but, with all their exertions, they were nearly out of provisions. The distance from the upper end of that lake to the Hudson was only eighteen miles, but so effectively had the draft-cattle and horses been removed, that it seemed almost impossible to transport their baggage.

To obtain horses for a company of dismounted German dragoons, and seize stores collected at Bennington, Vermont, Burgoyne sent a detachment of Indians and Tories, and five hundred Germans, under Lieutenant-colonel Baum. He had been told that the grain and provisions deposited in that place were but poorly guarded. He was

CHAP. also made to believe that five to one of the people were
XXXIII. royalists.

1777. It was soon noised abroad that the enemy were on the way, and the Green Mountain Boys began to assemble. Colonel Stark having been slighted, as he thought, at the recent appointment of officers by Congress, had withdrawn from the Continental army. He was invited to take command of the assembling yeomanry ; he accepted the invitation with joy. Expresses were sent in every direction to warn the people to drive off their cattle and horses, and conceal their grain and wagons, and also to Manchester, for Seth Warner to hasten to Bennington with his regiment.

Aug. When Baum—who moved very slowly, his men stop-
 14. ping in the woods every few minutes to dress their lines—was within six miles of Bennington, he heard of Stark's approach ; he halted, began to intrench, and sent to Burgoyne for reinforcements. Colonel Breyman was sent to his aid, with five hundred Hessians and two field-pieces. A severe storm prevented Stark from making an attack, and also retarded the march of Breyman and Warner. During the night the Berkshire militia joined Stark. An incident may show the spirit of the times : “ Among these militia was a belligerent parson, full of fight, Allen by name, possibly of the bellicose family of the hero of Ticonderoga.”¹ “ General,” cried he, “ the people of Berkshire have been often called out to no purpose ; if you don't give them a chance to fight now they will never turn out again.” “ You would not turn out now, while it is dark and raining, would you ? ” demanded Stark. “ Not just now,” was the reply. “ Well, if the Lord should once more give us sunshine, and I don't give you fighting enough,” rejoined the veteran, “ I'll never ask you to turn out again ’

¹ Irving.

The next morning the sun did shine, and Stark drew out his forces. When he came in sight of the enemy, turning to his men he exclaimed : " There are the red-coats ! We must beat to-day, or Molly Stark's a widow." The attack was made in both rear and front at the same time. The Indians and Tories generally fled to the woods. Baum defended his lines with great determination, and his field-pieces were well manned, but after two hours' fighting, the works were stormed. The Americans had no artillery, but they rushed up within a few yards of the enemy's cannon, the better to take aim at the gunners. At length Baum fell mortally wounded, and his men surrendered.

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Scarcely was the battle ended, when Breyman appeared on the one side, and Warner, who had marched all night in the rain, on the other. The fighting was renewed, and continued till night. Favored by the darkness, Breyman left his artillery and made the best of his way back to Burgoyne. About two hundred of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken prisoners. A thousand stand of arms and four pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the Americans, who had but fourteen killed and forty wounded.

What a change a few weeks had produced in the prospects of the two main armies ! To the American, the militia were flocking, the brigades from the Highlands had arrived, and Morgan with that terror of the Indians, his riflemen, five hundred strong. Disasters, in the mean while, crowded upon Burgoyne. The side enterprises of St. Leger and Baum had failed ; the New Hampshire and Massachusetts troops were pressing on toward Ticonderoga to cut off his supplies and intercourse with Canada. The Indians, in great numbers, were deserting. They had taken umbrage because their atrocities were to be hereafter restrained. Burgoyne was a gentleman, humane and cultivated ; he abhorred these outrages, and, to his honor be it said, preferred that the savages should leave his army,

CHAP. rather than they should remain and be unrestrained. The
XXXIII. disgrace of employing them belongs to his government at
 1777. home, not to him.

Sept. It was at this juncture that Gates arrived to take command. He found the army in high spirits, nearly six thousand in number, and increasing every day. Schuyler met him with his usual highminded courtesy, explained fully the condition of the two armies, and offered him all the assistance he could give, by his counsel or otherwise. So little could Gates appreciate such generous impulses, that, a few days after, when he called his first council of war, he omitted to invite Schuyler.

Leaving the islands at the mouth of the Mohawk, Gates moved up the river and took position on Behm's Heights—a ridge of hills extending close to the river-bank and lying nearly east of Saratoga. There he intrenched his army by strong batteries on the right and left.

Burgoyne had thrown a bridge of boats over the Hudson, and led over the English portion of his army to Saratoga, while the Hessians remained on the eastern side. Both divisions moved slowly down the river. There were deep ravines and woods between the two armies, and knolls covered with dense forests; also, in one place, a cleared field. On the nineteenth it was announced that the enemy were in motion toward the American left. Here Arnold commanded, while Gates took charge of the right. It was the intention of the British to draw the Americans in that direction, and then to make an assault on their centre, when thus weakened, and cut their way through to Albany. Gates designed to wait the attack in his camp, but Arnold wished to hold the enemy in check, and not permit them to turn the American left. After much solicitation, he obtained permission from Gates to send Morgan with his riflemen to check the enemy. The riflemen soon met, and put to flight the advance-guard, but pursuing them with too much ardor they came upon a

strong column, and were themselves forced to fall back in confusion. Arnold now came to their aid with other regiments, and soon he was contending almost hand to hand with the entire British right wing. He sent repeatedly to Gates for reinforcements, which the latter refused to send, and excused himself on the ground that he would thus weaken his own wing ; and Arnold, with only three thousand men, was left for four hours to sustain the attack. The severest conflict was around, and in the open field. The Americans were posted on the one side in a dense wood, where cannon could not be used ; the British on the opposite side in a thin pine grove, where they could use their artillery. When the British would move into the field, the American riflemen would drive them back, and when the Americans became the pursuers, the British would sweep their ranks with their cannon. A dozen times this field was lost and won. The riflemen repeatedly took possession of the British artillery, but the roughness of the ground would not permit them to secure the guns ; and before they could turn them, they themselves were driven off at the point of the bayonet. Night ended the contest ; the Americans withdrew to their camp, and the British remained on the field of battle. The latter lost more than five hundred, while the Americans lost less than three hundred. They looked upon the result as a triumph ; they had accomplished all they intended, and the enemy had failed in their designs.

Two days before the battle of Behmus's Heights, a detachment of Lincoln's militia, under Colonel Brown, had seized the posts at the outlet of Lake George ; also a fleet of bateaux laden with provisions for Burgoyne's army, and three hundred prisoners. The same party united with another, and laid siege to Ticonderoga.

Burgoyne's intercourse with Canada was thus cut off ; his provisions were fast diminishing, and his horses were aying for want of forage. At this moment of darkness

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came a gleam of light—a note from Sir Henry Clinton—informing him that in a few days he would make an effort to ascend the Hudson. In hopes of maintaining his position until Clinton could relieve him, Burgoyne began to fortify his camp. For nearly three weeks the two armies watched each other. Almost every day advanced parties skirmished, but as Gates was deficient in ammunition, he hesitated to attack.

Meantime there was trouble in the American camp. The soldiers attributed the success of the late battle to generalship of Arnold. But for some reason, jealousy perhaps, Gates removed him from his command.

Oct
7.

Hearing nothing further from Clinton, Burgoyne resolved to risk a battle, and cut his way through the opposing force. He therefore sent a detachment of fifteen hundred picked men to take position within a mile of the American lines. A New Hampshire brigade attacked this division furiously, and Morgan, with his riflemen, managed to cut them off from their camp.

Arnold was in his tent, brooding over the treatment he had received, and had almost resolved to leave the army. Suddenly he heard the noise of battle; his ruling passion was instantly on fire. Mounting his horse, he rode with all speed to the scene of conflict. Gates, who saw him as he dashed away, exclaimed: "He will do some rash thing," and sent after him orders, by Major Wilkinson, to return; but in vain,—Arnold heard only the roar of battle. He rushed into the thickest of the fight, cheered on the men, who answered him with shouts of recognition. To those looking on, he seemed insane. By his exertions the British lines were broken again and again, but as often General Frazer would rally his men and renew the conflict. Presently Frazer fell mortally wounded by one of Morgan's riflemen. The whole line gave way, abandoned their cannon, and with the greatest effort regained their camp. In

spite of a shower of grape and musketry, the Americans rushed headlong to the assault. Arnold rode directly into a sally-port, where his horse was shot under him, and he himself was severely wounded—a ball had shattered his leg. His men now fell back. A regiment of Massachusetts men, more fortunate, forced their way through the German intrenchments, and maintained their position for the night, and secured a large amount of ammunition.

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The Americans slept on their arms, intending to renew the contest in the morning. But when morning came, Burgoyne's army, drawn up in order of battle, appeared on the heights in the rear. During the night, he had abandoned his sick and wounded, and skilfully led off his men. The next day he retreated to Saratoga, six miles distant. It was to cover this retreat that he ordered General Schuyler's mansion and extensive saw mills to be burned. That he might continue his retreat, he sent a party to repair the bridges toward Fort Edward, but they found the way occupied by the Americans, who had taken nearly all the boats laden with provisions for his army. All the passes by which he could extricate himself were in the hands of his enemy; cannon-balls and bullets fell almost every moment in his camp. He had only three days' provisions; his effective force was reduced to four thousand men, and they were dispirited, worn out with hunger and fatigue. Not a word had he heard from Clinton, while the American army, already twelve thousand strong, was increasing daily.

Burgoyne now called a council of war, which resolved to open negotiations with General Gates. Having heard that Clinton, a few days previous, had succeeded in taking two of the forts on the Hudson, and that he might possibly reach Albany, Gates was disposed to make liberal terms. The conditions of the surrender were: That the British army should march out with the honors of war; that the soldiers should be taken to Boston, and thence

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to England ; and they were not to serve against the United States until exchanged. The number of prisoners was about six thousand ; the arms, artillery, and military stores were immense. The German regiments saved their colors ; they took them off their staves, and concealed them among the baggage of the Baroness de Riedesel.¹ The British garrison of Ticonderoga evacuated that place and retired to Canada.

Congress refused to ratify the terms under which Burgoyne surrendered. His soldiers, if taken to England, would doubtless be placed in garrison, while those thus relieved would be sent to reinforce Clinton at New York. Only Burgoyne himself, with two attendants, was permitted to proceed to England, while the soldiers were retained as prisoners. The following year they were marched to Charlottesville, in Virginia, where they were quartered in log huts, and where the greater number of them remained till the close of the war.

Oct.
6.

As has been already stated, the garrisons in the Highlands were much weakened, by sending detachments both to the North and to the South. Sir Henry Clinton had received the long expected reinforcements from England, and he now proposed to force his way up the Hudson, in order to unite with Burgoyne. On the day before that general's last battle, Clinton attacked and captured the Forts Montgomery and Clinton. Though the New York militia turned out well, the forts could not be maintained. Governor George Clinton commanded. He sent to Putnam for aid, which he would have received had not the messenger turned traitor, and deserted to the enemy. Under the directions of Governor Tryon, Kingston, or Esopus, was burned. When these marauders heard that

¹This lady accompanied her husband, Baron de Riedesel, during this campaign. She has left a thrilling narrative of the trying scenes at Saratoga.

Burgoyne had surrendered, they retreated, setting fire to every house within reach. This was about the very time that Burgoyne and his army were receiving liberal terms of capitulation. CHAP.
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General Gates, in transmitting his report of the surrender, did not send it to the Commander-in-chief, as was his duty, and as courtesy required, but sent it directly to Congress. The soldiers in the army attributed the success of the battles at Saratoga to the skilful management of Arnold and Morgan. Gates did not even mention their names in his full dispatches to Congress.

Soon after, General Schuyler insisted that his management of the Northern Department, previous to the appointment of Gates, should be investigated.

A Court of Inquiry was instituted, and he was not only acquitted of the charge of mismanagement of any kind, but with the highest honor. Though strongly urged by Congress to remain in the army, he declined. He had too much self-respect to continue in a position where he could be made a victim of unfriendly prejudice, yet too patriotic to relinquish his country's cause. Soon after he took his seat as a member of Congress.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Sufferings at Valley Forge.—England disappointed; conciliatory measures of Parliament.—The War presses hard upon the American People.—Difficulties and Jealousies in Congress.—The “Conway Cabal.”—Baron Steuben.—Attempt to increase the Army.—Congress in Want of Funds.—Exchange of Lee; his Treason.—Treaty with France.—Encouragements.—British Commissioners.—Philadelphia evacuated.—Battle of Monmouth.—Misconduct of Lee.—The French Fleet.—Combined attack upon Newport fails.—Marauding Expeditions.—A British Fleet.—Massacre at Wyoming and Cherry Valley.—Invasion of Georgia.

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1778. THE surrender of Burgoyne revived the hopes of the Whigs, and sent dismay into the ranks of the Tories. The American soldiers suffered intensely in their rude huts at Valley Forge. For days at a time without meat, and again without bread; no medicines for the sick, nor comfortable lodgings. Many of the soldiers were so deficient in clothes that they could not lie down, lest they should freeze to death, but were forced to sit round their camp-fires.

These were the men, few of whose names have ever reached us, but who clung to their country's cause in this hour of suffering, and who, in the day of battle, poured out their life's blood. They were, for the most part, the intelligent yeomanry of the land; from the farm, from the workshop, from the merchant's store; supporters of their own families, or sustainers of orphan brothers and sisters. What a contrast with the common soldiers of the invading

army ! They were, in part, the enlisted rabble of the British Isles. In their bosoms there was not a throb of generous feeling, nor with them was it a question in what cause, or on what field they fought ; and yet in the same army were others, even more degraded, drawn from “ the shambles of petty German despots.”

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The king and ministry were sanguine their plans, so wisely laid, would be successfully carried out ; that at the end of the campaign the American army would be broken and scattered ; that they would have a line of posts extending from Lake Champlain to the Bay of New York. Instead of the realization of these hopes, intelligence came that Burgoyne had surrendered his entire army. The sensation produced in England was great indeed. Rumors stole into the country, that France, their ancient enemy, was about to aid the Americans ; that Holland was about to loan them money. England's pride was touched. Should she, who had made all Europe tremble, be baffled in her efforts to subdue her revolted colonists ? A new spirit was awakened ; many of the large commercial towns offered to raise regiments to supply the places of those surrendered at Saratoga, and present them to the king. Yet there were others, moved by compassion, and it may be by sympathy for the cause, who liberally subscribed money to relieve the wants of the American prisoners in England, whom the government had left to suffer for the necessities of life.

These sentiments had their effect on Parliament, and when it assembled, the friends of America renewed their assaults upon the policy of the king. They, from the first, had opposed the war as unjust, and had opposed the enlisting of Hessians ; but more especially did they denounce the inhuman policy of employing savages to murder and scalp their brethren beyond the Atlantic. There were other causes of complaint. The merchants clamored for

CHAP. redress ; the American trade was broken up ; debts could
XXXIV. not be collected ; especially were they aggrieved that
 1778. the slave-trade had been reduced four-fifths. American
 cruisers had already seized nearly six hundred of their
 vessels. These cruisers swarmed to such an extent, even
 in the British seas, that it became necessary to convoy by
 armed ships merchant vessels from one port of the king-
 dom to another. More than twenty thousand men had
 perished in the war ; more than a hundred millions of
 dollars had been expended ; their expectations had been
 greatly raised, but as yet nothing was gained.

Lord North was constrained to bring in two bills, by
 which the king hoped to reconcile his American subjects.
 On this occasion, the former declared in the House that
 he himself had always been opposed to taxing the colonies.
 The king, in truth, was the prime mover and sustainer of
 the measure. One of these bills exempted the Americans
 from taxation, the other appointed commissioners to nego-
 tiate with them, for the purpose of restoring the royal
 authority. Thus was yielded, but ungraciously, the whole
 ground of the contest.

The moment the French government heard of the
 passage of these bills, it proposed to acknowledge the In-
 dependence of the United States, and to make with them
 a treaty offensive and defensive. That the belligerents
 should fight and weaken each other, France was willing,
 but rather than they should become reconciled, she de-
 clared for the Americans.

Though the war had cost England much, it had cost
 the Americans more. In many portions of the country,
 their ruthless invaders had laid waste their cultivated
 fields ; in other portions they were unsown, because the
 husbandmen were in the army ; property was wasting
 away ; debts were accumulating, with no prospect of pay-
 ment. The Bills of Credit issued by Congress were almost

worthless. As with individuals, so with the State ; both were bankrupt. On the sea-board, foreign commerce, the coasting trade, and the fisheries, were carried on at such risks, as to be almost annihilated. Nine hundred vessels had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The loss of life had been great ; not so many had perished on the field of battle, but disease, the deficiency of necessary comforts in hospitals, the want of clothes and of wholesome food, had as effectively done the work of death. Multitudes died miserably, either in the jails and loathsome prison-ships of the enemy, or contracted diseases which clung to them through life. These calamities, instead of depressing the patriots, roused their indignant spirits to more determination. They would listen to no terms of reconciliation with England, short of absolute independence.

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Congress was embarrassed more and more. That noble spirit of conciliation and mutual forbearance, which distinguished the members of the Old Congress, was not so prominent. Many of the ablest members had retired to take part in the recently organized governments of their own States, or to attend to their private affairs, lest their families should come to want ; and some had been sent on foreign missions, and some were in the army.

There were other difficulties ; jealousies between northern and southern men still existed in the army, and jealousies between American officers and some of those of foreign birth. Congress, now numbering not more than twenty or thirty members, manifested an undue prejudice against the army, because the officers and soldiers earnestly urged that their wants should be supplied. Washington protested against this spirit, and showed the unreasonableness of such a prejudice. After remarking that in other countries the army was looked upon with suspicion in time of *peace*, he adds : " It is our policy to be prejudiced against them (the troops) in time of *war* ; though they

- CHAP.** are citizens, having all the ties and interests of citizens."
XXXIV. In violation of military usage, and contrary to his advice,
1778. Congress made several promotions in the army, which not only slighted but wronged some of its best and bravest officers.

While Washington labored at Valley Forge to keep the army together, and to prevent its disbanding from sheer necessity, a few were intriguing to remove him from the command. Some members of Congress, a few officers, and perhaps some others, joined in what was known as the "Conway Cabal," a name derived from the Irish adventurer, already mentioned, who, if not the prime mover in the plot, was a pliant tool of others. The whole truth on the subject can never be fully known, as each actor ever after desired to conceal the part he had taken in the affair. By means of anonymous letters, underhand appeals, designed to seduce the officers of the army, and other dishonorable measures, the attempt was made to defame Washington ; to draw invidious comparisons between his military successes and those of Gates ; and to destroy that confidence which the people and soldiers reposed in his integrity. They dared not attack him openly, but by these means they hoped to disgust him with his office, and induce him to resign ; and General Gates, their hero, would receive the appointment of Commander-in-chief. Thus the intrigue was carried on for months. General Mifflin and Gates himself were prominent in the scheme, but their efforts to win over Lafayette signally failed. Anonymous letters were sent to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, and to Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia ; but these high-minded men forwarded them at once to the Commander-in-chief. Washington himself, though he knew, to some extent, of the existence of these plots, never publicly noticed them, nor turned aside a moment from his great work. He was only anxious lest the

enemy should learn of these dissensions. But when it was proposed in Congress to appoint Conway inspector of the army, he remonstrated, and in writing to Richard Henry Lee, then a member, he says: "General Conway's merit as an officer, and his importance in this army, exist more in his own imagination than in reality." Yet Congress, under the influence of the Cabal, appointed Conway "Inspector of the Armies of the United States!" —with the rank of major-general.

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Ere long intelligence of these intrigues stole abroad. So great was the indignation which burst forth from the officers and soldiers, from the Legislatures of the States, and from the people themselves, that the Cabal cowered before it.

The effect of this abortive attempt to remove Washington from the chief command was only to strengthen his hold on the confidence of the nation. The invidious comparisons made between his successes and those of Gates, were unjust, but that some persons should be influenced by them is not strange. "The Washington of that day was not Washington as we know him, tried and proved by twenty years of the most disinterested and most successful public services." The capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga was due to his plan of defence, as concerted with Schuyler, and not to General Gates. In his effort to save Philadelphia, he was surrounded with almost insurmountable difficulties. His army, ill-equipped and imperfectly disciplined, was smaller than that of Howe's; the scene of operation was in a region filled with Tories, who gave every facility to the British. He says himself: "Had the same spirit pervaded the people of this and the neighboring States, as the States of New York and New England, we might have had General Howe nearly in the same situation of General Burgoyne."

We may here anticipate. Conway found his position

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unenviable, and he sent to Congress a note complaining that he had been ill-treated, and intimated that he would resign because he was ordered to the Northern Department. His self-complacency never doubted but he would be urged to remain as "Inspector." But Congress, ashamed of having ever appointed him, interpreted it as a resignation, and gladly accepted it. No explanation of Conway, though urged in person, could induce them to change their decision. Some time afterward he was wounded in a duel with General Cadwallader, who had charged him with cowardice at the battle of Germantown, and also of derogatory remarks in relation to the Commander-in-chief. When he thought himself near death, Conway wrote to Washington: "You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues." He recovered from his wound, and soon after he left the country.

During the winter at Valley Forge, every effort was made to increase the army, and make it more efficient. To accomplish this end, Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer of great merit as a disciplinarian, was appointed Inspector, with the rank of major-general. Congress called upon all the States, except Georgia and South Carolina, for their quotas of men to the continental army. These States were excused, except for local defence, in consideration of their large slave population. Several independent bodies of horse were raised by Count Pulaski and Henry Lee, who, because of his success and genius as a commander of light-horse, was known in the army as Light-Horse Harry.

Baron Steuben soon infused his own spirit into the officers and men. He was prompt, and they obeyed him with alacrity. The tactics were taught by system, and the result was very gratifying. Congress designed to raise

the army to sixty thousand, but it really never reached more than half that number. Many of the more experienced officers were compelled by necessity to resign; their families were dependent upon them, and they received scarcely any pay. These resignations were unfortunate. Washington appealed to Congress in behalf of the officers, and also of the soldiers. That body promised half pay for seven years to those officers who should serve to the end of the war, and to the soldiers thus serving a gratuity of eighty dollars. But the treasury was empty; new bills of credit were issued, and the several States were called upon to levy taxes for the public expenses; but the States were poor, and some of them were negligent. Their bills of credit continued to lose their value; and to increase the evil, the British and Tories flooded the country with counterfeits. The depreciation became so great, that a pair of boots cost more than seven hundred dollars in some of these bills of credit. Yet it shows the patriotism of the great mass of the people, that at this time of despondency and distress, the British, with their promises of gold and protection, could induce only three thousand five hundred Tories to enlist in their army.

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The office of quartermaster had been held during the last campaign by Mifflin; but he was seldom at his post, and the department was in great confusion. Many difficulties had grown out of this neglect; the army was irregularly supplied with provisions and forage, while the country people suffered much on account of the demands made upon them for provisions by unauthorized foraging parties. At the urgent request of Washington, Congress appointed General Greene quartermaster. He assumed the duties of the office, so irksome to him, for one year, but without compensation. The system with which Greene performed all his duties was soon apparent; the army was regularly furnished with provisions and ammu-

CHAP. XXXIV. nition, so that it could be ready to march at a few minutes' notice.

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April

General Lee was returned to the army in exchange for General Prescott. Lee was as selfish as he was destitute of the true nobleness of a man of honor. In a document in his own handwriting, written when a prisoner in New York, dated "March 29, 1777," and endorsed by Lord and Sir William Howe as "Mr. Lee's plan," may be found the evidence of his willingness to ruin the cause of American Independence. In this elaborate plan, he urged with great earnestness upon the British ministry to send a large force ; part of which to take position at Alexandria, on the Potomac, and part at Annapolis, on the Chesapeake. Thus to separate the Northern and Southern colonies, and prevent them from aiding each other, while to oppose Burgoyne's advance would require all the force that New England could raise. He was willing to forfeit his life, if the measure did not speedily terminate the war and dissolve the "Congress Government."

For some reason the ministry did not adopt Lee's suggestion, and the document was filed away among British state papers, to bear testimony to the dishonesty of the author three-quarters of a century after his death.¹

In the Spring, Sir William Howe, after complaining that his government did not furnish him a sufficiency of men and supplies, resigned his command, and Sir Henry Clinton was appointed his successor. With the exception of foraging parties, the British, as yet, made no military movements. About this time came intelligence of the passage of Lord North's conciliatory bills, and that the commissioners would soon be on their way to open negotiations. The substance of these bills was circulated very extensively by zealous Tories. Congress ordered them to

May

¹ "Treason of General Charles Lee," by George H. Moore. Esq..

be printed in the newspapers, accompanied by a severe criticism, furnished by a committee of the House.

