HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

FROM THEIR

FIRST SETTLEMENT AS ENGLISH COLONIES,

IN 1607, TO THE YEAR 1808,

OR

THE THIRTY-THIRD OF THEIR SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

BY DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

CONTINUED TO THE TREATY OF GHENT,
BY S. S. SMITH, D. D. AND L. L. D.
AND OTHER LITERARY GENTLEMEN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY M. CAREY,
FOR THE SOLE BENEFIT OF THE HEIRS OF THE AUTHOR.

1816.

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DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that, on the second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, and in the forty-first year of the Independence of the United States of America, Eleanor H. L. Ramsay, Martha H. L. Ramsay, Catharine H. L. Ramsay, Sabina E. Ramsay, David Ramsay, James Ramsay, Nathaniel Ramsay, and William Ramsay, deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

"The History of the United States. By David Ramsay, M. D."

In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned," and also an act entitled, "An act supplementary to an act entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned," and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

JAMES JERVEY,
Clerk of the District of South Carolina.

LYDIA R. BAILEY, PRINTER.

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PREFACE.

AN history of the American revolution was published by the author, in 1789. This has been long out of print, and a second edition repeatedly called for. It occurred to him, that an extension of the plan, so as to comprehend the history of the colonies, anterior to their revolution, and of the United States, subsequent to that event, would be preferable to a new edition of the former work. This would give an unbroken view of American history, as far back as the United States are concerned, from their first settlement to the present time. In prosecuting the colonial history of the country, it was soon found, that the subject naturally branched into thirteen separate divisions. In each colony, its history took a colouring from the time and circumstances of its settlement, source of population, form of government, laws, religion, soil, agriculture, and climate. There were a few things in which they agreed; but more in which there were material shades of difference, sufficiently important to require historic notice. In pursuance of these ideas, the author suspended his general work, until he had finished a particular history of his own state of South Carolina. Such local histories he conceived to be necessary, both for the illustration of the revolution, and for the instruction of posterity, who will, doubtless, be anxious for more circumstantial information of their respective states, than has yet been given, or can be given, in a general history of the whole. These observations are premised, that the reader may expect, in the following sheets, no more of the colonial history of the British provinces, than what is general, and, in some respects, common to the whole, and necessary to a proper view of their late revolution. All that was valuable, in the author's history of the American revolution, is incorporated in this work. To it, a general

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view of the civil and military history of the colonies, anterior to their revolution, is prefixed; and a history of the United States, from the peace of 1783, to the year 1808, is subjoined.

The United States, for one-third of a century, have been in possession of sovereignty, and of peace, with inconsiderable exceptions, for twenty-five years. The present generation may test, therefore, by experience, the value of the blessings procured for them by their ancestors. A statement of these could not, with propriety, be made in mere histories of the revolution; for, on its termination, the civil institutions of the country were unsettled. The importance of stating the consequences which followed, after efficient government had been superadded to naked liberty, must be apparent. The author begs indulgence, while he expresses an earnest wish, that some capable citizen of each state would oblige his country with a complete history of it, from its first settlement. It is matter of reproach, that the youth of the United States know so little of their own country, and much more so, that the means of obtaining a competent knowledge of its history are inaccessible to most of them.

DAVID RAMSAY.

Charleston, December 31, 1808.

EDITORIAL NOTICE.

The work of Doctor Ramsay ends with the year 1808. It has been presumed by the editor, that a continuance to the close of the late war would be received with pleasure by the public. For this purpose, the talents of the Rev. Doctor Samuel Stanhope Smith, principally, and some other literary gentlemen, have been engaged. The result is respectfully submitted to the patrons of the work, and the friends to the family of the venerable historian.

Philadelphia, November 1, 1816.

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BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

OF

DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

[FROM THE ANALECTIC MAGAZINE.]

DAVID RAMSAY was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, on the 2d day of April, 1749. He was the youngest child of James Ramsay, a respectable farmer, who had emigrated from Ireland at an early age, and by the cultivation of his farm, with his own hands, provided the means of subsistence and education for a numerous family. He was a man of intelligence and piety, and early sowed the seeds of knowledge and religion in the minds of his children. He lived to reap the fruit of his labours, and to see his offspring grow up around him, ornaments of society, and props of his declining years. The early impressions which the care of this excellent parent made on the mind of Dr. Ramsay, were never erased, either by the progress of time, the bustle of business, or the cares of the world. He constantly entertained and expressed the highest veneration for the sacred volume; and, in his last will, written by his own hand, five months before his death, when committing his soul to his maker, he takes occasion to call the bible "the best of books." It was connected with all his tenderest recollections; it had been the companion of his childhood, and, through his whole life, his guide, and friend, and comforter. He always cherished the fondest attachment for the place of his nativity, and dwelt with peculiar pleasure on the little incidents of his childhood. Dr. Ramsay had the misfortune to lose an amiable and excellent mother very early in life; but that loss was in some measure repaired by his father, who took uncommon pains to give him the best education that could be then obtained in this country. It is somewhat extraordinary, that a man in such circumstances as his father then was, should so far depart from the ordinary practice of persons in his

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condition of life, as to give to each of his three sons a liberal education, instead of employing them in the usual offices of husbandry. But this worthy and pious parent reflected, with lord Bacon, that knowledge is power, and that in giving his children wisdom, he gave them an invaluable patrimony; he accordingly put each of his sons successively, first to an English school, then to a classical seminary, and from thence removed them to Princeton College, where they all received the honours of that institution. William, his eldest, became a respectable minister of the gospel; Nathaniel, who still lives, and is settled in Baltimore, was bred a lawyer; and David directed his attention to the study of physic.

We have, from the very best sources, been able to collect some singular circumstances relative to the early life of Dr. Ramsay. He was, from his infancy, remarkable for his attachment to books, and for the rapid progress he made in acquiring knowledge. At six years of age, he read the bible with facility, and, it is said, was peculiarly delighted with the historical parts of it. When placed at a grammar school, his progress was very remarkable. It was no uncommon thing, says a gentleman who knew him intimately at that time, to see students who had almost arrived at manhood, taking the child upon their knees, in order to obtain his assistance in the construction and explanation of difficult passages in their lessons. Before Dr. Ramsay was twelve years of age, he had read, more than once, all the classics usually studied at grammar schools, and was, in every respect, qualified for admission into college; but being thought too young for collegiate studies, he accepted the place of assistant tutor in a reputable academy in Carlisle, and, notwithstanding his tender years, acquitted himself to the admiration of every one. He continued upwards of a year in this situation, and then went to Princeton. On his examination, he was found qualified for admission into the junior class; but, in consequence of his extreme youth, the faculty advised him to enter as a sophomore, which he did; and having passed through college with high reputation, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in the year 1765, being then only sixteen years of age. What

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an interesting picture is presented by the youth of Dr. Ramsay! That a child but twelve years of age should have made such progress in learning, and, what is more remarkable, that he should have been a teacher of a public school, appears almost incredible. With what peculiar emotions must every one have beheld this little prodigy seated on the knee, not to be amused with a toy, but to instruct full-grown men.

Having completed the usual college course at sixteen, he was enabled to devote some time to the general cultivation of his mind, before he commenced the study of physic: and he spent nearly two years in Maryland, as a private tutor in a respectable family, devoting himself to books, and enriching his mind with stores of useful knowledge.

He then commenced the study of physic, under the direction of Dr. Bond, in Philadelphia, where he regularly attended the lectures delivered at the College of Pennsylvania, the parent of that celebrated medical school which has since become so distinguished. Dr. Rush was then professor of chemistry in that college: and this led to a friendship between Dr. Rush, the able and accomplished master, and Ramsay, the ready, ingenious, and attentive student, that was fondly cherished by both, and continued to strengthen and increase to the latest moment of their lives. For Dr. Rush young Ramsay felt a filial affection; he regarded him as a benefactor, while he entertained the highest veneration for his talents. He never had any hesitation in declaring himself an advocate of the principles introduced by Dr. Rush, in the theory and practice of medicine; and in his eulogium on Dr. Rush, a last public tribute of respect to the memory of his lamented friend, he declares, that "his own experience had been uniformly in their favour, ever since they were first promulgated;" and adds a declaration, that, in his "opinion, Dr. Rush had done more to improve the theory and practice of medicine than any one physician, either living or dead." It appears from a letter written by Dr. Rush, on the 15th of September, 1773, on the occasion of the removal of Dr. Ramsay to Charleston, that he was graduated Bachelor of Physic—a degree at that time uniformly conferred—early in the

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year 1772,* and immediately commenced the practice of physic, at the "*Head of the Bohemia,*" in Maryland, where he continued to practise with much reputation for about a year, when he removed to Charleston. The letter to which we have just alluded, affords the only information we have been able to collect of Dr. Ramsay, at this early period of his life. Dr. Rush, after stating that he would recommend Dr. Ramsay to fill the opening which then existed in Charleston, thus proceeds: "Dr. Ramsay studied physic regularly with Dr. Bond, attended the hospital, and public lectures of medicine, and afterwards graduated Bachelor of Physic, with great eclat; it is saying but little of him to tell you, that he is far superior to any person we ever graduated at our college; his abilities are not only good, but great; his talents and knowledge universal; I never saw so much strength of memory and imagination, united to so fine a judgment. His manners are polished and agreeable—his conversation lively, and his behaviour, to all men, always without offence. Joined to all these, he is sound in his principles; strict, nay more, severe in his morals; and attached, not by education only, but by principle, to the dissenting interest. He will be an acquisition to your society. He writes—talks—and, what is more, lives well. I can promise more for him, in every thing, than I could for myself."

Such was the character of Dr. Ramsay, at the commencement of his career in life.

On settling in Charleston, he rapidly rose to eminence in his profession and general respect. His talents, his habits of business, and uncommon industry, eminently qualified him for an active part in public affairs, and induced his fellow-citizens to call upon him, on all occasions, when any thing was to be done for the common welfare. In our revolutionary

* In Kingston's "American Biographic Dictionary," it is very incorrectly stated "that Dr. Ramsay experienced some oppositon in obtaining his medical degree;" and, being advised to study one year longer, he "*then* obtained his diploma with universal consent, entirely eclipsing all his fellow-students." It is believed that no opposition was ever experienced by him, and that he received his degree at his first application with "great eclat."

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struggle, he was a decided and active friend of his country, and of freedom; and was one of the earliest and most zealous advocates of American independence. His ardent imagination led him to anticipate the most delightful results, from the natural progress of the human mind, when it should be freed from the shackles imposed on it by the oppressions, the forms, and the corruptions of monarchy and aristocracy.

On the 4th of July, 1778, he was appointed to deliver an oration before the inhabitants of Charleston. The event of the contest was yet doubtful; some dark and portentous clouds still hung about our political horizon, threatening, in gloomy terror, to blast the hopes of the patriot; the opinions of many were poised between the settled advantages of a monarchical government, and the untried blessings of a republic. But the mind of David Ramsay was never known to waver; and in this oration, the first ever delivered in the United States on the anniversary of American independence, he boldly declares, that "our present form of government is every way preferable to the royal one we have lately renounced." In establishing this position, he takes a glowing view of the natural tendency of republican forms of government, to promote knowledge; to call into exercise the active energies of the human soul; to bring forward modest merit; to destroy luxury, and establish simplicity in the manners and habits of the people; and, finally to promote the cause of virtue and religion.

In every period of the war, Dr. Ramsay wrote and spoke boldly, and constantly; and by his personal exertions in the legislature, and in the field, was very serviceable to the cause of American liberty. The fugitive pieces written by him, from the commencement of that struggle, were not thought by himself of sufficient importance to be preserved; yet it is well known to his cotemporaries, that on political topics, no man wrote more or better than Dr. Ramsay, in all the public journals of the day.*

* A political piece, written by him at this period, entitled "A Sermon on Tea," has been mentioned with great commendation, and excited much attention at the time. It abounded with the finest strokes of satire. The text

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For a short period, he was with the army as a surgeon, and he was present with the Charleston Ancient Battalion of Artillery, at the siege of Savannah.

Dr. Ramsay's career as a politician commenced with the war. His ardent mind could not remain inactive, when the liberties of his country, and the happiness of man, were at stake.

From the declaration of independence, to the termination of the war, he was a member of the legislature of the state of South Carolina. For two years, he had the honour of being one of the privy council, and, with two others of that body, was among those citizens of Charleston who were banished by the enemy to St. Augustine. While this transaction is justly regarded as disgraceful to the British government, it was glorious for those who cheerfully submitted to exile, and all the horrors of a prison ship, rather than renounce their principles. Many still live, who remember well the 17th of August, 1780. It was on the morning of the Lord's day, while the Christian patriot, on his knees before his maker, was invoking the aid of heaven for his bleeding country, seeking consolation for himself, and in his petitions even remembering his enemies, that a band of armed men burst in upon him, dragged him from his habitation like a felon, and conveyed him to the prison ship—the tomb for living men. We shall not attempt to paint the scene which ensued, when

is taken from the epistle of Paul to the Colossians, 2d chapter, 21st verse: "Touch not, taste not, handle not." The whole discourse was a happy appeal to the feelings of a people who associated with the use of tea the idea of every evil. The writer very ludicrously represents lord North holding forth chains and halters in one hand, and in the other a cup of tea, while the genius of America exclaims, with a warning voice, "touch not, taste not, handle not; for in the day that thou drinkest thereof, thou shalt surely die."

Dr. Ramsay was, in his youth, much distinguished for wit and humour. His cotemporaries at the College of Philadelphia well remember that an oration, which he there delivered in public, on the comparative state of the ancient and modern practice of physic, was replete with humorous observations on the former, much pungent satire on quackery, and several touches of the purest attic wit. We mention this, because, in the latter periods of his life, it was only from some occasional remark, in his moments of relaxation, that we could discover this original trait in Ramsay's character.

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these political martyrs were to bid adieu to their relatives and friends, perhaps to meet them no more.

A number of the most respectable citizens of Charleston, prisoners on parole, and entitled to protection by all the rules held sacred in civilized warfare, were seized at the same time, and consigned to exile. The sole reason alleged by the enemy for this outrage, was, "that lord Cornwallis had been highly incensed at the perfidious revolt of many of the inhabitants, and had been informed that several of the citizens of Charleston had promoted and fomented this spirit."

In consequence of an exchange of prisoners, Dr. Ramsay was sent back to the United States, after an absence of eleven months. He immediately took his seat, as a member of the state legislature, then convened at Jacksonborough. It was at this assembly that the various acts, confiscating the estates of the adherents to Great Britain, were passed. Dr. Ramsay being conciliatory in his disposition, tolerant and humane in his principles, and the friend of peace, although he well knew that the conduct of some of those who fell under the operation of these laws, merited all the severity that could be used toward them; yet he remembered, also, that many others were acting from the honest dictates of conscience. He could not, therefore, approve of the confiscation acts, and he opposed them in every shape. While in this, we know that he differed from some of the best patriots of the day, yet we cannot but admire that magnanimous spirit, which could thus forget all its recent wrongs, and refuse to be revenged. Dr. Ramsay continued to possess the undiminished confidence of his fellow-citizens, and was, in February, 1782, elected a member of the continental congress. In this body he was always conspicuous, and particularly exerted himself, in procuring relief for the southern states, then overrun by the enemy. On the peace, he returned to Charleston, and recommenced the practice of his profession; but he was not permitted long to remain in private life, and, in 1785, was again elected a member of congress from Charleston district. The celebrated John Hancock had been chosen president of that body, but being unable to attend from indisposition, Dr. Ramsay was elected presi-

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dent pro tempore, and continued, for a whole year, to discharge the important duties of that station, with much ability, industry, and impartiality. In 1786, he again returned to Charleston, and re-entered the walks of private life. In the state legislature, and in the continental congress, Dr. Ramsay was useful and influential; and, indeed, the success of every measure to which he was known to be opposed, was considered doubtful. He was a remarkably fluent, rapid, and ready speaker; and though his manner was ungraceful, though he neglected all ornament, and never addressed himself to the imagination or the passions of his audience, yet his style was so simple and pure, his reasoning so cogent, his remarks so striking and original, and his conclusions resulted so clearly from his premises, that he seldom failed to convince.

He was so ready to impart to others his extensive knowledge on all subjects, that whenever consultation became necessary, his opinion and advice were looked for as a matter of course, and it was always given with great brevity and perspicuity. Thus he became the most active member of every association, public or private, to which he was attached.

In general politics, he was thoroughly and truly a republican. Through the course of a long life, his principles suffered no change—he died in those of his youth. With mere party politics he had little to do. He bore enmity to no man, because he differed from him in opinion. Always disposed to believe his opponents to be the friends of their country, he endeavoured, by his language and example, to allay party feeling, and to teach all his fellow-citizens to regard themselves as members of the same great family.

Through the whole course of his life, he was assiduous in the practice of his profession. Of his merits as a physician, the writer of this memoir is unqualified to judge. He knows that he was punctual and attentive at the chambers of the sick, and that his behaviour there was kind and encouraging. It was not his habit to despair of his patients, nor to permit them to despair of themselves. Whenever his services were required, he never hesitated to render them promptly, at

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every sacrifice of personal convenience and safety. In his medical principles, he was a rigid disciple of Rush, and his practice was remarkably bold. Instead of endeavouring to overcome diseases by repeated efforts, it was his aim to subdue them at once, by a single vigorous remedy. This mode of practice is probably well adapted to southern latitudes, where disease is so sudden in its approach, and so rapid in its effects. In the treatment of the yellow fever, Dr. Ramsay is said to have been uncommonly successful: and it is well known that he effected several remarkable cures, in cases of wounds received from poisonous animals. Those who knew him best, and had the experience of his services in their families for forty-two years, entertained the most exalted opinion of his professional merits.

His widely-extended reputation naturally induced many strangers who visited Charleston, in search of health, to place themselves under his care; and they always found in him the hospitable friend, as well as the attentive physician.

We proceed to consider Dr. Ramsay as an author. It is in this character he is best known and most distinguished. His reputation was not only well established in every part of the United States, but had extended to Europe. Few men in America have written more, and perhaps no one has written better. The citizens of the United States have long regarded him as the father of history in the New World: and he has always been ranked among those on whom America must depend for her literary character. He was admirably calculated by nature, education, and habit, to become the historian of his country. He possessed a memory so tenacious, that an impression once made on it could never be erased. The minutest circumstances of his early youth, facts and dates relative to every incident of his own life, and all public events, were indelibly engraven on his memory. He was, in truth, a living chronicle.*

* We could adduce several instances of Dr. Ramsay's singular strength of memory. One will suffice. The writer of this article had the honour of an intimate acquaintance with him. He well remembers being present, when an intelligent stranger mentioned the name of a clergyman, of whose congre-

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His learning and uncommon industry eminently fitted him for the pursuits of a historian. He was above prejudice, and absolute master of passion. Who else could have dwelt upon the merits of the revolution, and "told an unvarnished tale?" We may speak calmly of the times that have long since passed by, and of events in which we have no concern; but when we speak of the times in which we live, or of events concerning which we can say with Æneas,

——————"quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui,"

it is almost impossible to write or speak without prejudice; yet such was the noble victory obtained by the American historian over himself. "I declare," says he, in the introduction to his first work, "that, embracing every opportunity of obtaining genuine information, I have sought for truth, and have asserted nothing but what I believe to be fact. If I should be mistaken, I will, on conviction, willingly retract it. During the whole course of my writing, I have carefully watched the workings of my mind, lest passion, prejudice, or a party feeling, should warp my judgment. I have endeavoured to impress on myself, how much more honourable it is to write impartially, for the good of posterity, than to condescend to be the apologist of a party. Notwithstanding this care to guard against partiality, I expect to be charged with it by both of the late contending parties. The suffering Americans, who have seen and felt the ravages and oppressions of the British army, will accuse me of too great moderation. Europeans, who have heard much of American cowardice, perfidy, and ingratitude, and more of British honour, clemency, and moderation, will probably condemn my

gation he was a member. Dr. Ramsay immediately said, "I remember him well. I heard him preach once, about *thirty years ago*, and have not seen or heard of him since; but I now recollect his text, the division of his discourse, and the style of his preaching." The doctor then proceeded to repeat the text, gave the outlines of the discourse, and added several remarks on th merits of the preacher; although there was nothing particularly remarkable either in the preacher or the discourse.

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work, as the offspring of party zeal. I shall decline the fruitless attempt of aiming to please either, and instead thereof, follow the attractions of truth, whithersoever she may lead." From these resolutions, the historian never departed.

True it is, that the History of the Revolution in South Carolina was suppressed in London; not that it contained more or less than the truth, but because, in the faithful record of the events of the American revolution, the British government could discover nothing to add to their own glory, or to gratify national pride.

From the beginning, to the close of the war, Dr. Ramsay was carefully collecting materials for this work. After it was completed, it was submitted to the perusal of general Greene, who having given his assent to all the statements made therein, the History of the Revolution in South Carolina was published in 1785. Its reputation soon spread throughout the United States, and it was translated into French, and read with great avidity in Europe.

It was ever the wish of Dr. Ramsay to render lasting services to his country; and, being well aware, that a general history of the revolution would be more extensively useful than a work confined to the transactions of a particular state, want of materials alone prevented him, in the first instance, from undertaking the former, in preference to the latter. When, therefore, in the year 1785, he took his seat in congress, finding himself associated with many of the most distinguished heroes and statesmen of the revolution, and having free access to all the public records and documents that could throw light on the events of the war, he immediately commenced the History of the American Revolution. Notwithstanding his public duties, he found time sufficient to collect from the public offices, and from every living source, the materials for this valuable work. With Dr. Franklin and Dr. Witherspoon, both of them his intimate friends, he conferred freely, and gained much valuable information from them. Anxious to obtain every important fact, he also visited general Washington, at Mount Vernon, and was readily furnished by him with all the information required, relative to the

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events in which that great man had been the chief actor. Dr. Ramsay thus possessed greater facilities for procuring materials for the History of the Revolution, than any other individual of the United States. He had been an eye-witness of many of its events, and was a conspicuous actor in its busy scenes. He was the friend of Washington, Franklin, Witherspoon, and a host of others, who were intimately acquainted with all the events of the war; and it may be said, with perfect truth, that no writer was ever more industrious in collecting facts, nor more scrupulous in relating them. The History of the American Revolution was published in 1790, and was received with universal approbation. It is not necessary to analyze the character of a work that has stood the test of public opinion, and passed through the crucible of criticism. If the demand for a book can be received as evidence of its merits, perhaps this work must be ranked above any of Dr. Ramsay's productions. The first edition was soon disposed of; a second was called for, and has been exhausted; and the book is now difficult to be procured.*

* A writer in the Analectic Magazine, for May last, in making some observations on the Chevalier Botta's "Storia della Guerra Americana," says, that "it is remarkable that the best and most classical history of the *American* revolution has been written by an *Italian*." As this work is new to us, and we have had no opportunity of perusing it, we shall not attempt to controvert this opinion; and we can only say, with the writer of that article, if his account of it be correct, that it ought to be "naturalized among us, by a translation into our own language." It is difficult, however, to conceive how an *Italian*, ignorant, probably, of our language, and having such limited means of acquiring accurate information, could possibly have written as *valuable* a History of the American Revolution, as an *American*, of knowledge, talents, and great industry, having an intimate acquaintance with all the facts he details. We may be allowed also to declare, that a writer in the 18th century, who imitates so closely the ancient historical writers, as to "make speeches, and put them in the mouths of the characters," however classical his style may be, is not exactly the historian we would admire. We know not what Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, would have thought of any reporter of that day, who had made him speak, on the great question of American independence, about the "incredible fruitfulness of our chaste wives;" but as Americans, anxious for the reputation of the great fathers of American liberty, we must protest against the practice in which Chevalier Botta has indulged, of putting his own words into their mouths. We trust we are not

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In 1801, Dr. Ramsay gave to the world his Life of Washington; as fine a piece of biography as can be found in any language. It will not sink in comparison with the best productions of ancient or modern times. Indeed, our biographer had one great advantage over all others—we mean the exalted and unrivalled character of our hero—a character "above all Greek, above all Roman fame."

In 1808, Dr. Ramsay published his History of South Carolina, in two volumes, 8vo. He had, in 1796, published an interesting "Sketch of the soil, climate, weather, and diseases of South Carolina;" and this probably suggested the idea of a more minute history of the state. No pains were spared, to make this work valuable and useful. The author was himself well acquainted with many of the facts he has recorded; and, by the means of circular letters, addressed to intelligent gentlemen, in every part of the state, the most correct information was obtained. Many important facts are thus preserved, that must otherwise have been soon forgotten; and by this publication, the author fully supported the reputation he had so justly acquired. The death of his wife, in 1811, induced him to publish, a short time afterwards, the memoirs of her life. This interesting little volume, which, in addition to the life of Mrs. Ramsay, contains some of the productions of her own pen, is very generally read, and has been extensively useful. If, in any instance, the virtues of individuals, whose sphere of action has been confined to private life, ought to be held up to public view, as an example for imitation, we hesitate not to say, that the Christian world had a claim on the publication of Mrs. Ramsay's life. She possessed, from nature, a superior understanding; and education had added higher excellence to her native virtues; while her whole character was refined and exalted, by the influence of Christianity. The experience of such a woman,

influenced, in these remarks, by any narrow feelings, or improper bias: but we must confess, until we are compelled to do so, by the force of truth, we shall not subscribe to the opinion, that "the best and most classical History of the American Revolution has been written by an Italian."

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whose principles had borne her triumphantly through all the trials and vicissitudes of life, will not be lost to the world.

In addition to the works already mentioned, Dr. Ramsay published "An Oration on the acquisition of Louisiana;" "A Review of the improvements, progress, and state of medicine in the eighteenth century," delivered on the first day of the new century; "A Medical Register, for the year 1802," "A Dissertation on the means of preserving health in Charleston," "A Biographical Chart, on a new plan, to facilitate the study of History;" and an "Eulogium on Dr. Rush." All these works have merit, in their several departments; particularly the Review of the Eighteenth Century, which contains more medical information, in a small space, than can be found in any production of the kind. He had also committed to the press, a short time previous to his death, "A Brief History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston." To this church he had, from his youth, been strongly attached, and this little history was meant as a tribute of affection. A few weeks before the event which closed his useful life, he commenced collecting materials for the life of general Andrew Jackson, with which he intended to connect a particular account of the origin and progress of the Indian war, and of the state of society in Louisiana. This interesting work has gone with him to the tomb.

The increasing demand for the History of the American Revolution induced the author, several years before his death, to resolve to publish an improved edition of that work. In preparing this, it occurred to him, that a history of the United States, from their first settlement, as English colonies, including as much of the revolution as is important to be known, brought down to the present day, would be more interesting to the public, as well as more extensively useful. After completing this, up to the year 1808, he determined to publish it in connexion with his Universal History, hereafter to be mentioned. Had not death arrested his progress, he would have brought down this work to the end of the late war. While we deplore, however, an event that has deprived us of

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the intellectual feast, which the history of the war of 1812, from the same able pen which detailed the events of our revolution, must have furnished, we may congratulate ourselves, that the History of the United States, to a very late period, was finished by Dr. Ramsay before his death, and is now given to the world.*

But the last and greatest work of the American historian yet remains to be mentioned. He had, for upwards of forty years, been preparing for the press a series of historical volumes, which, when finished, were to bear the title of "Universal History Americanised, or a Historical View of the World, from the earliest records to the 19th century, with a particular reference to the state of society, literature, religion, and form of government in the United States of America." The mind of Dr. Ramsay was perpetually grasping after knowledge, and the idea, so well expressed by Sir William Jones, "that it would be happy for us if all great works were reduced to their quintessence," had often occurred to his mind. It was a circumstance deeply lamented by him, that knowledge, the food of the soul, should be, in such a great measure, confined to literary and professional men; and he has often declared, that if men of business would only employ one hour in every twenty-four, in the cultivation of the mind, they would become well-informed on all subjects. It had also forcibly suggested itself to his mind, that all of the histories that had been written, were chiefly designed for the benefit of the Old World, while America passed almost unnoticed, and was treated as unimportant in the scale of nations. With a view, therefore, of reducing all valuable historical facts within a small compass, to form a digest, for the use of those whose leisure would not admit of more extensive

* The profits of this work are to be applied exclusively to the education and support of the numerous family of the author, whose only patrimony is the reputation of their father and his valuable manuscripts. Dr. Ramsay left eight children, four sons and four daughters; of these, all the sons are minors. It is to be hoped that the generous feelings of the American people will be excited, in behalf of the family of a man, whose whole life was devoted to the service of his country.

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reading, and to restore to his beloved country the importance to which she was entitled, this great work was undertaken.

Such a Universal History is certainly a desideratum in literature. If the execution be equal to the design, this work will be worthy of a place in the library of every respectable man in the United States, and will greatly add to the permanent literary reputation of the nation.

The labour of such an undertaking must have been great indeed; and when we remember the other numerous works, which occupied the attention of the author, and the interruptions to which he was constantly exposed from professional avocations, we are at a loss to conceive how he found time for such various employments. But it has been truly said of him, that "no miser was ever so precious of his gold as he was of his time;" he was not merely economical, but parsimonious of it to the highest degree. From those avocations which occupy no great proportion of the lives of ordinary men, Dr. Ramsay subtracted as much as possible. He never allowed for the table, for recreation, or repose, a single moment that was not absolutely necessary for the preservation of his health. His habits were those of the strictest temperance. He usually slept four hours, rose before the light, and meditated with his book in his hand, until he could see to read. He had no relish for the pleasures of the table. He always eat what was set before him; and, having snatched his hasty meal, returned to his labours. His evenings, only, were allotted to recreation. He never read by the light of a candle: with the first shades of the evening, he laid aside his book and his pen, and, surrounded by his family and friends, gave loose to those paternal and social feelings, which ever dwell in the bosom of the good man.

The writer of this memoir speaks the opinion of men well qualified to judge, when he says that as a historian, Ramsay is faithful, judicious, and impartial; that his style is classical and chaste; and, if occasionally tinctured by originality of idea, or singularity of expression, it is perfectly free from affected obscurity, or laboured ornament. Its energy of thought is tempered by its simplicity and beauty of style.

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His remarks on the nature of man, and various other topics, which incidentally present themselves, display much observation, and extensive information. His style is admirably calculated for history. Though it is evident the style of the rhetorician does not generally become the historian, yet few writers have preserved this distinction. Modern histories are so full of ornament, that, in the blaze of eloquence, simple facts are lost and unnoticed, and the pages of the professed historian frequently contain little more than profound observations on human life and political institutions.

It was the opinion of Dr. Ramsay, "that a historian should be an impartial recorder of past events for the information of after ages;" and by this opinion he was always governed. History, that bids hours which are past to return again, and gives us the experience of a thousand years in one day, loses half its value, when it ceases to be a simple record of past events.

The reputation of Dr. Ramsay throughout the United States is, perhaps, the best criterion of his merits as a writer; and still the value of his works, and particularly of his histories of the revolution, can scarcely be said to be properly appreciated by the public. They who acted well their parts in the glorious scenes of the revolution, could never forget any thing connected with it; but those who have grown up since that event, and millions yet unborn, must owe an everlasting debt of gratitude to David Ramsay. Soon might the events of our revolution have been lost in the mists of time; and even the memory of our heroes would have gradually faded into oblivion; but in the "History of the Revolution" is found a monument to their memory, more beautiful than man could rear. There their names, their virtues, and their noble deeds, are inscribed on tablets more durable than brass. Never can they be forgotten. The American historian has secured to them immortality of fame.