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Presently came the news that France had acknowledged the independence of the States, and had entered into a treaty with them of commerce and defence. The light had dawned upon the American cause ! A thrill of joy went throughout the land.

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Jan.
80.

The treaty between the United States and France produced a great sensation in England. It is madness to protract the war ! said the friends of America. Let us acknowledge the independence of the States, and obtain their good will by liberal terms of commerce, lest our great rival win them to herself. But no ! the idea was scouted ; the war must be prosecuted, blood must still flow.

May
5.

In June came the commissioners to treat under Lord North's conciliatory bills. They were the Earl of Carlisle, William Eden, brother of the late governor of Maryland, and George Johnstone, formerly governor of Florida, and who had been a friend of the Americans in Parliament.

The commissioners sent their proposals to Congress, but that body refused to treat, until the independence of the States was acknowledged, and the British troops withdrawn. As the commissioners could not grant these demands, negotiations were not commenced. Some of the commissioners indirectly resorted to bribery, and by means of a loyalist lady of Philadelphia, made propositions to General Joseph Reed, of ten thousand pounds, and any office in the colonies he might choose, if he would aid the object of the mission. To which offer he made this memorable reply : " I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of England is not rich enough to buy me."

When it was known that a French fleet was expected on the coast, the British hastened to evacuate Philadelphia, and retreat to New York. Most of the stores, together with the sick and wounded, were sent round by

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18.

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water, while the army, twelve thousand strong, took up its line of march across New Jersey. Washington was soon in pursuit. The weather was excessively warm, and the heavily armed British moved very slowly. The Americans soon came up. A council of war was held, and the question discussed, whether to attack the enemy and bring on a general engagement, or merely harass them on their march. Washington, with Greene and Lafayette, was in favor of the former manner of attack, and Lee, for some reason, strenuously advocated the latter. When it was decided to bring on a general engagement, Lee, as his advice had not been taken, declined to take any command in the affair.

Washington therefore sent Lafayette forward with two thousand men, to take position on the hills, and thus crowd Sir Henry Clinton off into the plain. The next morning Lee had changed his mind, and asked to be given a command. Washington sent him forward with two brigades, and when he came up with Lafayette, being of superior rank, he assumed the command of the entire advance division.

The British encamped near Monmouth Court-house. There were morasses and groves of woods in the vicinity, a difficult place in which to manœuvre troops.

June
28.

When Lee advanced, he found a force of apparently about two thousand on the march, but a portion of the woods obstructed a full view. He made his arrangements to cut off this force, and sent word of his movements to Washington. But when he came upon the division, he found it much stronger than he anticipated—in truth, Clinton had thrown this strong force of German and British there, for the express purpose of giving the Americans a severe check.

The battle had scarcely begun, before occurred a misapprehension of orders. The Americans began to retreat, and Lee, in the hurry of the moment, forgot to send word of

the movement to Washington, who was advancing with the main body to his support. The retreat had passed into almost a flight. When Washington met the troops he inquired why they were retreating. The reply was, they did not know, but they had received the order. Suspecting that this movement was designed to mar the plan of attack, he spurred on, and presently met Lee, of whom he demanded, in a stern manner : " What is the meaning of all this, sir ?" Lee, disconcerted, hesitated for a moment to reply, and was asked again. He then began to explain, that the confusion had arisen from disobedience of orders ; and, moreover, he did not wish to meet the whole British army. Washington rejoined, " that he understood it was a mere covering party," adding : " I am very sorry that you undertook the command unless you meant to fight the enemy." Lee replied, that he did not think it prudent to bring on a general engagement. " Whatever your opinion may have been," replied Washington, disdainfully, " I expect my orders to be obeyed." This conversation took but a moment.

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Washington hastily formed the men on a rising ground. The enemy came up in force, and other divisions of the Americans also mingled in the conflict. Night ended the battle. The Americans slept upon their arms, expecting to renew the contest in the morning. But Clinton skillfully drew off his army during the night, and at daylight was far on his way. Washington did not attempt to pursue, as the weather was intolerably warm, and the march through a sandy region, destitute of water. The Americans lost altogether about two hundred, many of them on account of the extreme heat : the British about three hundred in the battle, and on the march two thousand Hessians deserted.

After refreshing his men, Washington marched across New Jersey, passed the Hudson, and took position at White Plains, to be ready to co-operate with the French fleet

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in an attack upon New York. Lord Howe had scarcely left the Delaware when Count D'Estaing appeared with a squadron. While at sea, D'Estaing communicated with Washington by letter. Finding that the British had evacuated Philadelphia, he put to sea, and soon anchored off Sandy Hook.

The day after the battle, Lee wrote a note, disrespectful in its tone, to Washington, who replied ; and this produced another note from Lee, still more offensive, demanding a court of inquiry, and in the mean time intimating that he should retire from the army. The court found him guilty of disobedience of orders and disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, and sentenced him to be suspended for one year from the army. He retired to his estate in Virginia, and there beguiled his leisure in writing scurrilous letters concerning the army and its commander. When his sentence of suspension was about to expire, he, for some fancied neglect, wrote an insolent letter to Congress. That body immediately dismissed him from the army. Thus ended the military career of General Charles Lee. A few years afterward he died in Philadelphia. His life had been that of the soldier ; and in the delirium of death he murmured, "Stand by me, my brave grenadiers !"

The French fleet brought Monsieur Gerard as ambassador to the United States, and also Silas Deane, Doctor Franklin, and Arthur Lee, with whom, on the part of the United States, the treaty had been made.

Howe ran his ships within the bay of New York, and as the large vessels of the French could not pass the bar at Sandy Hook, the combined attack upon the city was abandoned. Instead, it was resolved to make an attack upon Newport, on the island of Rhode Island. This was a British stronghold and depot, and garrisoned by six thousand men, under General Pigot. The brutality of these British troops had excited against them the bitterest

hatred, and when called upon by General Sullivan, who was in command, thousands of the militia of the surrounding country flocked to avenge their wrongs. John Hancock, on this occasion, led the Massachusetts militia, as general. D'Estaing sailed to Newport, where he arrived a week before the force sent by Washington under Greene and Lafayette. This unavoidable delay ruined the enterprise. When the Americans appeared, the British guard left the works on the north end of the island, and retired to their inner lines. The Americans immediately passed over and occupied the abandoned works. The very day of this occupancy, Lord Howe appeared with a fleet, and D'Estaing went out to give him battle. They both manœuvred their fleets to obtain the advantage of position, when a terrible storm arose and separated them.

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9.

12.

In the mean time, the Americans moved near the enemy's works, and commenced to cannonade them, expecting that the French fleet would soon return to their aid. D'Estaing did return, but instead of landing the four thousand troops on board, he set sail for Boston to refit his vessels, which the late storm had shattered.

20.

The Americans now abandoned their lines, and by night retreated, repulsing the division of the enemy sent in pursuit. It was time, for the British were strongly reinforced from New York by four thousand troops, under Clinton himself.

To deceive the enemy, and escape safely from the island, Sullivan sent a party to occupy a hill in sight of the British lines. The party began to throw up intrenchments, and in the evening pitched their tents; but as soon as it was night, they silently decamped, and in the morning were all safely on the main land.

A great clamor arose because D'Estaing failed to co-operate with the Americans at Newport. Subsequent investigation seemed to justify him; at least, Congress passed a resolution approving his conduct. This may

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however, have been mere policy, as Congress was unwilling to offend the French by passing a vote of censure.

1778. The war degenerated into marauding expeditions against defenceless villages. The first object of this barbarity was the island of Martha's Vineyard, whose inhabitants were stripped of every thing the robbers could carry off. The towns of New Bedford and Fair Haven were
Sept. wantonly burned, and also seventy vessels in their ports. Scenes of cruelty were enacted in New Jersey, where an
Oct. American regiment of horse was cut to pieces, and a company of infantry, when crying for quarter, was butchered with the bayonet without mercy.

When it was certainly known that a French fleet had sailed to the United States, the English ministry sent Admiral Byron in pursuit. He appeared off Boston harbor while the French were refitting, but did not dare attack them, and the French were unwilling to come out of their place of security. Lord Howe resigned his command into the hands of Admiral Byron. At length a storm arose which scattered the English fleet ; then the French
Nov. slipped out of the harbor, and sailed to the West Indies.
1. On the same day, five thousand British troops sailed from New York for the same destination. Three weeks after, another expedition of three thousand sailed for Georgia ; yet the British army remaining was far more numerous than the forces under Washington.

During the summer, one of the most atrocious outrages which disgraced the war, was committed upon the settlement of Wyoming, situated in a beautiful valley on the Susquehanna. There had been previously much contention among the inhabitants, some of whom were Tories. These had been seized, and sent out of the settlement ;
July. they took their revenge with more than savage ferocity

After the defeat of St. Leger at Fort Schuyler, Fort Niagara became the head-quarters of Tories and Indians ;

at that place was planned the murderous expedition. The party was guided by Tories who had lived in the valley. The chief leader in this expedition was John Butler, a Tory notorious for his cruelty. His force, about eleven hundred, was composed of his Rangers, Johnson's Greens, and Mohawks. There were block-houses in the settlement ; to these the people fled in times of danger. Nearly all the able-bodied men were absent in the army under Washington. There were left only the women and children, the aged and infirm. Suddenly the savage enemy appeared at various points in the valley, and commenced murdering the husbandmen in the fields, and burning the houses. It had been rumored that such an attack was meditated, and a small force had already been dispatched by Washington to defend the settlement. They had themselves, under Zebulon Butler, (no relation of John Butler), about three hundred and fifty men. Unfortunately, Butler did not wait the arrival of the reinforcement, but sallied forth to restrain the ravaging of the country. Intelligence of this intended attack was conveyed to the enemy, and they were fully prepared. The fight began, and the Tories were forced to give way, but the Indians passed round a swamp toward the rear. Butler, seeing this movement, ordered his men to fall back, lest they should be surrounded. This order was mistaken for one to retreat ; all was thrown into confusion, and a portion, panic-stricken, fled. They were pursued by the Tories and Indians with unrelenting fury. The whole valley was desolated. Those of the people who escaped, fled to the mountains, and there women and children perished by hundreds, while some, after incredible sufferings, reached the settlements.

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A month later, similar scenes were witnessed at Cherry Valley, in New York. The Tories and Indians were equally as cruel as at the Wyoming massacre. The people were either murdered or carried into captivity. All

Aug.

CHAP. the region of the upper Susquehanna, the Delaware, and
XXXIV. the Mohawk, was at the mercy of the savages.

1778. In the latter part of November, Clinton sent Colonel Campbell, with two thousand men, to invade Georgia. He landed three miles below Savannah, the capital, on the twenty-ninth of December.

General Robert Howe, who was in command, could make but little resistance. He and his men behaved nobly, but a negro guiding the British by a path through a swamp, they gained the rear of the Americans, who were now thrown into confusion and defeated. The town of Savannah fell into the hands of the victors.

General Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, was ordered by Clinton to pass across to Savannah, and there join Campbell and assume the command. On his march, Prevost took Sunbury, a fort of some importance. Arriving at Savannah, he sent Campbell to take possession of Augusta. Thus was Georgia subdued, in the space of a few weeks. The British now transferred their active operations to the South, which became the principal theatre of the war till its close.

General Benjamin Lincoln, who had been appointed to take command of the Southern Department, arrived about this time. The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia had solicited his appointment.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Dissensions in Congress.—Expedition against the Indians.—The War in the South.—Augusta reoccupied.—Charleston threatened.—Marauding Expeditions sent to Virginia, and up the Hudson.—Tryon ravages Connecticut.—Capture of Stony Point by Wayne.—Lee surprises the Garrison at Jersey City.—Combined assault upon Savannah.—Daniel Boone; Kentucky.—George Rogers Clarke; Kaskaskia.—Pioneers of Tennessee; Nashville.—John Paul Jones.

THE American army was distributed, at the end of the year, in a series of cantonments, which extended from the east end of Long Island Sound to the Delaware; thus effectually enclosing the British forces. The head-quarters were in a central position at Middlebrook, New Jersey. The British were so strong at New York and Newport, that to attack them with success was hopeless. The French fleet had been of no practical use to the Americans, and now Count D'Estaing took with him his land troops to the West Indies.

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Four years had passed since the war commenced; the finances of the country were still in a wretched condition. The enemy held important places, and were watching for opportunities to pillage. In the South, the Tories were specially active. Yet there were other elements at work, more injurious to the cause than even these.

Congress was filled with dissensions. The prospect

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of assistance from France caused many to relax their efforts, as though the war was virtually ended. Washington wrote, at the beginning of the year: "Our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous, and deplorable condition than they have been since the commencement of the war." A large majority of Congress was carried away with the scheme of joining with the French in an expedition against Canada. But when the matter was laid before the Commander-in-chief, at a glance he saw the difficulties of the undertaking, and, with the comprehensive views of the true statesman, pointed out the disadvantages of having, on this continent, a power different in nation, in religion, and in customs from the Americans. Moreover, he desired the people of the United States to be as little under obligations as possible to other nations.

For the ensuing campaign, it was evident the British intended to confine themselves to pillaging expeditions, and to cripple the Union in the South. Washington now recommended an expedition against the Indians, to punish them for their outrages at Wyoming and other places. It was to be conducted on their own plan—to invade and lay waste their territory.

In April a body of troops suddenly invaded and desolated the territory of the Onondagas. The principal expedition, under Sullivan, went against the Senecas, to revenge their attack on Wyoming. With five thousand men he penetrated their country, met them under Brant, with their worthy allies, the Tories, Johnson and Butler, at Newtown, now Elmira, and completely routed them. Without giving them time to recover from their panic, Sullivan pursued them into the valley of the Genesee, and in a few weeks destroyed more than forty of their villages, all their cornfields, gardens, and orchards. It was a terrible vengeance; but the only means to prevent their depredations on the settlements.

Aug.
29.

Want of food compelled the Indians and Tories to emigrate to Canada, yet they soon after renewed their depredations, and continued them, with their usual ferocity, till the end of the war. In the mean while, another successful expedition was conducted against the Indian towns on the Alleghany, above Pittsburg.

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As in the North, so in the South, the British entered into alliances with the Indians—there they induced the Creeks to join them. The Tories desolated the upper part of Georgia ; but as they drew near Augusta, Colonel Pickens suddenly attacked and routed them. Seventy-five were made prisoners and condemned to death, as traitors ; however, only five were executed.

Feb.

The next month, General Lincoln sent General Ashe, with two thousand men, to drive Campbell from Augusta. Campbell, hearing of his approach, retreated in haste, and Ashe pursued, but was himself surprised, some days after, and his entire force dispersed. The British now reoccupied Augusta, and opened a communication with the Cherokees and the South Carolina Tories.

While Lincoln recruited his army, Prevost marched slowly in the direction of Charleston ; and Lincoln hastened to the aid of that city. The inhabitants were indefatigable in their exertions to give the foe a warm reception. They threw up intrenchments across the neck of the peninsula, on which their city stood. Presently, Prevost arrived and summoned them to surrender, but they boldly refused.

May

He prepared to enter upon a regular siege, but hearing of the approach of Lincoln, he first ravaged the plantations in the vicinity, carried off an immense amount of plunder, and three or four thousand slaves, and then retreated toward Savannah, by way of the islands along the coast. As the hot season approached, hostilities ceased.

June

While these events were in progress in the South, Clinton was fulfilling his instructions from the ministry to

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8.

send out plundering expeditions. One of these, under General Mathews, he sent from New York, with twenty-five hundred men, into Virginia. The fleet entered the Chesapeake, the troops landed, and plundered the towns of Portsmouth and Norfolk. A little higher up, at Gosport, was established a navy-yard by the State; there they burned one hundred and thirty merchant ships, and several war-vessels on the stocks. The facilities afforded the enemy by the rivers to pass from point to point, and the danger of the slaves rising, prevented much resistance.

When these soldiers returned, Clinton went up the Hudson, against the posts Verplanck's and Stony Points. These forts protected King's Ferry, a very important crossing-place, on the main road from the eastern to the middle States. The works at Stony Point—not yet finished—were abandoned; and the garrison at Verplanck's Point were forced to surrender.

July
4.

The next expedition, of twenty-five hundred men, was under Tryon, whose barbarities, on such occasions, have justly rendered his name infamous. Tryon plundered New Haven, and burned Fairfield and Norwalk. In the course of a few days, he burned two hundred and twenty-five private dwellings, half as many barns and stores, and five places of worship. Many of the inhabitants were murdered, or subjected to the brutal passions of the soldiers. This "journeyman of desolation," so insensible to the promptings of humanity, contemplated these outrages with pleasure, and afterward even claimed for himself the honor of having exercised mercy, because he did not burn every dwelling on the coast of New England.

Clinton had been grossly deceived by the Tories, who assured him that the principal inhabitants of Connecticut were so much dissatisfied because their homes were not protected by the American army, that they were about to withdraw from the cause, and put themselves under Brit-

ish protection. And it was thought a few more such CHAP
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expeditions would accomplish this result.

Washington now devised a plan to recapture Stony 1779.
Point. The fort was so situated, that to surprise it seemed an impossibility. He proposed to General Wayne—"Mad Anthony"—to undertake the desperate enterprise. The proposal was accepted with delight. Washington himself, accompanied by Wayne, carefully reconnoitred the Point. The attempt was to be made at the hour of midnight. Every precaution to secure success was taken, even the dogs of the neighborhood were privately destroyed. A negro, who was in the habit of visiting the fort to sell fruit, and also as a spy for the Americans, was to act as guide.

July
16.

The men, with fixed bayonets, and, to remove the possibility of discovery, with unloaded muskets, approached in two divisions, at the appointed hour. The negro, accompanied by two soldiers, disguised as farmers, approached the outer sentinel, and gave the countersign. The sentinel was seized and gagged, and the second treated in the same manner; at the third, the alarm was given, but the impetuosity of the Americans was so great, that in a few minutes the two divisions from the opposite sides of the fort met in the centre. They took more than five hundred prisoners. This was one of the most brilliant exploits of the war. How great was the contrast between the humanity of Wayne and the savage cruelty of the British in their midnight attacks with the bayonet! Stedman, the British historian, records that "the conduct of the Americans upon this occasion was highly meritorious, for they would have been fully justified in putting the garrison to the sword; not one man of which was put to death but in fair combat." When Clinton heard of the taking of Stony Point, he hastily recalled Tryon, who was about to move against New London.

The exploit of Wayne was speedily followed by another

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daring adventure by Light Horse Harry. He had learned by reconnoitring, and by means of spies, the exact condition of the garrison at Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, opposite New York. Thinking themselves secure from attack, because of their nearness to the main army, the officers, as well as men, were careless. Lee asked permission to strike a blow within "cannon-shot of New York." 1779. Washington directed him "to surprise the fort, bring off the garrison immediately, and effect a retreat," and not to linger, lest he should himself be overpowered. About Aug. 18. two o'clock in the morning they made themselves masters of the fort, and secured one hundred and fifty prisoners, with a loss to themselves of only two men. Soon alarm guns roused the garrison in New York, and Lee commenced his retreat. The exploit redounded much to his credit, and that of his company of horse. In compliment, Congress voted Wayne, as well as Lee, a gold medal.

An effort was again made to take Savannah. Count D'Estaing appeared with his fleet from the West Indies, and General Lincoln marched to aid in the siege. Several North Carolina regiments had been sent by the Commander-in-chief, and the militia turned out well. Prevost made every exertion to defend himself. But D'Estaing soon grew impatient ; he must return to the West Indies lest the British fleet might accomplish some enterprise of importance. The siege must be either abandoned, or the town taken by assault. The latter was resolved upon ; and it was undertaken with great disadvantages staring the assailants in the face. After they had carried some of the outworks, the Americans were forced to retire. Count Pulaski, when gallantly leading his men, was mortally wounded. The French, who were at the post of the greatest danger, were also repulsed, and D'Estaing himself was wounded. Lincoln now retreated to Charleston, disbanded the militia, and the Count sailed to the West Indies. Thus, for the second time, the French, under the

Oct.
9.

same officer, failed to co-operate efficiently with the Americans. Very great dissatisfaction was excited at this throughout the country.

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1779.

Clinton obeyed his instructions from home, evacuated Newport, and concentrated his main force at New York, which place he thought in danger of a combined attack from the Americans and French. In truth, Washington, in expectation of such aid, had called out the militia for that purpose, but when he heard that the French had sailed for the West Indies, he dismissed them, and went into winter-quarters near Morristown, New Jersey.

Oct.
25.

When the coast was clear, Clinton sent seven thousand men by sea to Savannah, and soon after sailed himself with two thousand more, leaving a powerful garrison in New York, under the command of Knyphausen.

Dec.
29.

Some years before the commencement of the war, Daniel Boone, the bold hunter and pioneer, had visited the region of Kentucky. Attracted by the fertility of the soil, the beauty of the forests, and the mildness of the climate, in connection with others, he formed a settlement on the Kentucky river. Thither Boone took his wife and daughters, the first white women in that region. There, during the war, these bold pioneers were in perils, fighting the Indians and levelling the forests. Harrod, another bold backwoodsman, founded Harrodsburg. The territory on the lower Kentucky, had been purchased of the Cherokees. Though Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, denounced the purchase as illegal, yet in spite of his proclamation, and the hostility of the Indians, the people, in numbers, emigrated to that delightful region.

1778

The Indians at the West were becoming hostile under the influence of British emissaries. The principal actor in this was Hamilton, the commandant at Detroit, against which place Congress resolved to send an expedition.

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1779. While this was under consideration, George Rogers Clarke, an adventurous Virginian, set out from Pittsburg on an expedition against Kaskaskia, an old French town on the Mississippi. Clarke, though a backwoodsman of Kentucky, acted under the authority of Virginia. With two hundred men he floated in boats down the Ohio to the Falls, and there, on an island, thirteen families, his followers, made a settlement. Joined by some Kentuckians, he proceeded down the river, to near its mouth. Then hiding his canoes, the company struck through the woods to Kaskaskia. This town was claimed by the English since the surrender of Canada. The inhabitants were at once conciliated, when they heard of the alliance between the United States and France, and when they saw their religion respected and their property protected. Clarke also entered into friendly relations with the Spaniards west of the Mississippi, at St. Louis. When he returned to the Falls, he built a stockade fort on the south side of the Ohio ; this was the germ of the present city of LOUISVILLE. Virginia claimed the region north of the Ohio, as conquered territory, erected it into the county of Illinois, and made arrangements to keep possession of it.

1778.
July.

Other bold pioneers were, about the same time, penetrating the wilderness further south. James Robertson, from North Carolina, who, eleven years before, led emigrants to settle on the head-waters of the Tennessee, now, with a company, crossed over into the valley of the Cumberland. They passed down that river till they found a desirable location, a bluff on its south shore. The company altogether amounted to nearly fifty persons. There, in the midst of the primeval forest, more than a hundred miles from the nearest settlement, they cleared some land and planted corn. Three of their number remained to guard the growing crop, and the others returned to bring their families. Emigration now began : one party set out through the wilderness, driving their cattle before them ;

May.

another, with the women and children, went on board of boats, on the head-waters of the Tennessee. They were to pass down that river to its mouth, thence find their way up the Cumberland to the chosen spot. A laborious journey of more than six months brought them to their anxious friends. The settlement increased with great rapidity, notwithstanding the hostility of the Indians. Such were the beginnings of the now prosperous and beautiful city of NASHVILLE.

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1779.

Congress, from time to time, made efforts to increase the continental navy, but many of the vessels had been lost. The privateers had aroused the ire and the vigilance of the entire British navy. Yet some American cruisers, fitted out in France, fearlessly sailed in quest of the enemy. The most distinguished of these commanders was John Paul Jones, a native of Scotland, but who had been brought to Virginia in childhood. He was one of the first officers commissioned by Congress for the navy. Jones, in command of the *Ranger*, of eighteen guns, spread terror around England, and even made a descent on the coast of Scotland.

A small squadron of five French and American ships was fitted out at L'Orient, and placed under his command, to cruise in the British seas. Off the coast of Scotland, he met with a fleet of merchantmen, convoyed by a frigate and another armed vessel. It was night, and the battle, the most desperate in the annals of naval warfare, lasted three hours. Jones lashed his flag-ship, the *Richard*, to the British frigate *Serapis*, and thus, muzzle to muzzle, they poured into each other their broadsides. At length, both the English ships surrendered. Jones' flag-ship was so damaged, that in a few hours it went to the bottom.