We have considered the character of Dr. Ramsay as a physician, a statesman, and a historian; let us now briefly recount his virtues as a man.

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"In the early ages of the world," says an elegant writer, "the character of men was composed of an inconsiderable number of simple, but expressive, and strongly-marked features; for art had not added her colouring to the work of nature." In civilized society, however, where information is more generally diffused, the similarity of education, habits, and manners, and constant intercourse with the world, has created a general uniformity of character. Certain limited acquirements, and ordinary virtues, are the common property of all. But the mind of David Ramsay was cast in no common mould—his virtues were of no ordinary stamp. Not that his acquirements were unequalled, or his virtues supereminent; but these virtues and acquirements were so combined as to constitute a strong and almost original character. Dr. Ramsay was distinguished for philanthropy, enterprise, industry, and perseverance. His philanthropy was not founded exclusively on feeling, sentiment, or reflection, but was the result of all three. This was the great spring of all his actions. If ever there existed a man destitute of selfishness, that man was David Ramsay. It was his habit to regard himself only as a member of the great human family: and his whole life was devoted to the formation and prosecution of plans for the good of others; he rejoiced far more sincerely at the success of measures for ameliorating the condition of mankind, than at those which resulted in his own immediate benefit. He was alike regardless of wealth, and free from ambition: and his active philanthropy only, made him an author His active mind was ever devising means for the improvement of the moral, social, intellectual, and physical state of his beloved country. He was an enthusiast in every thing which tended to promote these darling objects. To carry the benefits of education into every family; to introduce the bible, and extend the blessings of christianity to the most sequestered parts of the American continent; and to bring commerce, by means of central navigation, to every door, were his favourite objects; to the full accomplishment of which, he looked forward with the most ardent expectation: and he unceasingly devoted his talents and influence to their promotion.

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Want of judgment in the affairs of the world was the weak point of his character. In common with many men, one might almost say *all* eminent literary men, he had studied human nature more from books than actual observation, and had derived his knowledge of the world from speculation, rather than actual experience. Hence resulted a want of that sober judgment, and correct estimate of men and things, so essentially necessary to success in worldly pursuits. This was the great defect in his mind: and, as if to show the fatal effects of a single error, this alone frustrated almost all his schemes, and through the whole course of a long and useful life, involved him in perpetual difficulties and embarrassments, from which he was never able to extricate himself. Judging of others from the upright intentions of his own heart, he frequently became the dupe of the designing and fraudulent. His philanthropy constantly urged him to the adoption of plans of extensive utility; his enterprise led him to select those most difficult to accomplish; and his perseverance never permitted him to abandon what he had once undertaken. Hence, yielding to visionary schemes, and pursuing them with unflagging ardour, he seldom abandoned them until too late to retrieve what had been lost. What he planned for others he was always ready to support by his tongue, his pen, and his purse. Among numerous examples of this disposition which might be found in the life of Dr. Ramsay, it will be sufficient to mention the zeal and perseverance with which he proposed and urged the formation of a company for the establishment of the Santee canal in South Carolina, a work of great public utility, but attended by the most ruinous consequences to the individuals who supported it. As he was the first to propose, he was the very last to abandon the expectation of immense profits from this work: and by this single enterprise he sustained a loss of thirty thousand dollars. But whatever were his errors, no man was governed by purer motives, or more upright intentions. Long will the loss of his talents, activity, and perseverance, be felt by the community in which he lived, and the various public institutions to which he belonged.

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In society he was a most agreeable companion; his memory was stored with an infinite fund of interesting or amusing anecdotes, which gave great sprightliness and zest to his conversation. He never assumed any superiority over those with whom he conversed, and always took peculiar pleasure in the society of young men of intelligence or piety.

Dr. Ramsay had studied the bible with the greatest care. He believed its doctrines, and practised its precepts. His religious views and opinions evinced a pious, liberal, and independent mind. They were formed from the sacred volume, unfettered by any prejudice of education, or over attachment to sect or denomination. He saw in the scriptures a religion truly divine, and clearly discerned a wide and essential difference between the scheme there revealed, and the best system of religion or of ethics which unaided human reason had ever framed. On all the grand and peculiar doctrines of the gospel, his mind felt no hesitation, and underwent no change. But for the minor doctrines of the gospel, the rites, forms, ceremonies, and external administrations of the church, though he was far from deeming them unimportant, yet he could not exclude from the charity of his heart any individual, or any church, in which he discovered the radical principles of christianity. He believed that most sects concurred in the essential doctrines of salvation: and no man could be more disposed to acknowledge as "brethren in Christ," all "who did the will of their heavenly father."

His principles influenced all his actions. In every situation he preserved the most unruffled equanimity. He was a firm believer in the doctrine of the particular providence of the Deity; and hence, in a great measure, resulted his composure. Events that would extremely disconcert almost any other man, scarcely moved him at all. Those who witnessed his behaviour under some of the severest trials of life, must be convinced that the sentiment, that "God does all things well," was deeply engraven on his heart. His life was a chequered scene, and presented frequent opportunities for the exercise of his principles. Three times was he called

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to mourn over the graves of his dearest earthly friends. No man ever began life with fairer prospects; not a cloud was to be seen in his horizon. Possessed of talents, reputation, fortune, and friends, he bid fair to pass his days in the sunshine of prosperity, and to have his evening gilded by the beams of happiness. But misfortune overtook him, and he was stripped of all his comforts. In old age, when the weary soul seeks repose, calamity came upon him, and was the constant inmate of his house. A son, grown to manhood, who promised fair to imitate his father's virtues, was suddenly cut down. A tender and excellent wife, the mother of his eight surviving children, was torn from his embrace, and consigned to the tomb.

The loss of her,

> "That like a jewel, had hung twenty years
> About his neck, yet never lost her lustre;
> Of her, that loved him with that excellence
> That angels love good men with; even of her,
> That when the greatest stroke of fortune fell,
> Still smiled serene,"

might well have "brought down his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave:" but, amidst the troubled waters of misfortune, he stood like a rock; and, though their waves broke over him, he was firm and immoveable.

As a husband, as a father, and in every domestic relation of life, he was alike exemplary. The closing scene of Dr. Ramsay's life was alone wanting to put a seal to his character. He fell by the hand of an assassin, whom he had never wronged, but whom, on the contrary, he had humanely endeavoured to serve. If harmlessness of manners, suavity of temper, and peaceableness of deportment—if a heart glowing with benevolence, and a disposition to do good to all men, are characteristics that would promise to any one security, he had not, on all these grounds, the least cause to apprehend, or guard against hostility. The fatal wound was received in the open street, and at noon-day, under circumstances of hor-

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ror, calculated to appal the stoutest heart; yet the unfortunate victim was calm and self-possessed.*

Having been carried home, and being surrounded by a crowd of anxious citizens, after first calling their attention to what he was about to utter, he said, "I know not if these wounds be mortal; I am not afraid to die; but should that be my fate, I call on all here present to bear witness, that I consider the unfortunate perpetrator of this deed a lunatic, and

* The history of this mournful transaction is this. A man, by the name of William Linnen, a taylor by trade, had been long remarked for singularity of conduct. Having been engaged in some law-suits, he conceived that he had suffered injustice, through the misconduct of his lawyer, the judges, and the jury. To obtain redress for these supposed injuries, he petitioned the legislature repeatedly, and actually walked the whole way to Washington, on foot, to endeavour to procure the impeachment of one of the judges of the supreme court. At last, he became desperate, and was heard to declare, "that, as the laws afforded him no protection, he meant to protect himself." Soon after this, he made an attempt upon the life of his attorney, and wounded him severely. For this offence, he was thrown into prison. On being arraigned, it was represented to the court, that he was under the influence of mental derangement. Dr. Ramsay and Dr. Benjamin Simons were appointed by the court, to examine and report on his case. They concurred in opinion, that Linnen was deranged, and that it would be dangerous to let him go at large. He was therefore remanded to prison, where he was confined, until, exhibiting symptoms of returning sanity, he was discharged. He behaved himself peaceably, for some time; but was heard to declare, that he would "kill the doctors, who had joined the conspiracy against him." This threat was communicated to Dr. Ramsay; but, conscious of having given no cause of offence, he disregarded it. On Saturday, the 6th day of May, Dr. Ramsay was met in Broad street, about one o'clock in the afternoon, within sight of his own door, by the wretched maniac, who passed by, and taking a large horseman's pistol out of a handkerchief, in which it was concealed, shot the doctor in the back. The pistol was charged with three bullets: one passed through the coat, without doing any injury; one entered the hip, and passed out at the groin; and the third entered the back, near the kidneys, and lodged in the intestines. The last wound proved mortal, on the second day. The perpetrator of this deed was instantly arrested, and committed to prison; but, so far from manifesting any compunction, he triumphed in the act. Being brought up for trial, he refused to employ counsel, and declared that he would put any lawyer to death, who should dare to charge him with insanity, or to urge it in his defence. His trial was postponed, until January, 1816. He was finally found to be non compos; and has remained in confinement ever since, as a maniac.

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free from guilt." During the two days that he lingered on the bed of death, he alone could survey, without emotion, the approaching end of his life. Death had for him no terrors; and, on Monday, the 8th of May, 1815, about seven in the morning,

"He gave his honours to the world again,
His blessed part to heaven, and slept in peace."

Such was the character of David Ramsay. His numerous virtues were, indeed, alloyed by some faults; but, whatever they were, they were such as sprung from the head, not from the heart.

Besides other tributes of respect, paid by the inhabitants of Charleston to the memory of their lamented fellow-citizen, the several societies, of which he was a member, resolved to wear mourning for thirty days; a funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Palmer; and a public eulogium was delivered by Robert Y. Hayne, Esq. by appointment of "The Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina."

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THE

HISTORY, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Civil History of the North American English Colonies. State of the Aborigines and country, when first discovered. Of the English Settlements; progress; and the political condition of the people.

FOR several centuries after the subversion of the Roman empire, the world was benighted in deep ignorance, and held in bondage. The baleful influence of despotism in Asia, of savage manners in Africa, of canon and feudal law in Europe, had, for ages, kept the mass of mankind, in a state of miserable degradation. When these evils were at their height, the discovery of the art of printing, and the reformation of religion, laid a foundation in Europe, for improving the condition of its inhabitants. About the same time, a new hemisphere was found, which afforded a fair opportunity for trying what might be done for the advancement of human happiness. To it, the poor and the distressed of the old world repaired, in great numbers. In it, many circumstances encouraged, and nothing hindered the establishment of government, on new principles, highly favourable to the rights of man, and the happiness of the people. How far this has been

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done, is an interesting subject of inquiry. The investigation of it gives high importance to the history of the New World; particularly of that part of its northern continent, which, being first released from the dominion of Europe, claims the merit of having contributed largely to the melioration of the state of man.

Two hundred years have passed away, since the first permanent settlement of civilized inhabitants was established in that American region now called the United States. To trace their progress from that infantile period, through their colonial state of political existence, and their successful revolutionary struggle for Independence, to their present vigorous manhood, in the thirty-third year of their sovereignty, is well worthy of attention; and is attempted in the following work.

Christopher Columbus,* in 1492, discovered America; but a later navigator, Americus Vespucius, robbed him of

* Christopher Columbus, the first discoverer of the New World, was born in Genoa, in the year 1447; and, at the age of fourteen, entered on a seafaring life. He was educated in the sciences of geometry and astronomy, which form the basis of navigation; and was well versed in cosmography, history, and philosophy.

The Portuguese were at this time endeavouring to find a way to India, round Africa. They had been pursuing this object for half a century, without attaining it; and had advanced no farther along the coast of Africa, than just to cross the equator: when Columbus conceived his great design of finding India in the west. He knew, from observing lunar eclipses, that the earth was a sphere; and concluded that it might be travelled over from east to west, or from west to east. Having established his theory, and formed his design, he now began to think of the means of carrying it into execution. Deeming the enterprise too great to be undertaken by any but a sovereign state, he applied to several crowned heads; and finally to Ferdinand, king of Spain. The proposal of Columbus was referred to the consideration of the most learned men in Spain, who rejected it for various reasons; one of which was, that if a ship should sail westward on a globe, she would necessarily go down on the opposite side, and then it would be impossible to return: for, it would be like climbing up hill, which no ship could do with the strongest wind. But, queen Isabella was persuaded to listen to the request of Columbus, and, after he had been twice repulsed, recalled him to court. She offered to pawn her jewels to defray the expense of the equipment, amounting to no more than two thousand five hundred crowns: but, the money was otherwise pro-

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the honour he so justly merited, of having the country called by his name. In the following year, Pope Alexander the

cured. Thus, after seven years painful solicitation, Columbus obtained the patronage which he thought of the highest importance in executing his plan.

He sailed from Palos, in Spain, on the 3d of August, 1492, with three vessels, two of which he called caravels, being without decks; having on board, in the whole, ninety men. He himself commanded the largest vessel, called Santa Maria. He left the Canaries on the 6th of September; and when he was about two hundred leagues to the west, the magnetic needle was observed to vary from the pole star. This phenomenon filled the seamen with terror. But his fertile genius, by suggesting a plausible reason, in some degree quelled their apprehensions. After being twenty days at sea, without the sight of land, the sailors became impatient. They insisted upon his return; and some of them talked of throwing their commander into the ocean. All his talents were required to dispel their fears, and stimulate their hopes. At length, when he was almost reduced to the necessity of abandoning the enterprize, at ten o'clock in the night of October 11th, he saw a light, which was supposed to be on shore. Early the next morning, Friday, October 12th, land was distinctly seen, which proved to be Guanaha, one of the Bahama Islands. Thus, in the forty-fifth year of his age, he effected an object which he had been twenty years in projecting and executing. At sun-rise, the boats were manned, and the adventurers rowed towards the shore, with music and martial pomp. The coast was covered with people, who were overwhelmed with astonishment. Columbus went first on shore, and was followed by his men. They, all kneeling down, kissed the ground with tears of joy; and returned thanks for their successful voyage. The island, which is in the twenty-fifth degree of north latitude, and is sometimes called Cat Island, was named by Columbus, San Salvador. Having discovered a number of other islands, and among them Cuba and Hispaniola, he built a fort, and left behind him a colony of thirty-nine men; and sailed for Spain on the 4th of January, 1493. During his passage, when threatened with destruction by a violent storm, he wrote an account of his discoveries on parchment, which he wrapped in a piece of oiled cloth, and enclosed in a cake of wax. This he put into a light cask, which he threw into the sea, with the hope that it might be driven ashore; and thus his discoveries be preserved, although the vessel should sink. But, he was providentially saved from destruction; arrived safe; and was received with the highest tokens of honour by the king and queen, who now made him admiral of Spain.

He sailed on his second voyage to the New World, September 25th, 1493, having a fleet of three ships of war, and fourteen caravels, and about one thousand five hundred people; some of whom were of the first families in Spain. The pope had granted in full right to Ferdinand and Isabella, all the countries from pole to pole, beyond a line drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores; and their Catholic majesties had confirmed to Columbus his privi-

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sixth, with a munificence that cost him nothing, granted the whole continent to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. This

leges; making the office of viceroy and governor of the Indies hereditary in his family. He discovered Dominica, Mariagalante, Guadaloupe, Montserrat, Antigua, and other islands, and entered the port where he had left his colony; but not a Spaniard was to be seen: for, the fort was entirely demolished. The men, whom he had left in this place, had seized the provisions of the natives, and their women, and exhibited such rapacity, as to excite the indignation of the Indians; who had, in consequence, burned the fort, and cut them off On the 8th of December, he landed at another part of the same island, near a rock, which afforded a convenient situation for a fort: here he built a town, which he called Isabella, and which was the first town founded by Europeans in the New World. He discovered Jamaica, May 5th, 1494; where he found water, and other refreshments for his men; of which they were in the greatest want. The licentiousness of his men had provoked the natives, who had united against their invaders; and had actually killed a number of Spaniards. He collected his people, and prevented the destruction which threatened them. In the spring of 1495, he carried on a war against the natives; and with two hundred men, twenty horses, and as many dogs, he defeated a large army of Indians. In about a year he reduced the natives to submission.

But, while Columbus was faithfully employing his talents, to promote the interests of his sovereign, his enemies were endeavouring to ruin him. He was a foreigner: and the proud Spaniards could not patiently see him elevated to such honours. The discipline which he maintained was represented as severity, and the punishments which he inflicted as cruelty; and it was suggested that he was aiming to make himself independent. These whispers excited suspicion in the jealous mind of Ferdinand; and Columbus was reduced to the necessity of returning to the Spanish court, that he might vindicate himself from these false charges. After placing the affairs of the colony in the best possible condition, he sailed from Isabella on the 10th of March, 1496, having with him thirty Indians. He arrived at Cadiz, after a dangerous and tedious voyage, on the 11th of June.

His presence at court, with the influence of the gold and other valuable articles which he carried with him, removed in some degree the suspicions which had been gathering in the mind of the king. But his enemies, though silent, were not idle. They threw such obstructions in his way, that it was near two years before he could again set sail to continue his discoveries.

On the 30th of May, 1498, he sailed from Spain on his third voyage, with six ships. At the Canary Islands he despatched three of his ships with provisions to Hispaniola, and with the other three he kept a course more to the south. He discovered Trinidad, July 31st, and the continent at Terra Firma, August 30th. He found the colony in a state which awakened his most serious apprehensions. Francis Roldan, whom he had left chief justice,

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grant was not because the country was uninhabited, but because the nations existing there were infidels, and therefore,

had excited a considerable number of the Spaniards to mutiny. Columbus had not a sufficient force to subdue them, and he dreaded the effects of a civil war, which might put it in the power of the Indians to destroy the whole colony. He had recourse, therefore, to address. By promising pardon to such as should submit; by offering the liberty of return to Spain; and by offering to re-establish Roldan in his office, Columbus dissolved this dangerous combination.

As soon as his affairs would permit, he sent some of his ships to Spain, with a journal of his voyage, a chart of the coast which he had discovered, specimens of the gold and pearls, and an account of the insurrection. Roldan, at the same time, sent home his accusations against Columbus. The suspicions of Ferdinand were revived. It was resolved to send to Hispaniola a judge, who should examine facts upon the spot. Francis de Bovadilla was appointed for this purpose, with full powers to supersede Columbus, if he found him guilty. When he arrived at St. Domingo, all dissensions were composed in the island. But, Bovadilla was determined to treat Columbus as a criminal. He accordingly took possession of his house, seized his effects, and assuming the government, ordered him to be arrested in October, 1500, and loaded with irons. Columbus was thus sent home as a prisoner. The captain of the vessel, as soon as he was clear of the island, offered to release him from his fetters. "No," said Columbus; "I wear these irons in consequence of an order from my sovereigns; and their command alone shall set me at liberty." He arrived at Cadiz on the 5th of November, and, on the 17th of December, was set at liberty, by the command of Ferdinand, and invited to court. He vindicated his conduct, and brought the most satisfying proofs of the malevolence of his enemies. But, Ovando was sent governor of Hispaniola; and thus a new proof was given, of the suspicion and injustice of the Spanish king.

Columbus was still intent on discovering a passage to India. He sailed again from Cadiz in the beginning of May, 1502, with four small vessels; the largest of which was only of seventy tons. He arrived off St. Domingo on the 29th of June; and soon after discovered the bay of Honduras. He then proceeded to the cape Gracias a Dios; and thence, along the coast, to the isthmus of Darien; where he hoped, but in vain, to find a passage to the great sea beyond the continent, which he believed would conduct him to India. On the 2nd of November, he found a harbour, which, on account of its beauty, he called Porto Bello. He afterwards met with such violent storms as threatened his leaky vessels with destruction. With the utmost difficulty he reached the island of Jamaica, in 1503, being obliged to run them aground, to prevent them from sinking. His ships were ruined beyond the possibility of being repaired. To convey an account of his situation to Hispaniola, seemed impracticable. But, the fertile genius of Columbus dis-

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in the opinion of the infallible donor, not entitled to the possession of the territory in which their Creator had placed

covered the only expedient which was left him. He obtained from the natives two of their canoes; each formed out of a single tree. In these, two of his most faithful friends offered to set out on a voyage of thirty leagues. They reached Hispaniola in ten days: but, they solicited relief for their companions eight months, in vain. Ovando was governed by a mean jealousy of Columbus, and was willing that he should perish. In the mean time, Columbus had to struggle with the greatest difficulties. His seamen threatened his life, for bringing them into such trouble. They seized a number of boats, and went to a distant part of the island. The natives murmured at the long residence of the Spaniards among them, and, with reluctance, began to bring in their provisions. But, the ingenuity of Columbus again relieved him from his difficulties. He knew that a total eclipse of the moon was near. On the day before it was to take place, he assembled the principal Indians, and told them that the great Spirit in heaven was angry with them for withdrawing their assistance from his servants the Spaniards; that he was about to punish them; and that, as a sign of his wrath, the moon would be obscured, that very night. As the eclipse came on, they ran to Columbus loaded with provisions, and entreated his intercession with the great Spirit, to avert the evil which threatened them. From this time, the natives were very ready to bring their provisions; and they treated the Spaniards with the greatest respect.

At length, a vessel which was purchased by one of the friends of Columbus, who had gone to Hispaniola for his relief, came to Jamaica, and released him from his unpleasant situation. Columbus prepared for his return to Spain. In September, he set out accompanied by his brother and his son; and, after a long voyage, in which he encountered violent storms, and sailing seven hundred leagues, with only jury masts, he reached at length the port of St. Lucar, in December. Here he was informed of the death of his patroness Isabella. He soon repaired to court; and, after spending about a year in fruitless expostulation against the violation of his rights, and calling in vain upon a sovereign to respect his engagements, he died at Valladolid, May 20th, 1506; in the 59th year of his age. He was buried magnificently in the cathedral of Seville, with an inscription on his tomb, which, rendered into English, is:

To Castile and Leon,
Columbus gave a new world.

In the character of Columbus, were combined the qualities which constitute real greatness. He possessed a strong and penetrating mind; was fond of great enterprizes; and capable of prosecuting them with the most unwearied patience. He surmounted difficulties, which would have utterly discouraged men of less firmness and constancy. His invention extricated him from many perplexities, and his prudence enabled him to conceal or subdue his

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them. This extravagant pretension of a right to dispose of the countries of heathen nations was too absurd to be universally regarded even in that superstitious age: and in defiance of it, several European sovereigns, though devoted to the see of Rome, undertook and successfully prosecuted further discoveries in the western hemisphere. Henry VII. of England, by the exertion of an authority similar to that of the Pope, granted to John Cabot,* and his three sons, a

own infirmities; while he took advantage of the passions of others; adjusting his behaviour to his circumstances; temporizing or acting with vigour, as occasion required.

The following instance of the ingenuity of Columbus, in vindicating his claim to respect for his discoveries, is related by Peter Martyr. Not long before his death, at a public dinner, the nobility insinuated that his discoveries were rather the result of accident than of well-concerted measures. Columbus heard them decry his services for some time; but, at length called for an egg, and asked them to set it upright, on its smaller end. When they confessed it to be impossible, he flatted its shell, by striking it gently upon the table, till it stood upright. The company immediately exclaimed, with a sneer, any body might have done it. "Yes," said Columbus, "but none of you thought of it. So, I discovered the Indies; and now every pilot can steer the same course. Remember the scoffs which were thrown out at me, before I put my design into execution. Then, it was a dream, a chimera, a delusion; now, it is what any body might have done as well as I."

Such were the services and sufferings of the man, who introduced the Old to an acquaintance with the New World; in the latter of which the United States, in less than three centuries, unfurled the banners of free and representative government. Most other important discoveries were the result of accident. But that of Columbus, the most important of all, was the fruit of profound reasoning and reflection. By a great effort of mind, he proved to his own satisfaction, "that the earth and sea composed one globe or sphere;" and that there must be land to the west, to be a counterbalance to the immense quantity of it, which was known to be in the east. Pursuing that conviction, he set out in quest of something to correspond with the result of his reasonings; and in thirty-six days, he succeeded in finding it. The consequences of his discovery vibrated round the world. They gave a new turn to the spirit of enterprize, and of commerce in Europe. In less than three hundred years they eventuated in the establishment of the United States, and are beginning, in the nineteenth century, to be more extensively unfolded, by the translation of empire from Europe, to the western shores of the Atlantic.

* John Cabot, a Venitian, who first discovered the continent of America, was perfectly skilled in all the sciences, requisite to form an accomplished mariner. He had three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius; all of whom

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commission "to navigate all parts of the ocean for the purpose of discovering islands, countries, regions, provinces, either of Gentiles or Infidels, which have been hitherto unknown to all Christian people; with power to set up his standard, and to take possession of the same, as vassals of the crown of England." By virtue of this commission, Sebastian Cabot took possession of a great part of the North American continent, in the name, and on behalf of the king of England.

The country thus discovered by Cabot, was possessed by numerous tribes or nations of people. As these had been, till then, unknown to all other princes or states, they could not possibly have owed either allegiance or subjection to any foreign power on earth. They were independent communities, and as such, capable of acquiring territorial property. Of the various principles on which a right to the soil has

were able seamen. Encouraged by the success of Columbus, who returned in 1493, from his first voyage, Cabot was determined to attempt the discovery of unknown lands; particularly, of a north west passage to the East Indies: having obtained a commission from Henry VII. of England, empowering him and his three sons, to discover unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them. Cabot sailed from Bristol, with two vessels freighted by the merchants of London and Bristol, with articles of traffic, and 300 men, in the beginning of August, 1497. He sailed toward the north west, till he reached the latitude of fifty-eight degrees; when the floating ice which he met, and the severity of the weather, induced him to alter his course to the south west. He discovered land on the morning of the 24th of June; which, as it was the first he had seen, he called Prima Vista. This is generally supposed to be a part of the island of Newfoundland. A few days afterwards, a smaller island was discovered, to which he gave the name of St. John. Continuing his course westwardly, he soon reached the continent; and then sailed along the coast northwardly, to the latitude of sixty seven and a half degrees. As the coast stretched to the East, he turned back, and sailed along the coast toward the equator, till he came to Florida. The provisions now failing, and a mutiny breaking out among the mariners, he returned to England; without attempting a settlement or conquest in any part of the New World.

In this voyage, Cabot was accompanied by his son Sebastian; and to them is attributed the honour of first discovering the continent of North America: for, it was not till the following year, 1498, that the continent was seen by Columbus.

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been founded, there is none superior to immemorial occupancy. From what time, the aborigines of America had resided therein, or from what place they migrated thither, were questions of doubtful solution; but it was certain, that they had long been the sole occupants of the country. In this state, no European prince could derive a title to the soil from discovery; because, that can give a right only to lands or things, which have neither been owned, nor possessed, or which, after being owned or possessed, have been voluntarily deserted. The right of the Indian nations, to the soil in their possession, was founded in nature. It was the free and liberal gift of Heaven to them; and such as no foreigner could rightfully annul. The blinded superstition of the times, regarded the Deity as the partial god of Christians; and not as the common father of saints and savages. The pervading influence of philosophy, reason, and truth, has, since that period, given us better notions of the rights of mankind, and of the obligations of morality. These, unquestionably, are not confined to particular modes of faith, but extend universally to Jews and Gentiles; to Christians and Infidels.

Unfounded, however, as the claims of European sovereigns to American territories were, they severally proceeded to act upon them. By tacit consent, they adopted, as a new law of nations, that the countries which each explored, should be the absolute property of the discoverer. While they thus sported with the rights of unoffending nations, they could not agree in their respective shares of the common spoil. The Portuguese and the Spaniards, inflamed by the same spirit of national aggrandizement, contended for the exclusive sovereignty of what Columbus had explored. Animated by the rancour of commercial jealousy, the Dutch and Portuguese fought for the Brazils. Contrary to her genuine interests, England commenced a war, in order that her contraband traders on the Mexican coast, claimed by the king of Spain, might no longer be searched. No farther back than the middle of the eighteenth century, a contest concerning boundaries of American territory, belonging to neither,

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occasioned a long and bloody war between France and England.

Though queen Elizabeth and James the first denied the authority of the pope of Rome, to give away the country of Infidels, yet, they so far adopted the fanciful distinction, between the rights of heathens, and the rights of Christians, as to make it the foundation of their respective grants. They freely gave away what did not belong to them, with no other proviso, than, "that the territories and districts so granted, be not previously occupied and possessed, by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state." The first English patent which was given, for the purpose of colonizing the country, discovered by the Cabots, was granted by queen Elizabeth, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert; but this proved abortive. She soon after licensed Walter Raleigh, to search for "heathen lands, not inhabited by Christian people;" and granted to him in fee, "all the soil within 200 leagues of the places where his people should make their dwellings and abidings." Under his auspices, an inconsiderable colony took possession of a part of the American coast, which now forms the state of North Carolina. In honour of the Virgin Queen, his sovereign, he gave to the whole country the name of Virginia. These first settlers, and several others who followed them, were either destroyed by the natives, removed by succeeding navigators, or died without leaving any behind to tell their melancholy story: for they were never more heard of.

No permanent settlement was effected, in what is now called the United States, till the reign of James the first. He possessed a laudable genius for planting colonies; and being fond of novelties, was pleased with a proposal made to him, by some of the projectors of that age, "for deducing a colony into that part of America, commonly called Virginia." He therefore granted letters patent to Thomas Gates, and his associates, by which he conferred on them, "all those territories in America, which were not then possessed by other Christian princes or people, and which lay between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degree of north latitude." The ad-

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venturers were empowered to transport thither as many English subjects, as should willingly accompany them: and it was declared that "the colonists and their children should enjoy the same liberties, as if they had remained, or were born within the realm." The month of April, 1607, is the epoch of the first permanent settlement on the coast of Virginia; the name then given to all that extent of country which now forms thirteen states.* The emigrants, about one hundred in number, took possession of a peninsula on the northern side of James river, and erected a town, which, in honour of their sovereign, they called James-Town.

These few settlers were the germe of the United States. They stood alone in an extensive wilderness, occupied, or rather hunted over, by many thousands of savages. The continent of North America was then one continued forest. The groves were generally thick and lofty. The trees were sometimes felled by the Indians, with the aid of fire and sharp stones; but, for the most part, they grew, died, and rotted on one and the same spot. The repetition of this process for ages, the annual fall of foliage, with the numerous kinds of weeds and wild grass, which every year died and putrefied on the lands, yielded a profusion of manure, and produced a rapid and luxuriant vegetation. Much of the surface, especially near the coast, was covered with swamps, marshes, and stagnant waters. There were no horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or tame beasts of any kind; but a plenty of deer, moose, bears, elks, buffaloes, and a variety of other wild animals. There were no domestic poultry; but, the woods were full of turkeys, partridges, pigeons, and other birds. Wild geese, ducks, teal, and other water fowl abounded in the bays, creeks, rivers, and ponds. There were no gardens, orchards, public roads, meadows, or cultivated

* The two hundredth anniversary, of the date of this settlement, was celebrated in 1807, on the site of this first English town, as a jubilee, with public orations, recognizing the gallant deeds of the first emigrants, and with other demonstrations of joy and gratitude. No vestiges of this ancient town then remained, except old tombstones, and the ruins of a church steeple, about thirty feet high; mantled to its very summit with ivy.