Sept
28

CHAPTER XXXVI.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Hardships of the Soldiers.—British Success at the South.—Colonel Tarleton.—Charleston capitulates.—Defeat at Waxhaws.—Rev. James Caldwell.—Maraud into Jersey.—Fleet at Newport.—The South unsubdued; her partisan Leaders.—Gates sent to take Command.—Disastrous Battle of Camden.—Death of De Kalb.—Sumter's Success and Defeat.—Treason of Arnold.—Major André.—Movements of Cornwallis.—Colonel Ferguson.—Battle of King's Mountain.—Tarleton repulsed.—General Greene in Command.—Rancorous Spirit between the Whigs and Tories.—British triumphant.—Affairs in Europe.—Henry Laurens.—Dangers of England; her Energy.

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1780.

THIS winter, like the preceding, witnessed the hardships of the soldiers, who were often in great straits for provisions, and other necessities. The depreciation of the currency continued; Congress was in debt, without money and without credit. To preserve the soldiers from starvation, Washington was under, to him, the painful necessity of levying contributions upon the people of the surrounding country. Jersey was drained almost to exhaustion; but her patriotism rose in proportion to her sacrifices; at one time, when deep snows cut off supplies from a distance, the subsistence of the whole army devolved upon her. "The women met together to knit and sew for the soldiery," and the farmers hastened to the camp with provisions, "stockings, shoes, coats, and blankets."

A committee sent by Congress to inquire into the condition of affairs at Morristown, reported: "That the army was five months unpaid; that it seldom had more than

six days' provisions in advance, and was, on several occasions, for sundry successive days, without meat ; was destitute of forage ; that the medical department had neither sugar, tea, chocolate, wine, nor spirits." No other principle than true patriotism could have held men together in the midst of privations and sufferings such as these. In preparation for the ensuing campaign, Congress made great exertions to increase the army ; large bounties were offered, yet recruits came in slowly.

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1780.

The winter was exceedingly severe. The waters around New York were frozen, communication with the sea was cut off, so that the garrison and the citizens suffered for provisions. Knyphausen was alarmed lest the Americans should pass on the ice and attack the city ; his ships of war were frozen fast, and no longer useful to defend it. He transferred the seamen to the shore, and formed them into companies, and placed the entire male population under arms. But his apprehensions were groundless, as Washington was too deficient in men and means to make a successful attack upon the garrison.

In the South, the British were very successful. When Clinton arrived at Savannah, he immediately went North for the purpose of blockading Charleston. General Lincoln made every exertion to fortify the city. Four thousand of its militia enrolled themselves ; but the assistance received from the surrounding country numbered only two hundred men. South Carolina had represented to Congress her utter inability to defend herself, " by reason of the great number of citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrection among the negroes, and their desertion to the enemy." The only hope of Charleston lay in the regiments then on their march from Virginia and North Carolina. These regiments increased Lincoln's

Jan

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force to seven thousand, only two thousand of whom were continentals.

1780.
Feb.

The British occupied so much time in their approach, that an opportunity was given to fortify the harbor and city. It was of no avail ; the superior English fleet passed by Fort Moultrie without receiving much damage, though four years before the same fort had repulsed a similar attempt. The channel, at this time, was deeper, and the vessels could pass.

Sir Henry Clinton had lost nearly all his horses on the voyage ; but he had with him Lieutenant-colonel Banastre Tarleton, a native of Liverpool. Let us take a glance at the colonel, who figures so largely in these southern campaigns. He was at this time only twenty-six years of age. He is described as short of stature, broad shouldered and muscular, of swarthy complexion, with a countenance lighted up by small, keen black eyes, the embodiment of ardent, prompt energy, and indomitable perseverance, that never pursued without overtaking ; always in front of his men ; as insensible to weariness as he was to fear. To be scrupulous was not one of his virtues. He soon, from friends or enemies, by money or by force, obtained horses for his dragoons.

April
14.

Thirty miles from Charleston, at Monk's Corner, General Huger and Colonel William Washington had two regiments of continental cavalry to guard the passes to the north country. On a dark night, Tarleton, guided by a negro, pounced upon them with his dragoons, and scattered them. Huger and Washington escaped, with some of their officers and men, but Tarleton took a hundred prisoners, and four hundred wagons laden with stores. Fort Moultrie surrendered, and soon after another division of American cavalry was almost annihilated by Tarleton, and Charleston was now completely invested.

As the defences of the town continued to fail in succession, Lincoln thought to abandon the place, and force

his way through the enemy ; but the superiority of the besiegers in number and position rendered that impossible. The British fleet was ready to pour ruin upon the devoted town. Clinton had thrown up intrenchments across the neck, and at this crisis Cornwallis arrived from New York with three thousand fresh troops.

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April
18.

On the ninth of May commenced a terrible cannonade from two hundred cannons. All night long bombshells poured upon the town, which at one time was on fire in five different places. The morning dawned, but no hope dawned for the besieged. Their guns were nearly all dismounted, their works in ruins, the soldiers exhausted by fatigue. The fleet moved to a position much nearer. The following night an offer to capitulate was sent to Clinton. Negotiations commenced, which resulted in the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war ; the militia were to be dismissed on their parole, not to engage again in the war ; with the promise, that so long as they kept their parole, their persons and property should be secure. The whole number of prisoners was about six thousand.

May
12.

This was an irreparable loss to the patriots. Immediately after Clinton sent off three expeditions ; one to intercept Colonel Beaufort, who was approaching with a Virginia regiment to the aid of Charleston ; a second toward Augusta, and the third toward Camden. He also issued a proclamation, threatening terrible punishments on those who would not submit. This was soon after followed by another, which offered pardon to all those who would return to their allegiance, and assist in restoring the royal authority.

When Beaufort heard of the loss of Charleston he commenced to retreat ; but there was no escaping Tarleton, who made a forced march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours. He surprised Beaufort at Waxhaw's, on the boundary of North Carolina, and scattered his men, giving them no quarter, but treating them in the

CHAP. XXXVI. most cruel and barbarous manner. This act has left a stain upon his reputation.

1780. The other detachments passed through the country, meeting with no resistance, as the people felt it would be useless to attack them. In a short time another proclamation was issued, calling upon all, except those actually taken in arms, to renounce their parole, and take the oath of allegiance. During this time, the negroes in great numbers deserted their masters and fled to the British.

June. South Carolina thus conquered, Clinton returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis to hold the country in subjection.

Incidents show the spirit of the times. The Rev. James Caldwell, a Presbyterian clergyman, was pastor of a church at Elizabethtown. He had excited the ire of the Tories and British by his ardent appeals in the cause of his country. When he preached he would lay his pistols beside him : his eloquence stirred the people, with whom his popularity was unbounded. His church, a sort of rallying point, had been used by the American soldiers as a shelter, while its bell gave the alarm when the enemy approached. The Tories called him a "frantic priest," and "rebel firebrand ;" but the people spoke of him as "a rousing gospel preacher." During the winter a marauding company of the British and Tories from New York burned the church, and Caldwell removed his family to Connecticut Farms.

June 5. After Knyphausen heard of the capture of Charleston, thinking that event would have an influence upon the people of Jersey, he set out on an expedition, landing at Elizabethtown, and penetrated as far as Connecticut Farms. He met, at every step, with the most determined opposition ; but, nevertheless, the village was sacked and burned. Mrs. Caldwell, in the midst of the terror and confusion, retired to a room in the rear of the parsonage, and knelt in prayer, having by the hand one of her chil-

dren. Presently some one fired through the window, and she fell dead, pierced by two balls. The church and parsonage were both burned. Knyphausen, harassed by the militia, made an inglorious retreat. CHAP.
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1780

Meantime, the atrocious murder of Mrs. Caldwell roused a spirit of revenge, unprecedented in its influence. She was highly connected and universally beloved; the murder was thought to have been designed. Caldwell preached more "rousing" sermons than ever. Three weeks later, Washington moved some of his forces toward the Highlands, and Knyphausen once more landed in Jersey, and pushed on toward Springfield, hoping to gain the passes beyond Morristown; but alarm-guns spread the news of his approach, and General Greene, who had been left in command, was on the alert. Knyphausen found as much opposition as on the other occasion. The Jersey regiment, commanded by Dayton, and of which Caldwell was chaplain, was engaged in the battle. The soldiers were in want of wadding, and the chaplain galloped to the Presbyterian church, and brought a quantity of Watts' psalm and hymn books and distributed them for the purpose among the soldiers. "Now," cried he, "put Watts into them, boys!"¹ The Americans increasing, Knyphausen, after burning the village of Springfield, effected another inglorious retreat.

The Baron De Kalb was sent, soon after the surrender of Lincoln, to take command of the army South, and all the continental troops south of Pennsylvania were detached for that service. In the midst of these discouragements, Lafayette returned from his visit to France. He brought intelligence that a French fleet, with an army on board, had sailed to America, and also there might be March

¹ Washington Irving.

CHAP. expected soon a supply of arms and clothing from the
XXXVI same source.

1780. The several States were now urged to send forward
May. their quotas of men and provisions, to enable the army to co-operate with the French. In the camp there was almost a famine ; a Connecticut regiment was on the point of marching home, where they could obtain provisions. Congress was laboring to borrow money in Holland in order to supply these wants.

July. A French fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line, and also frigates and transports, at length appeared at Newport. This was the first division, consisting of six thousand land troops. To avoid disputes that might arise from military etiquette, Count Rochambeau, their commander, was instructed to put himself under the command of Washington. The expected supplies of arms and clothing did not arrive, and for the want of them, the American army could not co-operate in an attack upon New York.

The French fleet was followed by one from England, of equal strength, and now Clinton, trusting to his superior naval force, made preparations to attack the French at Newport ; but as he and Admiral Arbuthnot could not agree as to the plan, the project was abandoned. The British, instead, blockaded the French. News came, not long after, that the second division designed for the United States was blockaded at Brest by another British squadron. Thus, for the third time, the Americans were disappointed in their hopes of aid from the French fleet, and, instead, the militia of New England was called out to defend it at Newport.

In the South was the quietness that reigns in a conquered country ; but the unsubdued spirit of the patriots was soon aroused by their partisan leaders,—Sumter, Clarke, Pickens, and Francis Marion, the latter a Huguenot by descent, and who had served against the Cherokees

at the close of the French war. These leaders, with their bands, generally horsemen, scoured the country, and improved every opportunity to make a dash at parties of British or Tories. At first they were almost destitute of arms; these their ingenuity partially supplied by converting scythes and knives fastened to poles into lances; wood saws into broadswords, while the women cheerfully gave their pewter dishes to be melted into bullets; from nitre found in caverns in the mountains, and charcoal burned upon their hearths, they made their powder. So effectually did they conduct this irregular warfare, that ere long foraging parties of the enemy dared not venture far from the main army. If these patriots were repulsed in one place, they would suddenly appear in another, as vigorous as ever. While Sumter—characterized by Cornwallis, as the South Carolina “Game Cock”—with his band, was on the Catawba, Marion—known as the “Swamp Fox”—was issuing, “with his ragged followers,” from the swamps along the Lower Peedee.

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Congress now resolved to send General Gates to take command of the southern army. Great expectations were raised when it was known that the conqueror of Burgoyne was about to assume the command. But General Charles Lee remarked, “That his northern laurels would soon be changed into southern willows.”

De Kalb, with the regiments under his command, retarded by want of provisions, moved slowly south. His soldiers could only by great exertion obtain their necessary supplies in the barren region through which they passed. Because of this want, he was forced to halt three weeks on Deep River, one of the upper tributaries of Cape Fear River; there Gates overtook him, and assumed the command. Contrary to the advice of De Kalb and his officers, who recommended a circuitous route through the fertile and friendly county of Mecklenburg, Gates imme-

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13.

diately gave orders to march direct on Camden. He said the wagons coming from the north, and laden with provisions, would overtake them in two days. They marched through a region of pine barrens interspersed with swamps, and almost destitute of inhabitants. Their only food was green corn, unripe apples and peaches, and such lean wild cattle as chance threw in their way. The wagons never overtook them, but disease did, and the suffering soldiers were greatly enfeebled. After a toilsome march of nearly three weeks, he encamped at Clermont, about twelve miles from Camden. His army had increased almost daily, principally from North Carolina and Virginia, and now numbered nearly four thousand, of whom two-thirds were continentals.

Lord Rawdon, when he heard of the approach of Gates, retreated and concentrated his forces at Camden, at which place Cornwallis had just arrived from Charleston to take command.

Aug.
16.

Gates made a move the following night to take a position nearer Camden, and Cornwallis made a similar move to surprise Gates. The advance guards met in the woods; after some skirmishing, both armies halted till morning. With the dawn, the battle commenced. The British rushed on with fixed bayonets against the centre of the American army, where the militia were posted; they fled immediately, throwing down their arms lest they should be encumbered in their headlong flight. Gates himself and Governor Caswell were both carried off the field by the torrent of fugitives. The continentals stood their ground firmly, until their brave commander, De Kalb, who had received eleven wounds, fell exhausted—then they also gave way.

The American army was completely routed, scattered in small parties, and in all directions. Their loss, in slain and prisoners, was nearly eighteen hundred, besides all their baggage and artillery. The road was strewed with

the dead and wounded, the work of the British cavalry, which the impetuous Tarleton urged on in pursuit of the fugitives for twenty-eight miles. CHAP.
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Certain of victory, Gates imprudently made no arrangements for a retreat, or the preservation of his stores, but instead, he met with the most disastrous defeat ever experienced by an American army. Truly, his northern laurels had degenerated into southern willows ! A few days after the battle, he arrived with about two hundred followers at Charlotte, in North Carolina.

De Kalb was found by the British on the field still alive ; his aide-de-camp, De Buysson, would not leave him, but generously suffered himself to be taken prisoner. The Baron lingered for a few days. His last moments were employed in dictating a letter to the officers and men of his division, expressing for them his warmest affection.

Some days before the late battle, Sumter fell upon a convoy of supplies approaching Camden for the British, and took two hundred prisoners. When Cornwallis heard of it, he sent Tarleton in pursuit, who rode so hard, that half his men and horses broke down. When he arrived on the Catawba, Sumter had reason to think himself beyond pursuit, and halted to refresh his men, when he was completely taken by surprise, his company routed, and his prisoners rescued. Thus, within three months, two American armies had been defeated, and scattered in every direction.

Gates continued to retreat toward the North, having now about a thousand men. Maryland and Virginia made great exertions to recruit the army, but with little success.

Cornwallis, instead of conciliating the people by clemency, excited them to intense hostility by cruelty. Of the prisoners taken at Sumter's defeat, there were some who had given their parole not to engage in the war ; a portion of these were hanged upon the spot. There was

CHAP. more revenge and hatred exhibited in the South by the
XXXVI. Whigs and Tories against each other, than in any other
1780. section of the States. The severity of Cornwallis, however, did not deter the patriots from action. Marion was still in the field, and the untiring Sumter soon collected another force, with which he harassed the enemy.

Washington wished to strike a decisive blow, and he invited Rochambeau, who was commanding the French troops at Newport, to meet him at Hartford, to devise a plan of attack upon New York. After consultation, it was found that the French naval force was insufficient to cope with the British fleet at New York. Accordingly, the French Admiral on the West India station was invited to co-operate ; and, until he could be heard from, the enterprise was postponed.

While Washington was thus absent from headquarters, a nefarious plot, which had been in train for some months, came to light. One of the bravest officers of the American army was about to tarnish his fair name as a patriot, and bring upon it the scorn and contempt of all honorable men. It was discovered that Arnold had promised to betray into the hands of the enemy the important fortress of West Point. The wounds he had received at the battle of Behmus's Heights had unfitted him for active service, and he was placed in command at Philadelphia. There he lived in a very extravagant style ; involved himself in debts, to pay which he engaged in privateering and mercantile speculations, most of which were unsuccessful. He was accused of using the public funds, and condemned by a court-martial to receive a reprimand from the Commander-in-chief, who performed the unpleasant duty as delicately as possible. Yet Arnold felt the disgrace, and determined to be revenged. While in Philadelphia he married into a Tory family, which opened a way to an intercourse with British officers. His

merits as an officer were great, but Congress evidently took into consideration his private character. The members from Connecticut knew him well. He was proverbially dishonest in his dealings, disregarded the rights of others, indifferent as to what men thought of his integrity, and to those under him cruel and tyrannical. In consequence of these inexcusable faults many distrusted him. The question has been raised, Why did Washington trust Arnold? Evidently, because he knew him only as an efficient and brave officer. It is not probable any person took the liberty of whispering to the Commander-in-chief the defects of Arnold's private character. We know that during his whole life, Washington was governed by the principle of appointing to office none but honest men.

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Aug
8

In the midst of his troubles, Arnold's selfishness became superior to his patriotism, and he opened a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, under the signature of Gustavus. For months this continued, when he made himself known. In the mean time, he applied to Washington and obtained the command of West Point, with the full intention of betraying that important post.

In the British army was a young man of pleasing address; accomplished in mental acquirements, and as amiable as he was brave. Disappointed in love, he had joined the army and made fame the object of his ambition; as capable of planning the amusements for a ball or a masquerade as of fulfilling the duties of his office—that of adjutant-general. He won many friends, and with Sir Henry Clinton was a special favorite. It devolved upon this young man, Major John Andre, to answer the letters of "Gustavus." This he did under the feigned name of "John Anderson." When Arnold revealed his true character, Andre volunteered to go up the Hudson on board the sloop-of-war Vulture, to have an interview with him, and make the final arrangements for carrying out the treachery

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The Vulture came to anchor a short distance below the American lines. Thence a flag was sent to Arnold, giving him the information. In the evening the latter sent a boat to bring Andre ashore. The night passed, however, before their plans were arranged, and Andre was compelled, though very unwillingly, to pass the next day within the American lines. During the day the Vulture attracted the attention of some American gunners, who began to fire upon her, and she dropped down the stream. For some unexplained reason, the man who had brought Andre ashore refused to take him back to the sloop, and he was forced to return to New York by land. He changed his uniform for a citizen's dress, and with a pass from Arnold, under the name of John Anderson, set out. Passing to the east side of the river, he travelled on unmolested until he came in the vicinity of Tarrytown. There he was arrested by three young men, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart. They asked him some questions, and he, supposing them Tories, did not produce his pass, but said he was "from below," meaning New York, and that he was a British officer, travelling on important business. When he found his mistake, he offered them his watch, his purse, and any amount of money, if they would let him pass. Their patriotism was not to be seduced. Paulding declared that if he would give ten thousand guineas he should not stir a step. In searching his person, they found in his boots papers of a suspicious character. They brought him to Colonel Jami-son, the commanding officer on the lines at Peekskill. He recognized the handwriting as that of Arnold. The paper contained a description of West Point, and an account of its garrison. But he could not believe that his superior officer was guilty of treason, and had it not been for the protests of Major Talmadge, the second in command, he would have sent the prisoner to Arnold ; as it was, he sent him a letter giving an account of the arrest, and of

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23.**

the papers found upon his person. The papers he sent by express to Washington, now on his way from Hartford.

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The letter came to Arnold while he was breakfasting with some officers, who had just returned from that place. Concealing his emotions, he rose from the table, called his wife out of the room, briefly told her he was a ruined man and must flee for his life. She fell insensible at his feet. He directed the messenger to attend to her, returned to the breakfast-room, excused himself on the plea that he must hasten to the fort to receive the Commander-in-chief. Then seizing the messenger's horse, which stood ready saddled, he rode with all speed to the river, sprang into his boat, and ordered the men to row to the Vulture. Thence he wrote to Washington, begging him to protect his wife, who, he protested, was innocent of any participation in what he had done.

When Andre heard that Arnold was safe, he wrote to Washington, confessing the whole affair. He was immediately brought to trial under the charge of being within the American lines, as a spy. Though cautioned to say nothing to criminate himself, he confessed the whole, and on his own confession he was found guilty. The commission to try him was presided over by General Greene. Lafayette and Steuben were also members of it. Andre protested that he had been induced to enter the American lines by the misrepresentations of Arnold. Clinton made every effort to save his favorite. The amiableness of Andre's private character enlisted much sympathy in his behalf. And Washington wished, if possible, to spare him; but a higher duty forbid it. Inexorable martial law denied him his last request, that he might be shot as a soldier, and not hanged as a spy.

Sept.
29.

Oct.
2.

Cornwallis at length commenced his march toward North Carolina. His army was in three divisions; one of which, under Colonel Patrick Ferguson, was to move

Sept.

CHAP. to the west near the mountains, to intimidate the Whigs,
XXXVI. and enroll the numerous Tories said to be in that region.
1780. The cavalry, and a portion of the light troops, under Tarleton, were to move up the Catawba, while the main body, under Cornwallis himself, was to take the route by way of Charlotte, Salisbury, and Hillsborough, through the region in which the Whigs were very numerous. This was with the expectation of forming a juncture with troops sent to the lower Chesapeake from New York. As soon as the British army began its march, the Whigs sprang into activity, and harassed them ; scarcely did an express sent from any division of the army escape being shot or taken. Cornwallis declared Charlotte " the hornet's nest of North Carolina."

Ferguson, the son of a Scotch judge of eminence, had entered the army from the love of military life, had seen service in Germany, and was deemed by Cornwallis an excellent officer. He excelled in the use of the rifle, and in training others to the use of that weapon. He was generous and humane ; in any enterprise persevering and cool. Over his company of light-infantry regulars he had control, and restrained them from deeds of violence ; but he was joined by a rabble of desperadoes and rancorous Tories. As they passed through the country, these Tories committed outrages upon the inhabitants. He met with scarcely any opposition. But information of these outrages and of his approach had spread rapidly throughout the region. Little did Ferguson think that at this time, when he neither saw nor heard of an enemy—for all his expresses were cut off—that from the distant hills and valleys of the Clinch and the Holston, and from the eastern spurs of the mountains, companies of mounted backwoodsmen—their only baggage a knapsack and blanket, their only weapon a rifle—were passing silently through the forests to a place of rendezvous in his front. The most formidable of these were from Tennessee and Kentucky,

under Colonels Sevier and Shelby,—afterward first gov- CHAP
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ernors of those States.

Rumors stole into his camp that these half-farmers 1780.
and graziers and half-hunters were assembling ; but he
scouted the idea that they could oppose him ; though,
when he received more correct information, he began to
retreat as rapidly as possible. He had not been long on
his way when this motley host, three thousand strong,
came together. They held a council ; they were not to
be baffled ; about nine hundred mounted their fleetest
horses and started in pursuit. They rode for thirty-six
hours, part of the time through a drenching rain, dis-
mounting but once. Ferguson was astonished at their
perseverance. He pushed for a strong position on King's
Mountain, near the Catawba. This mountain rises almost
like a cone ; its top was sparsely covered with tall forest
trees, while at the base they were more dense. On the
level space on the top he arranged his men, saying, with
an oath, that the " rebels " could not drive him from his
position.

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9.

The backwoodsmen approached, reconnoitred, held a
council, then dismounted to attack the enemy in three
divisions—in front, and on the right and left flanks. The
battle soon commenced, the Americans crept up the sides
of the mountain, and with deliberate aim poured in their
deadly bullets. Ferguson, on a white charger, rode round
and round the crest of the hill, and cheered his men. No
impression was made on the assailants. He ordered the
regulars to charge bayonet, and they drove the left division
down the side of the mountain—for the backwoodsmen
had no bayonets. Presently the regulars were taken in
flank, and they retreated to the top, where, by this time,
the second division had clambered up. This they drove
back also ; but before the regulars, now almost exhausted,
could regain their position, the third division was on the
plain. Thus it was, as often as a division retired before

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the bayonet, another gave relief. Ferguson passed from point to point, and cheered and rallied his men ; but suddenly his white charger was seen dashing down the mountain-side without a rider : he had fallen by a rifle-ball. The animating spirit was gone ; the British and Tories grounded their arms and surrendered at discretion. Three hundred had been killed or wounded, and more than eight hundred were made prisoners. The backwoodsmen lost but twenty slain and a somewhat larger number wounded. Ten of the Tories, who had been especially cruel toward their countrymen, were hanged upon the spot.

The backwoodsmen disbanded and returned home ; their victory had revived the drooping spirits of the southern patriots. The battle of King's Mountain bore the same relation to Cornwallis, that the battle of Bennington did to Burgoyne ; and both were won by the undisciplined yeomanry.

When Cornwallis heard of the defeat of Ferguson he retreated from Salisbury to Winnsborough, in South Carolina. In one portion of the country Marion appeared, but Tarleton forced him to retreat to the swamps. Then the active Sumter appeared in force again, and repulsed a detachment sent against him. Tarleton went in pursuit, but Sumter learned of his approach, and began to retreat rapidly, while Tarleton pressed on with his usual vigor. Sumter chose an advantageous position ; Tarleton attacked him, but was repulsed, and in turn forced to retreat. Sumter was severely wounded : he was compelled to retire for some months ; his band, in the mean time, separated.