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fields. But, the Indians so often burned the woods, that they could advantageously plant their patches of corn. They were clothed with the skins of wild beasts. Their houses were generally made of small young trees, bent and twisted together; and so curiously covered with mats or bark, as to be tolerably dry and warm. The Indians made their fire in the centre of the house, which had an opening at the top, that emitted the smoke.

Their food was coarse and simple; without any kind of seasoning. They had neither spice, salt, bread, butter, cheese, nor milk. Their drink was water. They fed on the flesh and entrails of moose, deer, bears, beasts and birds of all kinds; on fish, eels, and creeping things. Nothing came amiss. In the hunting and fishing seasons, they had venison, moose, fat bears, racoons, geese, turkeys, ducks, and fish of all kinds. In the summer, they had green corn, beans, squashes,* and the various fruits which the country naturally produced. In the winter, they subsisted on corn, beans, fish, nuts, ground-nuts, and acorns.

They had no set meals, but ate when they were hungry, and could find any thing to satisfy the cravings of nature. Sometimes, from necessity, they lived without food, for several days; but, when well supplied, they gormandized. Very little of their food was derived from the earth, except what it spontaneously produced. Indian corn, beans, and squashes were the chief articles for which they laboured. The ground was both their seat and table. Trenchers, knives, forks, and napkins were unknown.

Their best bed was a mat or a skin. They had neither chair nor stool; but sat upon the ground, commonly with their elbows on their knees. A few wooden and stone vessels and instruments, served all the purposes of domestic life. They had neither steel, iron, nor any metallic instrument. Their knife was a sharp stone, shell, or reed; which they sharpened in such a manner, as to cut their hair, and make their bows and arrows. They made their axes of stones. These they shaped somewhat similar to common iron axes; with this difference, that they were made with a neck instead

* Pumpkins

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of an eye, and fastened with a withe like a blacksmith's chissel. They had mortars, stone pestles, and chissels. They dressed their corn with a clam-shell, or with a stick made flat and sharp at one end.

Their only weapons were bows and arrows, the tomahawk, and the wooden sword or spear. Their bowstrings were made of the sinews of deer, or of Indian hemp. Their arrows were constructed of young elder; or of other straight sticks, and reeds. These were headed with a sharp flinty stone; or with bones. The arrow was cleft at one end, and the stone or bone was put in, and fastened with a small cord. The tomahawk was a stick, of two or three feet in length, with a knob at the end. Sometimes, it was a stone hatchet, or a stick, with a piece of deer's horn at one end. Their spear was a straight piece of wood, sharpened and hardened in the fire, or headed with bone or stone.

They had made no improvements in navigation, beyond the construction and management of the hollow trough or canoe. They made their canoes of the chesnut, whitewood, and pine trees. As these grew straight, to a great length, and were exceedingly large, as well as tall, they scooped out some which would carry fifty or sixty men.

The construction of these, with such miserable tools as the Indians possessed, was a great curiosity. When they had found a suitable tree, they made a fire at the root, and continued burning it, and cutting it with their stone axes, till it fell. Then they kindled a fire, at such a distance from the butt as they chose, and burned it off again. By burning and working with their axes, and scraping with sharp stones and shells, they made it hollow and smooth. In the same manner they shaped the ends, and finished it so as to cut its way with ease through the water.

They constructed nets for fishing, which were twenty and thirty feet in length. These were wrought with cords of Indian hemp, twisted by the hands of the women. They had also hooks made of flexible bones, which they used for fishing.

With respect to religion, the Indians believed that there was a great Spirit, or God. But, they worshipped a variety

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of gods. They paid homage to the fire and water; thunder and lightning; and to whatever they imagined to be superior to themselves, or capable of doing them an injury. They paid their principal homage to an evil spirit, named Hobbamocko; and, from fear, worshipped him, to keep him in good humour.

With respect to morals, they were miserably depraved. They were liars, thieves, and murderers. They were insidious and revengeful. They, in general, kept many concubines. This especially was the case with their sachems. They chose their concubines agreeably to their fancy, and put them away at pleasure. They imposed all drudgery on their women. The men declined labour of every kind.

The Indian government was in general absolute monarchy. The will of the sachem was the law. The lives and interests of his subjects were at his disposal.

The revenues of the crown consisted in the contributions of the people. They carried corn, and the first fruits of their harvests, of all kinds, beans, squashes, roots, berries and nuts, and presented them to their sachem. They made him presents of flesh, fish and fowl; of moose, deer, bear, beaver, and other skins.

Murder was, in all cases, punished with death. The sachem whipped the delinquent, and slit his nose, in cases which required these punishments; and he killed the murderer, unless he were at a great distance. In this case, or when execution could not be done, with his own hands, he sent his knife, by which it was effected.

The Indians had no kind of coin; but, they had a sort of money, which they call wampum or wampumpeag. It consisted of small beads, most curiously wrought out of shells, and perforated in the centre; so that they might be strung on belts, in chains and bracelets. These were of several sorts.

The Indians were not at first hostile to the English. They found an interest in trading with them. They obtained, by barter, knives, hatchets, axes, hoes, kettles, and various instruments and utensils; which highly contributed to their convenience. They could, with these, perform more labour in one

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hour or day, than they could in many days without them. Besides, they found that they could exchange an old beaver coat, or blanket, for two or three new cloth ones, of English manufacture. They also found a good market for their furs, corn, and peltry.

The English were also careful to make such presents to their sachems and great captains, as to keep them in good humour. By these means, the new and old inhabitants lived, for some time, in tolerable peace.

The Indians, at their settlement, performed many acts of kindness towards the English settlers. They instructed them in the manner of planting and dressing the Indian corn. They carried them upon their backs, through rivers and waters; and served them instead of boats and bridges. They gave them much useful information respecting the country; and when the English or their children were lost in the woods, and were in danger of perishing, they conducted them to their wigwams; fed and restored them to their families and parents. By selling them corn, when pinched with famine, they often relieved their distresses.

But, to return from the old inhabitants to the new. The latter, though destined to take place of the former, soon experienced the embarrassments, which are the usual lot of new settlers. In a few months, diseases swept away one half of their number. Famine and mismanagement, together with the neglect of their patrons in England, repeatedly brought the colony to the brink of ruin. In about six weeks after the settlement in James Town had commenced, captain Newport, who brought out the emigrants, left them, and returned to England. The colonists, thus left, were in miserable circumstances, for the want of provisions. The remainder, of what they had brought with them, was so small in quantity, as to be soon expended; and so damaged in the course of a long voyage, as to be a source of disease. They settled too late in the season, to plant for themselves. Their supplies from the natives were irregular, precarious, and often failed. To explore the country, and to procure provisions, Captain John

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Smith,* the most distinguished of the emigrants, was in the habit of making excursions to a considerable distance. In one of these, when wounded and retreating to his canoe, from

* Captain John Smith, the father of Virginia, was born in England, in 1579. He early discovered a romantic genius, and delighted in daring and extravagant actions. At the age of thirteen, he sold his books and satchel, to raise money, in order to convey himself privately to sea; but was prevented. Being an apprentice to a merchant, he quitted his master at the age of fifteen, and went into France and the Low Countries. After his return, he studied military history and tactics, and set out again on his travels, at the age of seventeen. Having embarked at Marseilles for Italy, with some pilgrims, a tempest obliged them to anchor near a small island, off Nice. As his companions attributed their unfavourable voyage to the presence of Smith, they threw the heretic into the sea; but, by swimming, he was enabled to reach the shore. After going to Alexandria, he entered into the service of the emperor of Austria, against the Turks. By his exploits, he soon obtained the command of two hundred and fifty horsemen. At the siege of Regal, the Ottomans sent a challenge, purporting that the lord Turbisha, to divert the ladies, would fight any captain of the Christian troops. Smith accepted it, and meeting his antagonist on horseback, in view of the ladies on the battlements, killed him and bore away his head. A second antagonist met the same fate. Smith then requested, that if the ladies wished for more diversion, another champion might appear. A third came forth. His head was added to the number of the others; though Smith narrowly escaped losing his own. He was afterwards taken prisoner; but by killing his master, he escaped into Russia. When he returned to England, he formed the resolution to seek adventures in North America. Having persuaded a number of gentlemen, in 1606, to obtain a patent of South Virginia, he engaged in the expedition, and arrived with the first emigrants. They would have perished with hunger, but for the exertions of Smith, in procuring corn of the Indians. When he could not effect his object by purchase, he would resort to force. He once seized the Indian idol Okee, made of skins stuffed with moss; for the redemption of which, as much corn was brought him as he required. When he was president of the council, by his severity and his example, he rendered the colonists exceedingly industrious. It happened, however, that the blistered hands of several young gentlemen, who had known better times in England, called forth frequent expressions of impatience and profaneness. Smith caused the number of every man's oaths to be noted daily; and at night as many cans of water to be poured inside his sleeve. This discipline so lessened the number of oaths, that scarcely one was heard in a week; and perfectly restored the subjects of it to good humour. After other adventures, Smith died at London, in 1631, in the fifty-second year of his age. For all his services and sufferings he never received any recompense.

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a superior number of hostile Indians, he suddenly plunged into an oozy creek, and stuck fast in the mud. The Indians, awed by his previous deeds of valour, did not approach him, till, almost dead with cold, and utterly unable to extricate himself, he threw away his arms, and begged his pursuers to draw him out. The prisoner was brought in triumph into the presence of king Powhatan. After many ceremonies, and repeated consultations, two large stones were paraded. On one of them the head of Smith was laid, and clubs were lifted up to beat out his brains. At this critical moment, Pocahuntas, the king's favourite daughter, rushed forward, took Smith's head in her arms, and laid her own upon it. Her intreaties and tears softened her father, and saved the prisoner's life; and he was permitted to rejoin his countrymen. Pocahuntas, on all occasions, proved the friend of the English, and finally married one of them, named Rolfe. Her blood still runs in the veins of several distinguished Virginia families, who are proud of their descent from a woman, more illustrious for her virtues than her birth.

Smith, who was thus providentially preserved, was the life and soul of the settlement. His honourable, steady conduct, preserved peace among contending parties. His valour intimidated the natives, and awed the malcontents among the settlers. Thrice had the latter conspired to abandon the country; thrice were they reclaimed from their purpose, by his decision and address. He was the father of Virginia, and one of the first links of the chain of causes, which has filled a great part of North America, with civilized inhabitants.

Smith, on his return to James Town, found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, who, in despair, were preparing to abandon the country. He employed caresses, threats, and even violence, in order to prevent them from executing this fatal resolution. With difficulty he prevailed on them to defer it so long, that the succour anxiously expected from England arrived. Plenty was instantly restored. An hundred new planters were added to the remnant of the first settlers; and an ample stock of whatever was requisite for

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clearing and sowing the ground was delivered to them. But an unlucky incident turned their attention from that species of industry, which alone could render their situation comfortable. In a small stream of water, that issued from a bank of sand, near James Town, a sediment of some shining mineral substance, which had some resemblance to gold, was discovered. At a time when the precious metals were conceived to be the peculiar and only valuable productions of the New World, when every mountain was supposed to contain a treasure, and every rivulet was searched for its golden sands, this appearance was fondly considered as an infallible indication of a mine. Every hand was eager to dig. A large quantity of this glittering dust was amassed. "There was now," says Smith, "no talk, no hope, no work; but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold." With this imaginary wealth, the first vessel returning to England was loaded, while the culture of the land, and every useful occupation, was totally neglected.

The effects of this fatal delusion were soon felt. Notwithstanding all the provident activity of Smith, in procuring corn from the natives, by traffic or by force, the colonists began to suffer as much as formerly, from scarcity of food. In hopes of obtaining some relief, Smith proposed to open an intercourse with the more remote tribes, and to examine into the state of culture and population among them. He began his survey at cape Charles, and advanced as far as the river Susquehannah, which flows into the head of the Chesapeake bay. He visited all the countries, both on the eastern and western shores; entered most of the considerable creeks; and sailed up many of the great rivers, as far as their falls. He traded with some tribes, and fought with others. He observed the nature of the territory, which they occupied; their mode of subsistence; the peculiarities in their manners; and left among them all a strong impression, either of the beneficence or valour of the English. After sailing above three thousand miles in a paltry vessel, he returned to James Town; and brought with him an account of that large portion of the American continent, now comprehended in the two provinces

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of Virginia and Maryland; so full and exact, that his map exhibits no inaccurate view of both countries, and is the original upon which all subsequent delineations and descriptions have been formed.

The colony still depended for subsistence chiefly on supplies from the natives. After all the efforts of their own industry, hardly thirty acres of ground were yet cleared, so as to be capable of culture. However, the stores of the English were so regularly filled, that for some time they felt no considerable distress. About this time, Smith was obliged to leave the colony, to seek relief from the consequences of an accidental explosion of gunpowder, by which he had been scorched and mangled.

After his departure, every thing tended fast to the wildest anarchy. Faction and discontent had often risen so high among the first settlers, that they could hardly be kept within bounds. The spirit of the new comers was too ungovernable to bear any restraint. Several among them, of better rank, were such dissipated hopeless young men, as their friends were glad to send out, in quest of whatever fortune might betide them, in a foreign land. Such persons were little capable of the regular subordination, the strict economy, and persevering industry, which their situation required. The Indians, observing their misconduct, not only withheld the supplies of provisions which they were accustomed to furnish, but harassed them with continual hostilities. All their subsistence was derived from the stores, which they had brought from England: these were soon consumed. Then, the domestic animals, sent out to breed in the country, were devoured: and by this inconsiderate waste, they were reduced to such extremity of famine, as to eat the most nauseous and unwholesome roots and berries. This period was long remembered by the name of the starving time. In less than six months, of five hundred persons, whom Smith left in Virginia, only sixty remained; and these, so feeble and dejected, that they could not have survived many days. A resolution to abandon the colony was adopted; but it was not the will of

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Heaven, that all the labour of the English, in planting this colony, and all their hopes from it, should be forever lost. Before they had reached the mouth of James river, they were met by Lord Delaware, with three ships, that brought a large recruit of provisions; a considerable number of new settlers, and every thing requisite for defence or cultivation. By persuasion and authority, he prevailed on them to return to James Town. A society, so feeble and disordered in its frame, required a tender and skilful hand, to cherish it, and restore its vigour. This it found in Lord Delaware. He searched into the causes of their misfortunes, as far as he could discover them, amidst the violence of their mutual accusations; but, instead of exerting his power in punishing crimes that were past, he employed his prudence in healing their dissensions, and in guarding against a repetition of the same fatal errors. By unwearied assiduity, and by knowing how to mingle severity with indulgence, he gradually reconciled men, corrupted by anarchy, to subordination and discipline; turned the attention of the idle and profligate to industry; and taught the Indians again to reverence and dread the English name. Under such an administration, the colony began once more to assume a promising appearance. The company, well acquainted with the inefficacy of every method which they had hitherto employed, for restraining the unruly mutinous spirits, which they had to govern, eagerly adopted a plan for governing by martial law. Happily for the colony, Sir Thomas Dale, who was entrusted with this dangerous power, exercised it with prudence and moderation. By the vigour which the summary mode of military punishment gave to his administration, he introduced into the colony more perfect order than had ever been established in it; and, at the same time, tempered its rigour with so much discretion, that no alarm seems to have been given by this formidable innovation.

By the severe discipline of martial law, the activity of the colonists was forced into a proper direction, and exerted itself in useful industry. This, aided by a fertile soil, and

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favourable climate, soon enabled them to raise such a large stock of provisions, that they were no longer obliged to trust for subsistence to the precarious supplies, which they obtained or extorted from the Indians. In proportion as the English became more independent, the natives courted their friendship, upon more equal terms. The happy effects of this were quickly felt. Sir Thomas Dale concluded a treaty with the Chickahominy Indians, one of their most powerful and warlike tribes; in which they consented to acknowledge themselves subjects of the king; to assume henceforth the name of Englishmen; to send a body of their warriors to the assistance of the English, as often as they took the field against an enemy; and to deposit annually a stipulated quantity of Indian corn in the store houses of the colony. This tribute being soon after demanded by Sir George Yeardley, the Indians returned an insolent answer. Sir George proceeded with one hundred men to their principal town. Perceiving the Indians to be in a hostile menacing posture, he ordered his men to fire on them. Twelve were instantly killed, and twelve were taken prisoners. These paid one-hundred bushels of corn for their ransom; and, as the price of peace, loaded three English boats with that grain. Yeardley was succeeded by captain Argal, whose administration was unusually rigorous. Martial law, which had been proclaimed and executed during the turbulence of former times, was now, in a season of peace, made the common law of the land.

Argal published several edicts, which "mark the severity of his rule; but some of them evince an attention to the public safety." He ordered that all goods should be sold at an advance of twenty-five per centum, and tobacco taken in payment, at neither more nor less than three shillings per pound, on the penalty of three years servitude to the colony; that there should be no private trade or familiarity with the Indians; that no Indian should be taught to shoot with guns, on pain of death to the teacher and learner; that no man should shoot, excepting in his own necessary defence against

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an enemy, until a new supply of ammunition were received, on pain of a year's servitude; and that every person should go to church on Sundays and holidays, or be kept confined the night succeeding the offence, and be a slave to the colony the following week. For the second offence, the offender to be a slave for a month; and for the third, a year and a day.

Twelve years had elapsed since the settlement of the colony; yet, after an expense of more than eighty thousand pounds of the public stock, there were remaining, in the colony, only six hundred persons, and about three hundred head of cattle: and the Virginia company was left in debt, nearly five thousand pounds.

The only commodities, now exported from Virginia, were tobacco and sassafras; but, the labour of the planter was diminished, and the agricultural interest advanced, by the introduction of the plough.

About this time, an important change was made in the state of the colony. Hitherto, no right of private property in land had been established. The fields that were cleared, had been cultivated by the joint labour of the colonists. Their product was carried to the common store houses, and distributed weekly to every family, according to its number and exigencies. A society destitute of the first advantage, resulting from social union, was not formed to prosper. Industry, unexcited by the idea of property, in what was acquired by its own efforts, made no vigorous exertion. The head had no inducement to contrive, nor the hand to labour. The idle and improvident trusted entirely to what was issued from the common store. The assiduity even of the sober and attentive relaxed, when they perceived that others were to reap the fruit of their toil. It was computed, that the united industry of the colony did not accomplish as much work in a week, as might have been performed in a day, if each individual had laboured on his own account. To remedy these evils, Thomas Dale divided a considerable portion of the land into small lots, and granted one of these to each individual in full property. As soon as industry had

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the certain prospect of a recompense, it advanced with rapid progress. The articles of primary necessity were cultivated with so much attention, as secured the means of subsistence; and such schemes of improvement were formed, as prepared the way for the introduction of opulence.

The industrious spirit, which began to rise among the planters, was soon directed towards a new object, and they applied to it, for some time, with such inconsiderate ardour, as was productive of fatal consequences. The culture of tobacco, which has since become the staple of Virginia, and the source of its prosperity, was introduced about this time. As the taste for that weed continued to increase in England, the tobacco, imported from Virginia, came to a ready market, and yielded a considerable profit. Allured by the prospect of such a certain and quick return, every other species of industry was neglected. The land, which ought to have been reserved for raising provisions, and even the streets of James Town, were planted with tobacco. Various regulations were framed to restrain this ill-directed activity. The company furnished the means and encouraged the inhabitants to raise silk, to set up iron works, to make cordage, pitch, tar, glass, and pot ashes; to erect saw mills; to manufacture salt; to plant vines; and, above all, to raise provisions. But from eagerness for present gain, the planters disregarded every admonition. The means of subsistence became so scanty, as forced them to renew their demands upon the Indians, who, seeing no end of those exactions, revived their antipathy to the English name, with additional rancour; and began to form schemes of vengeance.

Meanwhile, the colony, notwithstanding this error in its operations, continued to exhibit an aspect of prosperity. Its numbers increased.* The quantity of tobacco exported

* To give a connected view of the imported population, the following table, taken from Jefferson's notes on Virginia, is inserted. "Successive lines in the same year shew successive periods of times in that year. The census is stated in two different columns; the whole inhabitants having been sometimes numbered, and sometimes the tythes only. This term includes

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became every year more considerable. Several of the planters were not only in easy situations, but advancing fast to opulence. By two events, which happened nearly at the same time, both population and industry were greatly promoted. As few women had hitherto ventured to encounter the hardships, which were unavoidable in an unknown and uncultivated country, most of the colonists, constrained to

the free males, above sixteen years of age, and slaves above that age of both sexes."

Years.	Settlers imported.	Census of Inhabitants.	Census of Tythes.
1607	100		
		40	
	120		
1608		130	
	70		
1609		490	
	16		
		60	
1610	150		
		200	
1611	3 ship loads		
	300		
1612	80		
1617		400	
1618	200		
	40		
		600	
1619	1216		
1621	1300		
1622		3800	
		2500	
1628		3000	
1632			2000
1644			4822
1645			5000
1652			7000
1654			7209
1700			22000
1748			82100
1759			105000
1772			153000

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live single, considered themselves as no more than sojourners in a land, to which they were not attached by the tender ties of a family and children. In order to induce them to settle, the company sent out a considerable number of young women, of humble birth, but of unexceptionable character, and encouraged the planters to marry them. These new companions were received with such fondness, and many of them so comfortably established, as invited others to follow their example. Thoughtless adventurers, assuming the sentiments of virtuous citizens and of provident fathers of families, became daily more solicitous for the prosperity of a country, which they now considered as their home.* As the colonists began to form more extensive plans of industry, they were, unexpectedly, furnished with means of executing them with greater facility. A Dutch ship, from the coast of Guinea, having, in 1620, sailed up James River, sold a part of her cargo of negroes, to the planters. As these Africans were found more able than Europeans to endure fatigue, under a sultry climate, their number was increased, by successive importations.

As the condition of the colony improved, the spirit of its members became more independent. To Englishmen, the summary and severe decisions of martial law, however tempered by the mildness of their governors, appeared intolerably oppressive; and they longed to recover the privileges, to which they had been accustomed, under the liberal form of government in their native country. In compliance with this spirit, Sir George Yeardley, in the year 1619, called the first general assembly that was ever held in Virginia. The num-

* In the lost or abortive settlement made on the coast of North Carolina, in 1585, there were nineteen women. Captain Newport, in his second voyage to Virginia, 1608, brought out two women, Mrs. Forrest, and her maid, Ann Burras. The latter soon married John Laydon. This was the first marriage in Virginia. These two were the only Englishwomen, then in the country. In 1620, and the year following, one hundred and fifty were sent out, for wives to the planters. The price of a wife at first, was one hundred, and afterwards one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco. The value of tobacco then was three shillings per pound. It was ordered that this debt for wives should have the precedency of all debts, and be first recoverable.

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bers of the people were so increased, and their settlements so dispersed, that seven, or, as others state, eleven boroughs appeared, by their representatives,* in this convention; where they were permitted to assume legislative power, and to exercise the noblest functions of freemen. The laws enacted, seem neither to have been many, nor of great importance. The meeting was highly acceptable to the people; as they now beheld, in this convention, an image of the English constitution, which they reverenced as the most perfect model of free government. For, thus far, legislative authority had been exercised, either by the corporation in England, or by their officers in Virginia. The people of the country had had no voice in the government of themselves.

The natural effect of this happy change, in their condition, was an increase of their industry. The product of tobacco, in Virginia, was now equal not only to the consumption of it in Great Britain, but could furnish some for a foreign market. The company opened a trade in it with Holland. King James, and his privy council, alarmed at seeing the commerce of a commodity, for which the demand was daily increasing, turned into a channel that tended to the diminution of his revenue, interposed with vigour, to check the innovation. Some expedient was found, by which the matter was adjusted for the present; but it is remarkable, as the first instance of a difference in sentiment, between the parent state and the colony, concerning their respective rights. The former concluded that the trade of the colony should be confined to England, and all its productions landed there. The latter claimed, not only the general privilege of Englishmen, to carry their commodities to the best market, but pleaded the particular concessions in their charter, by which, an unlimited freedom of commerce was granted to them. The time, for a

* The province was not then divided into counties. The members of this first assembly, were called burgesses, as they represented boroughs. This appellation, of the popular branch of the legislature, was retained till the American revolution. In this first assembly, the governor, the council, and burgesses met together, in one apartment; and, as one body, debated on all matters brought before them.

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more full discussion of this important question, was not yet arrived.

The colony increased so fast, that settlements were scattered, not only along the banks of James and York rivers, but began to extend to the Rappahannock, and even to the Potowmac. For the convenience of these extended settlements, inferior courts were established, as early as 1622, with the view of rendering justice more cheap and accessible to the people. This was the beginning of the county court system, which has continued ever since. In this state of prosperity, the colonists, relying on their numbers, neglected every precaution for safety, that was requisite in their situation. Like the peaceful inhabitants of a society completely established, they were no longer soldiers, but citizens; and were so intent on what was subservient to the comfort or embellishment of civil life, that every martial exercise began to be laid aside, as unnecessary. The Indians, whom they commonly employed as hunters, were furnished with fire-arms, and taught to use them with dexterity. They were permitted to frequent the habitations of the colonists at all hours; and were received as harmless visitants. This inconsiderate security enabled the Indians to prepare for the execution of a plan of vengeance. A general massacre of the colonists was resolved upon, and the means of perpetrating it, were concerted with amazing secrecy. All the tribes, contiguous to the white settlements, were successively gained, except those on the eastern shore. To each tribe, a station was allotted, and the part it was to act prescribed. On the morning of the day consecrated to vengeance, March 22, 1622, each was at the place of rendezvous appointed; while the colonists were not aware of the impending destruction. Finding them perfectly secure, at mid-day, the moment that was previously designated, for this deed of horror, the Indians rushed at once upon them, in all their different settlements, and indiscriminately murdered men, women, and children. In one hour, nearly a fourth part of the whole colony was cut off: but for two circumstances, the slaughter would have been universal. Compassion, or a sense of duty, moved a converted Indian to

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discover the plot, in time to save James Town, and some adjacent settlements. The colonists, in other districts, ran to their arms, with resolution prompted by despair, and defended themselves so bravely, as to repulse their assailants.

Though the blow was thus prevented from descending with its full effect, it proved very grievous to an infant colony. In some settlements, not a single white man escaped. Many persons of prime note in the colony, and among these, several members of the council, were slain. The survivors, overwhelmed with grief, astonishment, and terror, abandoned all their remote settlements, and assembled for safety in James Town, and the vicinity. Confined within narrow boundaries, they were less intent on schemes of industry, than on thoughts of revenge. Every man took arms. A bloody war against the Indians commenced; and neither old nor young were spared. They hunted the Indians, like wild beasts. Some of the nearest tribes were totally extirpated. These atrocious deeds, which the perpetrators represented as necessary acts of retaliation, were followed by some happy effects. The colony was delivered so entirely from any dread of the Indians, that its settlements began again to extend, and its industry to revive.

Much as the colony lost of its inhabitants and possessions, by the recent calamities, its losses were considerably counterbalanced, by supplies from the parent country. From May, 1621, to May, 1622, twenty ships conveyed thirteen hundred persons, and eighty head of cattle, from England to Virginia. King James made the colonists a present of arms, out of the tower, and lent them twenty barrels of powder. Lord St. John, of Basing, gave them sixty coats of mail. The city of London, and many private persons, made them generous presents.

Specimens of wine, made in Virginia, about this time, were sent to England. French vignerons, who had been imported to cultivate vi eyards, wrote to the English company, that the climate a d soil of Virginia surpassed that of the province of Languedoc, for the culture of grapes.

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About this time, 1624, the company was dissolved, by a legal process; and all the rights and privileges, conferred upon it, returned to the king, from whom they flowed. Whatever may be thought of the manner in which the dissolution of the company was obtained, the change was for the better. There is not, perhaps, any mode of governing an infant colony, less friendly to its liberty, than the dominion of an exclusive corporation, possessed of all the powers which James had conferred upon the company of adventurers in Virginia. During several years, the colonists can hardly be considered in any other light, than as servants to the company; nourished out of its stores; bound implicitly to obey its orders; and subjected to the most rigorous of all forms of government, that of martial law. Nor was the power of the company more favourable to the prosperity of the colony, than to its freedom. A numerous body of merchants, as long as its operations are purely commercial, may carry them on, with discernment and success: but the mercantile spirit is badly adapted to conduct an enlarged and liberal plan of civil policy. Colonies have seldom grown up to maturity and vigour, under its narrow and interested regulations. Unacquainted with the climate and soil of America, and ignorant of the productions best suited to them, they seem to have had no settled plan of improvement; and their schemes were continually varying. Their system of government was equally fluctuating. In the course of eighteen years, ten different persons presided over the province, as chief governors. No wonder, that, under such administration, all the efforts to give vigour and stability to the colony, should prove abortive, or produce only slender effects!

Above an hundred and fifty thousand pounds were expended in this first attempt, to plant an English colony in America; and more than nine thousand persons were sent out from the mother country, to people this new settlement. The nation, in return for this waste of treasure, and of people, did not receive, from Virginia, an annual importation of commodities, exceeding twenty thousand pounds in value; and the colony was so far from having added strength to the

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state, by an increase of population, that, in the year 1624, scarcely two thousand persons survived.

The company, like all unprosperous societies, fell unpitied. The violent hand, with which prerogative had invaded its rights, was forgotten; and new prospects of success opened, under a projected constitution, supposed to be exempt from all the defects to which past disasters were imputed. But the death of king James prevented him from completing his intended plan of colonial government.

Charles I. on his accession to the throne, 1625, adopted all his father's maxims, with respect to the colony in Virginia. He declared it to be a part of the empire; annexed to the crown; and immediately subordinate to its jurisdiction. He conferred the title of governor on Sir George Yeardley, and appointed him, in conjunction with a council of twelve, and a secretary, to exercise supreme authority; and enjoined them to conform, in every point, to such instructions as, from time to time, he might send to them. From the tenor of the king's commission, as well as from the known spirit of his policy, it is apparent, that he intended to vest every power of government, both legislative and executive, in the governor and council; without recourse to the representatives of the people. Virginia knew no other law than the will of the sovereign. Statutes were published, and taxes imposed, without once calling the representatives of the people to authorize them. At the same time, that the colonists were bereaved of political rights, which they deemed essential to freemen, their private property was violently invaded. A proclamation was issued, by which, under pretexts equally absurd and frivolous, they were prevented from selling tobacco to any person, but to certain commissioners appointed by the king, to purchase it on his account; and they had the cruel mortification to behold their sovereign engross all the profits of their industry, by seizing the only valuable commodity which they had to vend, and retaining the monopoly of it in his own hands. While the staple of the colony of Virginia sunk in value, under the oppression and restraints of a monopoly, property, in land, was rendered

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insecure, by various grants of it, which Charles inconsiderately bestowed upon his favourites. These were not only of such exorbitant extent, as to be unfavourable to the progress of cultivation, but, from inattention, or imperfect acquaintance with the geography of the country, their boundaries were so inaccurately defined, that large tracts, already occupied and planted, were often included in new grants.

The murmurs and complaints, which such a system of administration excited, were augmented by the rigour, with which Sir John Harvey, who succeeded Yeardley in the government of the colony, enforced every act of power. Rapacious, unfeeling and haughty, he added insolence to oppression; and neither regarded the sentiments, nor listened to the remonstrances of the people, under his command. The colonists, far from the seat of government, and overawed by authority, submitted long to his tyranny and exactions. Their patience was at last exhausted; and in a transport of popular rage and indignation, they seized their governor, and sent him a prisoner to England, accompanied by two of their number, whom they deputed to prefer their accusations against him, to the king. But this attempt to redress their wrongs, was altogether repugnant to every idea which Charles entertained, with respect to the obedience due by subjects to their sovereign. To him, the conduct of the colonists appeared to be, not only an usurpation of his right, but an open and audacious act of rebellion. Without deigning to admit their deputies into his presence, or to hear one article of their charge against Harvey; the king instantly sent him back to his former station, with an ample renewal of all the powers belonging to it. Though Charles deemed this vigorous step necessary, to assert his own authority, and to testify his displeasure with those, who had presumed to offer such an insult to it, he seems to have been so sensible of the grievances under which the colonists groaned, and of the chief source from which they flowed, that, soon after, he not only removed a governor so justly odious to them, but named, as a successor, Sir William Berkeley; a person far superior to Harvey in rank, abilities, and popular virtues.

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Under his government, the colony, in Virginia, remained, with some short intervals of interruption, almost forty years; and to his mild and prudent administration, its increase and prosperity, is, in a great measure, to be ascribed. It was indebted, however, to the king himself, for such a reform of its constitution and policy, as gave a different aspect to the colony, and animated all its operations, with new spirit. Though the tenor of Sir William Berkeley's commission was the same with that of his predecessor, he received instructions under the great seal, by which he was empowered to declare, that in all its concerns, civil as well as ecclesiastical, the colony was to be governed according to the laws of England. He was directed to issue writs for electing representatives of the people, who, in conjunction with the governor and council, were to form a general assembly, and to possess supreme legislative authority. And he was ordered to establish courts of justice, in which all questions, whether civil or criminal, were to be decided, agreeably to the forms of judicial procedure, in the mother country. It is probable, that dread of the spirit, then rising in England, extorted from Charles, concessions so favourable to Virginia. He was aware that many measures of greater moment, in his government, would be brought under a strict review, in parliament; and, unwilling to give malcontents the advantage of adding a charge of oppression, in the remote parts of his dominions, to a catalogue of domestic grievances, he artfully endeavoured to take the merit of having granted, voluntarily, to his people in Virginia, such privileges as he foresaw would be extorted from him.

But though Charles established the internal government of Virginia, on a model similar to that of the English constitution, and conferred, on his subjects there, all the rights of freemen and citizens, he was extremely solicitous to maintain its connection with the parent state. With this view, he instructed Sir William Berkeley, strictly to prohibit any commerce of the colony, with foreign nations. Even under this restraint, such is the kindly influence of free government on society, that the colony advanced rapidly in industry and

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population. At the beginning of the civil war, the English settled in it exceeded twenty thousand.

Gratitude towards a monarch, from whose hands they had received immunities, together with the influence and example of a popular governor, concurred in preserving loyalty among the colonists. Even when monarchy was abolished; after one king had been beheaded, and another driven into exile, the authority of the crown continued to be acknowledged and revered in Virginia. Irritated at this open defiance of its power, the parliament issued an ordinance, declaring, that as the settlement in Virginia had been made at the cost, and by the people of England, it ought to be subordinate to the English commonwealth, and subject to such laws, as are or shall be made in parliament; that instead of dutiful submission, the colonists had disclaimed the authority of the state, and audaciously rebelled against it; that, on this account, they were denounced traitors: and, not only all vessels belonging to natives of Europe, but those of foreign nations, were prohibited to enter their ports, or to carry on any commerce with them.

The efforts of an high-spirited government, in asserting its own dignity, were prompt and vigorous. A powerful squadron, with a considerable body of land forces, was despatched to reduce the Virginians to obedience. After compelling the colonies in Barbadoes, and the other islands, to submit to the commonwealth, the squadron entered the bay of Chesapeake. Berkeley, with more courage than prudence, took arms to oppose this formidable armament; but he could not long maintain such an unequal contest. His gallant resistance, however, procured favourable terms to the people under his government. A general indemnity for all past offences was granted. They acknowledged the authority of the commonwealth, and were admitted to a participation of all the rights of citizens. By a convention, entered into by commissioners on both sides, the Virginians had secured to them the ancient limits of their country; its free trade; its exemption from taxation, but by their own assembly; and

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the exclusion of military force from among them. Berkeley, firm to his principles of loyalty, disdained to make any stipulation for himself; but continued to reside in Virginia, as a private man, beloved and respected by all over whom he had formerly presided.

Not satisfied with taking measures to subject the colonies, the commonwealth turned its attention towards the most effectual mode of retaining them, in dependence on the parent state, and of securing to it the benefit of their increasing commerce. With this view, the parliament framed two laws; one of which expressly prohibited all mercantile intercourse between the colonies and foreign states; and the other ordained that no production of Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported into the dominions of the commonwealth, but in vessels belonging to English owners, or to the people of the colonies, settled there; and navigated by an English commander, and by crews, of which the greater part must be Englishmen. This act was rigidly enforced in Virginia and Maryland; and, from its operation, the inhabitants suffered no little distress. Cromwell frequently changed his colonial governors, lest they should enter into the feelings of the people. In Virginia, he had no less than three, Digges, Bennet, and Mathews, during the protectorship.

His conduct was very different in the New England colonies. Notwithstanding the navigation laws, they were allowed a free trade to all parts; and were indulged with the liberty of importing their commodities into England, free from all the duties which the southern colonies were obliged to pay. This excited the envy of the other colonies, and created dissatisfaction among the merchants in England; but was, notwithstanding, continued till the restoration.

Virginia remained, almost nine years, in perfect tranquillity. During that period, many adherents to the royal party, and among these some gentlemen of good families, in order to avoid danger and oppression, to which they were exposed in England, or in hopes of improving their fortunes, migrat-

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ed to Virginia.* On the death of Mathews, the last governor named by Cromwell, the sentiments and inclinations of the people, no longer under the controul of authority, burst out with violence. They forced Sir William Berkeley to quit his retirement; they unanimously elected him governor of the colony; and, as he refused to act under an usurped authority, they boldly erected the royal standard, and, acknowledging Charles the second their lawful sovereign, proclaimed him with all his titles. The Virginians long boasted that, as they were the last of the king's subjects, who renounced their allegiance, they were the first, who returned to their duty.

Happily for the people of Virginia, a revolution in England, sudden and unexpected, seated Charles on the throne of his ancestors. On receiving the first account of this event, the exultation of the colony was universal and unbounded; but not of long continuance. Gracious, but unproductive professions of esteem and good will, were the only return made by Charles to loyalty and services, which, in the estimation of the Virginians, were so distinguished, that no recompense was beyond what they claimed. The king's neglect and ingratitude† disappointed all the sanguine hopes, which

* In this period (1659,) John Washington, the great grandfather of the illustrious general George Washington, migrated from the north of England, and settled in Westmoreland county, on the Potowmac. The records of Virginia shew that in a few years after his arrival, he became a considerable proprietor of land, and held sundry important offices.

† Notwithstanding their singular attachment to royalty, no colony more severely felt the mischief of a despotic kingly government than Virginia. In direct contravention of their rights, the colony was split into parts, and conveyed away in proprietary grants. These were not grants of uncultivated wood-lands; but of improved plantations. The assembly drew up an humble address, complaining of these grants, as inconsistent with their chartered rights. To defray the expense of prosecuting the affair before the king, a tax of fifty pounds of tobacco was laid on each poll. Heavy amercements were also laid on every law case, tried in the colony. The low price of tobacco, these taxes and amercements, all united their influence, with the duties imposed by the acts of trade and navigation, to distress the colony. The poor were scarcely able, from the fruits of their industry, to feed and clothe

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they had founded on the merits of their past conduct; and at the same time, the spirit which influenced parliament, in its commercial deliberations, opened a prospect that alarmed them, with respect to their future situation. In framing regulations for the encouragement of trade, the house of commons, instead of granting the colonies that relief which they expected, from the restraints on their commerce, imposed by the commonwealth and Cromwell, not only adopted all their ideas concerning this branch of legislation, but extended them further. This produced the act of navigation; the most important and memorable of any in the statute book, with respect to the history of English commerce. By this it was enacted, that no commodities should be imported into any settlement in Asia, Africa, or America; or exported from them, but in vessels of English or plantation built; that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods used in dying, of the growth or manufacture of the colonies, should be shipped from them, to any other country but England. Soon after, the act of navigation was extended, and additional restraints were imposed, by a new law, which prohibited the importation of any European commodity, into the colonies, but what was laden in England, in vessels navigated and manned as the act of navigation required. The principles of policy, on which the various regulations contained in both statutes are founded, were openly avowed in a declaration, that, "as the plantations, beyond seas, are inhabited and peopled by subjects of England, they may be kept in a firmer dependence upon it; and rendered yet more beneficial and advantageous to it, in the further employment and increase of English shipping and seamen, as well as in the vent of English woollen and other manufactures and commodities; and in making England an emporium, not only of the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places, for the supplying of them."

their wives and children. Under this complication of evils, the people, in process of time, became riotous; and finally joined the standard of rebellion, raised by colonel Bacon.

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By these successive regulations, the plan of securing to England a monopoly of the commerce with its colonies, and of shutting up every other channel, into which it might be diverted, was perfected and reduced into complete system. On one side of the Atlantic, these regulations have been extolled, as an extraordinary effort of political sagacity, and have been considered as the great charter of national commerce, to which England is indebted, for all its opulence and power. On the other, they have been execrated, as a code of oppression, more suited to the illiberality of mercantile ideas, than to extensive views of legislative wisdom.

Hardly was the act of navigation known in Virginia, and its effects begun to be felt, when the colony remonstrated against it, as a grievance; and petitioned earnestly for relief. But the commercial ideas, of Charles and his ministers, coincided so perfectly with those of parliament, that, instead of listening with a favourable ear to their applications, they laboured assiduously to carry the act into strict execution. For this purpose, instructions were issued to the governor; forts were built on the banks of the principal rivers; and small vessels appointed to cruize on the coast. The Virginians, seeing no prospect of obtaining exemptions from the act, set themselves to evade it. As it is with extreme difficulty that commerce can be turned into a new channel, tobacco, the staple of the colony, sunk prodigiously in value, when they were compelled to send it all to one market. It was some time before England could furnish full assortments of those necessary articles, without which the industry of the colony could not be carried on, or its prosperity secured. Encouraged by the symptoms of general languor and despondency, which this declining state of the colony occasioned, the Indians, seated towards the heads of the rivers, ventured first to attack the remote settlements; and then to make incursions into the interior parts of the country. Unexpected as these hostilities were, from a people who, during a long period, had lived in friendship with the English, a measure, taken by the king, seems to have excited still greater terror among the most opulent people in the colony. Charles had imprudently imi-

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tated the example of his father, by granting such large tracts of land, in Virginia, to several of his courtiers, as tended to unsettle the distribution of property in the country, and to render the title of the most ancient planters to their estates precarious and questionable. From those various causes, which affected every individual in the colony, the indignation of the people became general; and was worked up to such a pitch, that nothing was wanting to precipitate them into the most desperate acts, but some leader, qualified to unite and to direct their operations.

Such a leader they found in Nathaniel Bacon, a colonel of militia; who, though he had been settled in Virginia only three years, had acquired, by popular manners, an insinuating address, and the consideration derived from having been regularly trained in England, to the profession of the law, such general esteem, that he was regarded as one of the most respectable persons in the colony. Bacon was ambitious, eloquent, and daring. Prompted, either by honest zeal to redress the public wrongs, or allured by hopes of raising himself to distinction and power, he mingled with the malcontents, and, by his bold harangues, and confident promises of removing all their grievances, inflamed them almost to madness. As the devastation, committed by the Indians, was the calamity most sensibly felt by the people, he accused the governor of having neglected the proper measures for repelling the invasions of the savages, and exhorted them to take arms in their own defence, and to exterminate that odious race. Great numbers assembled, and chose Bacon to be their general. He applied to the governor for a commission confirming this election of the people; and offered to march instantly against the common enemy. Berkeley, accustomed, by long possession of supreme command, to high ideas of the respect due to his station, considered this tumultuary armament as an open insult to his authority. Unwilling, however, to give farther provocation to an incensed multitude, by a direct refusal of what they demanded, he thought it prudent to negociate, in order to gain time; and it was not until he found all endeavours to sooth them ineffectual, that he issued

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a proclamation, requiring them, in the king's name, under the pain of being denounced rebels, to disperse.

But Bacon, sensible that he had advanced so far, as rendered it impossible to recede with honour or safety, instantly took the only resolution that remained for him, in his situation. At the head of a chosen body of his followers, he marched rapidly to James Town; and, surrounding the house where the governor and council were assembled, demanded the commission for which he had formerly applied. Berkeley, with the proud indignant spirit of a cavalier, disdaining the requisitions of a rebel, peremptorily refused to comply; and calmly presented his naked breast to the weapons which were pointed against it. The council, however, foreseeing the fatal consequences of driving an enraged multitude, in whose power they were, to the last extremities of violence, prepared a commission constituting Bacon general of all the forces, in Virginia; and, by their intreaties, prevailed on the governor to sign it. Bacon, with his troops, retired in triumph. Hardly was the council delivered, by his departure, from the dread of present danger, when, by a transition not unusual in feeble minds, presumptuous boldness succeeded to excessive fear. The commission granted to Bacon was declared to be null, having been extorted by force; he was proclaimed a rebel; his followers were required to abandon his standard; and the militia ordered to arm, and to join the governor.

Enraged at this conduct, Bacon, instead of continuing his march towards the Indian country, instantly wheeled round, and advanced with all his forces to James Town. The governor, unable to resist such a numerous body, made his escape, and fled across the bay to Accomack, on the eastern shore. Some of the counsellors accompanied him thither; others retired to their own plantations. Upon the flight of Sir William Berkeley, and dispersion of the council, the frame of civil government, in the colony, seemed to be dissolved; and Bacon became possessed of supreme and uncontrolled power. But, as he was sensible that his countrymen would not long submit, with patience, to authority acquired

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and held merely by force of arms, he endeavoured to found it on a more constitutional basis, by obtaining the sanction of the people's approbation. With this view, he called together the most considerable gentlemen in the colony, and, having prevailed on them to bind themselves by oath to maintain his authority, and to resist every enemy that should oppose it, he, from that time, considered his jurisdiction as legally established.

Berkeley, meanwhile, made inroads into different parts of the colony, where Bacon's authority was recognized. Several sharp conflicts happened, with various success. James Town was reduced to ashes, and the best cultivated districts in the province were laid waste, sometimes by one party, and sometimes by the other. But, it was not by his own exertions, that the governor hoped to terminate the contest. He had early transmitted an account of the transactions in Virginia to the king, and demanded such a body of soldiers, as would enable him to quell the insurgents. To induce the king to grant this request, he represented Bacon's party, as impatient of all dependence on the parent state. Charles, alarmed at a commotion, no less dangerous than unexpected, and solicitous to maintain his authority over a colony, the value of which was daily increasing, speedily despatched a small squadron, with such a number of regular troops, as Berkeley had required. Bacon and his followers received information of this armament, but were not intimidated at its approach. They boldly determined to oppose it with open force; and declared it to be consistent with their duty and allegiance, to treat all, who should aid Sir William Berkeley, as enemies, until they should have an opportunity of laying their grievances before their sovereign.

But, while both parties prepared, with equal animosity, to involve their country in the horrors of a civil war, an event happened, which quieted the commotion, almost as suddenly as it had been excited. Bacon, when ready to take the field, sickened and died. None of his followers possessed such talents as entitled them to aspire to the supreme command. Destitute of a leader to conduct and animate them, their

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sanguine hopes of success subsided. Mutual distrust accompanied this universal despondency. All began to wish for an accommodation; and, after a short negociation, with Sir William Berkeley, lieutenant general Ingram, and major general Walklate, they laid down their arms, and submitted to his government, on obtaining a promise of general pardon; but were obliged to submit to the incapacity of ever bearing any office in the colony.

Thus terminated an insurrection, which, in the annals of Virginia, is distinguished by the name of Bacon's rebellion. During seven months, this daring leader was master of the colony, while the royal governor, shut up in a remote corner of it, was able to make only a feeble resistance. Skirmishes took place, in which several on both sides were killed and wounded. The cattle of the country was destroyed; and during the insurrection, there was an almost total neglect of husbandry; so that the people had the dreadful prospect of famine. What were the real motives that prompted Bacon to take arms, and to what length he intended to carry his plans of reform, it is not easy to discover. It is probable, that his conduct, like that of other adventurers in faction, would have been regulated, chiefly by events; and accordingly as these proved favourable or adverse, his views and requisitions would have been extended or circumscribed.

Sir William Berkeley, as soon as he was reinstated in his office, called together the representatives of the people, that, by their advice and authority, public tranquillity and order might be perfectly established. Though this assembly met a few weeks after the death of Bacon, while the memory of reciprocal injuries was still recent, and when the passions excited by such a fierce contest had but little time to subside, its proceedings were conducted with a moderation, seldom exercised by the successful party in a civil war. No man suffered capitally. A small number were subjected to fines: others were declared incapable of holding any office of trust: and, with these exceptions, the promise of general indemnity was confirmed by law. Soon after these events, Berkeley

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went to England, and died there. Lord Culpepper was appointed his successor.

About the year 1679, governor Culpepper arrived, with certain bills drawn up by the ministry in England, to be passed into laws, by the assembly of Virginia. His lordship had instructions to pass an act of pardon, for all who had been in the late rebellion; but it was suspended on the condition, that the assembly should first pass into laws, the bills which he had brought from their common superiors in England. On their refusal, he had commissioners ready to try and hang them as rebels; and a regiment of soldiers on the spot, to support him in these faithless proceedings. One of these bills was for raising a public revenue for the support of government. This made the duties perpetual, and to be at the sole direction of the king. When the governor had effected the passage of this into a law, he obtained for himself, out of the proceeds, an annual salary of 2000*l.* which was double the salary of his predecessors. He also obtained 160*l.* annually, for house rent. Besides, he demanded from every vessel, under one hundred tons, twenty shillings; and thirty shillings for all above that burden, to be paid to him, as a perquisite, by the captain of the vessel, for every voyage, at port clearing. He also oppressed the people by causing them to receive light coin in payment, at the same rate with that which was full weight. This necessity he imposed and continued for his own emolument. These were the returns Virginia received, for its extraordinary loyalty to the restored king. The colony groaned under similar oppressive measures, which were continued in the reign of his brother and successor, James the second. The spirit of government was the same, and equally arbitrary on both sides of the Atlantic, in the interval between the restoration in 1660 and the revolution in 1688. In this period, besides these systematic oppressions, there is scarcely any memorable occurrence in the history of Virginia.

The people of this loyal colony, with a constitution, which, in form, resembled that of England, enjoyed hardly any

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portion of the liberty, which that system of policy is framed to secure. They were deprived even of the last consolation of the oppressed, the power of complaining, by a law which, under severe penalties, prohibited them from speaking disrespectfully of the governor, or defaming either by words or writing the administration of the colony. The laws, restraining their commerce, were felt as an intolerable grievance, and nourished in secret a spirit of discontent, which, from the necessity of concealing it, acquired a greater degree of acrimony. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the colony continued to increase. The use of tobacco was now become general in Europe. In the use of this nauseous weed, civilized men went beyond savages. The latter used it only in smoking; but the former, in addition, chewed it, and took it in snuff. In consequence of its general use, though it had fallen in price, the demand was so great, that, by giving constant employment to the industry of the planters, it diffused wealth among them.

From the English revolution, in 1688, to the American revolution, in 1776, the government of Virginia was conducted on revolutionary principles; and, generally, for the benefit of the people. The colony was too far north, to be involved in the disputes with the Spaniards, about boundary, which affected the more southern colonies; and too far south, to be claimed by the French, as an appendage to Canada; or to have a distressing participation in the several wars between France and England; which, from 1690 to 1748, disturbed the peace of the most northern colonies. From 1754 to 1758, when the French schemes for uniting Canada and Louisiana were urged, the frontiers of Virginia were involved in serious distresses, from the incursions of French and Indian parties, detached from Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio: but, with this exception, Virginia enjoyed a steady series of prosperity, for the last eighty-five years of her colonial existence. In this period, her strength and resources increased to so great an extent, as enabled her successfully

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to resist Great Britain attacking her rights. Her inhabitants were then computed to be 496,278.*

NEW ENGLAND, PLYMOUTH, AND MASSACHUSETTS.

Thirteen years elapsed, after James Town began to be built, before any permanent establishment was effected in the northern or second colony. Various attempts for that purpose had failed; nor was the arduous business accomplished, till it was undertaken by men who were influenced by higher motives than the extension of agriculture or commerce. These men had been called Puritans in England, from their earnest desires of further reformation in the established church; and particularly for their aversion to certain popish habits and ceremonies, which they deemed sinful, from their having been abused to idolatry. Such was the intolerance of the times, and so violent the zeal for uniformity, that popular preachers of this sect, though men of learning and piety, were suspended, deprived, imprisoned, and ruined, for not using garments or ceremonies which their adversaries acknowledged to be indifferent. Puritanism, nevertheless, gained ground. On experiment, it was found, that no attempts are more fruitless than those which are made with the view of bringing men to think alike, on the subject of religion. The leaders, both of church and state, were too little acquainted

* This number of the inhabitants of Virginia, in 1775, is taken from the journals of congress. It is conjectural, and not founded on actual enumeration. When congress first emitted bills of credit, they fixed the quota, to be redeemed by each colony, in proportion to its supposed number of inhabitants. The number assigned to each state, at that time, is the number referred to in this work. It appears to have been near the truth. In 1790, an actual enumeration was taken. The number of inhabitants, in Virginia, was then found to be 747,600. Of these intermediate fifteen years, eight were years of war. The conjectural enumeration of 1775 was three millions, in the whole twelve confederated colonies. The actual enumeration of the same, with the addition of Georgia, Kentucky, and the South-West Territory, in 1790, was 3,870,326. The latter, in some measure, confirms the former, when proper allowance is made for the destruction caused in the interval, by the revolutionary war.

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with the genuine principles of policy and Christianity, to apply the proper remedy for preserving peace among discording sects. Instead of granting a general liberty of conscience, compulsory methods were adopted for enforcing uniformity. An act was passed for punishing all who refused to come to church, or were present at any conventicle or meeting. The punishment was imprisonment, till the convicted agreed to conform, and made a declaration of his conformity. If that were not done in three months, he was to quit the realm, and go into perpetual banishment. In case he did not depart within the time limited, or returned afterwards without a license, he was to suffer death. Such is the renitency of the human mind, to all impositions on conscience, that the more the Puritans were oppressed, the more were they attached to their distinguishing opinions, and the more did their sect prevail. Several of them suffered death, in preference to purchasing an exemption from legal penalties, by doing what in their opinion was wrong. It was afterwards resolved to send others, who had equally persevered in their non-conformity, into banishment. Many chose to avoid these evils, by voluntarily exiling themselves from their native country.

A congregation of these Puritans, under the pastoral care of Mr. John Robinson, resolved to elude their persecutors, by removing to Holland. They continued there ten years; and, by hard labour, earned a living. Though they were much esteemed, and kindly received by the Hollanders, they were induced to think of a second removal. They had an ardent desire of propagating religion in foreign lands, and of separating themselves from all the existing establishments in Europe; that they might have an opportunity of handing down, to future ages, the model of a pure church, free from the admixture of human additions. America, the colonizing of which then excited a considerable share of public attention, presented a proper theatre for this purpose. After serious and repeated addresses to Heaven for direction, they resolved to cross the Atlantic. An application, on their behalf, was made to their native sovereign, king James, for full liberty

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and freedom of conscience: but, nothing more could be obtained, than a promise, that he would connive at, and not molest them. The hope, that, when at the distance of 3000 miles, they would be out of the reach of ecclesiastical courts, induced them nevertheless to venture. They sailed, 101 in number, from Plymouth, in September, 1620, and arrived at Cape Cod, in November following. Before landing, they formed themselves into a body politic, under the crown of England, for the purpose of "framing just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices;" to which forty-one of their number subscribed their names, and promised all due submission and obedience. After landing, they employed themselves in making discoveries, till the 20th of December.* They then fixed on a place for settlement, which they afterwards called New Plymouth; and purchased the soil from its native proprietors. These adventurers were now at the commencement of a long and dreary winter; at an immense distance from their former habitations; on the strange coast of an uncultivated country; without a friend to welcome their arrival, or a house to shelter them. In settling down on bare creation, they had every obstacle to surmount, that could prove their firmness, or try their patience. The climate was unfavourable; the season cold and pinching. The prospect of obtaining a supply of provisions, by cultivating the stubborn soil, required an immensity of previous labour, and was both distant and uncertain. From the disorders occasioned by their tedious voyage, with insufficient accommodations, together with those brought on them by the fa-

* The return of this day is annually celebrated at Plymouth and Boston, by the "Sons of the pilgrims," as the present inhabitants call themselves. Religious exercises inspire gratitude to the God of their fathers. Orations recount the deeds of their ancestors. Festivity animates the guests, while orations, songs, and appropriate toasts, bring to recollection their many virtues; and point to them, as worthy of being held in everlasting remembrance. To identify their situation and feelings with those of the first settlers, oysters, clams, fish, wild fowl, game, suckatash, and like articles, as the country afforded when it was first entered upon by their forefathers, make a part of the feast. The day, in its variegated entertainment, is observed with ardour approaching to enthusiasm.

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tigues and exertions unavoidable in a new settlement, and the rigour of the season, they buried forty-four persons, nearly one half of their original number, within six months after their landing. Animated with a high degree of religious fervour, they supported these various hardships with unabated resolution. The prospect of an exemption from the tyranny of ecclesiastical courts, and of an undisturbed liberty to worship their Creator in the way that was agreeable to their consciences, was, in their estimation, a sufficient counterbalance to all that they underwent. In imitation of the primitive Christians, they threw all their property into a common stock, and, like members of one family, carried on every work of industry, by their joint labour, for common benefit. The same fatal effects flowed from this community of goods and of labour, which had formerly been experienced in Virginia; and it was therefore soon relinquished. By voluntary compact, they formed themselves into a small commonwealth, and had a succession of governors* of their own

* The history of their two first governors, Carver and Bradford, is so connected with the affairs of the colony, as to merit a place in this work.

John Carver, first governor of Plymouth colony, was a native of England, and one of the emigrants to Leyden, who composed Mr. Robinson's church in that place. When a removal to America was contemplated, he was appointed one of the agents to negotiate with the Virginia company, in England, for a suitable territory. He obtained a patent in 1619, and in the following year, came to New England with the first company. The ship which brought them was carried, by accident or design, too far to the northward, and anchored in the harbour of cape Cod. As they were without the territory of the South Virginia company, from whom they had received the charter, which was thus rendered useless, it was thought proper, before they landed, that a political association for self government should be formed, by voluntary agreement among themselves. Accordingly, after solemn prayers and thanksgiving, a written instrument was subscribed, on the 11th of November, 1620, by forty-one persons out of one hundred and one, the whole number of passengers of all descriptions on board. Mr. Carver's name stood first, and he was unanimously elected governor for one year. Government being thus regularly established, on a truly republican principle, sixteen armed men were sent on shore the same day, to procure wood and make discoveries. They returned at night, having seen neither house nor human being. The next day was Sunday, and it was observed as a day of rest. While

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choice. They settled in that part of Massachusetts which now forms the county of Plymouth. They originally formed

they lay in this harbour, during the space of five weeks, a number of excursions were made by the direction of the governor.

On the 6th of December, governor Carver, with eighteen men, set sail in the shallop, to make further discoveries. The weather was so cold, that the spray of the sea froze on their coats till they were cased with ice. They coasted along the cape, and occasionally a party was sent on shore. At the dawn of day, on the 8th of December, those who were on the land were surprised by the war cry of the natives, and a flight of arrows. They immediately seized their arms, and, on the first discharge of musquetry, the Indians fled. Eighteen arrows were taken up, headed either with brass, deer's horns, or birds' claws. On the 11th of December, they went ashore upon the main land, at the place which they called Plymouth. A part of the very rock, on which they first set their feet, is now in the public square of the town, and is distinguished by the name of "Forefather's rock." Another part is preserved in the museum of the Charleston S. C. Library Society.

As they marched into the country, they found corn fields, and brooks, and an excellent situation for building. Before the end of the month, they had erected a storehouse, with a thatched roof, in which their goods were deposited. Two rows of houses were begun, and, as fast as they could be covered, the people, who were classed into nineteen families, came ashore and lodged in them. The severe hardships to which they were exposed, in so rigorous a climate, and the scorbutic habits, contracted by living so long on board the ship, caused so great a mortality, that, before the month of April, near one half of them died. None of the natives were seen before the sickness among the planters had abated. The pestilence which raged in the country, four years before, had almost depopulated it. On the 16th of March, 1621, a savage came boldly into the town alone, and, to the astonishment of the emigrants, addressed them in these words, "Welcome, Englishmen! welcome, Englishmen!" His name was Samoset, and he was sagamore of a tribe of Indians, distant five days' journey to the eastward. He had learned broken English of the fishermen in his country. By him the governor was informed, that the place where they now were, was called Patuxet, and, though it was formerly populous, that every human being had died of the late pestilence. This account was confirmed by the extent of the deserted fields, the number of graves, and the remnant of skeletons lying on the ground. Being dismissed with a present, he returned the next day with five Indians, who brought a few skins for trade. They informed the planters that Massassoit, the sachem of the neighbouring Indians, was near, with his brother and a number of his people. Within an hour, he appeared on the top of a hill, over against the English town, with sixty men. Mutual distrust prevented, for some time, any advances upon either side; but, Mr. Winslow being sent to the Indian king, with a copper chain and two knives,

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and continued a distinct colony, by the name of Plymouth, until their incorporation, in 1691, with Massachusetts.

and a friendly message from the governor, the sachem was pleased to descend from the hill, accompanied by twenty men unarmed. Captain Standish, at the head of six men with musquets, met him at the brook, and escorted him to one of the best houses, where three or four cushions were placed on a green rug spread over the floor. The governor came in, preceded by a drum and trumpet, the sound of which, being new, greatly delighted the Indians. After mutual salutations, the governor kissed his majesty's hand, and ordered refreshments. A league of friendship was then agreed upon, which was inviolably observed, for above fifty years.

In the beginning of April, twenty acres of lands were prepared for the reception of Indian corn: and Samoset and Squanto taught the emigrants how to plant, and dress it with herrings, of which an immense quantity came into the brooks. Six acres were sowed with barley and peas. While they were engaged in this labour, governor Carver died. He was distinguished for his prudence, integrity, and firmness, and owned a good estate in England, which he spent in the emigration to Holland and America. He exerted himself to promote the interests of the colony, and bore a large share of its sufferings. The people confided in him as their friend and father.

William Bradford, second governor of Plymouth colony, was born in the north of England. After a residence of about ten years in Holland, he engaged with zeal in the plan of removal to America, and set sail from Plymouth with the first company. While the ship, which brought them, lay in the harbour of Cape Cod, he was one of the foremost in the several hazardous attempts, to find a proper place for the seat of the colony. Soon after the death of governor Carver, in 1621, Mr. Bradford was elected in his place. One of the first acts of his administration was to send an embassy to Massassoit, for the purpose of confirming the league with the Indian sachem; of procuring seed corn for the next planting season; and of exploring the country. It was well for the colony that the friendship of Massassoit was thus secured; for his influence was extensive. In consequence of his regard for the new settlers, nine sachems, in September, went to Plymouth, and acknowledged themselves subjects of king James.