Gates now advanced South to Charlotte. Here he was overtaken by Greene, who, on the suggestion of Washington, had been appointed by Congress to the command of the southern army. Congress had also ordered an inquiry into the conduct of Gates.

Greene found the remnants of the army in a miserable

condition, without pay, without necessities, and their clothes in rags. To increase the army, divisions were sent from the North. Morgan with a regiment, Lee's body of horse, and some companies of artillery, were with Gates when Greene arrived.

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1780.

During this time, a civil war, almost savage in its character, was raging all over the Carolinas. Little parties of Whigs and Tories fought with each other whenever they met; they ravaged each others' neighborhoods, and plundered the people of their furniture, and even of their clothes.

The year was about to end, with the British power triumphant in the three southern States. In Georgia the royal government was re-established, while the important points held in the Carolinas gave the enemy almost the entire control of those States. The numerous Tories were exultant, while the whole country was nearly exhausted by the long continuance of the war.

During the summer of this year, it was thought England would find abundant employment for her armies and navy nearer home. Because she had the power, by means of a vast navy, she assumed the right to board the ships of any neutral nation, and to search for merchandise contraband of war—a practice as arbitrary and arrogant as it was unjust and injurious. Queen Catharine, of Russia, would submit no longer to the imposition. She proposed to enter into a combination, known as the "Armed Neutrality," with Denmark and Sweden, to enforce the policy that "Free ships make free goods." That, in time of war, ships of neutral nations could carry merchandise without liability to seizure by the belligerent powers. The British ministry hesitated to enlist the whole maritime world against their commerce, that was already suffering much. Holland gave indications that she was willing, not only to join the "armed neutrality," but to enter into a commercial treaty with the United States. This inten-

CHAP. tion became known by the capture of a correspondence on
XXXVI. the subject. The vessel on board of which Henry Laurens,
 1780. the American Minister to Holland, had sailed, was captured by an English frigate. Laurens threw the papers overboard, but an English sailor leaped into the water and recovered them.

Laurens was descended from one of the many Huguenot families that sought an asylum in South Carolina ; nor did he belie the nobleness of his ancestry. He was taken to England and confined a close prisoner in the Tower of London, on a charge of high treason, plied with inducements to desert his country's cause, but without avail. He stood firm, and was finally liberated, to proceed to Paris, there to aid in negotiating a treaty with England herself, on behalf of his country, which had fought its way to independence.

The British ministry demanded that this correspondence should be disavowed, but the States-General, with their usual coolness, gave an evasive answer. England declared war immediately, and her fleet exhibited their thirst for plunder by entering at once on a foray against the commerce of Holland throughout the world.

England now had reason to be alarmed at surrounding dangers. Spain joined France, and their combined fleets far outnumbered hers in the West Indies. Holland declared war against her, while nearer home there was danger. Eighty thousand Irishmen had volunteered to repel a threatened invasion from France ; but now these volunteers, with arms in their hands, were clamoring against the oppression that England exercised over their industry and commerce, and threatened to follow the example of the American colonies in not using British manufactures ; and, what was still more ominous, demanded that the Irish Parliament should be independent of English control. The whole world was affected by these struggles. Spain sent her ships to prey upon English commerce, and

an army to besiege the English garrison at Gibraltar. CHAP. XXXVI
France had armies against her in America and in India—
both aiding rebellious subjects. To meet these over- 1780.
whelming powers, England put forth gigantic efforts. We
must admire the indomitable spirit, that steady energy,
with which she repelled her enemies, and held the world
at bay.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The Spirit of Revolt among the Soldiers.—Arnold ravages the Shores of the Chesapeake.—Battle of the Cowpens.—Morgan retreats; Cornwallis pursues.—Greene marches South.—Lee scatters the Tories.—Battle of Guildford Court House.—Conflict at Hobkirk's Hill.—The Execution of Hayne.—Battle of Eutaw Springs.—Plans to Capture New York.—Wayne's Daring at the James River.—National Finances.—Robert Morris.—French and American Armies on the Hudson.—Clinton deceived.—Combined Armies beyond the Delaware.—French Fleet in the Chesapeake.—Cornwallis in the Toils.—The Attack; Surrender of the British Army and Navy.—Thanksgivings.

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1781.

THE last year of the struggle for Independence opened, as had all the others, with exhibitions of distress among the soldiers. The regiments of the Pennsylvania line, encamped for the winter near Morristown, grew impatient at the indifference of Congress to their necessities. In truth, that body was more or less distracted by factions, and made no special efforts to relieve the wants of the soldiers. Thirteen hundred of these men, indignant at such neglect, broke out in open revolt, and under the command of their sergeants, marched off toward Philadelphia, to lay their complaints before Congress.

Jan.
1.

General Wayne, to prevent their pillaging, sent after them provisions; he himself soon followed, and urged them to return to their duty. The sergeants, at his instance, proposed to send a deputation to Congress, and to the Pennsylvania Assembly, but the soldiers refused to

entertain the proposition, and persisted in going themselves. Though thus mutinous, they scorned the thought of turning "Arnolds," as they expressed it, but promptly arrested as spies two Tory emissaries sent by Sir Henry Clinton to tamper with their fidelity. These emissaries were soon after hanged. Wayne in his zeal placed himself before the mutineers and cocked his pistols. In an instant their bayonets were at his breast. They besought him not to fire, saying : " We love, we respect you, but you are a dead man if you fire. Do not mistake us ; we are not going to the enemy ; were they now to come out you would see us fight under your orders, with as much resolution and alacrity as ever."

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1781.

Intelligence of this revolt excited great alarm in Philadelphia. Congress sent a committee, which was accompanied by Reed, the President of Pennsylvania, to meet the insurgents and induce them to return to their duty. The committee proposed to relieve their present wants, to give them certificates for the remainder of their pay, and to indemnify them for the loss they had sustained by the depreciation of the continental money. Permission was also given to those who had served three years to withdraw from the army. On these conditions the soldiers returned to the ranks. When offered a reward for delivering up the British emissaries sent to corrupt them, they refused it, saying : " We ask no reward for doing our duty to our country."

The discontent spread. Three weeks after this affair, the New Jersey line also revolted ; but that was suppressed by a strong hand in a few days. So much discontent in the army spread consternation throughout the country ; not, however, without a salutary effect. The patriots were awakened to make greater exertions to provide for the necessities of the soldiers. Their self-denials, labors, and sufferings had been too long overlooked.

Urgent demands were now sent to all the States,

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especially those of New England, to furnish the army with the proper necessaries. To encourage enlistments, some of the States promised to provide for the families of the soldiers, and Congress endeavored to obtain a foreign loan.

Arnold, as the reward of his treachery, received fifty thousand dollars, and the commission of brigadier-general in the British army. Lost to shame, he put forth a "Proclamation to the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army." He contrasted their privations and want of pay with the comforts and full pay of the British soldiers, and offered every man who should desert to the royal cause, fifteen dollars as a bounty, and full pay thereafter. The "proclamation" had no other effect than to increase the detestation in which the soldiers held the traitor.

Clinton sent Arnold with sixteen hundred men, British and Tories, to ravage the coasts of Virginia. Thomas Jefferson, who was then governor, called out the militia
Jan. to defend Richmond ; but only about two hundred men could be raised, and with great difficulty most of the public stores were removed. After Arnold had taken possession of the town, he proposed to spare it, if permitted to bring up the ships and load them with the tobacco found in the place. Jefferson promptly rejected the proposition. Arnold destroyed a great amount of private property, burned the public buildings, and some private dwellings. He then dropped down the river, landing occasionally to burn and destroy.

Baron Steuben, who was at this time in Virginia enlisting soldiers for Greene's army, had not an adequate force to repel the invaders. Washington sent to his aid Lafayette, with twelve hundred men, principally from New England and Jersey. They hoped to capture Arnold. On the same errand, two French ships of war contrived to enter the Chesapeake. Soon after, the whole

French fleet, with troops on board, sailed from Newport for the same place. A British fleet followed from New York, and an indecisive engagement took place between them off the entrance to the bay. The French fleet, worsted in the fight, returned to Newport, while the British entered the bay and reinforced Arnold with two thousand men, under General Phillips, who had recently been exchanged for General Lincoln. Phillips assumed the command, much to the satisfaction of the British officers, who disliked to serve under the traitor.

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1781.

Thus, for the fourth time, the French fleet failed to co-operate with the American land-forces; in consequence of which Lafayette was compelled to halt on his way at Annapolis.

Phillips, having now a superior force, sent detachments up the rivers and ravaged their shores. One of the vessels sailed up the Potomac as far as Mount Vernon. The manager of the estate saved the houses from being burned by furnishing supplies. Washington reproved him in a letter, saying, he "would prefer the buildings should be burned, than to save them by the pernicious practice of furnishing supplies to the enemy."

Mar.
26.

Cornwallis, who was at Winnsborough, detached Tarleton, with about a thousand troops, cavalry and light-infantry, to cut off Morgan's division, which was in the region between the Broad and Catawba rivers. When Morgan heard of Tarleton's approach, he retired toward the Broad River, intending to cross it. Tarleton pursued with his usual rapidity. Morgan saw that he must be overtaken; he halted, refreshed his men, and prepared for the conflict. He chose his ground at a place known as "The Cowpens," about thirty miles west of King's Mountain, and thus named because herds of cattle were pastured in that portion of the Thickety mountains. The two armies were about equal in numbers. More than half of Morgan's were North and South Carolina militia, under

Jan.
17.

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1781. Colonel Pickens. Morgan disposed his men to the best advantage; the Continentals on a woody hill, and the militia in a line by themselves. He was deficient in cavalry, but placed what he had under Colonel Washington, as a reserve. The British and Tories, though fatigued by their last night's march, were confident of victory; they rushed on with shouts. The militia stood their ground, delivered their fire, but quailing before the bayonet, they broke and fled. In pursuing the fugitives, the enemy almost passed by the Continentals, who, to avoid being taken in flank, fell back in order. This movement the British mistook for a retreat, and they commenced a vigorous pursuit, but when they approached within thirty yards, the Continentals suddenly wheeled, poured in a deadly volley, then charged bayonet, completely routed them, and captured their colors and cannon. Mean time the British cavalry, under Tarleton himself, continued the pursuit of the militia. While thus rushing on in confusion, the American cavalry attacked them in flank, and routed them also. These two repulses occurred almost at the same time, but in different parts of the field. The enemy were routed beyond recovery, and the Americans pursued them vigorously. The fiery Tarleton, accompanied by a few followers, barely escaped capture. Of his eleven hundred men he lost six hundred, while Morgan's loss was less than eighty.

When Cornwallis, who was only twenty-five miles distant, heard of Tarleton's defeat, he at once determined upon his course. He thought that Morgan, encumbered with prisoners and spoils, would linger for some time near the scene of his victory. He therefore destroyed his baggage, converted his entire army into light troops, and with all his force set out in pursuit. His object was twofold; to rescue the prisoners, and crush Morgan before he could cross the Catawba and unite his force with that of General Greene

Morgan was too watchful to be thus caught. He knew Cornwallis would pursue him, and he left his wounded under a flag of truce, and hurried on to the Catawba, and crossed over. Two hours had scarcely elapsed before the British vanguard appeared on the opposite bank. A sudden rise in the river detained Cornwallis two days; in the mean time Morgan sent off his prisoners, and refreshed his men.

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When Greene heard of Morgan's victory, he put his troops in motion, and two days after the passage of the Catawba joined him and assumed the command. He was not yet able to meet the enemy, and the retreat was continued toward the Yadkin, the upper course of the Peedee. His encumbered army could move but slowly; just as his rear-guard was embarking on the river, the British van came up. A skirmish ensued, in which the Americans lost a few baggage wagons. To-morrow, thought Cornwallis, I shall secure the prize; and he halted for the night to rest his weary soldiers. The rain had poured in torrents, and in the morning the river was so much swollen, that his army could not ford it, and Greene had secured all the boats on the other side. The latter, though here joined by other divisions, dared not risk a battle with his unrelenting pursuers. He called out the militia in the neighborhood to check the enemy at the fords, and hurried on to cross the river Dan into Virginia, whence alone he could receive recruits and supplies. General Morgan, on account of illness, now withdrew from the army, and Greene left Colonel Otho H. Williams, with some light-armed troops, to keep the pursuers in check.

Feb.
8.

As soon as possible Cornwallis crossed the Yadkin; if the Americans could get beyond the Dan they would be safe, and he strained every nerve to cut them off. He supposed they could not cross at the lower ferries for want of boats, and that they must go higher up the stream, where it could be forded. With this impression he pushed

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for the upper fords, and Colonel Williams kept up his delusion by manœuvring before him in that direction.

1781. But the judicious Greene, anticipating the movement, had taken measures to collect boats at the lower ferries, and sent forward Kosciusko to throw up breastworks to defend them. He now urged on his weary soldiers, at the rate of thirty miles a day, reached the ferries, and carried over his main body, and the baggage. Meanwhile, when they had sufficiently retarded the pursuers, by breaking down bridges and carrying off provisions, the light-troops, as if for the night, kindled their camp-fires in sight of the foe ; then dashed off, and by a rapid march of forty miles, reached the ferries and passed over. In a few hours, the van of the British appeared on the opposite bank. Cornwallis, in his movement toward the upper fords, had gone twenty-five miles out of his way. After a chase of more than two hundred miles, the object of his pursuit lay in sight, but the waters between could not be forded, nor could boats be obtained. As the two armies rested in sight of each other, how different were their emotions ! The one overflowing with gratitude, the other chafed with disappointment.

Feb
14.

The half-clad Americans had toiled for nearly four weeks over roads partially frozen, through drenching rains, without tents at night ; multitudes were without shoes, and in this instance, as in many others during the war, their way could be tracked in bloody foot-prints. Twice had the waters, through which they had safely passed, risen and become impassable to their pursuers, and again a river swollen by recent rains lay between them. Was it strange, that those who were accustomed to notice the workings of Providence, believed that He who orders all things, had specially interposed His arm for the salvation of the patriots ?

After resting his soldiers—who, if they were compelled to march rapidly, were comfortably clad—Cornwallis com-

menced to move slowly back. He and his officers were greatly mortified at their want of success ; they had made great sacrifices in destroying their private stores, that when thus freed from encumbrances, they could overtake the Americans and completely disperse them. A few days later, he took post at Hillsborough, whence he issued another of his famous proclamations.

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General Greene refreshed his troops, of whom he wrote to Washington, that they were " in good spirits, notwithstanding their sufferings and excessive fatigue." He then repassed the Dan, and boldly marched in pursuit, to encourage the Whigs of the Carolinas, and prevent the Tories from rising.

It was rumored that Tarleton was enlisting and organizing great numbers of Tories in the district between the Haw and Deep rivers. General Greene sent Colonels Lee and Pickens, with their cavalry, against him. On their way they met three or four hundred mounted Tories, who mistook their men for Tarleton's, and came riding up, shouting " Long live the king !" It was for them a sad mistake. The Americans made no reply, but surrounded them, and without mercy cut them to pieces. Another exhibition of that deadly rancor that prevailed in the South between the Whigs and the royalists. This check taught the Tories caution, and materially diminished their enlistments. Many others, on their way to the British camp, when they heard of this conflict, returned to their homes.

Mar.
2.

Cornwallis, almost destitute of supplies, changed his position, and moved further South. Greene cautiously followed, not daring, from very weakness, to risk an engagement with the enemy's veterans, except when they were in small parties. As for himself, he was so watchful against surprise, that he never remained more than one day in the same place, and never communicated to any one beforehand where he expected to encamp.

Feb.
26.

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1781.

Mar.
15.

Fresh troops, in the mean time, were gradually joining him from Virginia and Maryland, and when his force amounted to four thousand, he left his baggage seventeen miles in the rear, and approached the enemy to give them battle. It was in the vicinity of Guilford Court House. He drew his army up in two lines ; the militia, in whom he had little confidence, as they were apt to give way at the first charge, he placed behind a fence, and stationed sentries in the rear, with orders to shoot the first man who should run. The battle was fought in a region covered with thick woods, with cleared fields interspersed. The North Carolina militia could not withstand the shock of the British charge, but threw down their arms and fled. The Virginia militia, under Colonel Stevens, stood their ground, and for a time kept up a destructive fire ; but they too were compelled to yield to the bayonet. Now the enemy pressed on in pursuit, but presently Colonel Washington charged them with his horse, and drove them back. Then again the British artillery opened upon the American pursuers, and they in turn were checked. Greene depended much on his Continentals, but one of the newly-raised Maryland regiments gave way before a battalion led by Colonel Stewart. The battalion was presently checked by Colonel Washington's cavalry, and the brave Stewart was himself slain. It was impossible to retrieve what the North Carolina militia had lost, and Greene ordered a retreat, which he conducted with his usual skill.

Though Greene retreated from the field, Cornwallis was unable to pursue. More than a thousand of the militia deserted and returned home, and Greene's army was soon as weak as ever. This has been thought one of the severest battles of the whole war. "The wounded of both armies lay scattered over a wide space. There were no houses nor tents to receive them. The night that followed the battle was dark and tempestuous ; horrid shrieks re-

sounded through the woods ; many expired before morning. Such is war ! ”

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Cornwallis's army was so broken by this battle, and weakened by desertions and sickness, that it numbered but about fourteen hundred men. He was compelled to abandon his position, and fall back to Wilmington, near the seaboard. After recruiting his men, Greene boldly marched into South Carolina, and advanced rapidly upon Camden, where Lord Rawdon with a small force held command. That central position was connected, on the one hand, with Charleston, and on the other with the strong forts of Ninety-Six and Augusta. Between these important points, there were several smaller posts. Lee and Marion were sent, with their cavalry, to attack some of these. Greene himself advanced within two miles of the British lines, and encamped at Hobkirk's Hill, near a swamp which covered his left. Rawdon thought to surprise the Americans, made a circuit of the swamp, and came suddenly upon the camp ; but the surprise was only partial. Greene promptly formed his line. In moving along a narrow passage, the British were exposed to a severe fire, and the American infantry were about to attack them in flank, while the horse, under Colonel Washington, moved to charge them in the rear. Rawdon brought up his reserve to counteract this movement. A regiment of Continentals, in the American centre, and upon whom Greene depended very much, unexpectedly gave way, and thus threw the army into confusion, and a retreat was ordered.

1781.

April
7.

April
25.

The loss on each side was nearly equal ; the Americans, however, brought off their cannon, and checked the pursuit. In the mean while several fortified places belonging to the British fell into the hands of Lee and Marion, thus breaking up the communication between Charleston and the interior.

Rawdon abandoned Camden, and retreated to Monk's Corner, in the vicinity of Charleston.

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Greene marched against the strong post of Ninety-Six, but after besieging it for some time, he heard that Rawdon had been reinforced, and was then hastening to relieve it. After making a vigorous attempt to take the place by assault, he raised the siege and retreated across the Saluda. The heat had now become excessive, and both armies retired from active operations: the American on the hills of the Santee, and the British on the Congaree. The British had lost in the space of seven months the greater part of South Carolina, and were now restricted to the region between the Santee and the Lower Savannah. The partisan warfare continued, although the main armies were at rest.

June
18.

The British resolved to execute as traitors those who had given their parole not to engage in the war or had received a protection, if they should be taken prisoners with arms in their hands. A distinguished citizen of Charleston, Colonel Isaac Hayne, had been taken prisoner at the capture of that city, but owing to family afflictions—a sick and dying wife and helpless children—he gave his parole to remain neutral, and was promised protection. In violation of this pledge, he was soon after ordered to take up arms against his countrymen. He refused; but instead deemed himself justified in again joining the American army.

He was again taken prisoner, and now condemned to die as a traitor. The inhabitants of Charleston, Whig and Tory, petitioned for his pardon, yet Rawdon refused, and Hayne was hanged. His execution was looked upon as contrary to military rule, cruel and unjust. In the minds of the Whigs the bitterest animosity was excited. Greene threatened to retaliate. The American soldiers were with difficulty restrained from putting to death the British officers whom they took prisoners.

When the heat of the weather somewhat abated, Greene moved from the hills up the Wateree to Camden,

and thence across the Congaree and down it to the vicinity of Eutaw Springs. The British, now under Colonel Stuart, retired before him ; but the Americans surprised a large foraging party and took a number of prisoners. The remainder escaped and joined their main force, which immediately drew up in order of battle. Though the attack was made with great ardor, the enemy withstood it with determined bravery. The contest raged most fiercely around the artillery, which changed hands several times. The British left at length gave way, and the Americans pursued, but presently the fugitives took possession of a large stone house, surrounded by a picketed garden. From this place they could not be immediately dislodged. A British battalion, which had successfully resisted a charge of the Americans, suddenly appeared at the rear of the assailants. The latter, disconcerted by this movement, and thrown into confusion, began to retreat.

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1781.

Sept.
8.

The force of each army was about two thousand. The loss of the British was seven hundred, and that of the Americans about five hundred.

The victory was claimed by both parties, but the advantage was certainly on the side of the Americans. Colonel Stuart, the British commander, thought it prudent to fall back to the vicinity of Charleston. Greene retired again to the hills of Santee to refresh his men, who were wretchedly off for necessities, being barefooted and half-clad, out of hospital stores, and nearly out of ammunition.

Greene's military talents had been severely tested during this campaign ; he was as successful in attacking as he was in avoiding his enemies. In no instance was he really equal to them in force and equipments ; but he never fought a battle that did not result more to his advantage than to that of the enemy. Their very victories were to them as injurious as ordinary defeats. It is not strange that he was the favorite officer of the Commander-in-chief.

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XXXVII.

1781.

May.

While these events were in progress in the South, a series of important operations were also in train in the North. There were two objects, one of which might be attained : New York might be taken, as its garrison had been much weakened by sending detachments to the South; or Cornwallis might be captured in Virginia. But neither of these could be accomplished without the aid of a French army as well as fleet. While the matter was under consideration, a frigate arrived from France bringing the Count De Barras, who was to command the French fleet at Newport, and also the cheering news that twenty ships of the line, under the Count de Grasse, with land forces on board, were shortly to sail for the West Indies, and that a portion of this fleet and forces might be expected on the coast of the United States in the course of a few months. Washington and the Count de Rochambeau had an interview at Weathersfield, Connecticut, to devise a plan of operations. They determined to make an attack upon New York. The French army was soon to be put in motion to form a junction with the American on the Hudson, and a frigate was despatched to inform the Count de Grasse of the plan, and to invite his coöperation.

July
6.

Clinton, suspecting the designs against New York, became alarmed, and ordered Cornwallis, who was at Williamsburg, Virginia, to send him a reinforcement of troops. To comply with this order, the latter marched toward Portsmouth. Lafayette and Steuben cautiously followed. Their men numbered about four thousand ; the army of Cornwallis was much more numerous and better appointed. Lafayette intended to attack the rear-guard of the British when the main body had passed James River. Cornwallis suspected the design, and laid his plans to entrap the Marquis. He sent over a portion of his troops with the pack-horses, and so arranged them as to make a great display ; then threw in the way of the Americans a negro

and a dragoon, who pretended to be deserters, and they announced that the main body of the British army had passed the river. Lafayette immediately detached Wayne with a body of riflemen and dragoons to commence the attack, while he himself should advance to his support.

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1781.

Wayne moved forward, forced a picket, which designedly gave way, but presently he found himself close upon the main body of the enemy. In a moment he saw that he had been deceived. Wayne's daring nature decided his course: he at once ordered a charge to be sounded; his men, horse and foot, caught his spirit, and with shouts, as if sure of victory, they dashed against the enemy with great impetuosity, gallantly continued the fight for a short time, and then as rapidly retreated. The ruse succeeded admirably. Cornwallis, astounded at the boldness and vigor of the attack, hesitated to pursue, thinking the movement was designed to lead him into an ambuscade. This delay enabled Lafayette to extricate himself from his dangerous position.

Cornwallis now crossed the river, but while the detachment designed for New York was embarking, a second communication was received from Clinton. He now announced the arrival of reinforcements of Hessians from Europe, and also directed Cornwallis to retain all his force, and choose some central position in Virginia, and there fortify himself. In accordance with this command, the latter chose the towns of Gloucester and Yorktown, situated opposite each other on York River. Here, with an army of eight thousand effective men, he threw up strong intrenchments, and also moored in the harbor a number of frigates and other vessels of war.