In the beginning of 1622, the colony began to experience a distressing famine, occasioned by the arrival of new settlers, who came unfurnished with provisions. In the height of their distress, a threatening message was received from Canonicus, sachem of Naraganset, expressed by the present of a bundle of arrows bound with the skin of a serpent. The governor sent back the skin, filled with powder and ball. This prompt and ingenious reply terminated the correspondence. The Naragansets were so terrified, that they even returned the serpent's skin, without inspecting its contents. It was however judged necessary to fortify the town; and this work was performed by the people while they were suffering the extremity of famine.

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Just before their arrival in New England, king James the first, by letters patent, incorporated forty persons, by the name of, "the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England, in America;" and granted unto them all that part of America which is comprehended between forty and forty-eight degrees of north latitude. This is the basis of all the other grants, made to the colonies in New England.

In 1628, the Plymouth company granted unto Sir Henry

For some time, they subsisted entirely upon fish. In this exigency, governor Bradford found the advantage of his friendly intercourse with the Indians. He made several excursions among them, and procured corn and beans, making a fair purchase by means of goods, which were very acceptable to the Indians.

This scarcity was, in part, owing to the impolicy of labouring in common, and putting the proceeds into a public store. To stimulate industry by the prospect of individual acquisition, and thus to promote the general good by removing the restraints upon selfishness, it was agreed that every family should plant for themselves, on such ground as should be assigned them by lot. After this agreement, the governor was not obliged to traffic with the Indians, to procure the means of subsistence for the colony.

The original government of Plymouth was founded entirely upon mutual compact, entered into by the planters, before they landed, and was intended to continue only until they could obtain legal authority from their sovereign. The first patent was obtained for the colony in the name of John Peirce; but another patent of larger extent was obtained of the council for New England, January 13th, 1630, in the name of William Bradford, his heirs, associates and assigns, which gave them power to make all laws, not repugnant to the laws of England. For several of the first years after the settlement of Plymouth, the legislative, executive and judicial business was performed by the whole body of freemen in assembly. The first assembly of representatives was held in 1639, when two deputies were sent from each town, excepting Plymouth, which sent four.

Such was the reputation of Mr. Bradford for piety, wisdom and integrity, that he was annually chosen governor as long as he lived, excepting in the years 1633, 1636, and 1644, when Mr. Winslow was appointed, and the years 1634, and 1638, when Mr. Prince was elected chief magistrate. It was by his own request, that the people in these years did not re-elect Mr. Bradford. He strongly recommended a rotation in the election of governor. "If this appointment," he pleaded, "were any honour or benefit, others beside himself should partake of it; if it were a burden, others beside himself should help to bear it." But the people were so much attached to him, that for thirty years they placed him at the head of their government.

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Roswell and others, all that part of New England, which is included within a line drawn from the Atlantic ocean, three miles south of Charles river, and three miles north of the Merrimack, to the south sea. King Charles the first confirmed this patent, and constituted the patentees a body politic, with very extensive privileges. Executive, legislative and judicial powers were relinquished by the crown, and eventually vested in actual settlers, and the men of their choice.

At this time, liberty of conscience could not be enjoyed in England. Many were so harassed for their non-conformity, that they determined rather to make settlements in a dreary wilderness, at the distance of three thousand miles from their native country, than endure the persecution to which they were constantly exposed. They emigrated, not for the advantages of trade, but for religion, and the enjoyment of liberty of conscience. They wished to transmit the blessings of civil and religious liberty, to their posterity.

Mr. John Endicot was sent over, in the year 1628, with about three hundred people, to prepare the way for a permanent colony. They began a settlement which they named Salem. This was the first town in Massachusetts, and the second in New England.

About a hundred of the planters, who came over with Mr. Endicot, removed very soon, and began a settlement which they called Charlestown. It was determined, in 1629, that the patent and government of the plantation should be transferred to New England. This gave new vigour to the nascent colony. Seventeen ships full of settlers arrived in the course of the next year. Among these was governor Winthrop.*

* John Winthrop, the father of Massachusetts, was born in England, in 1587, and bred to the law. Having converted a fine estate, of six hundred pounds sterling per annum, into money, he embarked for America, in the forty-third year of his age, as an associate of those persons who settled the colony of Massachusetts, and with a commission to be their governor. He arrived in 1630, and in the three following years he was chosen governor, for which office he was eminently qualified. His time and all his powers were devoted to the infant plantation. In 1634, Mr. Dudley was chosen in his

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The magistrates of the colony, and a number of ministers, arrived at the same time.*

These new settlers, about fifteen hundred in number, arrived in July, 1630. They encamped in cottages, booths and tents, upon Charlestown hill. Their place of public worship was under a large spreading tree. In this and the last year, there came into New England two thousand persons. These settled about nine or ten towns or villages. From them and

place; but Winthrop was re-elected in the years 1637, 1638, and 1639, and in 1642, 1643, 1646, 1647, and 1648. He died in the sixty-third year of his age. Governor Winthrop was a faithful, upright magistrate, and an exemplary Christian. He at first was very mild in the administration of justice, but afterwards yielded to the opinions of others, who thought that severe discipline was necessary, in a new plantation. Not having a high opinion of a pure democracy, when the people of Connecticut were about forming a government, he wrote them a letter in which he observed, "the best part of a community is always the least, and of that least part, the wiser are still less." In the course of his life, he repeatedly experienced the versatility of the public opinion; but when he was left out of office, he possessed perfect calmness of mind, and still exerted himself to serve his country. In severe trials, his magnanimity, wisdom, and patience were conspicuous. He denied himself many of the elegancies of life, that he might give an example of frugality and temperance. In a severe winter, when wood was scarce, he received information that a neighbour often stole wood from the pile at his door. "Does he?" said the governor, in seeming anger; "call him to me, and I will take a course with him, that shall cure him of stealing." When the man appeared he addressed him thus: "friend, it is a cold winter, and I hear you are meanly provided with wood; you are welcome to help yourself at my pile, till the winter is over." He afterwards merrily asked his informant, whether he had not put a stop to the man's stealing? Though his fortune was great when he came to America, yet he died poor. He was so much of a theologian, that he sometimes gave the word of exhortation in the church. Governor's island in the harbour of Boston was granted to him, and still remains in the possession of his descendants. His recommendation and influence procured a law to be passed, against the practice of health drinking. He kept a journal of occurrences in the colony, from his arrival down to the year 1644. This matter of fact book was first published in 1790; but had been previously read by many, and was the basis of most of the early histories of New England.

* The first question proposed, at the first court of assistants, was, how the ministers should be maintained? The court ordered that houses be built, and salaries raised for them, at the public charge.

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their subsequent associates, have sprung the many thousands, that have inhabited Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island. The Puritans, to which sect these primitive emigrants belonged, were a plain, frugal, industrious people, who were strict observers of moral and social duties: but they held that the imposition of creeds, of modes of worship, habits or ceremonies, was subversive of natural rights. They also viewed church hierarchy, and especially the lordly pomp of bishops, as opposed to the simple and equal spirit of Christianity. Their sufferings for non-conformity disposed them to reflect on the nature and extent of civil authority; and led to a conviction that tyranny, whether in church or state, was contrary to nature, reason, and revelation. There was a similarity between their opinions of government, and those which they held on the subject of religion. Each strengthened the other. Both were favourable to liberty, and hostile to all undue exercise of authority.

It is matter of regret, that, in violation of these noble principles, the emigrants, in the eleventh year after their settlement in America, resolved "that no man, unless a member of some of their churches, should be admitted to the freedom of their body politic," and afterwards, "that only such should share in the administration of the civil government; or have a voice in any election."

The sacred rights of conscience, and private judgment were in that age little understood. Not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itself, in the sense now affixed to it, was then unknown. Every church claimed a right to employ the hand of power, for the protection of truth and the extirpation of error. Bigotry and blind zeal prevailed among Christians of every sect or profession. Each denied to the other that liberty of conscience which they all claimed, and all had a right to enjoy.

As the intolerance of England peopled Massachusetts, so the intolerance of that province made many emigrate from it; which gave rise to various distant settlements, that, in the course of years, were formed into other provincial establish-

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ments. Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire were, in a great measure, shoots from the old venerable trunk, Massachusetts; and their early growth was much accelerated by her impolitic zeal for uniformity.

In reviewing these inconsistencies, in the first settlers of New England, we ought also to recollect their virtues. These were a supreme regard for religion; an ardent love of liberty, at a time when tyranny prevailed in church and state; a dauntless fortitude, which induced them to sacrifice ease, and encounter complicated hardships, in order to enjoy the sacred rights of conscience; an anxious care to lay a foundation for solid learning, and to establish wise political institutions, for the public good; an indefatigable industry in settling and cultivating a wilderness, to encounter which, no worldly motives could have been an adequate inducement. The merit of these virtues, which they eminently possessed, was enhanced by the circumstance that they were uncommon. The demerit of bigotry and intolerance, with which they are chargeable, was lessened, from the circumstance, that these were the every day vices of all sects and parties, in those times of ignorance; when all believed that it was their duty to use power in possession, for the support of their respective tenets. That the religion of many of the first settlers of New England was tinctured with enthusiasm, must be admitted: but it is equally true, that, without a portion of that noble infirmity, no great enterprize was ever accomplished.

The four provinces which have been mentioned, had been called New England, ever since the year 1614.* The pro-

* This appellation was given to it, before any permanent English settlement had been established on its coast. In the interval, between the settlement at James Town and the settlement of Plymouth, captain John Smith, whose name is so famous in the history of Virginia, commanded a vessel, equipped for trading with the Indians, near cape Cod. He employed a part of his time in exploring the coast, and in delineating its bays and harbours. On his return, he laid a map of it before prince Charles, and, with the usual exaggeration of discoverers, painted the beauty and excellence of the country in such glowing colours, that the young prince, in the warmth of admiration, declared that it should be called New England, a name which effaced that of Virginia, and by which it is still distinguished.

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priety of classing them under one general name became more evident, from their being settled by the same kind of people, who were so strongly connected with each other by blood, uniformity of manners, and a similarity of religious and political sentiments, as, at all times, to possess a distinct and well defined national character. The early population of this northern country was rapid. In the short space of twenty years from its first settlement, 21,200 settlers arrived in 298 vessels.

By increasing their numbers, and extending their settlements, the English became exposed to new danger. The tribes of Indians, around Massachusetts Bay, were feeble and unwarlike; yet, from regard to justice, as well as motives of prudence, the first colonists were studious to obtain the consent of the natives, before they ventured to occupy any of their lands. Though the consideration given was often very inadequate to the value of the territory acquired, it was sufficient to satisfy the demands of the proprietors. The English took quiet possession of the lands thus conveyed to them; and no open hostility broke out between them and the ancient possessors: but the colonies of Providence and Connecticut soon found that they were surrounded by more powerful and martial nations. Among these, the most considerable were the Naragansets and Pequots. The latter were a formidable people, who could bring into the field many warriors, not inferior in courage to any in the New World. They foresaw, not only that the extermination of the Indian race must be the consequence of permitting the English to spread over the continent of America; but that, if measures were not speedily concerted to prevent it, the calamity would be unavoidable. With this view, they applied to the Naragansets, requesting them to forget ancient animosities, and to co-operate with them, in expelling a common enemy, who threatened both with destruction. They represented that, when these strangers first landed, the object of their visits was not suspected, and no proper precautions were taken to check their progress; that now, from the increase of their numbers and settlements, their intentions were manifest, and

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the aboriginal inhabitants must abandon their native seats, to make way for recent intruders.

The Naragansets and Pequots, like most of the contiguous tribes in America, were rivals, and there subsisted between them an hereditary and implacable enmity. Revenge is the darling passion of savages, to secure the indulgence of which, there is no present advantage that they will not sacrifice, and no future consequence they will not totally disregard. The Naragansets, instead of closing with the proposal of their neighbours, discovered their hostile intentions to the governor of Massachusetts Bay. Eager to lay hold on such a favourable opportunity, of wreaking their vengeance on their ancient foes, they entered into an alliance with the English against them. The Pequots, more exasperated than discouraged by the imprudence and treachery of their countrymen, took the field. They surprised stragglers, and scalped them. They plundered and burnt remote settlements. They attacked fort Saybrook, without success, though garrisoned only by twenty men; and when the whites began to act offensively, they retired to fastnesses, which they deemed inaccessible. The different colonies had agreed to unite against the common enemy; each furnishing a quota of men, in proportion to its numbers. The troops of Connecticut, which lay most exposed to danger, were soon assembled. These, reinforced by a small detachment from Saybrook, advanced towards the enemy. The Indians were posted on a rising ground in the middle of a swamp, which they had surrounded with palisadoes; the best defence that their slender skill in the art of fortification had discovered. Though they knew that the whites were in motion, yet they took no measures to observe their progress. If a dog had not given the alarm by barking, the Indians must have been massacred, without resistance. In a moment, however, they started to arms, and, raising the war whoop, prepared to repel the assailants. At that early period of their intercourse with the Europeans, the savages were little acquainted with the use of gunpowder, and dreaded its effects. While some of the assailants galled them with an incessant fire, through the intervals between the pa-

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lisadoes, others forced their way by the entries, into the fort, filled only with branches of trees, and set fire to the huts. Confusion and terror quickly became general. Many of the women and children perished in the flames. The conquerors resolved to pursue their victory, and hunted the Indians like wild beasts, from one place of retreat to another. In less than three months, of the year 1637, the tribe of Pequots was extirpated. A few miserable fugitives, who took refuge among the neighbouring Indians, being incorporated by them, lost their name as a distinct people. In this first essay of their arms, the colonists of New England displayed both courage and perseverance: but, instead of treating the vanquished foe with the respect due to an independent people, who made a gallant effort to defend their property, the rights, and the freedom of their nation, the victors urged upon them the desolations of war, till the name and tribe of Pequots ceased to exist.

Reprehensible as this conduct of the whites must be deemed, beneficial consequences resulted from it. Their vigorous efforts, in this decisive campaign, filled the surrounding tribes of Indians with such an high opinion of their valour, as secured a long tranquillity to the settlements. All this time, the violence of administration, in England, continued to increase their population and strength, by forcing many respectable subjects to tear themselves from all the tender connections that bind men to their native country, and to fly for refuge to a region of the New World; which heretofore presented to them nothing that could allure them thither, but exemption from oppression. The number of those emigrants drew the attention of government, and appeared so formidable, that a proclamation was issued, prohibiting masters of ships from carrying passengers to New England, without special permission.

But in spite of all the efforts of government, to check this spirit of emigration, the measures of the king and his ministers were considered by a great body of the people so hostile to those rights, which they deemed most valuable, that, in the course of the year 1638, above three thousand

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persons embarked for New England; choosing rather to expose themselves to all the consequences of disregarding the royal proclamation, than to remain longer under oppression.

The money expended by various adventurers, in the first twenty years after the settlement of Plymouth, in fitting out ships, in purchasing stock, and transporting settlers, amounted on a moderate calculation to two hundred thousand pounds: a vast sum in that age! which no principles inferior to those, wherewith the Puritans were animated, could have persuaded men to lay out, on the uncertain prospect of obtaining an establishment, in a remote uncultivated region; which, from its situation and climate, could allure them with no hope, save that of finding subsistence and enjoying freedom. For some years, even subsistence was procured with difficulty; and several more elapsed, before the product of the settlement yielded the planters any return for their stock. About 1638, they began to export corn in small quantities to the West Indies; and made some feeble attempts to extend the fishery, and to open the trade in lumber. After the year 1640, the motives of migrating to New England in a great measure ceased. The principles of the Puritans became predominant in the nation, and were enforced by the hand of power.

Though the sudden change of system in Great Britain entirely checked the influx of settlers, into New England, the principles of the colonists coincided so perfectly with those of the popular leaders in parliament, that they were soon distinguished by peculiar marks of affection. The different plantations of New England were exempted from payment of any duties; either upon goods exported thither, or upon those which they imported into the mother country. Encouraged by such an extraordinary privilege, industry was excited, and population rapidly increased. In return for these favours, the colonists of New England applauded the measures of parliament; celebrated its generous efforts to vindicate the rights and liberties of the nation; and prayed for the success of its arms.

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About this time, there were many evidences of a general combination of the neighbouring Indians, against the settlements of New England. A sense of danger suggested the policy of forming a confederacy of the sister colonies, for their mutual defence. Under this impression, the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven, in May, 1643, entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive. It was stipulated that the confederates should henceforth be distinguished by the name of "the United Colonies of New England;" that each colony should remain separate and distinct, and have exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory; that an assembly, composed of two commissioners from each colony, should be held annually, with power to deliberate and decide in all points of common concern to the confederacy: and that every determination, in which six of their number concurred, should be binding on the whole.

When Cromwell usurped the supreme power, the colonies of New England continued to stand high in his estimation. He soon gave a striking proof of this. On the conquest of Jamaica, he proposed to transport the people of New England to that island, and employed many arguments to obtain their consent. He allured them with prospects of immense wealth, in a fertile region, which would reward their industry, with all the precious productions of the torrid zone; and expressed his fervent wish, that they might take possession of it, in order to fulfil God's promise of making his people the head and not the tail. He assured them of being supported by the whole force of his authority; and promised to vest all the powers of government entirely in their hands: but by this time, the colonists were attached to a country, in which they had resided for several years, and where, though they did not attain opulence, they enjoyed the comforts of life, in great abundance. They dreaded so much the noxious climate of the West Indies, which had proved fatal to a great number of the English, who first settled in Jamaica, that they declined, though in the most respectful terms, closing with the Protector's proposition.

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Until the restoration, the colonies of New England enjoyed peculiar privileges. Under the commonwealth and Cromwell, their commerce was exempt from the restraints imposed on others. They improved these advantages, and acquired consistence and strength. These times of general distress were to them days of prosperity. The restoration of Charles to the throne of England afforded them no joy. They saw, in that event, more to fear than to hope. Nor were they mistaken. The enforcement of the navigation act, from the operation of which they were previously exempt, was immediately resolved upon. It was soon found, that the destruction of their charters was a favourite object* with the restored king. So many impediments, however, were thrown in the way of the royal designs against their charters, that death closed the career of Charles II. before he had fixed on a new government for Massachusetts; though he had obtained a legal determination against the old one.

His successor, James II. pursued the same plans. These were the destruction of their charters, and consolidation of the colonies under a general system, in which the executive

* An attack on the charter of Massachusetts was made in 1635. Charles I. at that early period, believed that his ancestors had done wrong, in giving to the people of America so large a share in their government. In pursuance of these ideas, he meditated the general destruction of American charters, and particularly those of New England. The same object was pursued by his successors, of the Stuart line. The practical independence which was in a great measure enjoyed by these northern colonies, and the arbitrary designs of the kings of England, prior to the English revolution, were in constant collision. The former claimed and exercised more liberty than is generally allowed to dependent colonies; the latter arrogated more prerogative than either laws or public good allowed to English kings. The New Englanders were advanced a century a-head of their contemporaries, in the school of republicanism, and the rights of man; while their sovereigns had retrograded in their political principles to the dark ages of feudal tyranny; the divine right of kings; and the passive obedience of subjects. The commercial spirit of the former had, in many instances, led them to transgress the English navigation laws; but the real cause of the eagerness of the latter, to new model American charters, was a conviction that they were seed plots of republicanism, and barriers against the intended introduction of arbitrary government in the parent state, and over the colonies. The revolution in England saved both countries.

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and judicial powers of government, the imposition of taxes, and other legislative functions, were to be exercised, by men appointed by the king, and independent of the people. The avowed object was to combine the colonies, as far as the Delaware, so as to form a more efficient barrier to the encroachments of France, on the English territories. An additional, if not the principal motive, was the introduction of the same arbitrary government into the colonies, which king James meditated to establish in England. Sir Edmund Andross was appointed governor general, under the new plan for consolidating the colonies. In pursuance of his orders, he dissolved the government of Rhode Island; broke its seal; and assumed the administration. The assembly, from motives of policy, apparently yielded to his power; but their feigned submission availed them nothing. In pursuance of the plan to unite the colonies, sundry attempts were made to break the charter of Connecticut; but they all failed, as shall be more particularly related hereafter.

When Andross, who had been appointed governor of several provinces, had disgusted the colonists, by his zeal in urging the arbitrary schemes of his royal master, vague intelligence was received, that a revolution was expected, in favour of the pretensions of William and Mary, to the crown of England; to the exclusion of James, the reigning prince. Before this was confirmed, the people of Massachusetts, without any preconcerted plan, suddenly rose. The drums beat to arms. Andross and about fifty others were seized and imprisoned.

Their apprehensions of serious consequences from this precipitate measure were soon removed, by certain intelligence that William and Mary were declared king and queen of England. They were instantly proclaimed in Boston, with great pomp, and the overflowings of the most extravagant and heartfelt joy. Connecticut and Rhode Island followed the example of Massachusetts; resumed their charters; and re-established the government as it was before the administration of Andross.

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Massachusetts had, some time before, deputed Increase Mather, an eminent divine and respectable statesman, to be their agent, to take care of their interests at the court of London. He could do nothing for his country, while king James was in power; but indulged hopes that king William would be more favourable. He was so in general; but it was soon found, that the restoration of the old charter was not to be expected. The new king was determined to keep, in his own hand, the appointment of the future governors. The colony was authorized to administer government according to the ancient system, until a new form should be agreed upon. A new charter was made out, in which were introduced some material alterations, destructive of that independence which had so long been practically enjoyed by the colony. The governor, deputy governor, and secretary, who, by the old charter, had been chosen by the colony, were, by the new system, to be appointed by the crown. The powers of the governor were also enlarged. Sir William Phips,* who was

* When Sir William arrived, he found the province in a deplorable situation. The pillars of civil government were shaken by a general infatuation respecting witchcraft. In the beginning of 1692, the reverend Samuel Paris, of Salem village, now Danvers, had a daughter aged nine, and a niece aged eleven, who were distressed with "singular distempers." Their physician, unable to relieve them, gave it as his opinion, "that they were under an evil hand." It was immediately reported that they were bewitched. The delusion became general. Those who laboured under uncommon diseases, believed, in like manner, that their maladies were inflicted by evil spirits; and accused their neighbours as agents of evil spirits. Old laws against witchcraft were acted upon. Several were tried and acquitted; but nineteen of the accused were condemned, and executed. One of them, the reverend George Burroughs, was a graduate of Harvard college, in 1670, and at the time of his condemnation, and for ten years before, had been an established preacher; but of doubtful character. In 1692, he was accused of witchcraft, and brought to trial. In his indictment it was charged, "that, by his wicked arts, Mary Walcott was tortured, afflicted, pined, consumed, wasted, and tormented." The charge against him was supported by the testimony of afflicted persons, who were supposed to be bewitched, and by that of others, who, from improper motives, had confessed that they themselves were witches. It was given in evidence, that two of Burroughs's dead wives had appeared to the witnesses, saying that he was the cause of the death of each of them; and threatening, if he denied it, they would appear in court.

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appointed the first royal governor, arrived in May, 1692, with the new charter. By it, Plymouth was annexed to

Accordingly, during his trial, the afflicted persons were thrown into a paroxysm of horror, said to be raised by the spectres of his wives, who were punctual to their engagement. The confessing witches affirmed that Burroughs had attended witch meetings with them. It was also given in evidence, that he had performed, or said he had performed feats of extraordinary strength, which, his accusers said, could not be performed without diabolical assistance; such as putting his fingers in a bung hole of a barrel of molasses, and lifting it up; carrying it round him, and setting it down again; putting his forefinger into the muzzle of a large gun, and holding it out straight. Every plea urged in Burroughs's defence was unavailing. Sentence was pronounced upon him, as the agent of evil spirits. At his execution, he made a speech asserting his innocence, and concluded with the Lord's prayer, probably to vindicate his character; for it was a received opinion, that a witch could not repeat the Lord's prayer, without mistake. Confidence between man and man in a great measure ceased. Every one was suspicious of his neighbour, and alarmed for himself. Business was interrupted. Many fled their dwellings. Terror was in every countenance, and distress in every heart. Each little precinct was the scene of some direful tale of witchery. Reports of this nature circulated in all directions, and were located in every neighbourhood. The people of Essex, the seat of infatuation, had lived among the savages. They had heard their narratives of Hobbamocko, or the devil; of his frequent appearance to them; of their conversations with him; and of his sometimes carrying them off. These were the familiar tales of their winter evenings, and laid the foundation of much superstition. Several circumstances, attending the first cases of supposed witchcraft, tended to mislead the people. They took place in the family of the reverend Mr. Paris. He was credulous. The sanctity of his character, and his superior means of information, disposed his parishioners to believe as he believed. An Indian and his wife, who lived in the same house, were supposed to be adepts in the arts of witchcraft. To complete the deception, the physician, probably not knowing the nature of the diseases of his patients, wishing to cover his ignorance, and to account for the failure of his prescriptions, from the counteraction of invisible agents, concurred in the opinion of the reverend Mr. Paris. These facts operated on feeble minds so effectually, as to produce a general belief of the immediate agency of evil spirits. The alarm was sudden and terrible. Children, not twelve years of age, were allowed to give their testimony. Indians related their own personal knowledge of invisible beings; and women told their frights. Testimony respecting supposed witches and ghosts, though unworthy of credit, as founded only in a deluded imagination, was received without proper allowance for the weakness of human nature. The frenzy lasted from March till October. The supposed sufferers now becoming more daring, accused some

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Massachusetts; but New Hampshire was detached from it; and has ever since been a separate government.

The people of Massachusetts were very desirous of the re-establishment of their old charter; but, finding that to be impossible, they accepted the new one. They flattered themselves that the revolution in England would infuse such a

of the best characters in the country. This opened the eyes of the people, and essentially contributed to remove the delusion. Accusers became silent. Those under sentence of death were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned.

The uniform protestations of those who were executed; the confessions of numbers who had been accusers, and the subsequent deliberate recantations of others, who had confessed themselves witches, concurred to prove that the whole had originated in the weakness and wickedness of its subjects. Persons who had been accusers, when admitted to the church several years afterwards, confessed their delusion, and "asked pardon for having brought the guilt of innocent blood upon the land."

When the people recovered their senses, a great part of Mr. Paris's congregation could not sit under his ministry. Investigation into the grounds of their complaints took place. The result was a dismissal from his church, "for being an instrument to their miseries."

The events of this day gave birth to a discussion on the subject of witchcraft. While some contended for the truth of the many tales which were in circulation, others considered the whole as delusion; and denied the reality of witchcraft in every case. In these discussions, the plain common sense of Robert Calef, an unlettered merchant of Boston, triumphed over the profound erudition of the pious, and learned, but too credulous theologian Cotton Mather. An opinion was introduced and supported at the same time, by the reverend Increase Mather, which, whether true or false, had a happy influence in moderating the consequences of legal prosecutions. The learned doctor contended that the devil could assume the form and appearance of an innocent person, so as to pass for the same. The juries availed themselves of this position to set aside positive evidence, on the idea that the accused had been personated by the devil in the transactions laid to their charge.

Many, in the nineteenth century, are disposed to look back with astonishment at the scenes just described, which took place at Salem in the close of the seventeenth; but their wonder will lessen, when they reflect on the intermediate increase of light and knowledge; and that people of all ages, countries and religions have concurred in the belief of the existence of evil spirits, and of their limited agency in human affairs. On a review of every circumstance, the candid and liberal will find little ground for sarcastic and contemptuous reflection; but, abundant reason for the humiliating exclamation, alas! poor human nature!

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portion of liberty into the administration, that their political condition would be more eligible than it ever had been. Some disputes occasionally occurred, about the policy of increasing or diminishing paper money; concerning the expediency of limiting or extending the governor's power; about the permanency of his salary; and such comparatively unimportant matters: but in general, government was administered for the good of the people. The diminution of the democratic spirit of the old charter produced very little practical inconvenience, for the succeeding seventy years, or till the dawn of the American revolution. It was then found that king William's charter blocked up one of the roads to independence. By it, the governor had power, at pleasure, to call, prorogue, and dissolve the assembly. This was used, as will appear hereafter, to prevent the regular assemblies from concerting plans for defending themselves against the British schemes of taxing the colonies. As often as they entered on any measures with that view, the royal governor, by dissolving them, annihilated their constitutional powers. While impediments of this kind obstructed the efforts of Massachusetts, in the cause of liberty, the adjacent New England colonies, who chose their own governors, were free to act as they pleased. By this time, the colony of Massachusetts, inclusive of Plymouth, had increased to 434,244 inhabitants, and New Hampshire to 124,069. The feeble power of a royal governor, opposed to this physical force, was unavailing. It caused a short delay; but induced a necessity of doing all the public business in provincial congresses, wholly of popular origin, in preference to constitutional assemblies, sanctioned by the charter. The bridle on the proceedings of the people, put into the hands of the royal governor, by the charter of 1692, acted as a spur to drive them sooner to the utmost extent of popular government. If it had been seriously intended, to control by charters the natural course of things in favour of liberty, the forms of government projected by the James's and Charles's would have been more suitable and successful, as far as paper ties could be depended upon. These, in consequence of the English revolution, in 1688, were done

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away. That great event fixed the liberties of the colonies, as well as of the nation, on a more solid foundation. From that period, they enjoyed as much political happiness, and with as little interruption, as is the ordinary lot of the most favoured colonies. After they had enjoyed English revolutionary liberty for eighty years, and, in that time, grown to the size and strength of a nation, the measures of the James's and Charles's, in the seventeenth century, for curbing them by mutilating their charters, and other arbitrary acts, were revived under George the third, in an advanced period of the eighteenth. In defeating both, the people of New England acted a distinguished part.

Virginia and New England, particularly Massachusetts, were the two mother states of the union. A community of goods was early adopted, and speedily abandoned by both. They also, in their infancy, persecuted dissenters from their respectively prevailing systems of religion; but gradually receded from harsh measures, in favour of a general toleration. Both, from the same plea of necessity and policy, urged a war of retaliation against the Indians, to the extirpation of several tribes. The propagation of the gospel among the aborigines was seriously and successfully urged, by the New Englanders; but very little was attempted in that way by the Virginians. There were, at an early period in New England, several congregations and many hundreds of Christian Indians; but these, in common with the other primitive inhabitants, have gradually mouldered away to an inconsiderable handful.

In the civil wars of England, between 1640 and 1660, these two colonies took opposite sides. Virginia adhered to the king, till Cromwell by an armed force compelled her submission. She yielded obedience to Charles II. when in exile, and proclaimed him king before his restoration was known in America. The New Englanders rejoiced in the overthrow of royalty, and the success of the parliament, and were highly favoured both by Cromwell and the parliament. They sent a deputation to congratulate Charles on his re-

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storation to the throne; but in this there was abundantly more of policy than sincerity.