The financial affairs of the country continued in a deplorable condition. Congress hoped to remedy the evil by

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1781.

appointing a single superintendent of finance, instead of the committee to whom it had hitherto been intrusted. Robert Morris, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, received the appointment. He accepted the office only on the express condition, that all transactions should be in specie value. The results vindicated the wisdom of the choice ; the genius in furnishing the "sinews of war" was as efficient as that displayed by others in the field. At his instance Congress established the Bank of North America, with a capital of two millions of dollars, and to continue in force for ten years. The bank was pledged to redeem its notes in specie on presentation. This feature of the institution at once secured the confidence of the public, and the wealthy invested in it their funds. Operating by means of the bank, Morris raised the credit of Congress higher than it ever stood before ; and he was also enabled, in a great measure, to furnish supplies for the army and pay for the soldiers. Whenever public means failed he pledged his own credit.

Washington, on his return from the interview with Rochambeau, addressed letters to the authorities of New Jersey and New England, urging them in this emergency to furnish provisions and their quotas of men. But they were dilatory and unable to comply, and he had but five thousand effective men at Peekskill, and they would have been destitute of provisions, had it not been for the energy of Morris.

July.

The French army had remained inactive eleven months at Newport ; it now moved to join Washington in the Highlands. Information was received from the Count de Grasse that he would shortly sail with a large fleet for the United States. Washington and Rochambeau hastened their preparations to coöperate with him upon his arrival in the proposed attack on New York. An intercepted letter gave Clinton the knowledge of these movements, and

he was soon on the alert to defend the city. The British posts on Manhattan Island were reconnoitred by the Americans, the combined armies were encamped at Dobbs' Ferry and on the Greenburg hills, waiting for reinforcements and the Count de Grasse. Presently came a frigate from the Count to Newport with the intelligence that he intended to sail for the Chesapeake. This information disconcerted all their plans ; now they must direct their forces against Cornwallis. To accomplish this effectively Clinton must be deceived and Cornwallis kept in ignorance. To "misguide and bewilder" Sir Henry, a space for a large encampment was marked out in New Jersey, near Staten Island ; boats were collected ; ovens were built as if preparing for the sustenance of a large army ; pioneers were sent to clear roads toward King's Bridge, and pains were taken to keep the American soldiers ignorant of their own destination.

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1781.

Aug.

General Lincoln was sent with the first division of the army across the Jerseys ; he was followed by the French. Wagons were in company to carry the packs of the soldiers, to enable them to move with more rapidity. Washington sent orders to Lafayette, who was yet in Virginia, to take a position to prevent Cornwallis retreating to North Carolina ; to retain Wayne with his Pennsylvanians, and to communicate with General Greene. He also wrote to the Count de Grasse, who would soon be in the Chesapeake.

Thus were the plans skilfully laid by which the contest was brought to a happy issue. When the Northern soldiers arrived in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and found that they were really going against Cornwallis, they manifested some discontent in prospect of the long southern march in the month of August. At this critical moment, John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, President of Congress, arrived from France, whither he had been sent to obtain aid ; he brought with him a large supply of clothing, ammunition, and arms ; and what was just then very

CHAP. much wanted, half a million of dollars. By means of this
XXXVII. and with the aid of Morris, the soldiers received a portion
 1781. of their pay in cash. Their good humor was restored, and
 they cheerfully marched on.

De Barras, who commanded the French fleet at New-
 Aug. port, suddenly put to sea. Clinton at once divined the
 28. object was to unite, in the Chesapeake, with another
 French fleet from the West Indies ; and he sent Admiral
 Graves to prevent the junction. The admiral was aston-
 ished to find De Grasse, with twenty-five sail of the line,
 anchored within the Capes. De Grasse ran out to sea, as
 if to give the British battle, but really to divert their at-
 Sept. tention until De Barras could enter the Bay. For five
 5. days the hostile fleets manœuvred and skirmished. Mean-
 while De Barras appeared and passed within the Capes,
 and immediately De Grasse followed. Graves now re-
 turned to New York.

Until the main body of the combined armies was be-
 yond the Delaware, Clinton supposed the movement was a
 ruse to draw him out to fight in the open fields. Corn-
 Sept. wallis himself was as much deceived ; thinking he would
 10. have Lafayette only to contend with, he wrote to Clinton
 that he could spare him twelve hundred men to aid in de-
 fending New York. Not until he was fairly in the toils,
 when the French fleet had anchored within the Capes, did
 he apprehend his danger.

Thinking that perhaps a portion of the American army
 might be sent back to defend New England, Clinton sent
 Arnold with a force, composed principally of Tories and
 Hessians, on a marauding expedition into Connecticut.
 But Washington was not to be diverted from his high pur-
 pose. While he and De Rochambeau are pushing on to-
 ward the head of the Chesapeake, let us turn aside to
 to speak of this maraud, which closes the career of the
 traitor in his own country.

New London was the first to be plundered and burned, CHAP.
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and there Arnold destroyed an immense amount of property. Fort Griswold, commanded by Colonel William Ledyard—brother of the celebrated traveller—was situated on the opposite shore of the river. This was assaulted, and after an obstinate resistance, in which the British lost two hundred men and their two highest officers, it was carried. When the enemy entered, the Americans laid down their arms, but the massacre continued. Major Bromfield, a New Jersey tory, by the death of the two higher officers, became the leader of the assailants. Tradition tells that when he entered the fort he inquired who commanded, and that Colonel Ledyard came forward, saying, "I did, sir; but you do now;" at the same time handing him his sword: that Bromfield took the sword and plunged it into Ledyard's breast. This was the signal for indiscriminate slaughter, and more than sixty of the yeomanry of Connecticut were massacred in cold blood. The militia began to collect in great numbers from the neighboring towns. Arnold dared not meet his enraged countrymen, and he hastily re-embarked. These outrages were committed almost in sight of his birthplace. Thus closed "a career of ambition without virtue, of glory terminated with crime, and of depravity ending in infamy and ruin."

Sept.
7.

The combined armies arrived at Elkton, where they found transports sent by Lafayette and De Grasse to convey them to the scene of action. Previously De Grasse had landed three thousand troops under the marquis St. Simon, to unite with the forces under Lafayette, Steuben, and Wayne.

Sept.
27.

As had been anticipated, Cornwallis endeavored to force his way to the Carolinas, but the youthful marquis, whom some months before he had characterized as a "boy," was on the alert. He then sent off expresses with urgent

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appeals to Clinton to send him aid. In the mean time he was indefatigable in strengthening his fortifications.

1781.

The combined forces, French and American, were about twelve thousand, besides the Virginia militia called out by Governor Nelson, who, as the State treasury was empty, pledged his own property as security to obtain a loan of money to defray the expenses. The Governor was a resident of Yorktown, and when the cannonade was about to commence, he was asked where the attack would be most effective: "He pointed to a large, handsome house on a rising ground as the probable headquarters of the enemy. It proved to be his own."

The plan of operations were speedily arranged, and the allies began to press the siege with great vigor. Their lines were within six hundred yards of the enemy's works, which they completely surrounded. General Washington himself put the match to the first gun. The heavy ordnance brought by De Barras was soon thundering at the fortifications. The British outworks were very strong, and beyond these were thrown up redoubts to hinder the approach of the assailants. The cannonade continued for four days; the enemy's outworks were greatly damaged and guns dismounted, while a forty-four gun ship and other vessels were burned by means of red-hot shot thrown by the French. Cornwallis withdrew his men from the outworks, but the redoubts remained. Two of these were to be stormed; one assigned to the French, the other to the Americans. The assault was made about eight o'clock in the evening. The Americans, under Alexander Hamilton, were the first to enter; they scrambled over the parapet without regard to order, and carried the redoubt at the point of the bayonet. The French captured theirs, but according to rule, and they suffered more than the Americans in their headlong attack. The emulation exhibited by both parties was generous and noble. From

Oct.
14.

these captured redoubts a hundred heavy cannon poured in an incessant storm of balls. Cornwallis, as he saw his works one by one crumbling to pieces, his guns disabled, his ammunition failing, determined to make a desperate sally and check the besiegers. The British soldiers, a little before daybreak, suddenly rushed out, and carried two batteries, but scarcely had they obtained possession of them, before the French in turn furiously charged, and drove them back to their own intrenchments. But one avenue of escape was left ;—they must cross the river to Gloucester, cut a way through the opposing force, and by forced marches reach New York. Cornwallis resolved to abandon his sick and wounded and baggage, and make the desperate attempt. Boats were collected, and in the night a portion of the troops crossed over ; the second division was embarking, when suddenly the sky was overcast, and a storm of wind and rain arrested the movement. It was now daylight. The first division with difficulty recrossed to Yorktown, as on the river they were subjected to the fire of the American batteries. Despairing of assistance from Clinton, and unwilling to risk the effect of an assault upon his shattered works, or to wantonly throw away the lives of his soldiers, he sent to Washington an offer to surrender. The terms were arranged, and on the 19th of October, in the presence of thousands of patriots assembled from the neighboring country, Cornwallis surrendered seven thousand men as prisoners of war to Washington, as commander-in-chief of the combined army, and the shipping, seamen, and naval stores to the Count de Grasse.

At Charleston, when Lincoln capitulated, the Americans were not permitted to march out with their colors flying, as had been granted to Burgoyne, but with their colors cased. It was thought proper to deny them the courtesy granted at Saratoga, and the British soldiers were directed to march out with their colors cased ; and Lincoln was deputed by Washington to receive the sword of Cornwallis.

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1781.

Oct.
16.Oct.
19.

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1781.

Washington sent one of his aids to carry the joyful news to the Congress at Philadelphia. He reached the city at midnight. Soon the old State-house bell, that five years before signalized to the people that the Declaration of Independence was made, now awoke the slumbering city to hear the watchmen cry, "Cornwallis is taken! Cornwallis is taken!" The inhabitants by thousands rushed into the streets to congratulate each other. Congress met the next morning and proceeded in a body to a church, and there publicly offered thanks to Almighty God for the special favor He had manifested to their struggling country, then issued a proclamation appointing a day for national thanksgiving and prayer, "in acknowledgment of the signal interposition of Divine Providence." Throughout the whole land arose the voice of thanksgiving from the families of the patriots, from the pulpits, from the army. Never did a nation rejoice more. The clouds of uncertainty and doubt were dispelled; the patriots were exultant in the prospect of peace and of the established freedom of their country. Their intelligence enabled them to appreciate the blessings for which they had so long struggled.

If the battle of Bunker Hill, or the evacuation of Boston, had led to a reconciliation with the mother country, how different had been their feelings. Then an affection, a reverence for England would have lingered, only to retard the progress of the Colonists—at best but half-forgiven rebels—and hold them subordinate to her, not so much in political dependence as formerly, but sufficient to stifle that sentiment of nationality, so essential to the proper development of their character and of the resources of the country.

We have seen how long it took illiberal laws, enforced in a tyrannical manner, to alienate their affections. It now required a seven years' struggle of war, outrage and suffering, dangers and privations, to induce a pervading national sentiment, rouse the energies of the people,

give them confidence, and lead them to sympathize with each other. CHAP.
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Congress voted thanks to Washington, to the Counts De Rochambeau and De Grasse, and to the army generally. Eulogies were showered upon the Commander-in-chief;—the spontaneous outpourings of a grateful people, who, during the darkest hours of the contest, had in him unbounded confidence. 1781.

Yorktown was now a name to be honored even beyond those of Bunker Hill and Saratoga. How much was involved in that surrender! The long struggle was virtually ended. It had been a contest not for power, not for aggrandizement, but for a great truth and principle, which had been overshadowed by authority and pressed down by arbitrary rule. Said Lafayette to Napoleon, when he sneered at the smallness of the armies engaged in the American Revolution: "It was the grandest of causes, won by the skirmishes of sentinels and outposts." It is true that the number who fell on the battle-fields was comparatively small. The names of but few of these have come down to us; they were written only on the hearts of friends and relatives who mourned their loss. Scarcely was there a family but had a precious record; the cherished memory of some one who had thus sacrificed his life.

NOTE.—The number of soldiers furnished by each State to the Continental army, during the war, may be seen by the following table:

Massachusetts, ...	67,907	North Carolina, ...	7,263
Connecticut, ...	31,939	South Carolina, ...	6,417
Virginia, ...	26,678	Rhode Island, ...	5,908
Pennsylvania, ...	25,678	Georgia, ...	2,679
New York, ...	17,781	Delaware, ...	2,386
Maryland, ...	13,912		
New Hampshire, ...	12,497		
New Jersey, ...	10,726		
			231,791

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CLOSING EVENTS OF THE WAR—FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

British Efforts Paralyzed.—The States form Independent Governments.—Indian Wars.—Massacre of the Christian Delawares.—Battle of the Blue Lick.—Carleton supersedes Clinton.—Commissioners of Peace.—The common Distress.—Dissatisfaction in the Army.—The “Anonymous Address.”—Peace concluded.—British Prisoners; the Tories.—Disbandment of the American Army.—Washington takes leave of his Officers.—Resigns his Commission.—Shay’s Rebellion.—Interests of the States clash.—The Constitutional Convention.—The Constitution ratified by the States.—The Territory North-west of the Ohio.—Ecclesiastical Organizations.

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1781. On the very day that Cornwallis surrendered, Clinton sailed to his aid with seven thousand men. When off the entrance to the Chesapeake, he learned, to his astonishment, that all was lost. As the British fleet was much inferior to that of the French, he hastily returned to New York.

Washington requested Count de Grasse to coöperate with General Greene in an attack upon Charleston, but De Grasse pleaded the necessity of his presence in the West Indies, and excused himself. The Americans now returned to their old quarters on the Hudson. The French army wintered at Williamsburg in Virginia, while the British prisoners were marched to Winchester.

The capture of Cornwallis paralyzed the efforts of the

British and Tories. In the South they evacuated all the posts in their possession, except Savannah and Charleston ; before the latter place Greene soon appeared, and disposed his forces so as to confine them closely to the town. In the North, the only place held by the enemy was New York.

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XXXVII.
1781.

Washington never for a moment relaxed his watchfulness, but urged upon Congress and the States to prepare for a vigorous campaign the next year. But so impoverished had the country become, that to raise men and money seemed almost impossible, while the prospect of peace furnished excuses for delay.

The several States now took measures to form independent governments, or to strengthen or modify those already in existence. Some of these had been hastily formed, and, consequently, were more or less defective. The custom was introduced of sending delegates to conventions called for the purpose of framing constitutions, which were submitted to the people for their approval or rejection. The common law of England was adopted, and made the basis in the administration of justice in the courts.

A cruel border warfare was still continued by incursions of Indians against the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and against the frontiers of New York, by Indians and Tories.

Many of the Delaware Indians, under the influence of Moravian teachers, had become Christian, and so far imbibed the principles of their instructors as to be opposed to war. Some of these, nearly twenty years before, had emigrated from the banks of the Susquehanna and settled on the Muskingum, where they had three flourishing villages, surrounded by corn-fields. The hostile Indians from the lakes, in their incursions against the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, robbed these Delawares of

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their provisions. The Delawares became objects of suspicion to both the hostile Indians and the whites. The former accused them of revealing their plans, the latter of conniving at the incursions of their enemies, and the hostile Indians compelled them to emigrate to the vicinity of Sandusky.

1761.

In the mean time, murders had been committed by the Shawanese in the vicinity of Pittsburg. A company of eighty or ninety backwoodsmen volunteered, under a Colonel Williamson, to take revenge on the supposed murderers—the Christian Delawares—a portion of whom had returned to their old home to gather their corn. The expedition reached the villages on the Muskingum, collected the victims, it would seem, under the pretence of friendship, then barbarously and in cold blood murdered about ninety of these inoffensive creatures,—men, women, and children.

Mar.
1782.

This success excited to other invasions, and four hundred and eighty men, under Colonels Williamson and Crawford, marched from Western Pennsylvania to surprise the remnants of the Christian Indians at Sandusky, and also to attack the village of the hostile Wyandottes. The Indians learned of their approach, waited for them in ambush, and defeated them; took many prisoners, among whom were Crawford, his son, and son-in-law. These three they burned at the stake.

June
6.

About the same time, a large body of the Indians north of the Ohio, led by the infamous Simon Girty, a tory refugee, invaded Kentucky. They were met by the Kentuckians, under Colonels Boone, Todd, and Triggs, at the Big Blue Lick, when a bloody and desperate encounter ensued. But overwhelmed by numbers, nearly one-half the Kentuckians were either killed or taken prisoners.

Aug.

After the capture at Yorktown no battle occurred between the main armies, and but one or two skirmishes. In one of these, in the vicinity of Charleston, the younger

Laurens was slain—a young man of great promise, who was universally lamented.

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1782.

Among the English people at large the desire to close the war had greatly increased. With them it had ever been unpopular ; they were unwilling that their brethren beyond the Atlantic should be deprived of the rights which they themselves so much valued. The intelligence of the surrender of Cornwallis created among them stronger opposition than ever to the harsh measures of the Government. Yet the war party—the King and Ministry, and the majority of the aristocracy—were unwilling to yield to the pressure of public opinion. They were thunderstruck at this unexpected disaster. Says a British writer : “ Lord North received the intelligence of the capture of Cornwallis as he would have done a cannon-ball in his breast ; he paced the room, and throwing his arms wildly about, kept exclaiming, ‘ O God ! it is all over ; it is all over ! ’ ” For twelve years he had been prime minister. The pliant servant of the King, he had ever been in favor of prosecuting the war, but now the voice of the English people compelled him to resign.

Sir Guy Carleton, whom we have seen winning the respect of the Americans, by his upright and honorable conduct when Governor of Canada, was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Clinton. In the following May he arrived at New York, empowered to make propositions for peace. He immediately addressed a letter to Washington, proposing a cessation of hostilities, and also issued orders, in which he forbade the marauding incursions of the Indians and Tories on the frontiers of Western New York.

Congress appointed five commissioners to conclude a treaty with Great Britain. These were : John Adams, Doctor Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, who, lately released from his confinement in the Tower, was yet in London, and Thomas Jefferson ;—the latter, however, declined to serve. They met at Paris two British Commissioners, who had been authorized to treat with “ certain

- CHAP.** colonies" named in their instructions. The American
XXXVIII. Commissioners refused to enter upon negotiations, unless
 1782. in the name of the "United States of America;"—they
 claimed the right to be recognized a power among the
 nations. This right was acknowledged by Britain, and on
 the 30th of November the parties signed a preliminary
 treaty, which Congress ratified the following April. Ne-
 gotiations continued, and the final treaty was signed on
 1783. the 3d of September following. France and England in
 the mean time likewise concluded a treaty of peace. The
 American Commissioners also negotiated treaties of com-
 merce with Spain and Holland.

Though the war was ended, the American people had numberless difficulties with which to contend. The army, that through the many trials of the contest had remained faithful, was in a deplorable condition. The half-pay for life, which, three years before, Congress had promised to the officers, proved to be only a promise. Washington wrote confidentially to the Secretary of War in behalf of those about to be discharged from the service: "I cannot help fearing the result, when I see such a number of men about to be turned on the world, soured by penury, involved in debts, without one farthing to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, and having suffered every thing which human nature is capable of enduring on this side of death. You may rely upon it, the patience and long sufferance of this army are almost exhausted, and there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant."

- Mar.** At this crisis an address, plausibly written, was privately circulated in the camp. It suggested to the officers and men the propriety of taking upon themselves to redress their grievances; that they should intimidate Congress and compel it to pay their just demands.

The address seems to have been the embodied sentiments of some half dozen officers, although written by Captain Armstrong, the son of General Armstrong of Pennsylvania. A call was issued for a meeting of the officers, but the next morning, in the regular orders for the day, Washington took occasion to disapprove of the meeting as a violation of discipline. He also named a day for the officers to assemble and hear the report of a committee of their number who had been sent to lay their demands before Congress. The next day a second anonymous address was issued, but somewhat more moderate in tone than the first. The officers met according to appointment, and Gates, being second in command, was made chairman of the meeting. Washington presently came in, made them a soothing address, appealed to their patriotism and to their own fair fame in toiling for their country, and now were they willing to tarnish their name or distrust their country's justice? He pledged his word to use his influence with Congress to fulfil its promises. He then withdrew. The meeting passed resolutions which condemned in severe terms the spirit of the anonymous address.

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XXXVIII.
1798.

Congress soon after resolved to accede to the proposition of the officers, and change the promise of half pay for life, to that of full pay for five years. And also to advance to the soldiers full pay for four months.

This was not the only instance in which the influence of Washington arrested plots designed to ruin the prospects of the young republic. The condition of the country was so desperate that many feared the States could not form a permanent government. At the suggestion of officers who thus thought, Lewis Nicola, a foreigner, a colonel in the Pennsylvania line, wrote Washington an elaborate letter, in which he discussed the expediency of establishing a monarchy, and finally offered him the crown. Washington indignantly condemned the scheme. Said he · "I

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cannot conceive what I have done during my whole life, which could cause any one to imagine that I could entertain such a proposition for a moment."

1788.

When these facts became known, it was not strange that the people feared a standing army.

April
19.

Intelligence came at length of the signing of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain. Congress issued a proclamation giving the information to the nation. On the 19th of April, precisely eight years from the battle of Lexington, the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in the camp at Newburg.

The soldiers of Burgoyne and Cornwallis were yet prisoners, and had been marched to New York in order to be sent home. A general exchange of prisoners now took place. The prospects of the Tories were dreary indeed. The severe laws enacted against them were still in force, and now several thousand of them had assembled at New York, and were compelled to leave the country. The majority of them were wealthy. During the war many of them had held offices in the British service, and some had grown rich as merchants, landowners, and sutlers for the British army; others, the unscrupulous, by privateering. Those who lived in the North emigrated to Canada and Nova Scotia, while those of the South went chiefly to the West India Islands.

A clause was inserted in the treaty which prohibited the carrying away of the slaves, large numbers of whom had fled to the British army during the campaigns in the Carolinas and Virginia.

Carleton refused to comply with the demand, on the ground that it would be highly dishonorable to deliver them up since they had sought protection under the British flag. To secure their safety, he sent them away among the very first, while at the same time he kept an accurate

list of their number, leaving to future negotiation indemnity for their loss. (CAP.
XXVII)

These negroes, now liberated, were first taken to Nova Scotia ; afterward, a large number of them emigrated to Sierra Leone : " Their descendants, as merchants and traders, now constitute the wealthiest and most intelligent population of that African colony." 1788.

Before the disbandment of the army, Washington addressed a letter to the Governors of the several States, urging them to guard against the prejudices of one part of the country against another ; to encourage union among the States, and to make provision for the public debt. June.

On the 3d of November the army was disbanded. These patriot soldiers returned to their homes, to mingle with their fellow-citizens, and enjoy the blessings which their valor had obtained for themselves and their posterity. From that day the title of revolutionary soldier has been a title of honor. Nov.
8.

Before the officers of the army finally separated, they formed a society known as the Cincinnati—a name derived from the celebrated farmer-patriot of Rome. The association was to be perpetuated chiefly through the eldest male descendants of the original members. But as this feature, in the eyes of many, seemed to favor an hereditary aristocracy, it was stricken out ; still the society continued to be to some parties an object of jealousy.

As soon as preparations could be made, the British evacuated the few places occupied by their troops ; New York on the 25th of November, and Charleston in the following month. General Knox, with a small body of troops, and accompanied by Governor George Clinton and the State officers, entered New York as the British were leaving. Nov
25.

A few days after, the officers of the army assembled at a public house to bid farewell to their beloved commander. Presently Washington entered ; his emotions were too strong to be concealed. After a moment's pause he said : Dec
4.

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1788. "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." He then added : "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take my hand." General Knox, being the nearest, turned to him. Washington, affected even to tears, grasped his hand and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer : "The tear of manly sensibility was in every eye ; not a word was spoken to interrupt the dignified silence and the tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light infantry, to the barge which was to convey him across the river. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying to 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." ¹

On his way to Annapolis, where Congress was in session, he left with the controller at Philadelphia an accurate account of his expenses during the war ; they amounted to sixty-four thousand dollars. These accounts were in his own handwriting, and kept in the most perfect manner ; every charge made was accompanied by a mention of the occasion and object.

Dec 25. In an interview with Congress, he made a short address. Said he : "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." Then recommending to the favorable notice of Congress the

¹ Judge Marshall.

officers of his staff, and expressing his obligations to the army in general, he continued : " 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." CHAP.
XXXVIII
1788.

" 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."

The President of Congress, General Mifflin, who, in the darkest hour of the revolution, had favored the Conway Cabal, replied : " 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 doubtful war. We join with you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God ; 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 as happy as they have been illustrious ; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give." Washington hastened to Mount Vernon, which he had not visited for eight years, except for a few hours while on his way against Cornwallis.

Independence was at last attained, but at immense sacrifices. The calamities of war were visible in the ruins of burned towns, in the ravaged country, in the prostration of industry, and in the accumulation of debts. These amounted to one hundred and seventy millions of dollars—a sum enormous in proportion to the resources of the country—two-thirds of this debt had been contracted by Congress, and the remainder by the individual States. 1784.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

1784.

These were evils, but there were still greater which came home to the domestic hearth. Frequently the members of families had taken different sides, some were Whigs and some were Tories ; and that remorseless rancor which so often prevails in times of civil discord, extended throughout the land. It is pleasant to record, that in the course of a few years, a forgiving spirit among the people led to the repeal of the severe laws enacted against the Tories, and very great numbers of them repented of their misguided loyalty and returned to their native land.

On the conclusion of peace the English merchants, alive to their interests, flooded the States with manufactured goods at very reduced prices. This operation ruined the domestic manufactures, which the non-importation association, and necessities of the war had created and cherished, drained the country of its specie, and involved the merchants and people in debt. This poverty was followed by discontent, which prevailed more or less, and excited disturbances in several of the States.

1786.
Dec.
25.

In Massachusetts a thousand men assembled at Worcester, under the leadership of Daniel Shays, and forced the Supreme Court to adjourn, to prevent its issuing writs for the collection of debts.

1787.
Jan.

Governor Bowdoin called out the militia, which was put under the command of General Lincoln, who in a few weeks suppressed the outbreak. It was evident, however, that there was among the people a strong feeling of sympathy with the insurgents, for the vast majority of themselves labored under similar grievances.

This distress was overruled for good. It was the means of bringing all the States to view with favor a union under the same constitution, and thus form a government which should have power to act for the good of the whole country.

The States made trial of independent governments.

but after an experiment of three or four years the result proved unsatisfactory. This was especially the case in relation to the subjects of legislation which concerned the whole country ; such as the regulation of commerce, the common defence, the adjustment of controversies between one State and another, and making of treaties with other nations.

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1787.

These difficulties were increasing—many interests clashed. Some of the States passed laws which conflicted with those of their sisters ; since the close of the war, commerce had increased very rapidly, but American merchants were still excluded by the British from the West India trade. They complained to Congress, but the States had not yet conceded authority to that body, to regulate commerce or to legislate for the whole country.

Some States had good harbors, and imported merchandise upon which duties were imposed at the expense of their neighbors ; and ports competed with each other by lowering the rate of imports. Thus there were rival ports on the Delaware ; and Maryland and Virginia competed with each other for the trade of the Chesapeake, while New Jersey and Connecticut were laid under contribution by their neighbors of New York and Massachusetts. No State could protect itself by retaliation against the restrictions of foreign countries, as the attempt would throw its own trade into the hands of a sister rival.

Efforts were made to obviate these evils, and those States bordering on the waters of the Chesapeake and Potomac sent delegates to a convention held at Alexandria, to establish a uniform tariff of duties on the merchandise brought into their ports. This led to correspondence between the prominent men of the country and the legislatures. Another convention was held at Annapolis, to which there were representatives from only five States ; finally, the people elected delegates to meet in

CHAP. XXXVIII. Convention in Philadelphia, to revise the Articles of Confederation.

1787. On the 14th of May the members of the Convention met in the State House, in Philadelphia, in the same hall where the Declaration of Independence was made. Washington, who, since the war, had lived in retirement at Mount Vernon, appeared as a delegate. He was unanimously chosen President of the Convention.

The Convention resolved to sit with closed doors ; not even a transcript of their minutes was permitted to be made public. The articles of the old confederation, found to be very defective, were thrown aside, and the Convention addressed itself to framing an independent constitution.

There were present about fifty delegates, representatives from eleven different States, all of whom had the confidence of their fellow-citizens, and were distinguished for their intellectual and moral worth and experience in public affairs. Some had been members of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, some of the Continental Congress in 1774, and some were also among the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Conspicuous was the venerable Dr. Franklin, now in his eightieth year, who, thirty years before, at a convention at Albany, had proposed a plan of union for the colonies.

The various disturbances in different parts of the land had shaken the faith of many in the power of the multitude to govern themselves. Said Elbridge Gerry, in the Convention : " All the evils we experience flow from an excess of democracy. The people do not want virtue, but are under the dupes of pretended patriots ; they are daily misled into the most baleful measures of opinions."

It was necessary to have a central government, which could give security to all the States, and at the same time not conflict in its powers with their rights.

It was found very difficult to arrange satisfactorily the

representation in the two branches of the proposed government. The smaller States were alarmed, lest their rights would be infringed upon by the overwhelming majority of members coming from the larger ones. This difficulty was removed by constituting the Senate, in which the States were represented equally without reference to their population ; each being entitled to two members, while in the House of Representatives the States were to be represented in proportion to their population.

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1787.

After four months of labor, during which every article was thoroughly discussed, the Constitution was finished and signed by all the members present, with the exception of three ; Gerry, of Massachusetts, George Mason and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia. This result was not obtained without much discussion ; at one time, so adverse were opinions that it was apprehended the Convention would dissolve, leaving its work unfinished. It was then that Franklin proposed they should choose a chaplain to open their sessions by prayer. Said he : " I have lived a long time ; and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it possible that an empire can rise without his aid ? "

The Convention presented the Constitution thus framed to Congress, and that body submitted it to the people of the States for their approval or rejection.

It was a document of compromises ; probably not a member of the Convention was perfectly satisfied with it. There were three prominent compromises ; the first, the equal representation in the Senate, a concession to the smaller States ; the second, that in the enumeration of the inhabitants three-fifths of the slaves were to be included in determining the ratio of representation in the lower house of Congress ; a concession to the slaveholders ;

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1787.

and the third, permission, till 1808, to the States of Georgia and South Carolina, to receive slaves imported from Africa, as the delegates from those two States refused to sign the Constitution except on that condition. The great desire to secure the moral power of a unanimous vote of the members of the Convention in favor of their own work, alone obtained this concession.

In less than a year after the Constitution was submitted to the people, it was adopted by all the States, except North Carolina and Rhode Island, and by them in less than two years.

This ratification of the Constitution was not brought about without a struggle. The subject was discussed in conventions and in the legislatures, and in the newspapers. The States were for a time unwilling to resign any of their sovereignty to a Federal or National Government.

Many elaborate essays, collectively known as the *Federalist*, were written by Alexander Hamilton, Jay, and Madison, in favor of its adoption. These essays had an immense influence upon the leading minds of the country ; and these in turn greatly influenced the popular will.

It shows the practical wisdom of those who framed the Constitution, that in the application of its principles for almost three quarters of a century, it has been found necessary to change or modify only very few of its articles.

July
13.

While the Convention which framed the Constitution was in session in Philadelphia, the Continental Congress in New York passed a bill "for the government of the Territory north-west of the Ohio." That region had been ceded to the United States by the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia. In this bill were introduced provisions securing the exercise of religious freedom, and for the encouragement of schools, and also the proviso that "there shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude

in said territory, otherwise than in punishment for crime." CHAP.
XXXVIII
1784.
The region south of the Ohio was to be afterward regulated. Three years before Thomas Jefferson had introduced a bill, and urged its passage with all his influence, to exclude slavery not only from the territory then held by the United States, but from all which should thereafter be ceded to Congress by the respective States. This bill failed by only a few votes.

The people, though thus engaged in moulding their political institutions, did not neglect to conform their systems of ecclesiastical government to the new order of things. The Revolution had changed the relation of the religious denominations to the State. In New England, Congregationalism was the established religion, and every citizen was required to aid in the support of some church. In all the southern colonies the Episcopal Church was equally favored, and partially so in New York and New Jersey. Only in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Delaware, were all the Protestant sects on an equality, as to their religious rights.

The Episcopal Church was more disorganized than any other. It had hitherto been attached to the diocese of the Bishop of London, but now that authority was not recognized.

As yet there was no American bishop, and no means to obtain the consecration of any clergyman to that office, except by English bishops. Accordingly the Reverend Samuel Seabury, of Connecticut, at the request of the Episcopalians of that State, visited England to obtain ordination as a bishop. But the English bishops were prevented by law of Parliament from raising any one to that dignity, who did not take the oaths of allegiance, and acknowledge the King as head of the Church. Seabury then applied to the non-juring bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, by whom he was ordained. Some Episco-

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pallians, however, were not satisfied with an ordination at the hands of the Scottish bishops.

A convention of delegates, from several States, met and formed a constitution for the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." After some revision this constitution was adopted by conventions in the separate States. Titles were changed in order to conform to republicanism; such as "Lord Bishop," and all such as were "descriptive of temporal power and precedence." The Liturgy for the same reason was modified. A friendly letter was addressed to the English bishops, requesting at their hands ordination of American bishops. An Act of Parliament gave the desired authority, and William White, of Philadelphia, Samuel Provost, of New York, and James Madison, of Virginia, were thus ordained. Soon after these ordinations, a General Convention ratified the constitution, and the organization of the Episcopal Church in the United States was complete.

About this time came Thomas Coke, as superintendent or bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had been an able laborer with Wesley, by whom he was ordained to that office. This sect spread very rapidly, especially in the south; in that section of the country were a great many vacant parishes, which belonged to the Episcopal Church, numbers of whose clergymen left the country during the troubles of the Revolution. At this time the denomination did not number more than ninety preachers, and fifteen thousand members.

The institutions of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches required no change to adapt them to the new order of things.

1788. The Presbyterians took measures to organize their Church government on a national basis. Four Synods were formed out of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. A General Assembly, composed of delegates from

all the Presbyteries of the land, was authorized to meet annually. CHAP.
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Soon after the treaty of peace with England, the Pope's Nuncio at Paris made overtures to Congress, through Doctor Franklin, on the subject of appointing a Vicar Apostolic or bishop for the United States. On the ground that the subject was purely spiritual, and therefore beyond its jurisdiction, Congress refused to take any part in the matter. The Pope then appointed as his vicar apostolic, John Carroll, a brother of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton ; the same was afterward raised to the dignity of Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. 1788.

Almost immediately after the Declaration of Independence the Presbytery of Hanover, in Virginia, addressed a memorial to the House of Assembly, in which they petitioned for the separation of church and state. They preferred that the gospel should be supported by the free gifts of its friends ; they asked no aid from the civil power to maintain their own churches, and were unwilling that any denomination should thus be favored. The movement thus commenced was ardently seconded by the Baptists and Quakers, who petitioned the Assembly to the same effect. These petitions were met by counter-memorials from the Episcopalians and Methodists, who urged in behalf of the Establishment, that it was a system which " possessed the nature of a vested right, and ought to be maintained inviolate." 1778.

The separation of church and state soon became a prominent question in Virginia. Jefferson took an important part in the animated contest, but the most effective was the united influence of those who first opposed the establishment, and who never relaxed their efforts till the churches were declared independent of the civil power, and every colonial law interfering with the religious rights of the people was swept away.

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1788.

The example thus set by Virginia was not without its influence; the union of church and state was dissolved in the other States soon after the close of the Revolution, except in Connecticut and Massachusetts, where the system was retained many years longer.¹

Thus we have seen the Fathers of the Republic equal to every emergency as it occurred. They carried their country through the Revolution; then through the trying period between its close and the formation and adoption of the Constitution, and the adjustment of the difficult question of the relation between church and state. As statesmen and patriots they are held in higher estimation to-day by enlightened and liberal men than ever before; while the cause they advocated takes a deeper hold upon the general intelligence of the world. Had they been advocates of principles that could not bear the test of time and experience, though equally honest and sincere, they would still be looked upon as misguided men. On the contrary, they were in advance of their own age, and as time moves on they are more and more appreciated; their cause was commensurate in importance with the zeal and self-denial they exercised in making the principles of true liberty the inheritance of civilized man. It requires a good cause, as well as success, to secure the respect of future generations.

¹ Hildreth, Vol. III. Dr. Hawkes' Contributions to Ecclesiastical History of the U. S. Dr. Baird's Religion of America.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION

The Reception and Inauguration of the President.—An Era in human progress.—The Departments of State organized.—Hamilton's Financial Report.—Congress Assumes the Debts of the Nation.—The National Bank.—Commercial Enterprise.—Manufactures.—Indian War.—Harmer's Repulse.—St. Clair defeated.—Wayne defeats the Indians.—Political Parties.—Jefferson.—The French Revolution.—Genet arrives as French Minister.—War between France and England.—Neutrality proclaimed by the President.—Partisans of France.—Arrogant proceedings of Genet.—The Whiskey Insurrection.—Special Mission to Great Britain.—A Treaty concluded.—Its Ratification.—Other Treaties.—Washington's Farewell Address.—The Policy of the Government established.

WHEN two-thirds of the States had adopted the Federal Constitution, it became the law of the land. The Continental Congress—that body so remarkable in its origin, in what it had accomplished, and now about to pass out of existence—ordained that the new government should go into operation on the 4th of March, and also designated the city of New York as the place where the National Congress should hold its sessions. The same authority also named the time for electing the President and Vice-President, according to the manner prescribed in the Constitution.

The hearts of the American people were turned to one man. George Washington was unanimously chosen the first President of the Republic. John Adams received the next highest number of votes, and was elected Vice-

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1789.

CHAP. President. Charles Thompson, the old Secretary of Con-
XXXIX. gress, was sent to Mount Vernon to inform Washington
1783. of his election, and another messenger to Boston, to inform Adams of his. The latter had just returned from a residence of nine years in Europe, where he had been engaged in public business ; he immediately set out to enter upon the duties of his office. As a mark of respect, he was escorted by a troop of horse through Massachusetts and Connecticut, and was met at the New York State line, and in a similar manner attended to the city.

Washington wished to travel to New York in as private a manner as possible. But enthusiasm and respect, drew the people in crowds to see and honor him. The authorities of the States through which he passed, vied with each other in testifying their regard. The most graceful reception, and no doubt to him the most grateful, was the one he received at Trenton. As he came to the bridge, over which, twelve years before, on the eve of the battle of Princeton, he retreated with his weary and disheartened soldiers, he found it spanned by a triumphal arch bearing the inscription : " The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters." Here were assembled a company of matrons and young girls, dressed in white, with baskets of flowers in their hands. As he approached they began to sing an appropriate ode, written for the occasion. At the close of the line, " strew your hero's way with flowers," they suited the action to the sentiment by strewing the flowers before him. At Elizabethport he was met by a committee of both Houses of Congress, and the heads of departments, and received on board a barge, magnificently decorated, and manned by thirteen pilots in appropriate uniforms. The barge was accompanied by a numerous cortege of boats filled with citizens. Welcomed to the city, amidst the saluter of artillery from the ships in the harbor, American as well as foreign, and from the battery, he was conducted to

the house prepared for his reception, by Governor George Clinton, the State officers, and a numerous concourse of people.

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On the morning of the 30th of April, at 9 o'clock, the churches were opened for religious services and prayer. A little after the hour of noon, on the balcony of the Federal Hall, on the site of the present Custom House, in the presence of a vast concourse of people in the streets, the oath of office was administered to the President elect, by Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of New York. At the close of the ceremony the Chancellor exclaimed : "Long live George Washington, President of the United States !" The assembled multitude responded to the sentiment.

April

The members of both Houses returned to the Senate chamber, where the President delivered an inaugural address, replete with wisdom and with sentiments designed to harmonize the discordant opinions which prevailed, and with renewed expressions of gratitude to Heaven for the favor granted the people of America, in all their struggles. Then he closed by announcing that he would receive no remuneration for his services, only asking that his expenses might be paid. The members of Congress, accompanied by the President, then went in procession to St. Paul's church, where, led by Bishop Provost, the Chaplain of the Senate, they implored the blessing of the King of nations upon the government just inaugurated.

The youthful nation was about to assume the powers of self-government, under circumstances never before witnessed in the history of man ; to throw off the useless in forms and systems, retain what was valuable, and commence a new era in human progress. The people themselves established their own government ; its Constitution was framed to secure their own welfare, and not to make the State great at their expense. They had learned this of their fathers. In English history all the great advances in securing the enjoyment of human rights, from the day

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on which Magna Charta was given, to the Declaration of Independence, had tended to protect the rights of the subject—the individual man—and now this principle, untrammelled by clogging forms, was to be carried out. The individual man was to be pre-eminent ; the State only his instrument, the mere machine of his own contriving, designed and moulded from time to time to protect his civil and religious privileges. In the great empires of the Old World, the empire was every thing ; the people nothing. Now the people were to be every thing ; henceforth *they* were to be the fountain of power and influence. Ancient Greece and Rome had their civilization, their literature, their art, their liberty ; but they failed ; they had no elevating principle like Christianity to permeate and influence the people, penetrate their inmost life, and dignify the humblest by bringing into exercise the noblest attributes of their nature. A Christianized civilization ; the recognition of man's dearest rights ; an open field for individual enterprise ; attachment to institutions under whose ample shield protection was secured to all, were so many pledges of the ultimate success of a people thus governed.

The new government had before it a difficult task to arrange the various departments of State ; to obtain revenue, and pay off the national debt. Three executive departments were created, the presiding officers of which were styled secretaries—the Treasury, War, including that of the Navy, and Foreign Affairs. These secretaries, the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, could appoint to office, or dismiss from the same. They were to constitute his cabinet or council ; and when requested by him, were bound to give in writing their opinions on the subject under discussion. A judiciary for the nation was established, under the title of the Supreme Court of the United States, having subordinate Circuit and District courts. Washington nominated Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury ; General Knox, Secretary of

War ; Thomas Jefferson, Secretary for Foreign Affairs ; **CHAP. XXXIX**
 John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States, and Edmund
 Randolph, Attorney-General. **1789.**

The first session of Congress, a laborious one of six months, was spent in organizing the government. It shows the spirit of the times, that before they adjourned Congress passed a resolution, requesting the President to recommend a "day of public thanksgiving and prayer, in acknowledgment of the many signal favors of Almighty God, and especially his affording the people an opportunity peaceably to establish a constitution of government for their safety and happiness."

In January, the second session of the First Congress **1790.** commenced. The President, instead of sending a written message, as is now the custom, made to both Houses, assembled in the Senate chamber, an address. He directed their attention to the public defence ; to the encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and literature ; to the enactment of naturalization laws, and especially to the payment of the national debt. These various heads of business were referred to committees. During this session the official intercourse between the heads of departments and the Houses of Congress took the form of written communications.

Hamilton made his celebrated financial report, in which he recommended certain measures for obtaining revenue to defray the current expenses of the Government and pay off the national debt. This debt was in the form of certificates or notes of obligation to pay for value received. During the war they had been issued by the States as well as by Congress, to persons who furnished supplies to the army, and for other services. Congress assumed these debts, and also the foreign debt. The expenses of two distinct governments—the Federal and that of the separate States—were to be borne. The revenue could be derived only from taxes on property. As the control of commerce

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had been transferred to Congress by the States, it was fitting that the revenue derived from the tax or duty levied on imported merchandise should be appropriated to the support of the Federal Government, while that arising from real estate and other sources, should be assigned to the use of the States. Hamilton proposed, and the government adopted the system of indirect taxation by raising revenue from the duties thus imposed ; and to meet a certain deficiency at the time, an excise, or tax on the manufacture of domestic spirits.

Near the close of this session, Congress, after much discussion, passed a bill to locate the seat of the General Government on the banks of the Potomac, and authorized the President to select the spot within certain limits, and to make arrangements for the erection of suitable buildings. Until these should be ready for occupation, its sessions were to be held in Philadelphia, at which place, accordingly, the second Congress began its first session.

Dec.
6.

The President congratulated the members on the increasing prosperity of the country, and the unexpected success in obtaining revenue. On the recommendation of Hamilton, Congress gave a charter for twenty years for a National Bank, with the privilege to establish branches in any of the States. The capital of the Bank was ten millions, of which the government took two millions, and individuals the remainder. The Bank was as beneficial to the government as it was to the commercial interests of the country. Its bills were payable in gold or silver when presented at its counters. This feature had a decided effect ; it raised the credit of the General Government, and inspired confidence in the commercial world. The first census, just taken, showed the population of the States to be almost four millions.

By assuming the debts contracted by the States in the defence of their common liberties, Congress had simply performed an act of justice ; provision was made to pay

the interest, and also in time to liquidate the debts themselves. The duties imposed upon imports to raise revenue, had also a beneficial effect upon the struggling manufactures of the country. The mutual confidence between the States and the Federal Government, produced a like influence upon the minds of the people; their industry was encouraged, and their commerce extended. American merchantmen were seen on almost every sea; some sailed to the north-west coast of the continent, where, in exchange for trinkets, they obtained furs; these they bartered for cargoes in China, and these again they sold at home at an immense profit; while others were as busily employed in the trade to the East and West Indies, and to Europe. About this time Captain Gray, of Boston, returned from a voyage around the world—the first ever made by an American. On his second voyage he discovered, and to a certain extent, explored the Columbia river.

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1790.

1792.

Though the Revolution broke the fetters with which English cupidity had bound the domestic manufactures of the colonies, still there were innumerable difficulties in the way. A coarse fabric, known as linsey-woolsey, and dyed in various colors, derived from the bark of trees in the forest, comprised almost entirely the extent of domestic cloths. At the town of Beverly, in Massachusetts, was established the first factory for making cotton cloth. “The patriotic adventurers” were not very successful in their enterprise, though they had machines that could “card forty pounds of cotton in a day, and spin sixty threads at a time.” Newburyport has the honor of having the first factory for making woollen cloths, and two years later an establishment for printing calico. These crude efforts were not very successful, but they were the harbingers of future triumphs.

1788.

1794

Sir Richard Arkwright improved upon a machine invented by a poor man named Higs, who called it a “Jenny,” in honor of his daughter, and who, amid many

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- discouragements, and the jeers of his ignorant neighbors, contrived to spin a dozen threads of cotton at a time.
1794. He turned his machine by hand ; Arkwright arranged it to be driven by water-power. Samuel Slater, "the father of American manufactures," a native of Derbyshire, an apprentice of Arkwright's partner, made himself familiar, not merely with the use of the machine, but with the construction of the machines themselves. The British government did every thing in its power to retain the knowledge of the invention within the kingdom. Slater resolved to emigrate to America, and there introduce this art of spinning cotton. He landed at New York, but not meeting with encouragement, he went to Rhode Island,
1790. and at Pawtucket put in operation sixty-two spindles on the Arkwright principle. Sixteen years later he was joined by his brother, John Slater,* who brought with him the recent improvements in the art.

In the valley of the Ohio, Indian troubles were on the increase. The British neglected to give up the Western posts according to the treaty, but retained them with their small garrisons. The Indians became restless, and occasionally made incursions against the frontier settlements, especially those in Kentucky. It was surmised that

Oct. British emissaries had excited them to these outrages.

The year previous they had repulsed General Harmer, who had been sent against them, and this success increased their boldness. General St. Clair, now Governor of the North-west Territory, was appointed to the command of another expedition against them. In the mean time volunteers from Kentucky made desultory expeditions into the wilderness north of the Ohio. They attacked all the Indians they met, friendly or unfriendly, but the latter generally kept out of their way ; to burn empty wigwams, and destroy cornfields, only exasperated the savages more

1791. and more.

* His descendant, John S. Slater, in April, 1882, had introduced into the N. Y. Legislature a bill organizing an Association to manage a fund of \$1,000,000 presented by him for aid in educating the negroes of the Southern States.

It was the middle of September before St. Clair, with CHAP.
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1791.
an army of about two thousand men, began his march from Fort Washington, the little stockade fort on the site of the present city of CINCINNATI. It was his object to open a way, and establish a line of posts from the Ohio to the Maumee, and there build and garrison a strong fort, as a check upon the marauding Indians. Two of these posts he had already established. The militia who joined the army from Kentucky, were insubordinate, and, as the army could move but very slowly in cutting its way through the wilderness, they grew impatient, and finally numbers of them returned home. The Chickasaw warriors also deserted, and his force was reduced to fourteen hundred men. When he reached the head-waters of the Wabash, his army was surprised by Little Turtle, a celebrated Miami chief, and the Indians, who had hitherto contrived to keep out of sight. The militia fled immediately, and threw the regulars into confusion, who could not regain their order, nor sustain the attack. St. Clair was in his tent prostrated by illness and not able to mount his horse, and when Colonel Butler fell, the army commenced its retreat, or rather flight, abandoning every thing. Fortunately, plunder had more attractions for the savages than pursuit of the fugitives. The remnant of the army returned to Fort Washington, and the whole frontier was again defenceless. St. Clair resigned his command, and the President appointed General Wayne, whom we have seen so daring in the battles of the Revolution, to lead the next expedition; for the sake of connection the account of this will be given here.