The settlements of New England progressed regularly and compactly in townships: and each town was obliged to provide for a minister, and a schoolmaster. Virginia was settled by indiscriminate locations of land warrants, at the pleasure of the grantee. The settlements of the latter were of course often so far separated from each other, that they could not act in concert. Religious and literary instruction was left, for nearly a century, to the discretion of individual settlers in Virginia, without any public support or countenance. These different modes of settlement led to a different state of society, which, in some degree, continues to the present day. In Virginia, the churches were either vacant or supplied by strangers; her highest seats of justice, and her other great departments, were for a long time filled by Europeans. When the first literary emigrants, to this first English colony, were no more, their sons were seldom capable of filling their places. In 1691, when the college of William and Mary, the first public literary institution in Virginia, was established, the pupils of Cambridge college in Massachusetts, a junior colony, were almost the only ministers of religion, and the chief distributors of law, justice and legislation to their countrymen. At the same time, the common people were so universally instructed in the rudiments of a plain education, that an individual, who could neither read nor write, was seldom to be found. Such was the difference resulting from an early and protracted attention to the interests of literature, in the two primitive colonies.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Several detached germes of settlement were planted at successive periods, in and after 1623, along the coast of what is now called New Hampshire. These kept up a friendly intercourse with each other, in their respective employments of fishing, trading, and planting. Some of these were made under the auspices of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and captain

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John Mason, who had obtained an extensive grant of territory: others were made by emigrants from Plymouth and Massachusetts, who had purchased the soil from the Indians. In consequence of disputed boundaries, a considerable territory was claimed both by Massachusetts, and Gorges and Mason. These early settlements went on but slowly, for several years. There was among them no settled government. Instead of applying themselves chiefly to husbandry, they were more intent on trade and fishing. The large proprietors, Gorges and Mason, attempted to grant their lands under such limitations as made the cultivators tenants, rather than freeholders. This mode of tenure retarded settlements. Meanwhile, persecution contributed to increase them. The controversy with the Antinomians at Boston occasioned the banishment of the principal persons of that sect. These with their followers, by going into New Hampshire, added considerably to its population, while they procured for themselves the free exercise of their religion.

Before the year 1640, four or five distinct settlements or governments were formed on or near the several branches of Piscataqua. These combinations, being only voluntary agreements, liable to be broken at the will of the parties, were an insufficient security for political happiness. The detached inhabitants negotiated with Massachusetts, to take them all under her protection. This was agreed to; and by an equal compact, formed in 1641, they became freemen of that colony. Their union lasted for nearly forty years, and to the advantage and satisfaction of both parties. Mason, all this time, claimed a great part of the country as his property; but as the civil wars were then raging in England, he did not attempt to enforce his claims. Soon after Charles the second was restored to the throne of his ancestors, the grandson of Mason preferred his complaint against the colony of Massachusetts, for granting lands that were his property. King Charles, with whom the New Englanders never were in favour, sent out commissioners to inquire into the matter, to determine appeals, and to provide for the peace and security of the country. These were coldly receiv,

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ed. The people of Massachusetts always considered their patent as a solemn compact, wherein the king had granted them undisturbed possession of the soil, and power of government within certain limits, and on specified conditions. The report of the commissioners was unfavourable to the people of Massachusetts. The result was a separation, in 1679, of New Hampshire from Massachusetts, and the institution of a new and distinct government for the former. A governor and council, of royal appointment, and an assembly representing the people, were constituted the ruling powers of New Hampshire. The people were not well pleased with the change, though from necessity they submitted to it. They wrote a respectful letter to the general court at Boston, "acknowledging the kindness of that colony, in taking them under their protection and ruling them well; assuring them that it was not any dissatisfaction with their government, which induced them to comply with the present separation, which they should have been glad had never taken place."

Their next care was to frame a code of laws. By the first of these, in a style becoming freemen, it was declared, "that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, should be made or imposed upon them, but such as should be made by the assembly, and approved by the president and council." To prevent contentions that might arise, by reason of the late change of government, all townships and grants of land were confirmed, and ordered to remain as before, and controversies about the titles of lands were to be determined by jurors, chosen by the several towns, according to former custom.

In the year 1680, Mason arrived from England, with a mandamus, requiring the council to admit him to a seat at the board. He soon entered on the business on which he came; endeavouring to persuade some of the people to take leases of him; threatening others if they did not; forbidding them to cut fire wood and timber; asserting his right to the province; and assuming the title of lord proprietor. His agents had rendered themselves obnoxious, by demanding rents of several persons, and threatening to sell their houses for payment.

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These proceedings raised a general uneasiness. Petitions were sent from each town, as well as from divers individuals, to the council for protection; who, taking up the matter judicially, published an order, forbidding Mason or his agents, at their peril, to repeat such irregular proceedings. Upon this, Mason would no longer sit in council, nor obey their summons, ordering him to appear before them. When they threatened to deal with him as an offender, he appealed to the king; and published a summons to the president, and several members of the council, to appear before his majesty in three months. This was deemed, "an usurpation of authority," and a warrant was issued for apprehending him; but he got out of their reach, and went to England.

Experience having convinced Mason that the government, though of his own procurement, was not likely to be administered in a manner favourable to his views, he solicited a change. It was therefore determined to commission Edward Cranfield lieutenant governor and commander in chief of New Hampshire. Mason surrendered to the king one fifth part of the quit-rents, which had, or should become due. These, with the fines and forfeitures which had accrued to the crown, since the establishment of the province, and which should afterwards arise, were appropriated to the support of the governor: but this being deemed too precarious a foundation, Mason, by another deed, mortgaged the whole province to Cranfield, for twenty-one years, as security for the payment of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, for the space of seven years. On this encouragement, Cranfield relinquished a profitable office in England, and accepted the office of commander in chief in New Hampshire. By his commission, he was empowered to call, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve general courts; to have a negative voice in all acts of government; to suspend any of the council, who, in consequence thereof, were ineligible as representatives of the people; to appoint a deputy governor, judges, justices, and other officers, by his sole authority; and to execute the powers of vice admiral.

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Cranfield arrived and published his commission; and, within six days, Waldron and Martyn were suspended from the council, on certain articles exhibited against them by Mason.

The people now saw the dangerous designs formed against them. The negative voice of a governor, his right of suspending counsellors, and appointing officers by his own authority, were wholly unprecedented in New England; and they had the singular mortification to see the crown, not only appointing two branches of their legislature, but claiming a negative on the election of their representatives. They well knew that the sole design of these extraordinary powers was, to facilitate the entry of the claimant on the lands, which had been fairly purchased of the Indians; a source of right which they believed to be of more validity than any other. Having by their own labour and expense subdued a wilderness, defended their families and estates against the savage enemy, without the least assistance from the claimant, and held possession for above fifty years, they now thought it hard and cruel, that, when they had just recovered from the horrors of a bloody war, they should have their liberty abridged, and their property demanded, to satisfy a claim which in their opinion was groundless. On the other hand, it was deemed unjust that grants made under the royal authority should be disregarded; and that so great a sum, as had been expended by the ancestors of the claimant, to promote the settlement of the country, should be entirely lost.

Cranfield, on the first day of the assembly, restored Waldron and Martyn to their places in the council, having, as he said, examined the allegations against them, and found them insufficient. In return for this show of complaisance, the assembly, having ordered an assessment of five hundred pounds, appropriated one half of it as a present to the governor; hoping thereby to detach him from Mason, who they knew could never comply with his engagements to him. Preferring a certainty to an uncertainty, he passed the bill.

This appearance of good humour was but short-lived; for at the next session of the assembly, he dissolved them.

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The dissolution of the assembly, an unprecedented occurrence, aggravated the popular discontent, and kindled the resentment of some rash persons, who, headed by Edward Gove, a member of the dissolved assembly, declared, by sound of trumpet, for "liberty and reformation." Gove went from town to town, carrying his arms; declaring that the governor was a traitor; and endeavouring to excite the principal men in the province to join in a confederacy, to overturn the government. His project appeared to them so wild and dangerous, that they not only disapproved it, but informed against him, and assisted in apprehending him. Hearing of their design, he collected a company, and appeared in arms; but was persuaded by some of his friends to surrender. A special court was immediately commissioned for his trial. Gove was convicted, and received sentence of death, in the usual hideous form; and his estate was seized, as forfeited to the crown. Instead of executing him, he was sent to England, and imprisoned for three years in the tower of London. On his repeated petitions to the king, he obtained his pardon, and returned home in 1686, with an order to the then president and council of New England to restore his estate.

Gove, in his petitions to the king, pleaded "a distemper of mind" as the cause of those actions, for which he was prosecuted; and that he had not slept for twelve days and nights.

The governor, by advertisement, called upon the inhabitants to take out leases from Mason, within one month. This not being done, Mason threatened to seize the principal estates, and beggar their owners. He endeavoured to provoke them to rebellion, by bringing a frigate into the harbour, and procuring soldiers to be quartered on the inhabitants. These threats united the people more firmly in their refusal to submit: but a few, who had always been disaffected to the country, and others, who had been awed by threats, or flattered by promises, took leases from Mason.

Things being thus prepared, Mason began his lawsuits by a writ against major Waldron, who had always distinguished himself in opposition to his claim, for holding lands and felling timber. The major appeared in court, and challenged

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every one of the jury, as interested persons, some of them having taken leases of Mason, and all of them living upon the lands which he claimed. The judge then caused an oath to be administered to each juror, purporting, "that he was not concerned in the lands in question, and that he should neither gain nor lose by the cause." Upon which the major said aloud to the by-standers, "that if he were cast, they must all become tenants to Mason, and that all persons in the province being interested, none of them could legally be of the jury." The case, however, went on; but he made no defence; asserted no title; and gave no evidence. Judgment was given against him; and at the next court of sessions, he was fined five pounds, for "mutinous and seditious words."

Suits were then instituted against all the principal landholders in the province; who, following Waldron's example, never made any defence. The jury never hesitated in their verdicts. From seven to twelve causes were despatched in a day; and the costs were multiplied from five to twenty pounds. Executions were issued, of which two or three only were levied: but Mason could neither keep possession of the premises, nor dispose of them by sale; so that the owners still enjoyed them. Several threatened to appeal to the king; but major Vaughan alone made the experiment.

Cranfield, with his council, had now assumed the whole legislative power. The public grievances having become insupportable, the people were driven to the necessity of making a vigorous stand for their liberties. The only regular way was by complaint to the king. Having privately communicated their sentiments to each other, and raised money by subscription, they appointed Nathaniel Weare their agent. He being furnished with proper documents, privately withdrew to Boston, whence he sailed for England. Major Vaughan, who accompanied him to Boston, and was appointed to procure depositions to send after him, was, upon his return to Portsmouth, brought to an examination, treated with great insolence, and required to find sureties for his good behaviour. This, being refused, he was, by the gover-

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nor's own warrant, immediately committed to prison, and kept there nine months.

Amid these multiplied oppressions, Cranfield was disappointed of the gains he had expected to reap from his office, and found to his great mortification that there was no way of supplying his wants, but by application to the people through an assembly. He had already abused them so much, that he could hope nothing from their favour, and was therefore obliged to have recourse to artifice. On a vague rumour of a foreign war, he pretended much concern for the preservation of the province. Presuming that they would show the same concern for themselves, he called an assembly at Great Island, where he resided. To this assembly, he tendered a bill, which, in a manner totally unparliamentary, had been drawn and passed by the council, for raising money to defray the expense of repairing the fort and supplying it with ammunition, and for other necessary charges of government. The house returned the bill with their negative, at which the governor was highly enraged; and telling them that they had been to consult with Moody, and other declared enemies of the king and church of England, he dissolved them. By his influence with the court of sessions, divers of the members were made constables for the following year. Some of them took the oath, and others paid the fine which was ten pounds. Thus by a mean and execrable revenge, he taxed those whom he could not persuade to tax their constituents, for his selfish purposes.

But Moody was marked as an object of peculiar vengeance. He had for some time rendered himself obnoxious, by the freedom and plainness of his pulpit discourses, and his strictness in administering the discipline of the church; one instance of which merits particular notice. Randolph the collector having seized a vessel, she was in the night carried out of the harbour. The owner, who was a member of the church, swore that he knew nothing of it; but upon trial there appeared strong proofs that he had perjured himself. He found means to make up the matter with the governor

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and collector; but Moody, being concerned for the purity of his church, requested of the governor copies of the evidence, that the offender might be called to account, in the way of ecclesiastical discipline. Cranfield sternly refused; saying that he had forgiven him, and that neither the church nor minister should meddle with him; and even threatened Moody, in case he should make the attempt. Not intimidated, Moody consulted the church, and preached a sermon against false swearing. The offender, being called to account, was censured, and at length brought to a public confession. This disgusted the governor, who had no obvious way to show his resentment: but malice suggested a method, which, to the scandal of the English nation, has been too often practised. The penal laws against non-conformists were at that time executing with great rigour in England: and Cranfield, ambitious to ape his royal master, determined to play off the ecclesiastical artillery in New Hampshire, the direction of which he supposed to be deputed to him, with his other powers. He had attempted to impose upon the people the observation of the 30th of January, as a fast, and restrain them from manual labour at Christmas; but his capital stroke was to issue an order in council, "that after the 1st of January the ministers should admit all persons, of suitable years and not vicious, to the Lord's supper, and their children to baptism; and that, if any person should desire baptism, or the other sacrament to be administered according to the liturgy of the church of England, it should be done, and any minister refusing so to do should suffer the penalty of the statutes of uniformity."

The same week in which he dissolved the assembly, he signified to Moody in writing, by the hands of the sheriff, that he himself, with Mason and Hinckes, intended to partake of the Lord's supper the next Sunday, and required him to administer it to them according to the liturgy. Moody paid no attention to the governor's commands. The way was now opened for a prosecution: and the attorney general, Joseph Rayn, by the governor's order, exhibited an information at the next court of sessions, setting forth, "that Joshua

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Moody, clerk, being minister of the town of Portsmouth, within the dominions of king Charles, was, by the duty of his place and the laws of the realm, required to administer the Lord's supper, in such form as was set forth in the book of common prayer, and no other: but that the said Moody, in contempt of the laws, had wilfully and obstinately refused to administer the same, to the honourable Edward Cranfield, Robert Mason, and John Hinckes, and did obstinately use some other form." Moody in his defence pleaded, "that he was not episcopally ordained as the statutes required, nor did he receive his maintenance according to them; and therefore was not obliged to the performance of what had been commanded." His plea was overruled. He was immediately ordered into custody; and remained under confinement for thirteen weeks, "his benefice" being declared forfeited to the crown. The next week after Moody's trial, the governor sent word to Seaborn Cotton, minister of Hampton, that, "when he had prepared his soul, he would come and demand the sacrament of him, as he had done at Portsmouth." Upon which Cotton withdrew to Boston.

During Moody's imprisonment, Cranfield would neither suffer him to go up to the town to preach, nor the people to assemble at the island to hear, nor the neighbouring ministers to supply his place. At length, by the interposition of friends, Moody obtained a release, though under a strict charge to preach no more within the province, on penalty of further imprisonment. He then accepted an invitation from the first church in Boston, where, being out of the reach of his persecutors, he was employed as a preacher, and was so highly esteemed, that, upon the death of president Rogers, he was invited to take the oversight of Harvard college.

Upon a review of this prosecution, one can hardly tell which is most detestable, the vindictive temper which gave birth to it, or the profaneness and hypocrisy with which it was conducted. The pretended zeal of the prosecutors was totally inconsistent with a due regard to those laws, and the principles of that church, for which they made themselves champions; for, it had been long before this time a received opi-

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nion in the church of England, that the validity of all the sacramental administrations depended on authority derived from the apostles by episcopal ordination, in an uninterrupted succession. The ministers, then in the province, being destitute of the grand pre-requisite, were incapable of doing what was so peremptorily required of them.

Disappointed in all his schemes for raising money by an assembly, Cranfield next ventured on the project of taxing the people without their consent. The pretext for this was a clause in the commission, empowering him, with the council, "to continue such taxes as had been formerly levied, until a general assembly could be called." Warrants were issued for collecting taxes, though no new law was passed for the purpose. This caused fresh murmurings among the people.

The tax bills were first put into the hands of the newly made constables, who soon returned them, informing the governor that the people were so averse to the measure, that it was impossible to make any collection of the tax. The provost was then commanded to do it, with the assistance of his deputies and the constables. The people still refusing compliance, their cattle and goods were taken by distraint, and sold by auction. Those who would neither pay nor discover their goods to the officers, were apprehended and imprisoned; and some of the constables, who refused to assist, suffered in like manner. The more considerate of the people were disposed to bear those grievances, though highly irritating, till they could know the result of their applications to the king: but, in a country where the love of liberty had ever been the ruling passion, it could not be expected, but that some forward spirits would break the restraints of prudence, and take a summary method to put a stop to their oppressions. Several persons had declared, that they would sooner part with their lives than suffer distraints; and associations were formed for mutual support. At Exeter, the sheriff was resisted, and driven off with clubs, the women having prepared hot spits and scalding water, to assist in the opposition. At Hampton, he was beaten, and his sword was taken from him; then he was seated on a horse, and conveyed out of the pro-

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vince, with a rope about his neck, and his feet tied under the horse's belly. Justice Robie attempted to commit some of the rioters; but they were rescued. The troop of horse under Mason's command was ordered to turn out, completely mounted and armed, to assist in suppressing the disorders; but when the day came, not one trooper appeared. Cranfield, thus finding his efforts ineffectual, and his authority contemptible, was obliged to desist.

The agent had been a long time in England, waiting for the depositions, which were to have been transmitted to him, in support of the complaint which he was to exhibit. Cranfield and his creatures did all they could to retard the business; first, by imprisoning Vaughan, and then, by refusing to summon and swear witnesses. The agent, however, exhibited his complaint against Cranfield in general terms, consisting of eight articles.

Upon this complaint, an hearing was had before the lords of trade; and their lordships reported to the king, on some of the articles, and in particular, "that Cranfield had not pursued his instructions, with regard to Mason's controversy; but, instead thereof, had caused courts to be held, and titles to be decided, with exorbitant costs." This report was accepted, and the king's pleasure therein signified to Cranfield. At the same time, his request for absence being granted, he, on receipt of the intelligence, privately embarked for Jamaica, and thence went to England, where he obtained the collectorship of Barbadoes.

Cranfield's bad conduct must be ascribed, in a great measure, to his disappointment of the gains which he expected to acquire by the establishment of Mason's title, which doubtless was his only inducement to accept of the government. This disappointment urged him to actions, not only illegal, but cruel and unmanly. A ruler never degrades his character more, than when he perverts public justice, to gratify personal resentment.

Although the decisions of titles in Cranfield's court had been represented in the report of the lords as extra-judicial, and a royal order had been thereupon issued to suspend any further

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proceedings in the case of Mason, yet executions which had before been issued, were extended, and persons imprisoned at Mason's suit. An attempt being made to levy one of these executions, a number of persons forcibly resisted the officer, and obliged him to relinquish his design. Warrants were then issued against the rioters; and the sheriff, with his attendants, attempted to seize them, while the people were assembled for divine service. This caused an uproar in the congregation; on which, a young heroine distinguished herself, by knocking down one of the officers with her Bible. They were all so roughly handled, that they were glad to escape with their lives.

King Charles the second, in the latter part of his reign, made large strides towards despotism. Charters which obstructed his views were, by a perversion of the law, decreed to be forfeited. The city of London, and most of the corporations in England, either suffered the execution of these sentences, or tamely surrendered their franchises to the all-grasping hand of power. It was not to be expected that in this general wreck of privileges, the colonies of New England would escape. The people of Massachusetts had long been viewed with a jealous eye. Though the king had repeatedly assured them of his protection, and solemnly confirmed their charter privileges, yet their spirit and principles were so totally dissonant to the corrupt views of the court, that intriguing men found easy access to the royal ear with complaints against them. Of these the most inveterate and indefatigable was Randolph, who made no less than eight voyages, in nine years, across the Atlantic, on this mischievous business. They were accused of extending their jurisdiction beyond the bounds of their patent; of invading the prerogative by coining money; of not allowing appeals to the king from their courts; and of obstructing the execution of the navigation and trade laws. Agents were sent over to answer these complaints. They found the prejudice against the colony so strong, that it was in vain to withstand it; and solicited instructions whether to submit to the king's pleasure, or to let the proceedings against them be issued in form of

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law. A solemn consultation being held, at which the clergy assisted, it was determined, "to die by the hands of others, rather than by their own." Upon notice of this, the agents quitted England, and Randolph followed, bringing a writ of quo warranto from the king's bench: judgment was soon entered against them, and the charter declared to be forfeited.

The king died before a new form of government was settled; but there was no hope of favour from his successor, who inherited the arbitrary principles of his brother, and was publicly known to be a bigoted papist.

The intended alteration in the government was introduced, in a gradual manner. A commission was issued, in which Joseph Dudley was appointed president of his majesty's territory and dominion of New England; William Stoughton, deputy president; and twelve others were appointed counsellors. Their jurisdiction extended over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and the Naraganset, or King's province. The innovations were rendered as little grievous as possible, that the people might be induced more readily to submit to the long-meditated introduction of a governor general.

In 1686, Sir Edmund Andross, who had been governor of New York, arrived at Boston, with a commission appointing him captain general and governor in chief of the territory and dominion of New England, in which the colony of Plymouth was now included. By this commission, the governor with his council, five of whom were a quorum, were empowered to make such laws, impose such taxes, and apply them to such purposes, as they should think proper. They were also empowered to grant lands on such terms, and subject to such quit rents, as should be appointed by the king. Though Andross, like his master, began his administration with the fairest professions, yet, like him, he soon violated them, and proved himself a fit instrument for accomplishing the most arbitrary designs.

To particularize the many instances of tyranny and oppression, which the country suffered from these men, is not within the design of this work. Let it suffice to observe, that

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the press was restrained, liberty of conscience infringed, exorbitant fees and taxes demanded, without the voice or consent of the people, who had no privilege of representation. The charter being vacated, it was pretended that all titles to lands were annulled; and, as to Indian deeds, Andross declared them no better than the "scratch of a bear's paw." Landholders were obliged to take out patents for their estates, which they had possessed forty or fifty years. For these patents, extravagant fees were exacted, and those, who would not submit to this imposition, had writs of intrusion brought against them, and their lands patented to others. To prevent complaints being carried to England, no person was permitted to go out of the country, without express leave from the governor. But, notwithstanding all the vigilance of the governor and his emissaries, the resolute and indefatigable Increase Mather, of Cambridge, sailed for England, with complaints in the name of the people against the governor, which he delivered with his own hand to the king: but finding no hope of redress, he waited the event of the revolution, which was then expected.

The people had now borne these impositions for about three years. Their patience was worn out, and their native love of freedom kindled at the prospect of deliverance. The news of a complete revolution in England had not reached them; yet so sanguine were their expectations, so animated were they with the spirit of liberty, that, upon the rumour of an intended massacre in the town of Boston, by the governor's guards, the inhabitants were wrought up to a degree of fury. On the morning of the 18th of April, 1689, the town was in arms, and the country flocking in to their assistance. The governor, and those who had fled with him to the fort, were seized and committed to prison. The gentlemen who had been magistrates under the charter, with Bradstreet, the late governor, at their head, assumed the title of a council of safety, and constituted a temporary form of government. Andross and his accomplices were sent to England, as prisoners of state, to be disposed of according to the king's pleasure.

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The people of New Hampshire had their share of sufferings under this rapacious administration; and Mason himself did not escape. He came to New Hampshire in 1687; but found his views obstructed in a manner which he little expected. The government was in the hands of a set of harpies, who looked with envy on the large share of territory which he claimed, and were for parcelling it among themselves. The new judges delayed issuing executions on the judgments which he had formerly recovered, and the attorney general, Graham, would not allow that he had power to grant land by leases. After some time, Mason obtained from Dudley, the chief justice, a writ directed to the late judges of New Hampshire, by which his causes were to be removed to the supreme court of the whole territory, then held at Boston: but, before this could be done, death put an end to his hopes, and relieved the people, for a time, from their fears.

The revolution at Boston, though extremely pleasing to the people of New Hampshire, left them in an unsettled state. It was proposed by some of the principal gentlemen, that a convention of deputies from each of the towns should consider what was best to be done. Deputies were accordingly chosen, and instructed to resolve upon some method of government. They thought it best to return to their ancient union with Massachusetts. A petition for this purpose being presented, they were readily admitted, till the king's pleasure should be known; and members were sent to the general court of that colony, for the three following years. The gentlemen who had formerly been in commission for the peace, the militia, and the civil officers, were restored to their places; and ancient laws and customs continued to be observed.

Had the inclination of the people been consulted, they would gladly have been annexed to that government. This was well known to Mather and the other agents, who, when soliciting for a new charter, earnestly requested that New Hampshire might be included in it. The inhabitants assembled, by deputies, in convention, and sent a petition to the king, praying that they might be annexed to Massachusetts.

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The petition was refused; and the petitioners obliged to submit to be under a government distinct from Massachusetts. In the mean time, Mason had sold his claims to Allen. Though the parties were nominally changed, and the courts really so; yet Allen had as little prospect in the newly established courts, as the people had when Mason's suits were carried on, under Cranfield's government. On examining the records of the superior court, it was found that twenty-four leaves were missing; in which it was supposed the judgments recovered by Mason were recorded. No evidence appeared of his having taken possession. The work was to begin anew; and Waldron, being one of the principal landholders, and most strenuous opposers of the claim, was singled out to stand foremost in the controversy with Allen, as his father was with Mason. The cause went through the courts, and was invariably given in favour of the defendant, with costs. Allen's only refuge was in an appeal to the king. This the court refused to admit. He then petitioned the king, who, by an order in council, granted him an appeal. In the mean time, the death of king William caused some farther delay. Perplexed with these repeated disappointments, pressed with poverty, and weakened with age, Allen sought an accommodation with the people, with whom he was desirous to spend the remainder of his days in peace. Terms were proposed, and in a fair way of being accepted, when Allen died. After his death, his son Thomas Allen, of London, renewed the suit, and brought a writ of ejectment against Waldron, in the inferior court, where he was cast. He then removed it to the superior court. Before it, in the year 1707, a very interesting trial took place. Allen urged the grants made to Mason, in 1629 and 1635; the expenses incurred by Mason, in promoting a settlement; and the regularity of the descent of the title. On Waldron's part, was produced the deed from four Indian sachems to Wheelwright and others, under whom Waldron claimed. He further urged, that he had been in uninterrupted possession more than forty years; that his possession was grounded on a deed from the native lords of the soil, with whom his father had endeavoured to cultivate a friendly con-

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nection; that he had taken up the land, with their consent, when the country was a wilderness; had cultivated it; had defended it in war, at a great expense, and at the hazard of his life, which he finally lost in the attempt; that the Indian deed was legally executed, in the presence of the agents of the company of Laconia, of which Mason was one; that this was done with the toleration of the council of Plymouth, and in pursuance of the great ends of their incorporation, which were, to cultivate the lands, to people the country, and christianize the natives, for the honour and interest of the crown and the trade of England: all which ends had been pursued and attained by the appellee and his ancestor. The verdict of the jury was in favour of the defendant, Waldron. An appeal was made to queen Anne; but before any decision was had, Allen's death, in 1715, put an end to the suit. His heirs, being minors, did not renew it. About twenty-three years afterwards, Mason's heirs renewed the claim in their own rights, contending that the sale to Allen was illegal. A project was renewed for the purchase of the Masons' rights by the assembly; but while a completion of the compact was delayed, they sold their rights for fifteen hundred pounds, to twelve private purchasers. The assembly agreed to purchase from them, for the province, at cost and charges. Though this offer was not directly refused, it did not eventuate in a contract. The Masonians, after quieting all former proprietors in their possessions, began to grant townships to petitioners, often without fees, and always without quit-rents, on conditions that were easy and beneficial. The interests of all parties became identified, and the contest was finally closed, in 1747, after it had been agitated before five sovereigns, and had disturbed the peace of the province for more than a century.

Between the year 1692, in which New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts, and the American revolution, there were fifteen governors, or persons acting as such. Their names were Usher, Partridge, Allen, Lord Bellamont, Dudley, Usher, Vaughan, Shute, Wentworth, Burnet, Belcher, Dunbar, Wentworth, Temple and Wentworth. In a

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great part of this period of eighty-three years, New Hampshire was involved in war with the French, and the contiguous Indian tribes, as shall be hereafter related; and engaged in controversies with the neighbouring colonies, about boundaries: but was not otherwise the scene of any great or striking events. About the year 1719, it received a considerable accession of inhabitants, by an emigration of above a hundred families, from the north of Ireland. These were mostly Presbyterians, and had migrated in bodies with their ministers. They had suffered much in their own country, under the reign of James the second, and came to America to be free from rents, tythes, bishops and religious establishments. They brought with them the necessary implements, and introduced the manufacture of linen. Their spinning wheels, turned by the feet, were a novelty in the country. They also introduced the culture of potatoes. These industrious people were settled in a town by themselves, to which they gave the name of Londonderry, from a city in the north of Ireland, in and near to which most of them had resided, and in which some of them had endured the hardships of a memorable siege. Their settlement opened the way for others in the vicinity, and doubly promoted the population of the country.

The colony of New Hampshire was amongst the greatest sufferers from Indian wars. The first general war, in which they were engaged, commenced in 1675, and was called Philip's war. This was carried on jointly by the confederated New England colonies, and the particulars of it, have been already related.

The next, in which New Hampshire was engaged, has been called King William's war. This began in 1689, and was brought on in the following manner. The lands from Penobscot to Nova Scotia had been ceded to the French, by the treaty of Breda, in exchange for the island of St. Christopher. On these lands, the French Baron de St. Castine had for many years resided, and carried on a large trade with the Indians, with whom he was intimately connected; having five of their women, beside a daughter of the sachem

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Madokawando, for his wives. The lands which had been granted by the crown of England to the duke of York, now king James the second, interfered with Castine's plantations; as the duke claimed to the river St. Croix. In the spring of 1688, Andross went in the Rose frigate, and plundered Castine's house and fort; leaving only the ornaments of his chapel, to console him for the loss of his arms and goods. This base action provoked Castine, to excite the Indians to a new war.

They began to make reprisals at North Yarmouth, by killing cattle; but soon proceeded to serious hostilities. In that part of the town of Dover, which lies about the first falls in the river Cochecho, were five garrisoned houses; three on the north side, viz. Waldron's, Otis's, and Heard's, and two on the south side, viz. Peter Coffin's and his son's. These houses were surrounded with timber walls, the gates of which, as well as the house doors, were secured with bolts and bars. The neighbouring families retired to these houses by night; but, by an unaccountable negligence, no watch was kept.

The plan which the Indians had preconcerted was, that two squaws should go to each of the garrisoned houses in the evening, and ask leave to lodge by the fire; that in the night when the people were asleep they should open the doors and gates, and give the signal by a whistle; upon which strange Indians, who were to be within hearing, should rush in and take their meditated revenge. This plan being ripe for execution, two squaws applied to each of the garrisons for lodging, as they frequently did in time of peace. They were admitted into all but the younger Coffin's; and the people at their request shewed them how to open the doors, in case they should want to go out in the night. Mesandowit, one of their chiefs, went to Waldron's garrison, and was kindly entertained as he had often been before. In unsuspecting confidence the family retired to rest.