Nov
4.

An attempt was made to negotiate a peace, but without success; in the mean while Wayne was at Fort Washington, earnestly engaged in recruiting and organizing his army. With his usual energy he pushed his forces rapidly forward to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, 1794.
June
and there built a fort which he named Recovery. This

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1794. fort the Indians besieged for two days, but were at length driven off. Six weeks after he suddenly marched to the Maumee. The Indians were taken by surprise. They took position amidst some fallen timber, prostrated by a hurricane, in order to avoid the cavalry, of which they had a great fear. Wayne ordered the infantry to charge with the bayonet through the timber. The Indians were immediately routed, and scattered in all directions. The fertile valleys of the neighborhood were covered with cornfields; these fields of grain were destroyed up to the very gates of the British fort, which Wayne could scarcely restrain his army from attacking. Thus, in a campaign of ninety days, he had marched three hundred miles, the greater part of the road cut by the army, had completely broken the Indian power, destroyed their provisions for the next winter, and established a full garrisoned fort in the midst of their country. He now returned to Greenville, some miles west of the Miami, to winter-quarters.

The following summer eleven hundred warriors, representatives from the western tribes, met Wayne at that place and made a treaty which secured peace to the frontier. Their friends the British were about to evacuate the western posts, and they found it more to their advantage to submit. They ceded at this time nearly all the territory of what is now the State of Ohio, for which they were paid. For twenty years the Indians had made incursions into Kentucky, and during that time they had carried off a great number of captives. By this treaty all these captives were to be restored to their friends. It was a moving spectacle to see parents endeavoring to find their children, who, years before, had been taken from their homes, some of them had forgotten their native language, some preferred to stay with their savage captors rather than return to civilized life. Many husbands and wives who had been separated for years, were restored to each other.

Aug.
1795.

The conflict of opinions, in regard to the adoption of the Constitution, had created two parties ; the Federalist and the Anti-Federalist : the one, the administration and its friends ; the other, those opposed to its policy. As the Constitution became more and more popular, opposition was specially made to Hamilton's management of the financial affairs of the government. Time has proved the wisdom of his policy, which has continued, in the main, to be that of the government from that day to this.

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" He was made Secretary of the Treasury ; and how he fulfilled the duties of such a place, at such a time, the whole country perceived with delight, and the whole world saw with admiration. He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the Public Credit, and it sprang upon its feet." ¹

In this opposition Jefferson, the Secretary of State, performed a secret but active part. Having been some years in France, as American Minister, he had returned home thoroughly imbued with French politics. He disliked Adams almost as much as he did Hamilton, and he seems to have been haunted with the idea that these two members of the cabinet were, in disguise, either monarchists or aristocrats ; that they were devising plans to change the republican form of the government ; and that Washington was misled by them. He noticed and recorded every remark which seemed to him suspicious, made by these gentlemen, when in the hours of unreserved social intercourse. While ostensibly the friend of Washington and his administration, he was in communication with the opposition, and diffusing his opinions in his private correspondence. Measures, which at one time he himself had approved, he now feared might have lurking in them some latent principle which might lead to the establishment of

¹ Daniel Webster.

**CHAP.
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1793.

a monarchy. His party thought it expedient to repudiate the name, Anti-Federalists, and assume that of REPUBLICAN, at the same time proclaiming they were the only true friends of the people. An incessant warfare commenced against the policy of the government, accompanied with scurrilous abuse of the President.

The assumption of the State debts ; the national bank ; the manner of raising the revenue ; the funding system, by which provision was made to pay the interest on the national debt, were, in the eyes of the opposition, so many cunningly-devised plans to create friends among the rich, and in the end subvert the liberties of the country.

The public interest demanded it, and after much solicitation from the leading members of the government, Washington consented to serve for a second term. He was unanimously chosen. Adams was re-elected Vice-President ; he receiving seventy-seven electoral votes, and George Clinton, of New York, fifty.

1793.

Two months and a half after the first inauguration of Washington as President, a bloody revolution broke out in France. The people of the United States looked with much interest upon the French people struggling for liberty. But it was soon evident that the state of the nation's morals, political as well as private, forbade the success of the French republic. The remembrance of the alliance with France, by which they had received aid in the time of need, elicited the sympathy of the American people. The republican party wished to form an alliance with the new Republic, while Washington, and the majority of his cabinet, as well as the more judicious statesmen, were in favor of neutrality. The unheard-of cruelties, which, in the name of liberty, had been practised in France for a year or two, had cooled the zeal of many. One party had succeeded by guillotining the leaders of its rival ; the amiable Louis, who had aided the Americans

in their struggle for liberty, had been murdered by his subjects ; and Lafayette was forced to flee. Strange that such "excesses and horrible butcheries" found apologists in the United States.

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1798
April

While the public mind was thus divided, came Edmond Charles Genet or "Citizen Genet" as he was styled, as minister of the French Republic. He brought the intelligence that France had declared war against England. Now the opposition, urged on by their hatred to the latter power, wished to enter into an alliance with France, and thus involve the country in war. But Washington and his cabinet, in spite of these clamors, promptly proclaimed neutrality as the policy of the United States, and also warned the people not to commit acts inconsistent with the proclamation of neutrality, nor with the strictest impartiality towards the belligerents. The wisdom of the Government saved the country from a multitude of evils.

Genet took advantage of the sympathy manifested for France by a portion of the American people, and began to fit out privateers against English commerce. This was an insult to the dignity of the government, and a violation of the proclaimed neutrality. But the partisans of France were determined that the country should be committed to an alliance with the great sister Republic in the old world.

About this time numerous societies, modelled after the famous Jacobin clubs in Paris, began to be formed in various parts of the Union. The more ultra assumed the title of Democratic, while others preferred to call themselves Democratic Republican. They made strenuous efforts to influence the public mind in favor of French politics, and drive the government from its determination not to interfere in the quarrels of Europe. The President and his policy were assailed in terms of unmeasured abuse. The principal organ of this abuse was the Gazette news-

CHAP. paper, edited by Philip Freneau, who at this time was em-
XXXIX. ployed by Jefferson as translating clerk.

1793. The Republican newspapers continued to accuse the President and his cabinet of being enemies of France, the only friend of the United States, and of being friends of England, the bitter enemy of American liberties.

Genet mistook the clamors of a few for the sentiments of the majority of the people. He now had the audacity to authorize the French consuls in the ports of the United States to receive and sell prizes taken from the English, with whom we were at peace. He had also other projects in view, one to raise men in the Carolinas and Georgia and wrest Florida from Spain, another to raise men in Kentucky and make an attack on Louisiana.

In his correspondence with the government he became more and more insolent, imputed improper motives to its members, till finally the President transmitted his letters to Gouverneur Morris, American minister at Paris, with directions to lay them before the Executive Council—and request his recall.

When Genet received the information of this procedure he was thunderstruck. He charged Jefferson with insincerity, as "having an official language and a language confidential."

Though sympathizing with France in her struggles for liberty, but not in her atrocious excesses, the great majority of the people, when informed of the true state of the case, began to hold meetings and express their approbation of the measures adopted by the President, to prevent his country from being embroiled in European quarrels.

In due time Morris presented the request that Genet should be recalled ; but another change had occurred in France. The management of affairs had passed into the hands of the Jacobins ; the Reign of Terror had commenced. Genet was unceremoniously recalled, and Mr

Fauchet appointed in his place. Genet did not return home, but became a citizen of the United States. CHAP.
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Through much toil and danger had the fertile valleys of the Monongahela and its tributaries been settled. The pioneers were principally Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, from eastern Pennsylvania and Virginia. Their trials were as great as those of the early colonists. At first their families lived in blockhouses or forts, through fear of the Indians, while they, as they cleared the forest or tilled the soil, were always armed; they even carried their rifles in their hands when on the Sabbath they assembled in the grove, or the rude log church, to hear the Gospel. The untrodden mountains lay between them and the settlements on the Atlantic slope. Across these mountains the only road was a bridle-path; the only conveyance a pack-horse. Iron and salt could only be obtained as these pack-horses carried them across the mountains. Salt was worth eight dollars a bushel; and often twenty bushels of wheat were given in exchange for one of salt. Their fertile fields produced an abundance of grain, especially wheat, from which they distilled the famed Monongahela whiskey, while their orchards were laden with apples and peaches from which they made brandies. To find a market for these, almost their only product, they must take a long and dangerous journey in flat-boats down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans, and thence by ship to the eastern markets. From
1768
to
1784.

The tax levied upon the manufacture of domestic spirits was opposed by many. It was no doubt looked upon as unequal, as it was appropriated to the support of the Federal government, while the tax itself fell upon only a small portion of the community. But nowhere was it so persistently resisted as by these settlers of the four western counties of Pennsylvania. They rose in open rebellion; not only refused to pay the tax, but drove off the officers appointed to collect it. This opposition was

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1.**

not confined to obscure persons, but some of the most influential encouraged the multitude to resist the law ; but their ministers, to a man, exerted all their influence in favor of obedience. The more violent leaders openly boasted they would not only resist the law, but separate from Pennsylvania, and form a new State. They professed to have very little regard for the Federal government, and took encouragement from the same party that sustained Genet. To discover those who sent information of their high-handed measures to the government, these rebels robbed the mail ; they scoffed at the proclamation of the Governor of the State and also at that of the President. Thus matters continued for nearly two years. It shows the excitement which prevailed, that at one time with only three days' notice, there assembled on Braddock's Field nearly seven thousand armed men. They had for their motto "Liberty and no excise." The assemblage passed many resolutions, indicating an intention to resort to further acts of violence.

This meeting was presided over by Colonel Edward Cook, one of the judges of Fayette county, who had taken an active part in resisting the enforcement of the law. Its secretary was Albert Gallatin, from the same county, a native of Switzerland, who had been in the country but a few years ; a young man of superior education ; an ardent sympathizer with the French school of politics ; a violent opposer of the excise law. He had risen rapidly in popular favor, had been a member of the Legislature of the State, and also of a Convention to amend its Constitution.

Governor Mifflin wished to try the effect of a circular addressed to the insurgents, before calling out the militia. The circular was unheeded. The President issued a proclamation ordering the rebels to desist from their illegal proceedings ; at the same time he called out the militia, who responded promptly to the call.

The leaders soon found that, after all, the Federal

authority had the power and was determined to enforce the law. The leaders became anxious to screen the people from the anger of the government, and themselves from the anger of the people.

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Only when the militia, which had crossed the mountains, in two divisions, formed a juncture at Union Town, did the insurgents submit. A few arrests were made ; the most active leaders had fled the country. Thus ended "The Whiskey Insurrection." The vigor and energy displayed by the Federal government in putting down the insurgents added strength to its authority.

The belligerents in Europe, though professing friendship, had but little regard to the rights of Americans. While France was detaining their ships in her ports, England was issuing orders to her navy to seize and detain all vessels freighted with French goods, or laden with provisions for any French colony. These measures would ruin American commerce. Congress passed a resolution which forbid any trading vessel to leave an American port for sixty days. This was designed to annoy the British, by not furnishing provisions for their navy,—yet it operated just as much against the French, through whose particular friends the bill was passed.

A war with England was impending. To avert such a calamity, and to arrange the difficulties existing between the two countries, Washington resolved to send a special ambassador to the Court of St. James.

April

To this important mission he nominated the patriotic and pure-minded Chief Justice Jay. Jay was of Huguenot descent ; as to his revolutionary services second only to the President himself ; of the highest reputation as a jurist ; his integrity, learning and disinterestedness had won him universal respect. In addition, there was a propriety in the selection that conciliated all minds, for he was one of the commissioners who had negotiated the

1782

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first treaty with Great Britain. It would be a very difficult task to obtain all that the American people thought they had a right to ask. There were many assumptions of power which England would be unwilling to yield. To negotiate under such circumstances required much skill and judgment.

On his arrival in England, Jay was treated with great courtesy and respect, and a disposition was manifested to amicably arrange the difficulties which had arisen between the two countries.

Both parties had their complaints to make. The one, that the Western posts had not been given up according to the treaty ; that their neutral rights were not respected ; that compensation had not been given for the slaves carried off at the close of the war ; that their merchants were excluded from the West India trade, and that British sailors, who by adoption had become Americans, were impressed and forcibly taken out of American ships.

The other, that debts contracted with English merchants prior to the Revolution could not be collected ; that the property of Tories had not been accounted for. A treaty was finally concluded, not such as Jay wished, nor as justice demanded, but the best that could be obtained under the circumstances.

The Western posts were to be given up in two years ; the West India trade was granted on certain conditions, while free admission was given to British ports in Europe and in the East Indies, but no compensation could be obtained for the negroes. On the other hand, provision was made for the collection of the debts complained of.

A great clamor was raised against the treaty, which was grossly misrepresented. One party contended that its ratification would produce war with France, the other that its rejection would lead to a war with England. There were stormy debates on the subject in Congress, and in some of the State Legislatures. But when the difficulties

that stood in the way of obtaining more desirable conditions became known, and when the character of the treaty itself was understood, the more intelligent and conservative portion of the people, were in favor of accepting it. After a fortnight's debate in secret session the Senate advised its ratification, and thus was secured peace for some years; under the circumstances, a very important gain.

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June.

Treaties were also negotiated with Spain, in which the boundaries between the United States, Louisiana, and Florida were more definitely settled. The free navigation of the Mississippi was also secured to both parties, and the Americans were granted for three years the privilege of making New Orleans a place of deposit for their trade.

American commerce, deriving its main resources in the New England States, had increased very rapidly; the trade to the Mediterranean was, however, much hindered by depredations committed upon it by Algerine pirates. Whether to purchase an exemption from these annoyances, as Europe had been in the habit of, or to send a fleet and punish the marauders, was a difficult question to answer. It was thought better, for the present, to redeem the American sailors held as slaves by these barbarians. On this occasion a bill was passed to build six frigates; this was the foundation of the Navy of the United States. The following year a treaty was made with the Dey of Algiers, and the captives released on the payment of a heavy ransom—nearly a million of dollars were paid for this purpose. This money expended in fitting out an armament, and thoroughly chastising the pirates, would have been better policy,—as was proved some years afterwards.

Sept
5.

Three more States—Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee—were admitted into the Union during the administration.

1796

As Washington was unwilling to serve another term,

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the two parties arrayed their forces for a trial of strength. The Federalists nominated John Adams for President and the Republicans Thomas Jefferson. The parties were very nearly equally divided. Adams received two more votes than Jefferson, and was declared to be elected President, and the latter Vice-President.

1797.

Before retiring from public life Washington published a farewell address to the people of the United States. They responded to it with respect and affection ; the outburst of a nation's gratitude. It was a truly paternal address, warning the nation against party strife and sectional jealousies, advising the policy of impartial neutrality toward other nations when at war with each other, and as a safeguard to liberty, the preservation of the Union and the Constitution.

Thus ended the eight years of Washington's administration. When it commenced all was unsettled. Now the government was established. In that short time it had been severely tested.

The general policy of his administration became the fixed policy of the government of the United States. The most enduring monument of his integrity and wisdom ; of his patriotic and Christian principles. Strange as it may seem, the annals of unscrupulous political warfare do not furnish a parallel to the scurrilous slanders that were heaped upon him, not only during his administration, but at its close. Such were the disreputable means used to induce the United States to become the ally of France and to join in a war against the hated England.

CHAPTER XL.

JOHN ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

Serious Aspect of Relations with France.—Commissioners of Peace.—The French Cruisers.—The Alien Act.—War impending.—Washington, Commander-in-Chief.—Capture of the Frigate L'Insurgente.—Peace concluded.—Death of Washington.—Eulogiums on his Character.—The city of Washington becomes the Seat of Government.

THE policy of the new administration was like that of the preceding, the cabinet officers of which were retained. The new President was not more influenced by love for England than by admiration for France. He had no expectation that the latter country would establish a government upon just and righteous principles. He expressed a "determination to maintain peace and inviolate faith with all nations, and neutrality and impartiality with the belligerent powers of Europe."

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1797.

In the mean time relations with France assumed a serious aspect. Nothing would satisfy that power but a willingness on the part of the United States to be used as a dependent. While the French partisans were clamoring for such an alliance, the Directory exhibited their good will by issuing orders to seize and retain all American vessels having on board English manufactured goods.

Washington had recalled Monroe from the French Mission, and in his place sent Charles C. Pinckney. The latter sent his credentials to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but a few days after Monroe was notified that a

CHAP. minister would not be received from the United States
XL. until grievances were redressed ; but Monroe himself was
 1797. complimented for his devotion to the French cause ; under the circumstances, a compliment somewhat equivocal.

Pinckney was treated with studied neglect, bordering on insult ; finally he demanded his passports and departed for Holland. During this time French privateers and cruisers were capturing American merchantmen and treating their crews as prisoners of war. Some of the privateers were commanded by renegade Americans, who gloried in sailing under the colors of the "Great Republic."

France also stimulated Holland and Spain to complain of the partiality of Jay's treaty with Great Britain ; and was also suspected of an intention to rob Spain of Louisiana and Florida. With overpowering successes, and unscrupulous political morals, she was making rapid strides toward becoming the great power of the world.

Still more alarming was the fact that there existed in the United States a large party that opposed the neutral policy of the government, and openly favored an alliance with the "Terrible Republic."

May. The President called a special session of Congress, and laid before it a statement of the relations with France. When it became known that in their representative the United States had been deliberately insulted ; and that French aggressions on American commerce were increasing, the enthusiasm of the partisans of France somewhat declined.

Two special commissioners were appointed to proceed to Paris, and, if possible, adjust the existing difficulties. John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry were selected for this mission. The former, who was a Federalist, became afterward Chief Justice of the United States ; the latter, a Republican in sentiment, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, became afterward Vice-President. They were authorized to conclude a treaty ;

one that should not conflict with treaties existing with other nations ; and to insist upon the right of the United States to remain neutral.

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Oct.

The envoys joined Pinckney in Paris, and immediately made known to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the object of their mission. This minister was no less a personage than the celebrated Talleyrand, who some years before had been an exile in the United States, where, not receiving the attention which he thought he deserved, had returned home in no very complacent humor. At first he refused an audience to the commissioners, but soon after sent irresponsible persons to make them propositions, which, if found convenient, he could easily disavow. Thus for several months they were the victims of diplomatic trickery.

Meanwhile French cruisers captured American vessels, and French courts confiscated their cargoes, and imprisoned their crews. Finally the commissioners were given to understand, if they would advance a little money for the special benefit of Talleyrand and his worthy friends, and also pledge the United States to make France a loan, that negotiations would be commenced in earnest. This proposition was indignantly refused. Marshall and Pinckney were immediately ordered to leave the country, and Gerry, whose party at home sympathized with France, was invited to remain and negotiate a treaty. It was by such insults and injuries, that France hoped to intimidate the United States, and make them as dependent on her boasted magnanimity, as she had already made Spain. The disrespect offered the commissioners excited great indignation in the minds of the American people. Strange as it may seem, the opposition insisted that France was not to blame, but their own government, in faithfully enforcing its policy of neutrality. At length the correspondence between Talleyrand's agents and the commissioners was published. The French party offered no more

CHAP. apologies. The spirit of the insulted people was aroused
XL. The reply of Pinckney to the corrupt emissaries of Tal-
 1798. leyrand—"Millions for defence, not one cent for tribute,"
 was echoed throughout the land. Addresses to the President, approving his measures, began to pour in from all parts of the nation. The French party soon dwindled to a small minority. The only hope Jefferson cherished was that Congress would adjourn. "To separate Congress now," wrote he, "will be withdrawing the fire from a boiling pot."

A large number of French exiles—it was thought nearly thirty thousand—were, at this time, in the country. Some of these acted as spies, at least so thought the government; some had tampered with the people of Kentucky to induce them to join in an expedition against Louisiana, then belonging to Spain, and some planned a similar expedition against Florida. Thus did they abuse the hospitality tendered them by endeavoring to create divisions among the people, and opposition to the policy of the government.

Under these circumstances Congress passed what was termed the "Alien Act," to continue in force two years,
July. by which the President was authorized to order out of the country aliens, who, by their plots might endanger the interests of the government in case of war. The law was never enforced, but nevertheless a large number of these exiles left the country.

Presently Marshall returned, and confirmed all that had been reported of the demands of the French Republic. The President sent in a message to Congress, which contained a statement of the embarrassing relations existing between the two countries. Preparations were made for war. It was resolved to raise and equip an army; to fortify important posts on the sea-coast; to prepare a naval armament, and to capture French armed vessels, but not to molest merchantmen.

The people came forward with alacrity to assist. Money was subscribed liberally, especially in the seaboard towns, to equip a navy. The frigates so long building were just finished; and the Constitution, the United States, and the Constellation, the germ of our present navy, were fitted for sea.

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Washington was nominated as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the army—a nomination unanimously confirmed by the Senate. He heartily approved the measures of the President, and condemned those of France, saying that the administration ought to inspire universal satisfaction, and added, “we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause, and may trust the final result to that kind Providence which has hitherto and so often signally favored the people of the United States.”

When it was seen that the United States would not submit to insult, but were preparing to repel it by force, the Directory made overtures for peace. This intimation came from Murray, the American Minister at Holland, to whom Talleyrand had communicated the proposition. The President accordingly nominated two commissioners, Oliver Ellsworth and W. R. Davie, who were to join Murray in Paris.

President Adams took the ground that they should not enter France, unless assurance was given that they would be received in a “manner befitting the Commissioners of an independent nation.”

On their arrival in France they found Bonaparte at the head of affairs, and the cunning and politic Talleyrand still in office. Negotiations commenced, and in due time a treaty was concluded, which in its provisions adjusted nearly all the matters of dispute.

Sept

The fleet which had been fitted out to protect American commerce from French depredations had not been idle. More than three hundred private vessels had been

CHAP. licensed to carry arms and to defend themselves from the
XI. common enemy. But the incident which gave the great-
 1799. est satisfaction to the country was the capture of the
 French frigate *L'Insurgente*, by the *Constellation*, under
 Feb. Captain Truxton. The two vessels were about equal in
 9. their complement of men and guns. After a severe con-
 test of an hour and a quarter, the *L'Insurgente* struck
 her colors, having lost in men twenty to one of her an-
 tagonist. This was the first time that an American
 armed vessel had met one of another nation on equal
 terms. As a presage of future triumphs it was most
 grateful to the people.

Ere long intelligence came of the conclusion of peace.
 The army was disbanded, but the defences along the coast
 were still maintained, and also it was resolved to keep the
 navy afloat.

But before it was known in America that the Com-
 missioners of peace had been kindly received, an event oc-
 curred which cast a gloom over the nation, and for a season
 silenced the clamors of party spirit—the death of Wash-
 ington. In riding about his farm he was exposed to a
 cold rain. The following morning he complained of a sore
 throat, an inflammation of the windpipe followed, which
 speedily produced death. With calm resignation he ex-
 pressed his willingness to die.

Dec.
14.

A joint committee of both Houses of Congress reported
 resolutions recommending to the people of the United
 States, out of respect for his memory, to wear badges of
 mourning for thirty days, and also that his approaching
 birth-day be celebrated “by suitable eulogies, orations,
 and discourses, or by public prayers.” Thus did the
 people honor him “who was first in war, first in peace,
 and first in the hearts of his countrymen.”

The oration before both houses of Congress, was pro-
 nounced by Colonel Henry Lee, whom we have seen as
 the intimate though youthful friend of Washington. In

accordance with the above recommendation, his birth-day was celebrated throughout the land; the most eminent in the nation delighted to honor his memory. Nor was his name honored only in his native land. When the news reached Europe it elicited emotions of sadness and tokens of respect. The great British fleet of sixty ships of the line, under the command of Lord Bridport, and at the time lying in the English channel, lowered their flags to half mast. In his orders of the day to the French army, Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, paid a tribute to his memory, and afterward caused a funeral oration to be delivered before the civil and military authorities, and the standards of the army to be draped in mourning for ten days.

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Such were the public tokens of respect. But he had a higher honor—a place in the affections of the good and humane in private life more than any man of any age; he never received an office in the gift of the people, or at the hands of their representatives, that was not unanimously given. To him alone has gone forth that heartfelt respect, that reverence and gratitude which can be embodied only in the endearing title, the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

Says an eminent British statesman and scholar, (Lord John Russell,) "To George Washington nearly alone in modern times has it been given to accomplish a wonderful revolution, and yet to remain to all future times the theme of a people's gratitude, and an example of virtuous and beneficent power." "His intellectual, like his moral qualities, were never brought out to display his own talent or enhance his own glory. They were forthcoming as occasion required, or the voice of the country called for them; largeness of combination, quickness of decision, fortitude in adversity, sympathy with his officers, the burst of impetuous courage, were the natural emanations of this great and magnanimous soul." ¹

¹ Life and Times of James Fox, Vol. 1, pp. 366 and 354

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1799. The administration of Adams, now drawing to its close, was in its policy like that of Washington. During these twelve years, there was much opposition, but that policy in the main has remained unchanged from that day to this. To be free from the turmoil of European politics was wisdom, but to carry it out required the calm determination of Washington, as well as the impulsive energy of Adams, "who was not the man to quail" when he thought duty called.