When all was quiet, the gates were opened and the signal given. The Indians entered, set a guard at the door, and rushed into the major's apartment, which was an inner

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room. Awakened by the noise, he jumped out of bed, and, though eighty years old, retained so much vigour as to drive them with his sword, through two or three doors; but, as he was returning for his other arms, they came behind him and stunned him with a hatchet. They then obliged the people in the house to get them some victuals, and when they had done eating, they cut the major across the breast and belly with knives, each one with a stroke, saying, "I cross out my account." They then cut off his nose and ears, forcing them into his mouth. When spent with the loss of blood, and falling down from the table, one of them held his own sword under him, which put an end to his misery. They also killed his son in law, Abraham Lee; but took as prisoners his daughter Lee, with several others. After pillaging the house, they left it on fire. Otis's garrison, which was next to the major's, met with the same fate. He was killed with several others, and his wife and child were captivated. Heard's was saved by the barking of a dog, just as the Indians were entering. Coffin's house was surprised; but as the Indians had no particular enmity to him, they spared his life and the lives of his family, and contented themselves with pillaging the house. They then went to the house of his son, who would not admit the squaws in the evening, and summoned him to surrender, promising him quarter. He declined their offer, and determined to defend his house, till they brought out his father and threatened to kill him before his eyes. Filial affection overcame his resolution and he surrendered. They put both families together into a deserted house, intending to reserve them as prisoners; but while the Indians were busy in plundering, they all escaped.

Twenty-three persons were killed in this surprisal; and twenty-nine were captivated. Five or six houses were burned. So expeditious were the Indians, in the execution of their plot, that, before the people could be collected from the other parts of the town to oppose them, the assailants had escaped with their prisoners and booty.

The prisoners taken at this time were mostly carried to Canada, and sold to the French. The Indians had been se-

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duced to the French interest, by popish emissaries, who had begun to fascinate them with their religious and national prejudices. They had now learned to call the English "heretics," and that, "to extirpate them as such was meritorious in the sight of heaven." When their minds were filled with religious phrenzy, they became more bitter and implacable enemies than before. Finding the sale of scalps and prisoners turn to good account, in Canada, they had a further incitement to continue their depredations, and prosecute their vengeance.

The necessity of vigorous measures was now so pressing, that parties were immediately despatched after the Indians. One or two of them were killed, and their corn cut down. But these excursions proved of small service, as the Indians had little to lose, and could find an home wherever they could find game and fish.

A party of Indians, who lay in the woods about Oyster river, observing all the men, which belonged to Hucking's garrison, going out to work, ran between them and the house, and killed seventeen of their number. The Indians then attacked the house, in which were only two boys, with some women, and children. The boys kept them off for some time, and wounded several of them. At length the Indians set the house on fire; and even then the boys would not surrender, till they had promised to spare their lives. They nevertheless perfidiously murdered three or four of the children. One of them was set on a sharp stake in the view of its distressed mother, who with the other women and the boys were carried off as prisoners.

The approach of winter was particularly welcome to the distressed inhabitants of the frontiers; as they then expected a respite from their sufferings. The deep snows and cold weather were commonly a good security against any attack from the Indians. But when resolutely bent on mischief, and instigated by enthusiasm, no obstacles could restrain them.

The count de Frontenac, now governor of Canada, detached three parties of French and Indians from Canada,

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in the winter, who were to take three different routes into the English territories. One of these parties marched from Montreal, and in the month of February, 1690, destroyed Schenectady, a Dutch village on the Mohawk river in the province of New York. In the next month, another party which came from Trois Rivieres, under the command of the Sieur Hertel, an officer of great repute in Canada, found their way to Salmon falls. This party consisted of fifty-two men, of whom twenty-five were Indians. They began the attack at day break, in three different places. The people were surprised, but flew to arms, and defended themselves in the garrisoned houses, with great bravery. The assailants proved too strong for the defendants. About thirty of the bravest of the latter were killed, and the rest surrendered at discretion, to the number of fifty-four. Of these the greater part were women and children. The enemy burned the houses, mills, and barns, and killed the cattle. Hertel, on his way homeward, met with a third party, who had marched from Quebec; and joining his company to them attacked and destroyed the fort and settlement at Casco. These three expeditions planned by count Frontenac proved successful; but the glory of them was much tarnished by acts of cruelty.

After the destruction of Casco, the eastern settlements were all deserted, and the people retired to the fort at Wells. The Indians then made an assault on Fox Point, where they burned several houses, killed about fourteen people, and carried away six. Eight persons were killed as they were mowing in a field near Lamprey river.

The cruelties, exercised upon the captives in this war, exceeded both in number and degree all that had been perpetrated in former times. The most healthy and vigorous of them were sold in Canada: the weaker were sacrificed and scalped: and for every scalp they had a premium. Two instances only are remembered of their releasing any without a ransom.

The people of New England now looked on Canada as the source of their troubles, and formed a design to reduce

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it to the crown of England. The enterprize was bold and hazardous, but unsuccessful. If their ability had been equal to the ardour of their patriotism, it might probably have been accomplished.

In the winter of 1692, some new regulations were made for the general defence. Major Elisha Hutchinson was appointed commander in chief of the militia, by whose prudent conduct the frontiers were well guarded, and so constant a communication was kept up, by ranging parties, from one post to another, that it became impossible for the enemy to attack in their usual way, by surprise. The good effects of this regulation were presently and extensively felt. It kept the Indians so quiet, that, except one poor family, which they took at Oyster river, and some small mischief at Quaboag, there is no mention of any destruction made by them, during the year 1693. Their animosity against New England was not quelled; but they needed time to recruit. Some of their principal men were in captivity, and they could not hope to redeem them without a peace. To obtain it, they came into the fort at Pemaquid, and there entered into a solemn covenant, wherein they acknowledged subjection to the crown of England; engaged to abandon the French interest; promised to forbear private revenge; to restore all captives; and even went so far as to deliver hostages for the due performance of their engagements. This peace, or rather truce, gave a respite which both earnestly desired.

The people of New Hampshire were much reduced. Their lumber trade and husbandry were greatly impeded by the war. Frequent complaints were made of their sufferings, and of the scarcity of provisions. It is recorded in the council minutes, that they were, at one time, even ready to quit the province.

The engagements made by the Indians, in the treaty of Pemaquid, might have been performed, if they had been left to their own choice. But the French missionaries had been for some years very assiduous in propagating their tenets among them; one of which was, "that to break faith with heretics was no sin." They resolved to commence hostilities

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by attacking the settlements at Oyster river, within the town of Dover. In it were twelve garrisoned houses, sufficient for the defence of the inhabitants: but apprehending no danger, some families remained at their own unfortified houses; and those who were in the garrisons were but indifferently provided for defence. The enemy approached the place undiscovered, and halted. Here they formed into two divisions, one of which was to go on each side of the river, and plant themselves in ambush, in small parties, near every house, so as to be ready for the attack at the rising of the sun: the first gun to be the signal. John Dean arose before the dawn of day, and was shot as he came out of his door. This early firing in part disconcerted the plan of the assailants; for several of them had not then arrived at their stations. The people, in general, were immediately alarmed. Some of them had time to make their escape, and others to prepare for their defence. The signal being given, the attack began in all parts where the enemy was ready.

Of the twelve garrisoned houses, five were destroyed, viz. Adams's, Drew's, Edgerly's, Medar's, and Beard's. They entered Adams's without resistance, where they killed fourteen persons. Drew surrendered his garrison, on the promise of security; but was nevertheless afterwards murdered. One of his children, a boy of nine years old, was made to run through a lane of Indians, as a mark for them to throw their hatchets at, till they had despatched him. Edgerly's was evacuated. The people took to their boat; and one of them was mortally wounded, before he got out of reach of the enemy's shot. Beard's and Medar's were also evacuated, and the people escaped.

The defenceless houses were nearly all set on fire. The inhabitants were taken in them, or killed while they were in the act of fleeing to the garrisons. Some escaped by hiding in the bushes, and other secret places. Thomas Edgerly, by concealing himself in his cellar, preserved his house, though twice on fire. The house and library of John Buss, the minister, while absent, were destroyed. His wife and family fled to the woods, and escaped.

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The other seven garrisons, viz. Burnham's, Bickford's, Smith's, Bunker's, Davis's, Jones's, and Woodman's were resolutely and successfully defended. The Indians finally retired, after they had killed and captivated between ninety and an hundred persons, and burned about twenty houses, of which five were garrisons. The main body of them retreated over Winnipiseogee lake, where they divided their prisoners, separating those in particular who were most intimately connected, in which they often took a pleasure.*

A small party of Indians came to a farm where Ursula Cutts, widow of the deceased president, resided. As she was in the field with her labourers, the enemy fired from an ambush, and killed her, with three others. The scalps taken in this whole expedition, were carried to Canada by Madokawando, and presented to count Frontenac, from whom the Indians received the reward of this adventure.

After various similar scenes of havoc, in 1695, 96 and 97, the peace of Ryswick closed the distressing scene. Count Frontenac informed the Indians, that he could not any longer support them in a war with the English, with whom his nation was now at peace. He therefore advised them to bury the hatchet, and restore their captives. They were brought to a treaty at Casco, where they ratified their former engagements, acknowledged subjection to the crown of England, lamented their former perfidy, and promised future peace and good behaviour, in such terms as the commissioners dictated, and with as much sincerity as could be expected. At the same time, they restored those captives who were able to travel, in that unfavourable season of the year,

* Among these prisoners were Thomas Drew and his wife, who were newly married. He was carried to Canada, where he continued two years, and was redeemed: she to Norridgwog, and was gone four years, in which she endured every thing but death. She was delivered of a child, in the winter, in the open air, and in a violent snow-storm. Being unable to suckle her child, or provide it any food, the Indians killed it. She lived fourteen days on a decoction of the bark of trees. After her return to her husband, she had fourteen children. They lived together till he was ninety-three, and she eighty-nine years of age. They died within two days of each other, and were buried in one grave.

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giving assurance for the return of the others in the spring: but many of the younger, both males and females, were detained, who, mingling with the Indians, contributed to a succession of enemies in future wars, against their own country.

The peace, which followed the treaty of Ryswick, was but of short duration; for the seeds of war were previously sown, both in Europe and America. The king of France had proclaimed the pretender king of England, and his governor Villebon had orders to extend his province of Acadia to the river Kennebeck; though the English court claimed as far as St. Croix. A French mission was established, and a chapel erected at Norridgwog, on the upper part of Kennebeck, which served to extend the influence of the French among the Indians. The governor of Canada, assuming the character of their father and protector, instigated them to prevent the settlement of the English to the east of Kennebeck.

Things were in this posture, when Dudley entered on his government. He had particular orders from England, to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid; but could not prevail on the Massachusetts assembly to bear the expense of it. However, he determined on a visit to the eastern country, and, having notified his intention to the Indians, took with him a number of gentlemen, and held a conference at Casco with delegates from the adjacent tribes, who assured him, that, "as high as the sun was above the earth, so far distant was their design of making the least breach of the peace." They presented him a belt of wampum, in token of their sincerity; and both parties went to two heaps of stones which had formerly been pitched, and called the "Two Brothers," where the friendship was further ratified, by the addition of other stones. They also declared, that, although the French emissaries among them had been endeavouring to break the union, yet it was "firm as a mountain, and should continue as long as the sun and moon." Notwithstanding these fair appearances, in the space of six weeks, a body of French and Indians, five hundred in number, having divided themselves into several parties, attacked all the settlements from Casco to

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Wells, and killed and took one hundred and thirty of the English settlers.

The next week, a party of thirty Indians under captain Tom killed five people at Hampton village, among whom was a noted speaker among the Quakers.

The country was now in terror and confusion. The women and children retired to the garrisons. The men went armed to their work, and posted sentinels in the fields. Troops of horse were quartered at Portsmouth, and in the province of Maine. Alarms were frequent: and the whole frontier country, from Deerfield on the west, to Casco on the east, was kept in continual terror by small parties of the enemy.

In May, colonel Church, by governor Dudley's order, having planned an expedition to the eastern shore, sailed from Boston with a number of transports, furnished with whale boats for going up rivers. In his way he stopt at Piscataqua, where he was joined by a body of men under major Hilton. In this expedition, they destroyed the towns of Minas and Chiegnecto, and did considerable damage to the French and Indians at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, and even insulted Port Royal.

The governor of Canada had persuaded the Indians, who inhabited the borders of New England, to remove to Canada. There they were incorporated with the tribe of St. Francis. By this policy, they became more firmly attached to the interest of the French, and were more easily despatched on their bloody business to the frontiers of New England, with which they were well acquainted. A small party of them attacked the house of John Drew, of Oyster river, where they killed eight men. The garrison was near; but there was not a man in it: the women, seeing nothing but death before them, fired an alarm, and then putting on hats and loosening their hair, that they might appear like men, fired so briskly that the enemy fled without burning or even plundering the house, which they had attacked. John Wheeler, meeting this party, and mistaking them for friendly Indians,

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unhappily fell into their hands, who killed him, his wife and two children.

Colonel Hilton was so brave and active an officer, that the enemy marked him for destruction. A party of them, lurking about his house, observed ten men to go out with their scythes, and lay aside their arms to mow. The Indians then crept between the men and their guns, and suddenly rushing on them, killed four, wounded one, and took three. Two only of the whole number escaped. The Indians did most damage in small bodies. By scattering along the frontiers, they kept the people in continual apprehension and alarm. So many of these straggling parties got off safe, that, in computing the expense of the war, it was judged that every Indian killed or taken cost the province a thousand pounds.

The state of the country at this time was truly distressing. A large quota of their best men was abroad; the rest, harassed by the enemy at home, were subjected to continual duty in garrisons and scouts. They earned their bread at the continual hazard of their lives. Never daring to stir abroad unarmed, they could till no lands, but what were within call of the garrisoned houses, into which their families were crowded. Their husbandry, lumber trade, and fishery were declining; their taxes increasing; and their apprehensions daily becoming more dismal; for there was no prospect of an end to the war, in which they were now advanced to the fifth summer. Under all these discouragements, they resolutely kept their ground, and maintained their garrisons, not one of which, within the limits of New Hampshire, was cut off during the whole of this war.

In September, 1707, one man was killed at Exeter; and two days after, Henry Elkins at Kingston: but a more severe blow on the frontier took place at Oyster river. A party of French Mohawks, painted red, attacked, with a hideous yell, a company who were working in the woods. At the first fire, seven of these woodsmen were killed by lurking, invisible Indians.

In 1710, New Hampshire sustained a heavy loss, in the death of colonel Winthrop Hilton. This worthy officer, be-

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ing concerned in the masting business, went about fourteen miles from home, into the woods, with a party. These, when at their daily labour, were ambushed by a party of Indians, who, at the first fire, killed Hilton and two of his companions, and carried off two more, as prisoners.

Flushed with this success, the victors insolently appeared in the open road at Exeter, and took four children, who were at play. They also took John Wedgwood, and killed John Magoon, near his brother's barn, a place which for three days he had visited, with a melancholy apprehension, arising from a dream, that he should there be murdered.

The same day that Hilton was killed, a company of Indians, who, the year before, had been peaceably conversant with the inhabitants of Kingston, came into the town, and, ambushing the road, killed Samuel Winslow and Samuel Huntoon. They also took Philip Huntoon and Jacob Gilman, and carried them to Canada; where, after some time, they redeemed themselves, by building, for the governor, a saw-mill, after the English mode.

The last that fell this summer was Jacob Garland, who was killed at Cochecho, on his return from divine service. As the winter approached, colonel Walton, with one hundred and seventy men, traversed the eastern shores, which the Indians usually visited at that season, for the purpose of gathering clams. On an island where this party was encamped, several Indians, decoyed by their smoke, and mistaking them for some of their own tribe, came among them, and were made prisoners. One of them was a sachem of Norridgwog, active, bold, and sullen. When he found himself in the hands of enemies, he would answer none of their questions, and laughed with scorn at their threatening him with death. His wife was so intimidated, as to make the discoveries which the captors had in vain desired of the sachem. In consequence of which, three were taken at the place which she pointed out, and two more at Saco river, where also five were killed. This success, inconsiderable as it may appear, kept up the spirits of the people.

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In the spring, they renewed their ravages on the frontiers, in small parties. Thomas Downs, John Church, and three more were killed at Cochecho; and several of the people, in the same place, fell into an ambush, as they were returning from public worship.

In 1712, one Cunningham was killed at Exeter, ensign Tuttle at Dover, and Jeremy Crommet at Oyster river. On one of the upper branches of this stream, the enemy burned a saw-mill, with a large quantity of boards. A scouting army surprised and killed eight Indians, without the loss of a man. The frontiers were well guarded. One half of the militia did duty at the garrisons, and were ready to march at a minute's notice. A scout of forty men kept ranging on the heads of the towns, and the like care was taken by sea. Spy boats were employed in coasting, from cape Neddock to the Great Boar's Head. Notwithstanding this vigilance, small parties of the enemy were frequently seen. In July, an ambush was discovered at Dover: but the enemy escaped; and while a party were gone in pursuit of them, two children of John Waldron were taken, and, for want of time to scalp them, their heads were cut off. There being no man at that time in Heard's garrison, a woman, named Esther Jones, mounted guard, and, with a commanding voice, called so loudly and resolutely, as made the enemy think there was help at hand, and prevented further mischief.

In 1713, news of the peace of Utrecht arrived in America, and the suspension of arms was soon after proclaimed at Portsmouth. The Indians, being informed of this event, came in with a flag of truce, and desired a treaty. The chiefs and deputies of the several belligerent tribes, by a formal writing under hand and seal, acknowledged their perfidy; promised fidelity; renewed their allegiance; submitted to the laws; and begged the queen's pardon for their former miscarriages. The frequent repetition of such engagements, and as frequent violations of them, had much abated the sense of obligation on the one part, and of confidence on the other. But it being for the interest of both parties to be at peace, the restoration of it was peculiarly welcome.

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In about nine years after this peace, or in 1722, another war broke out between the eastern Indians and New Hampshire. To the many causes which excite savages to war, there were some that were peculiar to those who lived on the confines of New Hampshire. They were situated between the colonies of two European nations, who were often at war, and who pursued very different measures with regard to them.

As the lands, on which the Indians lived, were comprehended in the patents granted by the crown of England, they were considered by the English as subjects of that crown. When war was declared against them, they were called rebels; and when they were compelled to make peace, they subscribed an acknowledgment of their perfidy, and a declaration of their submission to the government, without any just ideas of the meaning of those terms.

Beside the patents derived from the crown, the English, in general, were fond of obtaining from the Indians deeds of sale, for those lands on which they were disposed to make settlements. Some of these deeds were executed with legal formality; and a valuable consideration was paid to the natives for the purchase; others were of obscure and uncertain original: but the memory of such transactions was soon lost, among a people who had no written records. Lands had been purchased of the Indian chiefs; but the succeeding Indians either had no knowledge of the sales made by their ancestors, or had an idea that such bargains were not binding on posterity, who had as much need of the lands, and could use them to the same purpose as their fathers. At first, the Indians did not know that the European manner of cultivating lands, and erecting mills and dams, would drive away the game and fish, and thereby deprive them of the means of subsistence. On finding, by experience, that this was the consequence of admitting foreigners to settle among them, they repented of their hospitality, and were inclined to dispossess their new neighbours, as the only way of restoring the country to its pristine state, and of recovering their usual mode of subsistence.

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When conferences were held with them on this subject, they either denied that the lands had been sold; or pretended that the sachems had exceeded their power, in making the bargains; or had conveyed lands beyond the limits of their tribes; or that the English had taken advantage of their drunkenness, to make them sign the deeds; or that no valuable consideration had been given for the purchase. No arguments or evidence, which could be adduced, would satisfy them, unless the lands were paid for again; and had this been done, their posterity, after a few years, would have renewed the demand.

On the other hand, the French did not, in a formal manner, declare the Indians subjects of the crown of France; but every tribe, however small, was allowed to preserve its independence. Those, who were situated in the interior of Canada, kept their lands to themselves, which were never solicited from them. Those who dwelt on the rivers and shores of the Atlantic, though distant from the French colonies, received annual presents from the king of France; and solitary traders resided with, or occasionally visited them: but no attempt was made by any company to settle on their lands.

The inhabitants of the eastern parts of New England were ill adapted to engage the affections of the Indians. The frequent hostilities on this quarter, not only kept alive a spirit of jealousy and revenge in individuals, but prevented any endeavour, on the part of government, to propagate religious knowledge among the Indians.

The Jesuits had planted themselves among these tribes. Their pompous modes of performing divine service was infinitely more calculated to make a strong impression on the Indians, than the simple form of worship, usual among the congregationalists of New England. The Indians had one church at Penobscot, and another at Norridgwog, where Sebastian Rallè, a French Jesuit, resided. He was a man of sense, learning, and address. By a compliance with the usual habits of the Indians, and a gentle, condescending deportment, he had gained their affections, so as to manage them at his pleasure. Knowing the power of superstition over the

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savage mind, he took advantage of this, and of their prejudice against the English, to promote the cause and strengthen the interest of the French among them. He even made the offices of devotion serve as incentives to their ferocity.

With this Jesuit, the governor of Canada held a close correspondence, and by him was informed of every thing transacted among the Indians. By these means, their discontent with the English, on account of the settlements made at the eastward, was heightened and inflamed. They also received every encouragement to assert their title to the lands in question, and molest the settlers by killing their cattle, burning their stacks of hay, robbing and insulting them. These insolences discouraged the people, and caused many of them to remove. The garrisons were then reinforced, and scouting parties were ordered into the eastern quarter. By this appearance of force, the Indians, who dreaded the power of the English, were restrained from open hostilities. They had frequent parleys with the commanders of forts, and with commissioners who visited them occasionally; and though at first they seemed to be resolute in demanding the removal of the English, yet, when they were told that there was no alternative but perfect peace or open war, they seemed to prefer peace; and either pretended ignorance of what had been done, or promised to make inquiry into it; and, as an evidence of their good intentions, offered a tribute of skins, and delivered up four of their young men as hostages.

This proceeding was highly disrelished by the governor of Canada, who renewed his efforts to keep up the quarrel; and secretly promised to supply the Indians with arms and ammunition, though, as it was a time of peace between the two crowns, he could not openly assist them.

The New England governments, though highly incensed, were not easily persuaded to consent to a war. The dispute was between the Indians and the proprietors of the eastern lands, in which the public were not directly interested. Rallè was regarded as the principal instigator of the Indians; and it was thought that, if he could be taken off, they would be quiet.

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A party was ordered to Norridgwog to seize Rallè. They arrived at the village undiscovered; but before they could surround his house, he escaped into the woods, leaving his papers in his strong box, which they brought off, without doing any other damage. Among these papers were his letters of correspondence with the governor of Canada, by which it appeared that he was deeply engaged in exciting the Indians to a rupture, and that he had promised to assist them.

This attempt to seize their spiritual father could not long be unrevenged. The next summer, they took nine families from Merry-meeting-bay; and, after dismissing some of the prisoners, retained enough to secure the redemption of their hostages, and sent them to Canada. About the same time, they made an attempt on the fort at St. George's, but were repulsed. They also surprised some fishing vessels in the eastern harbours, and at length made a furious attack on the town of Brunswick, which they destroyed. This action determined the government to issue a declaration of war against them, which was published in form at Boston and Portsmouth. Men were enlisted, and a reward was offered for every Indian scalp.

The first appearance of the enemy in New Hampshire was at Dover, where they surprised and killed Joseph Ham, and took three of his children. Soon afterwards, they waylaid the road, and killed Tristram Heard. Their next onset was at Lamprey river, where they killed Aaron Rawlins and one of his children. They also took his wife and three children prisoners.

The next spring, they killed James Nock, one of the elders of the church at Oyster river, as he was returning on horseback from setting his beaver traps in the woods. Soon afterwards, they appeared at Kingston, where they took as prisoners, Peter Colcord, Ephraim Stevens, and two children of Ebenezer Stevens.

They ambushed the road at Oyster river, and killed George Chesley, and mortally wounded Elizabeth Burnham, as they were returning together from public worship.

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Within the town of Dover, were many families of Quakers, who, scrupling the lawfulness of war, could not be persuaded to use any means for their defence, though equally exposed with their neighbours, to an enemy who made no distinction between them. One of these people, Ebenezer Downs, was taken by the Indians, and grossly insulted and abused by them, because he refused to dance as the other prisoners did, for the diversion of their savage captors. Another of them, John Hanson, who lived on the outside of the town in a remote situation, could not be persuaded to remove to a garrison, though he had a large family of children. A party of thirteen Indians, called French Mohawks, had marked his house for their prey, and lay several days in ambush waiting for an opportunity to assault it. While Hanson with his eldest daughter were gone to attend the weekly meeting of friends, and his two eldest sons were at work in a meadow at some distance, the Indians entered the house, killed and scalped two small children, and took his wife, with her infant of fourteen days old, her nurse, two daughters, and a son, and carried them all off.

These and other insolences of the enemy, being daily perpetrated on the frontier, caused the government to resolve on an expedition to Norridgwog. Captains Moulton and Harman, each at the head of a company of one hundred men, executed their orders with great address. They completely invested and surprised that village; killed the obnoxious Jesuit, with about eighty of his Indians; recovered three captives; destroyed the chapel; and brought away the plate and furniture of the altar, and the devotional flag, as trophies of their victory. Rallè was then in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and had resided in his mission at Norridgwog, twenty-six years; but frequently travelled among the Indian nations, in the interior parts of America.

The parties of Indians who were abroad, continued to ravage the frontiers. At Kingston, Jabez Colman and his son Joseph were killed, as they were at work in their field. The success of the forces at Norridgwog, and the large premium offered for scalps, having induced several volunteer compa-

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nies to go out, they visited several of the Indian villages; but found them deserted. The fate of Norridgwog had struck such a terror into them, that they did not think themselves safe at any of their former places of abode, and only occupied them as resting places, when they were scouting or hunting.

One of these volunteer companies, under the command of captain John Lovewell, of Dunstable, was greatly distinguished, first, by their success, and afterwards by their misfortunes. This company consisted of thirty. On their first excursion, to the northward of Winipiseogee lake, they discovered an Indian wigwam, in which were a man and a boy. They killed and scalped the man, and brought the boy alive to Boston, where they received the reward promised by law, and a handsome gratuity besides.

By this success, his company was augmented to seventy. They marched again, and, visiting the place where they had killed the Indian, found his body as they had left it, two months before. Their provision falling short, thirty of them were dismissed by lot, and returned. The remaining forty continued their march, till they discovered a track, which they followed. They saw a smoke, just before sun-set, by which they judged that the enemy were encamped for the night. They kept themselves concealed till after midnight, when they silently advanced, and discovered ten Indians asleep, around a fire, by the side of a frozen pond. Lovewell determined to make sure work; and placing his men conveniently, ordered part of them to fire, five at once, as quick after each other as possible, and another part to reserve their fire. He gave the signal, by firing his own gun, which killed two of the Indians. The men firing, according to order, killed five more on the spot. Two of the other three, as they started up from their sleep, were instantly shot dead by the reserve. The other, though wounded, attempted to escape, by crossing the pond; but was seized by a dog, and held fast till they killed him. Thus, in a few minutes, the whole company was destroyed, and an attempt against the frontiers of New Hampshire prevented. These Indians were marching

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from Canada, well furnished with guns and ammunition. They had also a number of spare blankets, mockaseens, and snow shoes, for the accommodation of the prisoners, whom they expected to take. The pond, where this exploit was performed, has ever since been called Lovewell's pond.

This brave company, with the ten scalps stretched on hoops, and elevated on poles, entered Dover in triumph, and proceeded thence to Boston, where they received, from the public treasury, the bounty of one hundred pounds for each.

Encouraged by this success, Lovewell marched a third time, intending to attack the villages of Pigwacket. His company, at that time, consisted of forty-six, including a chaplain and surgeon. They halted, and built a stockade fort, for a place of retreat, in case of misfortune. Here the surgeon was left with a sick man, and eight of the company for a guard. The number was now reduced to thirty-four. These advanced to the northward, and were attacked about 10 o'clock. Captain Lovewell, and eight more, were killed. Several of the Indians fell: but, being superior in number, they endeavoured to surround the party; who, perceiving their intention, retreated, hoping to be sheltered by a point of rocks. In this forlorn place, they took their station. On their right was the mouth of a brook, at that time unfordable; on their left was the rocky point; their front was partly covered by a deep bog, and partly uncovered; and the pond was in their rear. The enemy galled them in front and flank, and had them so completely in their power, that if they had improved their advantage, the whole company must either have been killed, or obliged to surrender at discretion; for they were destitute of provisions, and their escape was impracticable. Under the conduct of lieutenant Wyman, they kept up their fire, and shewed a resolute countenance, all the remainder of the day, during which their chaplain, Jonathan Frie, ensign Robbins, and one more, were mortally wounded. The Indians invited them to surrender, by holding up ropes to them; and endeavoured to intimidate them by their hideous yells: but they determined to die, rather than yield; and, by their well-directed fire, the number

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of the savages was thinned, and their cries became fainter. Just before night, they quitted their advantageous ground. The shattered remnant of this brave company, collecting themselves together, found three of their number unable to move from the spot; eleven wounded, but able to march; and nine who had received no hurt. It was melancholy to leave their dying companions behind; but there was no possibility of removing them. One of them, ensign Robbins, desired his associates to lay his gun by him, charged, that if the Indians should return before his death, he might be able to kill one more. After the rising of the moon, they quitted the fatal spot, and directed their march towards the fort, where the surgeon and guard had been left. To their great surprise, they found it deserted. From this place, they endeavoured to get home. Lieutenant Farwell and the chaplain, who had the journal of the march in his pocket, perished in the woods. The others, after enduring the most severe hardships, came in, one after another, and were not only received with joy, but recompensed for their valour and sufferings. A generous provision was also made for the widows and children of the slain.

Colonel Tyng, with a company from Dunstable, went to the spot; and, having found the bodies of twelve, buried them, and carved their names on the trees where the battle was fought.*

This was one of the most fierce and obstinate battles, which had been fought with the Indians. They had not only the advantage of numbers, but of placing themselves in ambush, and of choosing with deliberation the moment of attack. These circumstances gave them a degree of ardour and impetuosity. The fall of Lovewell, and of one quarter of his men, in the first onset, was discouraging; but the survivors knew the situation to which they were reduced, and that their distance from the frontiers cut off all hope of safety from flight. In these circumstances, prudence, as well as valour, dic-

* The names of the dead, carved on the trees, were seen by Dr. Belknap, fifty-eight years after the battle. The trees had the appearance of being very old, and one of them was fallen.

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tated a continuance of the engagement, and a refusal to surrender, until the enemy, awed by their brave resistance, and weakened by their own loss, yielded them the honour of the field.

The conduct of the marquis De Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, was so flagrant a breach of the treaty of peace, subsisting between the crowns of England and France, that it was thought a spirited remonstrance might make him ashamed, and produce some beneficial effects. This was made by New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Their commissioners were instructed to demand of the French governor restitution of the captives, who had been carried into Canada; to remonstrate with him on his injustice and breach of friendship, in countenancing the Indians, in their hostilities against the people of New England; and to insist on his withdrawing his assistance for the future. The commissioners were also furnished with the original letters of Vaudreuil to the governors of New England, and to the Jesuit Rallè, and with copies of the several treaties which had been made with the Indians. They delivered their letters of credence, and presented their remonstrance in writing; and made the several demands, agreeably to their instructions.