1800. During the summer the seat of the Federal Government was removed to the City of Washington, then "a little village in the midst of the woods," in the District of Columbia.

The struggle for political power was renewed with great vigor, and in the bitterness of party spirit. The Federalists nominated Adams and Charles C. Pinckney for President, while the Republicans nominated for the same office, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. When the electors came to cast their votes it was found that Adams had sixty-five, Pinckney sixty-four, and Jefferson and Burr had each seventy-three. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, it became necessary for the House of Representatives to make the choice. After thirty-six ballotings, during seven days, Jefferson was chosen President, and Burr Vice-President.

1801.
Feb.
17.

CHAPTER XLI.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

The President's Inaugural.—Purchase of Louisiana.—The Pirates of the Mediterranean.—Captain Bainbridge.—The Burning of the Philadelphia.—Tripoli Bombarded.—Death of Hamilton.—Aaron Burr.—Opposition to the Navy.—Gunboats.—Right of Neutrals infringed upon.—The unjust Decrees issued by England and France.—American Merchants demand the Right to defend themselves.—Impressment of American Seamen.—Treaty with England rejected by the President.—Affair of the Chesapeake.—The Embargo; its effect.—Public feeling on the subject.—Manufactures.—Embargo repealed.

ON entering upon office Jefferson found the country in a prosperous condition. The revenue was abundant for current expenses; the stability of the government had inspired the industrial interests with confidence, commerce had increased beyond all precedent, and was pressing on to still higher triumphs.

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1801.

The prospect of a general peace in Europe also gave assurance that American ships would no longer be subjected to unlawful seizures under the pretense that they carried cargoes contraband of war. The census just taken had shown the population to be, within a few hundreds, double what it was at the commencement of the revolution. The total population being 5,319,762. The number of members of the House of Representatives was 141.

The new President professed to deprecate party spirit: and wished to be recognized as a "moderate republican," proclaiming as "brethren of the same principles, we are

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called by different names, we are all Republicans, we are all Federalists." But in a very short time he began to remove those from office, who were not of his own political opinions. The bitterness of party spirit was not allayed by this policy.

Immigrants had been pouring into the region Northwest of the Ohio. In one year twenty thousand persons had passed into that territory to find homes. The people of the eastern portion, presented themselves at the door of Congress, asking permission to be admitted as a State. The request was granted, and the State of Ohio, with a population of seventy thousand, became a member of the Union.

April.

The Spanish Governor of Louisiana, in violation of an existing treaty—that of 1795—refused permission to the traders on the Mississippi to deposit their produce at New Orleans. This act, so injurious to their commerce, caused a great commotion among the people beyond the mountains. The government was called upon to redress these grievances; the Western people must have the privilege of freely navigating the Mississippi, or they would seize New Orleans, and drive the Spaniards from the territory. At this crisis intimations came from Paris that Spain, by a secret treaty, had ceded Louisiana to France. Bonaparte's vision of restoring the French power on this continent had become somewhat dim, especially as the overpowering fleet of Great Britain would seize and occupy the mouth of the Mississippi, whenever it was known to belong to France. To avoid this contingency, he was willing to sell the entire territory of Louisiana to the United States. Accordingly Robert R. Livingston, American Minister at Paris, commenced negotiations, which resulted in the purchase of that region for fifteen millions of dollars. The rights and privileges of American citizens were guaranteed to the inhabitants of the purchased territory.

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April
30.

When the sale was completed, Bonaparte is said to have exclaimed :—" This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States ;—I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride."

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1808.

In the midst of the turmoil of wars in Europe, the pirates of the Mediterranean had renewed their depredations upon American commerce. Captain Bainbridge in command of the frigate *George Washington* was sent to Algiers with the usual tribute. The Dey ordered him to carry some presents and his ambassador to Constantinople. Bainbridge at first refused. The Dey was highly indignant, " You pay me tribute," said he, " by which you become my slaves, and therefore I have the right to order you as I think proper." However, as he was exposed to the guns of the castle and batteries, and learning that English, French, and Spanish ships of war had submitted to similar impositions, Bainbridge thought it more prudent to comply with the arrogant demand, hoping at some future time to avenge the indignity thus offered his country's flag. In closing his report to the Navy Department, he wrote, " I hope I will never again be sent to Algiers with tribute unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouth of our cannon."

Sept.

1808

As these depredations continued, and, while the tribute became more and more onerous, a squadron, under Commodore Preble, was sent to capture the pirates and blockade the harbor of Tripoli. The frigate *Philadelphia*, commanded by Bainbridge, when chasing an Algerine cruiser, ran upon a sunken rock near the shore. While thus disabled, Tripolitan gun-boats captured her after a contest, which lasted an entire day. Bainbridge and his crew of three hundred men, were made prisoners, and treated as slaves, for whom an exorbitant ransom was demanded.

Finding means, however, to communicate with the American squadron, he suggested the possibility of burn-

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ing the Philadelphia, as she lay moored under the guns of the castle. Lieutenant Decatur volunteered to act on the suggestion. A small Tripolitan trader had been captured a few days before. This vessel, now named the Intrepid, was selected for the enterprise. With a crew of seventy-six chosen men—all volunteers—Decatur sailed on his perilous undertaking. Combustibles were prepared in bundles, and to each man was assigned his particular duty.

1804.

Passing into the harbor, they approached the Philadelphia about midnight. When hailed, the interpreter answered they were traders, who had lost their anchor in the late gale, and begged permission to make fast to the frigate till morning. The request was granted, and the Intrepid slipped alongside. Suddenly the Turks noticed that she had her anchors, and gave the alarm, shouting

Feb.
16.

“Americanos.” In a moment more, Decatur and his brave companions clambered up one side of the vessel, while the panic-stricken Turks, after slight resistance, as rapidly passed over the other into the water. The faggots were handed up, and carried to every part of the ship, and in thirty minutes she was on fire from stem to stern. So dry had the vessel and the rigging become in that warm climate, that with difficulty the Americans escaped the flames. When clear of the frigate cheers of triumph told that the daring attempt had been successful. The flames soon lighted up the harbor; the castle opened with its guns upon the Intrepid, which, urged on by the rowers, was rapidly passing out of danger. Soon the guns of the burning frigate began to explode and throw their shot in all directions. This was one of the boldest enterprises ever undertaken by our naval heroes.

The squadron continued to blockade the harbor of Tripoli, and during the following summer bombarded the town. The contest was severe, and there was much hand-to-hand fighting on board gun-boats. Intelligence came

that other vessels were on their way, and a further attack was postponed. Before the arrival of this reinforcement the Bashaw came to terms, and desired to make peace ; other causes aided in hastening this event. He had driven his elder brother, Hamet, into exile, and usurped his throne. Captain William Eaton, American Consul at Tunis, concerted measures with the exiled brother to drive the usurper from Tripoli. With four hundred troops, only nine of whom were Americans, Eaton and Hamet marched a thousand miles across the Libyan desert, and suddenly appeared before Derne, which place, with the aid of the American fleet, they captured in a few days. The Bashaw sent troops against the invaders ; these troops were also defeated, then to save himself he made proposals to negotiate. Peace was concluded by Lear, the American consul at Tripoli, but not on as favorable terms as justice demanded. After an exchange of prisoners, man for man, there still remained two hundred Americans ; for these a heavy ransom was paid. Thus conceding the point in dispute, that the Bashaw had a right to receive ransoms for prisoners taken by his pirates.

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1804.

1805
June
8.

Jefferson was re-elected President, and, instead of Burr, George Clinton, of New York, Vice-President. Burr's intrigues had become known to both parties, and he experienced the just fate of the insincere—he was suspected by all, and trusted by none. Rejected by his own State, his political prospects ruined, and overwhelmed by debts, the result of unsuccessful speculations, his cold and unrelenting spirit panted for revenge. He looked upon the influence of Alexander Hamilton, as one cause of his political failure. To retrieve his political fortunes Burr was willing to risk his own life, if he could but kill the man whose patriotism and integrity he well knew, and whose influence he dreaded. He laid his plans to force Hamilton into a duel. They met on the banks of the Hudson, opposite New York, Hamilton previously de-

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1804. claring that to fight a duel was contrary to his judgment and his sense of moral duty ; that he wished Burr no ill, and should make no effort to injure him. Burr took deliberate aim, and Hamilton was mortally wounded ; as he fell his own pistol went off accidentally. When the surgeon approached he said, " Doctor, this is a mortal wound." In twenty-four hours he was no more. Thus fell one of the brightest intellects, and purest, self-sacrificing patriots of the country—a victim to an unchristian custom, the relic of a barbarous age. His loss to the country was second only to that of Washington.

July
11.

The most imposing funeral ceremony the city ever saw revealed the depth of feeling in the public mind. Presently the correspondence between the parties was published ; this made known the designing manner in which Hamilton had been entrapped, and the disclosure produced in the public mind still greater indignation against Burr. The coroner's jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against him. Fearful of violence he was fain to conceal himself for a few days in New York, and then to flee to Philadelphia, and finally to Georgia, until, as he expressed it, " the storm would blow over."

The sacrifice of a man so eminent, merely to appease the honor of a consummate villain, turned the minds of the people more directly to the moral turpitude, as well as the absurdity of the custom of duelling. Public opinion on this subject became, henceforth, embodied in laws, which banished the custom from some of the States, and will, it may be hoped, eventually banish it from all the others.

1805. The remaining history of Aaron Burr may be told in a few words. His intriguing and restless nature impelled him to other enterprises. The year following the death of Hamilton he went west. That section of the country contained many turbulent spirits, and had, moreover, manifested much dissatisfaction with the General Govern.

ment. It was thought Burr had some designs for his own aggrandizement ; either to seize upon New Orleans and draw off the people of the valley of the Mississippi from their allegiance to the Union, or to make a foray into Mexico, overturn the existing government, and put himself at the head of the one he should establish. His mysterious movements from place to place, and the hints concerning his projects, which he threw out to those whom he wished to enlist, excited the suspicion of the federal government. After being permitted to plan and counter-plan for a year or more, he was finally arrested and brought to trial. But so cunningly had he managed the affair, that no decisive proof could be obtained of his designs. After a prolonged trial, he was acquitted of the charge of treason against the United States.

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Though acquitted by the jury, public opinion treated him as guilty. Turned upon the world a penniless wanderer, suspected everywhere, even in foreign lands, where he lived in the greatest poverty, a pensioner upon the pittance doled out by a few friends. Ordered out of England as a French spy, and treated in France as a British emissary ; finally, he returned home, to find his family ties all broken, his daughter, an only and beloved child, having, under trying circumstances, recently perished at sea.

1807.
Feb.

He made no advances to renew former friendships or acquaintance, and would gladly have shunned the public gaze, but he was compelled in his old age to resume the practice of the law as a means of support. With a ban resting upon him, he went down in loneliness to the grave, in his eighty-first year—a melancholy instance of prostituted talents.

1836.

The country continued to be very prosperous ; the public expences were lessened, and the finances were leaving every year an increasing surplus ; the belligerents

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1805.

in Europe had not yet interfered much with American commerce, the great source of the federal revenue. The facilities for making money exchanges afforded by the banks had a beneficial effect upon the internal trade of the country. The exportation of domestic produce had tripled in value since the adoption of the Constitution, amounting to forty-two millions. There was also a rapidly-increasing, and immensely profitable trade in the import and export of foreign merchandise, exclusively for the supply of foreign nations. Internal improvements were not overlooked, and companies were formed for the construction of roads and bridges, and others for insurance.

Washington and Adams, in their administrations, both endeavored to place the force of the country on a footing to command the respect of other nations. Hence they strongly urged the creation of a navy to protect American commerce, and the policy of fortifying important places along the coast. But Jefferson looked upon this as a useless expense. He would prefer to have the public ships hauled out of harm's way into harbors; instead of prosecuting trade upon the ocean, where a cruiser of one of the belligerents might occasionally search a vessel for goods contraband of war, he would lay an embargo, and cut off all trade. Harbor fortifications were subjected to the same policy, falsely named economical; gun-boats were to take the place of other defences. Even the frames of the six ships of the line, commenced by the previous administration, were cut up to make gun-boats.

For more than six years not a single vessel was added to the navy, though there were indications that war might speedily occur. The hostility in Congress to that branch of the service was confined principally to the southern members. It was avowed that in case of war it would be good policy to abandon the harbors and sea-coast, and retire into the interior; that it would be better to give up commerce altogether than protect it by a navy.

The war between France and England had driven from the ocean all the merchant vessels of those nations. This trade passed into the hands of neutrals, the United States securing much the largest share.

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1806.

The cruisers of the belligerent powers continued to infringe upon the rights of the neutrals. The battle of Trafalgar annihilated the fleets of Spain and France. The dread of French cruisers had passed away ; and the British merchants began to complain of the vast profits made by the Americans in the neutral trade, whose emoluments they wished to secure to themselves. It was suspected that the vast amount of property carried by the Americans did not belong to them, but that it was taken to a neutral port merely to acquire a neutral character, and then transhipped to the ports belonging to those nations which were at war,—a charge no doubt true in many instances. On this ground American vessels were seized and condemned.

The English government passed a decree which declared the coast of Europe from the mouth of the river Elbe to Brest, to be in a state of blockade ;—thus forbidding neutrals to trade within these prescribed limits. Napoleon, unable to contend with England upon the ocean, now issued the famous Berlin decree, which declared the coast of Great Britain to be in a state of blockade. In addition, he prohibited all trade in English merchandise. Two months later, Great Britain forbade all trade with France whatever. Thus these two nations wantonly disregarded the interests and rights of the commerce of the world. Both French and British cruisers, now captured American trading ships, and the commerce which extended to every sea, gradually dwindled down to a coasting trade. Owing to the government's policy—fondly cherished as the very essence of economy—the commerce of the nation was left to the tender mercies of ocean despots ; there was no navy to give it protection, except

May.

Nov.
21.

CHAP. a few redoubtable gun-boats, that lay in the harbors,
XLI. patiently waiting for the audacious cruisers to come within
1806. their range.

The condemnation of vessels taken by foreign cruisers, and the forfeiture of their cargoes to the amount of millions, caused an intense excitement among American merchants. In all the seaport towns, especially, meetings were held to express the views of the people, and petitions asking protection, poured into Congress. These petitions only produced a recommendation of the President to that body to build more gun-boats. Is it strange the policy, which neglected the mercantile interests of the country, should be contrasted with the profusion in which money was spent to purchase territory, and to liquidate Indian claims? Said one party, it is folly to provide a navy, which, in case of war, will fall into the hands of the British. The hardy seamen answered, give us the men-of-war well armed, and we will see that they do not fall into the hands of the enemy. Will not the same energy and spirit, which has extended American commerce to the ends of the earth, defend its interests, and maintain the honor of the country? In John Adams' administration, Congress brought to terms the French cruisers on American commerce; it gave the merchants liberty to protect themselves, and they did it,—why not grant the same permission now?

To these complaints were added others equally as serious. The British government maintained the doctrine that no subject could expatriate himself, or transfer his allegiance to another country. The United States government maintained the reverse, and welcomed emigrants from other nations, and as adopted citizens afforded them protection. The commanders of British men-of-war were accustomed to board American merchant vessels, on the high seas, and search for deserters, as they termed those

English or Irish sailors, who had thus entered the American service.

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In these impressments great numbers of native born Americans were forcibly seized and consigned to the slavery of a British man-of-war. These high-handed measures, executed in an arrogant manner by the English officers, produced throughout the land a feeling of bitter hostility to England. The English government gave as an apology for these impressments, that in her present struggle she needed all her seamen, and if permission were given, they nearly all would desert, and enter American ships. England herself was to blame for this want of patriotism in her seamen. The iron hand of unfeeling rule had driven these men from her service ; her cruel press-gangs had crushed out their love of home. They had been seized when unprotected and hurried on board men-of-war, where brutal severities had obliterated their nobler feelings. Thus wantonly treated, the English seaman deserted whenever he had the opportunity.

1806.

Events were evidently tending toward a war, to avoid which the President sent William Pinckney, as joint commissioner with James Monroe, who was already minister at the court of St. James. The English commissioners manifested a great desire not to impress American seamen, but to redress, as speedily as possible, any mistake of that character. They urged, that to relinquish the right of search for deserters, would be ruinous to the English navy in time of war. Suggesting, also, that stringent laws should be made by both nations, to prevent seamen from passing from the service of the one to the other. The prejudices of the English people would not permit, at least for the present, any formal relinquishment of the right of impressment ; the commissioners further promised, that strict orders should be issued to the naval commanders not to abuse the right.

April

With the understanding that the question of impress-

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ments was still open, and subject to future adjustment, a treaty for ten years was negotiated between the two countries. This treaty was more advantageous, upon the whole, to the United States, than the one negotiated by Jay, and was certainly better than the existing irritating relations of the two governments. France at this time, by virtue of the Berlin decree, continued to seize and confiscate American property, while Great Britain was anxious to be on as good terms with the United States as her situation would permit. Yet the President, and Madison, his Secretary of State, arbitrarily rejected the treaty, without either consulting the rest of the cabinet, or the Senate which was in session. The plea given for this extraordinary act was, that the treaty was not satisfactory on the impressment question. The rejection of the treaty left the relations of the two countries in a worse condition than ever, even endangering their peace. Washington and his cabinet, in ratifying the Jay treaty, secured to the country thirteen years of peace and unexpected prosperity ; the rejection of this treaty was succeeded by four years of ruinous evils, which resulted in plunging the nation into a war. Though the English government itself was disposed to conciliate, and friendly in its expressions, yet its naval commanders were exceedingly insolent in their intercourse with the Americans. The inability of the navy to maintain the nation's honor, tempted these unscrupulous commanders to insult its flag. Thus far they had confined their visits to merchantmen, presently they went a step farther.

The United States frigate Chesapeake, of thirty-eight guns, had enlisted four men who, it was said, were deserters from the British ship-of-war Melampus. It was afterward proved that only one of them was an Englishman. Strict orders had been issued by the government to the recruiting officers not to enlist British subjects, knowing them to be such.

Several English men-of-war were, at this time, lying in Chesapeake Bay; of the number was the frigate *Leopard*, of fifty guns. When it was known that the *Chesapeake* was about to put to sea, the *Leopard* passed out a few hours before, and when some miles from the coast, she neared and hailed the *Chesapeake*, under the pretense of sending despatches to Europe. A lieutenant came on board with a demand for the English seamen. Commodore Barron refused the demand, on the ground there were no such men on board. This refusal brought a broadside from the *Leopard*, which killed three men and wounded eighteen others. As the attack was entirely unexpected, and Barron unprepared, he struck his colors, after firing a single gun. The four men were taken from the *Chesapeake*, and the *Leopard* passed on to Halifax, while the *Chesapeake* returned to Norfolk, her crew deeply mortified and thirsting for revenge.

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June
22.

The indignation of the whole people was intense. The insults of impressing men from merchantmen were as nothing, compared with firing into a national vessel. The President immediately issued a proclamation, in which he complained of the outrage, and ordered the British men-of-war out of the American waters, but as he had not the power to enforce the order it was disobeyed, and the people were enjoined not to have intercourse with the British vessels. He also called a special session of Congress, and a messenger was sent to England, with instructions to the American minister to demand satisfaction for the outrage. But a fast-sailing vessel had already left Halifax with the intelligence. The British government immediately disavowed the act, and sent, soon after, a special messenger to arrange the difficulty.

July
2.

In the mean while France and England vied with each other in issuing and enforcing decrees, which, in their effect, would ruin all neutral commerce. English Orders in Council required any vessel bound to a port in France

Nov

- CHAP.** to touch at some English port, and there obtain a license
XLI. to proceed on the voyage. Any vessel that did not com-
 1807. ply with this despotic decree was forbidden to export
 French merchandise, unless the cargo was first brought to
 an English port and paid duties before it was shipped to
 Dec. a neutral country. A month later Bonaparte retaliated
 by another decree, dated at Milan, by which every vessel
 that complied with the British decree, was declared to be
 forfeited. Thus American commerce was preyed upon by
 both parties.

- As a scheme of retaliation, and to bring the belliger-
 ents to terms, Congress, on the recommendation of the
 Dec. President, laid an embargo, which prohibited American
 commerce with France and England. A measure lauded
 by its advocates as the only means to save to their country
 American seamen and cargoes, and at the same time
 compel France and England to repeal their offensive de-
 Nov. crees. The effect, however, was just the reverse. Bona-
 parte was delighted with the embargo, because it dimin-
 ished just so much of England's income, her means to
 carry on the war against himself; on the other hand,
 Great Britain was not dependent on American produce,
 the trade to Spain and Portugal, and their colonies, had
 both been recently opened to her merchants, who were
 very willing that their enterprising rivals should remain
 at home to experiment on political theories. The em-
 bargo itself was exceedingly unpopular in the United
 States. The intelligent portion of the people was un-
 able to see what benefit could be derived from their
 ships rotting in the ports, their seamen out of employ-
 ment, the industry of the country prostrated, and the
 millions of surplus property now worthless for want of a
 market.

Some years before Jefferson had expressed the senti-
 ment that the United States "should practise neither
 commerce nor navigation, but stand with respect to Eu-

rope precisely on the footing of China." Had the people submitted implicitly to the embargo, the system of non-intercourse with other nations would have been complete ; as it was, on the recommendation of the Executive, Congress found it necessary to pass stringent laws to enforce its observance. The President was authorized to call out the militia and employ ships as revenue cutters to prevent cargoes of American produce leaving the country. When it became known that this enforcing act had really become a law, public feeling, in many places, could be no longer restrained. Many of the papers announced its passage in mourning columns, under the motto, "Liberty is dead." General Lincoln, of revolutionary memory, resigned the collectorship of the port of Boston rather than enforce the law : and great numbers of custom-house officers in other places did the same. In the agricultural portions of the country, the effect of the embargo was not so immediate as in the commercial. The planters and farmers, implicitly trusting in the wisdom of the Executive, stored up their cotton, tobacco and grain, hoping for a market when the belligerents would be pleased to repeal their hostile decrees.

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Some good grew out of this evil. The tens of thousands thrown out of employment by the effect of the embargo and kindred measures, were compelled by the iron hand of necessity to seek a livelihood by other means, and their attention was somewhat directed to domestic manufactures.

Opposition to the embargo still continued ; in Congress violent debates were held from day to day upon the exciting topic. At length even the planters and farmers began to waver in their faith, and to see as well as the New Englanders that it was a futile measure ; that instead of bringing the French and English to terms it was the subject of their ridicule, while it was becoming more and more ruinous to the nation.

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Madison, who had been elected President, plainly intimated his wish that the obnoxious measure should, in some way, be got rid of; and three days before the close of Jefferson's term the arbitrary act, forced upon the country without a moment's warning, and which brought ruin upon thousands in loss of property and of employment, was, to the joy of the nation, repealed.

Thus drew to a close Jefferson's administration. His theories interfered with his statesmanship, and he was unable to see that non-importation acts, so effective in times of colonial dependence, were, in the case of an independent nation, futile in the extreme, and therefore his favorite measure to bring England and France to terms was the embargo.¹ No one of our Presidents of Revolutionary fame was so unfortunate in his management of national affairs, and as such no statesman of those times has been so much overrated. When about to retire from the office he was deeply mortified to find that his well-meant theories, of which he was so tenacious, were found wanting when reduced to practice. When Madison was elected his successor, "he hastened to throw on him the burden of responsibility, and withdrew himself from all but the formalities of administration." "He laid down the sceptre; he had no party; Virginia herself ceased to be guided by his opinions."² Said John Randolph, one of his supporters, "Never has there been any administration which went out of office and left the nation in a state so deplorable and calamitous." His timid and, as it turned out, his spurious peace policy so weakened the Navy that it became nearly useless; while the coast defenses, as a result of the same theories, became almost dismantled.³ The measures which he persistently urged, and his adherents, with implicit faith in his wisdom, carried through Congress, rendered the nation contemptible in the eyes of the belligerents of Europe.

¹ Hist. pp. 612, 613,

² Life of Gallatin (Adams), pp. 379, 380.

³ Hist. pp. 606-608.