The governor gave them no written answer; but denied that the Abenaquis Indians were under his government, and that he had either encouraged or supplied them for the purpose of war. He said, that he considered them as an independent nation, and that the war was undertaken by them in defence of their lands, which had been invaded by the people of New England. The commissioners, in reply, informed him, that the lands, for which the Indians had quarrelled, were fairly purchased of their ancestors, and had been for many years inhabited by the English. They also produced his own original letters to the Jesuit Rallè, which had been taken at Norridgwog, in which the evidence of his assisting and encouraging them in the war, was too plain to be denied or palliated.

The commissioners employed themselves very diligently in their inquiries respecting the captives, and in settling the

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terms of their redemption. They succeeded in effecting the ransom of sixteen, and engaging for ten others; but they were paid for at an exorbitant rate.

The report of the commissioners being laid before the assemblies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, it was determined to prosecute the war with vigour. Orders were issued for the defence and supply of the frontiers, and for the encouragement of ranging parties. A petition was sent to the king, complaining of the French governor, and desiring that orders might be given to the other colonies of New England, and to New York, to furnish their quotas of assistance, in the further prosecution of the war.

The good effects of this mission to Canada were soon visible. The Indians shortly afterwards requested peace. In the mean time, some of the enemy were disposed for further mischief. They shot Benjamin Evans, wounded William Evans, and cut his throat. John Evans received a slight wound in the breast, which bleeding plentifully deceived them. Thinking him dead, they stripped and scalped him. He bore the painful operation without discovering any signs of life. Though all the time in his perfect senses, he continued the feigned appearance of death, till they had turned him over and struck him several blows with their guns, and left him for dead. After they were gone off, he rose and walked naked and bloody towards the garrison; but on meeting his friends by the way, fell in a fainting fit on the ground. Nevertheless he recovered, and survived fifty years.

This was the last effort of the Indians in New-Hampshire. In three months, the treaty which they desired was held at Boston; and the next spring ratified at Falmouth. A peace was concluded in the usual form, which was followed by restraining all private traffic with the Indians, and establishing truck houses in convenient places, where they were supplied with the necessaries of life, on advantageous terms.

Though none of the other colonies of New England bore any share in the expenses or calamities of this war, yet New Hampshire suffered less than in former wars. Their militia at this time was completely trained for active service. Every

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man, of forty years of age, had seen more than twenty years of war. They had been used to handle their arms from the age of childhood, and most of them by long practice were excellent marksmen and good hunters. They knew the lurking places of the enemy, and possessed a degree of hardiness and intrepidity, which can be acquired only by familiarity with danger and fatigue. They had also imbibed from their infancy a strong antipathy to the savages. This was strengthened in time of war by their repeated acts of blood and desolation, and not obliterated by the intercourse which they had with them, in time of peace. As the Indians frequently resorted to the frontier towns in time of scarcity, it was common for them to visit the families whom they had injured in war; to recount the circumstances of death and torture which had been practised on their friends; and when provoked or intoxicated, to threaten a repetition of such cruel deeds, in future wars. To bear such treatment required more than human patience. It is not improbable that secret murders were sometimes the consequence of these harsh declarations. Certain it is, that when any person was arrested for killing an Indian, in time of peace, he was either forcibly rescued from the hands of justice, or if brought to trial, invariably acquitted; it being often impossible to empannel a jury, some of whom had not suffered by the Indians, either in their persons, families, or property.

Twenty years of peace followed, in which the population and settlements of New Hampshire were considerably extended. War being declared by England against France, in 1744, an Indian war, with the contiguous English colonies, followed in its train. Defensive measures were adopted on the frontiers. Besides the forts which were maintained at the public expense, there were private houses enclosed with ramparts or palisades of timber, to which the people who remained on the frontiers retired. These private garrisoned houses were distinguished by the names of the owners. The danger, to which these distressed people were constantly exposed, did not permit them to cultivate their lands to any advantage. They were frequently alarmed when at labour in their fields,

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and obliged to repel an attack, or make a retreat. Their crops were often injured, and sometimes destroyed, either by their cattle getting into the fields, where the enemy had broken the fences, or because they were afraid to venture out to collect and secure the harvest. Their cattle and horses were frequently killed by the enemy, who cut the flesh from the bones, and took out the tongues, which they preserved for food, by drying them in smoke. Sometimes they were afraid even to milk their cows, though they kept them in pastures as near as possible to the forts. When they went abroad, they were always armed; but frequently they were shut up for weeks together, in a state of inactivity.

The history of a war on the frontiers can be little else than a recital of the exploits, the sufferings, the escapes and deliverances of individuals, of single families, or small parties. The first appearance of the enemy on the western frontier was at the Great Meadow, sixteen miles from fort Dummer. Two Indians took William Phips, as he was hoeing his corn. When they had carried him half a mile, one of them went down a steep hill to fetch something which had been left. In his absence, Phips with his own hoe knocked down the Indian who was with him, then seizing his gun, shot the other as he ascended the hill. Three others of the same party shortly after came up, and killed him. The Indian whom he knocked down, died of his wound.

Throughout the summers of 1745, and 1746, the Indians were scattered in small parties, on all the frontiers. They broke up settlements; killed several individuals, and captured more, either in their houses, or when going to mill, milking their cattle, or working in the woods or fields. During this scene of devastation and captivity, there were no instances of deliberate murder nor torture exercised on those who fell into the hands of the Indians. Even the old custom of making the prisoners run the gauntlet was in most cases omitted. On the contrary, there is an universal testimony, from the captives who returned, in favour of the humanity of their captors. When feeble, they assisted them in

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travelling; and, in cases of distress from want of provision, shared with them an equal proportion.

There was a striking difference between the manner in which this war was managed on the part of the English, and on the part of the French. The latter kept out small parties, continually engaged in killing, scalping and taking prisoners, who were sold in Canada, and redeemed by their friends at a great expense. By this mode of conduct, the French made their enemies pay the whole charge of their predatory excursions, besides reaping a handsome profit to themselves. On the other hand, the English attended only to the defence of the frontiers. No parties were sent to harass the settlements of the French. If the whole country of Canada could not be subdued, nothing less would be attempted. Men were continually kept in pay, and in expectation of service; but spent their time either in garrisons, or camps, or in guarding provisions. Though large rewards were promised for scalps, and prisoners, scarcely any were obtained, unless by accident. The French encouraged and paid their Indians for English scalps; but the English offered no premiums for the scalps of Frenchmen or Canadians.

This war was not decisive, and the causes which kindled it were not removed. One of its effects was peculiarly injurious. It produced a class of men, who, having been for a time released from laborious occupations, and devoted to the parade of military life, did not readily obey the calls of industry. To such men, peace was burdensome; and the more so because they had not the advantage of half pay. Short was the interval between this and the succeeding war. The peace took place in 1749: and in 1754, there was a call to resume the sword. The time was now come, when a decisive war settled the long pending controversy, whether France or England should be the predominant power in North America. Hostilities had no sooner commenced between France and England, in the western woods of Virginia, than the Indians renewed their attack on the frontiers of New Hampshire. In the summer of 1754, scenes similar to those that have been described recommenced.

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A party of Indians broke into the house of James Johnson, early in the morning, before any of the family were awake, and took him, with his wife, three children, her sister, and two men, prisoners. The surprisal was complete and bloodless, and they carried them off undisturbed. The next day, Johnson's wife was delivered of a daughter, who, from the circumstances of its birth, was named Captive. The Indians halted one day, on the woman's account: and the next day resumed their march, carrying her on a litter, which they made for the purpose, and afterwards put her on horseback. On their march, they were distressed for provisions, and killed the horse for food. The infant was nourished by sucking pieces of its flesh. Throughout this war, the people of New Hampshire bravely defended themselves against the Indians, and effectually co-operated with the British troops in the reduction of Canada. Their soldiers were so expert in every service which required agility, and so habituated to fatigue and danger, that, by the express desire of Lord Loudon, three ranging companies were formed of them, who continued in service during the winter, as well as the summer. The command of these companies was given to Robert Rogers, John Stark, and William Stark. They were eminently useful, in scouring the woods; procuring intelligence; and skirmishing with detached parties of the enemy. These companies were kept, throughout the war, in the pay of the crown; and, after its conclusion, the officers were allowed half pay, on the British establishment.

In this war, especially the first years of it, Canada was filled with prisoners, scalps, private plunder, public stores, and provisions; much of which had been taken from New Hampshire.

When the British army had obtained a decided superiority over the French, it was determined to chastise the Indians, who had committed so many devastations. Major Robert Rogers was despatched from Crown Point, by general Amherst, with about two hundred rangers, to destroy the Indian village of St. Francis. After a fatiguing march of twenty-one days, he came within sight of the place, which he disco-

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vered from the top of a tree. He halted his men, at the distance of three miles; and in the evening, with two of his officers, entered the village in disguise. The Indians were engaged in a grand dance, and he passed through them undiscovered. Having formed his men into parties, and posted them to advantage, he made a general assault, just before day, whilst the Indians were asleep. They were so completely surprised, that little resistance could be made. Some were killed in their houses; and of those who attempted to flee, many were shot or tomahawked, by parties placed at the avenues. The dawn of day disclosed a horrid scene, and an edge was given to the fury of the assailants, by the sight of several hundred scalps of their countrymen, elevated on poles, and waving in the air. This village had been enriched with the plunder of the frontiers, and the sale of captives. The houses were well furnished, and the church was adorned with plate. The suddenness of the attack, and the fear of a pursuit, did not allow much time for pillage; but the rangers brought off about two hundred guineas in money; a silver image, weighing ten pounds; a large quantity of wampum and clothing. Having set fire to the village, Rogers made his retreat. Of the rangers, one man only was killed, and six were wounded. In their retreat, they were pursued, and lost seven men. They kept in a body for about ten days, and then scattered. Some found their way to "Number Four," after having suffered much by hunger and fatigue. Others perished in the woods, and their bones were found near Connecticut river, by the people, who, after several years, began plantations at the upper Cohos.

The conquest of Canada gave peace to the frontiers of New Hampshire, after a turbulent scene of fifteen years, in which, with very little intermission, they had been distressed by the enemy. Many captives were returned to their homes, and friends, who, after a long separation, embraced each other in peace. The joy was heightened by the consideration, that Canada being subdued, it could no longer be a source of terror and distress.

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The war being closed, a large and valuable tract of country, situated between New England, New York, and Canada, was secured to the British dominions, and it became the interest of the governors, of both the royal provinces of New Hampshire and New York, to vie with each other, in granting this territory, and receiving the emoluments arising from this lucrative branch of their respective offices. The seeds of a controversy on this subject had been already sown.

The passion for occupying new lands rose to a great height. These tracts were filled with emigrants from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Population and cultivation began to increase, with a rapidity hitherto unknown; and from this time may be dated the flourishing state of New Hampshire; for, before, it had been circumscribed and stinted in its growth, by the continual danger of a savage enemy.

In the twelve years of peace, which followed the conquest of Canada, the prosperity of New Hampshire exceeded all calculation. At the end of that period, the American revolutionary war commenced. New Hampshire engaged in it with a population of 124,069 inhabitants. She was well prepared for the arduous struggle. Her yeomanry were brave, hardy, capable of bearing fatigue, had long been accustomed to the use of arms, and were complete woodsmen. Many of them had acquired a considerable stock of military experience, in the previous wars, to the dangers and calamities of which they, as a frontier state, had been particularly exposed.

New Hampshire, before the American revolution, suffered more by Indian and French wars, than any other of the English colonies; but, after the declaration of independence, she suffered less than most of her sister states. No part of her territory was at any time the seat of revolutionary war: but she fought bravely, and bled freely, in the common cause, as shall be related in its proper place. One advantage she has enjoyed, above all the other states. While much of their early history is irrecoverably lost, the wisdom of the institutions of New Hampshire, and the gallantry of her sons, through the whole period of her political existence, down to

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the year 1792, will descend to posterity with uncommon lustre; for they have been immortalized by the pen of Dr. Belknap, the founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the father of American history. To his writings, the author of this work acknowledges himself indebted, for most of the facts stated in the preceding details.

MARYLAND.

Maryland was the third English colony, settled in North America; but the first, which, from its beginning, was erected into a province of the empire. The first emigration to Maryland, consisting of about two hundred persons, chiefly of the Roman Catholic religion, landed on the banks of the river Potowmac, in the beginning of the year 1634. Calvert,* their leader, purchased the rights of the aborigines,

* George Calvert, afterwards Sir George, baron of Baltimore, founder of the province of Maryland, was born in England, in 1582. Being inclined to make a settlement in America, as an asylum for himself and friends, of the Roman Catholic religion, he made a visit to Virginia; but, meeting with an unwelcome reception, on account of his religion, and observing that the Virginians had not extended their plantations beyond the Potowmac, he fixed his attention upon the territory northward of this river, and, as soon as he returned to England, obtained a grant of it, from Charles the first: but, before a patent was completed, he died, in the fifty-first year of his age. After his death, the patent was again drawn, in the name of his eldest son, Cecilius, who succeeded to his honours, and it passed in 1632. The country was called Maryland, in honour of Henrietta Maria, the queen consort of Charles the first. Tradition states, that the original patent was written by Sir George himself. The liberal code of religious toleration, which it established, is very honourable to him, and was respected by his son, who carried his designs into execution. Sir George was conspicuous for his good sense and moderation. All parties were pleased with him. In his views of establishing foreign plantations, he thought that the original inhabitants, instead of being exterminated, should be civilized and converted; that the governors should not be interested merchants, but gentlemen not concerned in trade; and that every one should be left to provide for himself, by his own industry, without dependence on a common interest.

Leonard Calvert, the first governor of Maryland, was the brother of Cecilius Calvert, the proprietor, who sent him to America, as the head of the colony, in 1633. After a circuitous voyage, he arrived at point Comfort, in

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and, with their consent, took possession of a town, which he called St. Mary's. He continued carefully to cultivate their friendship, and lived with them on terms of perfect amity. The lands, which had been thus ceded, were planted with

Virginia, February 24th, 1634. On the 3d of March, he proceeded in the bay of Chesapeak to the northward, and entered the Potowmac, up which he sailed, and came to an anchor under an island, which he named St. Clement's. Here he fired his cannon, erected a cross, and took possession, "in the name of the Saviour of the World, and of the king of England." Thence, he went fifteen leagues higher, to the Indian town of Potowmac, on the Virginia side of the river, now called New Marlborough, where he was received in a friendly manner, by the natives. Thence, he sailed to the town of Piscataway, on the Maryland side, where he found Henry Fleet, an Englishman, who had resided several years among the Indians, and was held by them in great esteem. This man was very serviceable, as an interpreter. An interview having been procured with the Werowance, or prince, Calvert asked him, whether he was willing that a settlement should be made in his country? He replied, "I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay; but you may use your own discretion." Having convinced the natives that his designs were honourable and pacific, the governor sought a more suitable station for commencing his colony. He visited a creek, on the northern side of the Potowmac, about four leagues from its mouth, where was an Indian village. Here he acquainted the prince of the place with his intentions, and, by presents, conciliated his friendship so much, as to obtain permission to reside in one part of the town, until the next harvest, when, it was stipulated, the natives should entirely quit the place. Both parties entered into a contract, to live together in a friendly manner. After Calvert had given a satisfactory consideration, the Indians readily yielded a number of their houses, and retired to the others. As the season for planting corn had now arrived, both parties went to work. Thus, on the 27th of March, 1634, the governor took peaceable possession of the country of Maryland, and gave to the town the name of St. Mary's, and to the creek, on which it was situated, the name of St. George's.

The colony had brought with them meal from England; but they found Indian corn, in great plenty, at Barbadoes and in Virginia; and, by the next spring, they were able to export a thousand bushels to New England, and Newfoundland, for which they received, in return, dried fish, and other provisions. The Indians also killed many deer and turkies, which they sold to the English, for knives, beads, and other small articles of traffic. Cattle, swine, and poultry, were procured from Virginia. Fifty acres of land were granted, in absolute fee, to every emigrant; and Christianity was established, without allowing pre-eminence to any particular sect.

The governor built a house at St. Mary's, for himself and his successors, and superintended the affairs of the country, till the civil war in England.

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facility, because they had already undergone the discipline of Indian tillage. Food was therefore easily procured. The Roman Catholics, unhappy in their native land, and desirous of a peaceful asylum, went over, in great numbers, to Maryland. Lord Baltimore, to whom the province had been granted, laid the foundation of its future prosperity on the broad basis of security to property, and of freedom in religion. The wisdom of these measures converted a dreary wilderness into a prosperous colony; because men exert themselves, in their several pursuits, in proportion as they are assured of enjoying in safety, those blessings which they wish for most. Never did a people enjoy more happiness than the inhabitants of Maryland, under Cecilius, the father of the province. While Virginia persecuted the Puritans, her severity compelled many to pass over into this new province, the assembly of which had enacted, "that no persons, professing to believe in Christ Jesus, should be molested, in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof." The prudence of the one colony acquired what the folly of the other had thrown away. Mankind then beheld a new scene, on the theatre of English America. They saw, in Massachusetts, the Puritans abridging the rights of various sects, and the church of England, in Virginia, actuated by the same spirit, harassing those who dissented from the established religion; while the Roman Catholics, of Maryland, tolerated and protected the professors of all denominations. In consequence of this liberal policy, and the other prudent measures, adopted by the rulers of this province, it rapidly increased in wealth and population.

The annals of Maryland are barren of those striking events which enliven the page of history. This is probably the reason that so little of its history has been published,

The name of a papist then became so obnoxious, that the parliament assumed the government of the province, and appointed a new governor.

Cecilius Calvert, the proprietor, recovered his right to the province, upon the restoration of king Charles the second, in 1660, and, within a year or two, appointed his son Charles the governor. He died in 1676, covered with age and reputation, and was succeeded by his son.

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Its internal peace, in the period of infancy, was but little disturbed either by Indians or insurgents, though not wholly exempt from either*. Its early settlers loved their king and their proprietary. They were not given to change, but attached to ancient forms, their native country, and its constitution. It affords the first example in colonial history, of the dismemberment of an ancient colony, by the formation of a new one out of it, with separate and equal rights. This involved disputes between the original state, Virginia, and that dissevered portion of it, called Maryland; and also between persons claiming rights from different sources; but these controversies were adjusted without serious consequences. Their first assembly was convened in 1634, and was probably composed of all the freemen of the province. In 1638, representation was introduced. In the year 1650, their constitution was improved, by a division of the legislature into two distinct branches, sitting and deliberating apart. Those, who were called by special writs, were the upper house. Those, who were chosen by the hundreds, composed the lower house.

The internal peace of the province was seriously disturbed, while the civil wars raged in England. A majority of the influential men in Maryland was attached to the cause of royalty. But the opposition was so strong as to end in a civil war. After various skirmishes, fought with alternate success, a decisive engagement took place. The party attached to Oliver Cromwell prevailed. Stone, the governor of the province, was taken prisoner, and from the violence of party rage ordered to be hanged. He suffered a long imprisonment: but it does not appear that the sentence was executed. He had administered government with so much

* An Indian war commenced in 1642, which lasted for several years, and brought in its train the usual distresses of savage warfare. In 1662, the Janadoa Indians checked the prosperity of the province: but they were soon repelled. A rebellion produced by some discontented men, in 1645, obliged the governor of Maryland to flee to Virginia; but it was suppressed in the following year. The particulars of neither of these events have descended to posterity.

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propriety, as to be respected by good men of both parties. Cromwell appointed commissioners to settle the affairs of the province. They, in 1658, surrendered the government to Josias Fendal, who had been appointed governor by the proprietary: but the public peace remained unsettled, till the restoration of king Charles gave a permanent superiority to the friends of royalty. Notwithstanding various distractions and revolutions in these times of civil war, when men had cast off the usual restraints of law and order, the province continued to increase in numbers, industry, and wealth. At the restoration, in 1660, it contained about 12,000 persons.

The efforts of Charles the second and James the second, to consolidate the colonies, did not complete any thing against the charter of Maryland. This province, then in its infancy, was happily neglected, or forgotten so long, that judgment was not obtained against it; but the introductory process had commenced in the year before the revolution. With the exception of the three or four years which followed the defeat of Braddock, in 1755, Maryland was generally in possession of peace and orderly government, from 1663 till 1776. In these 113 years immediately preceding the American revolution, Maryland enjoyed a great share of prosperity. When that event took place, she, with all her increased resources, heartily joined her sister colonies, in contending for their common rights. At this period Maryland had increased her population from 12,000 to 310,174.

CONNECTICUT.

A fort had been built by the Dutch on Connecticut river, about the year 1633. Shortly afterwards, and about a mile distant, a trading house was erected by a company from Plymouth. In the year 1635, and the subsequent years, several distinct English settlements were made. One group of these settlers, led by Mr. Hooker, with their families, stock, and property, travelled in about fourteen days from Newtown to Hartford, across the intermediate trackless wilder-

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ness. They had no guide but their compass; no covering but the heavens: and their chief subsistence was the milk of their cows, which they drove before them. By these and other settlers, from Old and New England, two colonies named Connecticut and Newhaven were formed, and continued distinct for about thirty years; but then united. These early settlements were formed by voluntary associations of persons, who purchased the soil from the natives, and the right of settling there from the old Plymouth company in England.

The constitution of the colony called Connecticut was established, by a convention of all the freemen of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, which met in Hartford, in January, 1639. It ordained that there should be annually two general courts or legislative assemblies, one in April, and the other in September; that in the first, all public officers should be chosen; that a governor should be annually appointed; that no one should be chosen to this office unless he had been a magistrate, and also a member of some church; that the choice of officers should be by ballot, and by the whole body of freemen; and that every man was to be considered as a freeman, who had been received as a member by any of the towns, and had taken the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth; that each of the three towns should send four deputies to the general court; and that, when there was an equal division of votes, the governor should have the casting vote. John Haynes was chosen the first governor, and henceforward the general court proceeded to enact laws. A free representative government was thus established in New England, 137 years before the American revolution.

The planters of Quinnipiack, afterwards called Newhaven, continued more than a year without any other constitution, than their plantation covenant. In this they had solemnly engaged to be governed, as well in their civil as their religious concerns, by the rules of scripture. In June, 1639, they held a convention to lay the foundation of their polity. It was resolved that the scriptures afford a perfect rule for

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the discharge of all duties, and that they would be governed by them; that church members only should be free burgesses, and that they only should choose magistrates among themselves to manage their affairs. They met in court, and admitted into their body all the members of the churches. To this succeeded the election of officers. Theophilus Eaton was chosen governor, and with him were joined four magistrates. It was at the same time decreed, that there should be a general court annually in October, at which all the officers of the colony should be chosen, and that the word of God should be the sole rule for regulating the affairs of the commonwealth.

Connecticut when first settled was a vast wilderness. In it were neither fields, gardens, public roads, nor cleared grounds: but much valuable timber and wild fruit; a great variety of water fowl and other birds. In its waters, there was an abundance of fish, of different kinds. In no part of New England, were the Indians so numerous, in proportion to territory, as in Connecticut. For thirty or forty years after its settlement, they were computed to be to the white people, in the proportion of nineteen to one.

The settlement of this cold country was injudiciously begun in October. By the 15th of the next month, Connecticut river was frozen from side to side. The snow was deep, and the season tempestuous. In the following month, December, provisions generally failed. Famine and even death were anticipated by many. Some, impelled by hunger, attempted to return through the wilderness to Massachusetts. Others abandoned their habitations. Seventy persons were obliged, in the extremity of winter, to go to the mouth of the river, to meet their provisions, as the only expedient to preserve their lives. They who kept their stations suffered extremely. After all the help they could obtain by hunting, and from the Indians, they were obliged to subsist on acorns, malt, and grains.

It is difficult to describe the distresses of this first doleful winter. These first settlers, exposed to all the horrors of a dreary wilderness, were encompassed with numerous and

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cruel tribes of savages, who could at pleasure destroy them. They had neither bread for themselves, nor their children; neither habitation nor convenient clothing. Whatever emergency might occur, they were cut off both by land and water from either succour or retreat. Their second year was also a season of great and various labours. Many of the planters had to remove themselves and effects from a considerable distance. It was also incumbent on them to cultivate the earth, and raise a crop to prevent a repetition of the distresses, which took place in the preceding year. It was necessary to erect and fortify their houses; to prepare food and shelter for their cattle; to make roads between their settlements, that on any emergency they might assist each other. These various labours were of difficult accomplishment, in a new and unsettled country. The planters had not been accustomed to cutting down trees, to clearing and cultivating new lands. They were strangers in the country, and knew not what kinds of grain would be most congenial with its soil; nor had they any experience, how the ground must be cultivated, that it might yield a plentiful crop. They had few oxen or instruments for husbandry. Every thing was to be prepared, or brought from a great distance, and at a dear rate. Besides all these labours and difficulties, much time was taken up in constant watchings, trainings, and preparations for the defence of themselves and children.

In addition to all these difficulties, they could neither hunt, fish, nor cultivate their fields, nor travel, nor even walk out from home, but at the peril of their lives. They were obliged to keep a constant watch, by night and day, to go armed to their daily labours, and to public worship. But nothing could discourage men, who were determined to sacrifice every worldly comfort, to secure liberty of conscience; the privileges of a pure church; and the propagation of religion and liberty in America.

Besides their trouble from Indians, the first settlers of Connecticut and Newhaven had well-founded apprehensions of dangers, from their neighbours, the Dutch, in New Amsterdam, who had been settled there upwards of twenty years,

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and urged claims to a great part of Connecticut, as the property of the United Netherlands. At this time, England, convulsed with a civil war, between the king and parliament, could afford no aid to her American colonies. Surrounded with dangers and enemies, the inhabitants of Connecticut and Newhaven confederated with their neighbours and brethren of Massachusetts and Plymouth, in a league offensive and defensive. They henceforward took the name of the United Colonies of New England. Their articles of union reserved to each colony an entire and distinct jurisdiction.

Each was authorized to send annually two commissioners, who were church members, to meet on the first Monday in September, first at Boston, then, in succession, at Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth.

The commissioners, when met, were authorized to choose a president from among themselves, for the preservation of order. They were vested with plenary power, for making war and peace, laws and rules, of a civil nature, and of general concern.

The expense of all wars, offensive or defensive, was to be borne, in proportion to the number of the male inhabitants, in each colony, between sixteen and sixty years of age.

Upon notice, from three magistrates of any of the colonies, of an invasion, the colonies were immediately to send assistance; Massachusetts a hundred, and each of the other colonies, forty-five men.

All determinations of the commissioners, in which six were agreed, were binding upon the whole. No colony might engage in a war, without the consent of the whole union, unless upon some urgent and sudden occasion.

This was an union of the highest consequence to the New England colonies. It made them formidable to the Dutch and Indians, and respectable among their French neighbours. It was happily adapted to maintain a general harmony among themselves, and to secure the peace and rights of the country. It was one of the principal means of the preservation of the colonies, during the civil wars, and unsettled state of affairs in England. This union was also seasonable. The Indians

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were so hostile, that its whole influence was necessary, to prevent a general war.

The Indians, at this period, were beginning to acquire the use of fire-arms. The French, Dutch, and others, for the sake of gain, sold them arms and ammunition. Laws were made to restrain this traffic; but, from the avarice of individuals, they were not carried into full effect.

The Dutch, at Hartford, maintained a distinct and independent government, and resisted the English laws. A war of epistles, protests, and proclamations, was carried on between their governors, each of whom criminated the opposite party, while the borderers on the territories of both, made reciprocal incursions into, and depredations on the settlements of each other.* Charges, of a serious nature, were made by Connecticut, against Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, as having leagued with the Indians to extirpate the English. This charge was principally supported by the evidence of Indians. Their credibility was admitted by one party, but denied by the other. Three fourths of the commissioners urged a declaration of war against their Dutch neighbours; but Massachusetts, contrary to the articles of union, would not co-operate with the other three colonies. She alleged, in vindication of her refusal, that she was not satisfied of the justice of the proposed war. This refusal of Massachusetts paralyzed the military ardour of the other united colonies. They applied to Cromwell for aid; but he was too much occupied at home, to attend to the wishes of his distant friends. The Dutch were also too fully employed in Europe, to aid their colonies in North America.

* About this time, 1647, a curious law was passed, for the regulation or suppression of the use of tobacco. It was ordered, "that no person, under twenty years of age, nor any other, who had not already accustomed himself to the use of it, should take any tobacco, until he had obtained a certificate, from under the hand of an approved physician, that it was useful for him; and until he had also obtained a license from the court. All others, who had addicted themselves to the use of it, were prohibited from taking it, in any company, or at their labours, or in travelling, unless ten miles, at least, from any company."

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Nothing serious was attempted on either side; but representations continued to be made by the New Englanders, to the ruling powers of England, against the Dutch in New Amsterdam; and their subjugation was incessantly urged, as essential to the security of English America. These were seconded, from an unexpected quarter. Stuyvesant, having retaken Newcastle, reduced the fort at Christiana, and compelled the submission of all the Swedes, near the Delaware. The proprietor of Maryland, uneasy at the extension of Dutch conquests, as encroaching on his province, joined in urging the necessity of fitting out an expedition against New Amsterdam. England, convulsed by a civil war, could not immediately attend to their request; but Charles the second, soon after he was restored to the throne of his ancestors, listened to the joint wishes of his subjects, in Maryland and New England. Before any effectual measures were adopted for this purpose, Connecticut applied to the restored king for a royal charter. The government of England having, in 1660, been settled by the king and parliament, the general court avowed their allegiance to his majesty king Charles the second; and declared, that all the inhabitants of the colony were his faithful subjects. They also resolved, that it was necessary to petition him for the continuance and confirmation of their rights and privileges.

Governor Winthrop was appointed agent, to present the petition to his majesty, and to transact all affairs in England, respecting the general welfare of the colony.

In the petition to his majesty, it was represented, that the greatest part of the colony had been purchased, and that it had, with great difficulty, at the sole endeavours, expense, and charges of the petitioners and their associates, been subdued and improved, and thereby become a considerable enlargement and addition to his majesty's dominion and interests in New England. These were pleaded, as reasons why the king should grant the territory and privileges, for which the petitioners prayed.

Governor Winthrop was a man of address, and improved every circumstance, favourable to the object of his mission.

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On his arrival in England, he made application to the friends of the colony, and particularly to Lord Say and Seal, for their countenance and assistance. Lord Say and Seal, the great friend of the colony, had been particularly instrumental in accomplishing the restoration. This had brought him into the king's favour, so that he had been made Lord privy seal. Mr. Winthrop had an extraordinary ring, which had been given his grandfather by king Charles the first, which he presented to the king. This singular and unexpected present was very acceptable to his majesty, as it had been once the property of a beloved father. Under these circumstances, the petition of Connecticut was presented, and received with uncommon grace and favour.*

* Charles the second must have been in an extraordinary fit of good humour, when he granted this democratic charter. The principles of it were eminently favourable to the rights of man; the abridgment of which was a favourite object with the grantor, and the other Stuart kings. Though Charles readily granted it, he and his brother, James the second, afterwards exerted all their powers for its destruction. The ease with which the charter was obtained is the more extraordinary, as Connecticut, throughout the civil war of England, had an evident leaning to the interests of Cromwell and the parliament; and, in particular, had rendered herself obnoxious to the restored king, by sheltering two of the regicides, concerned in the death of his father. The particulars were as follow. Very soon after the restoration, a large number of the judges of king Charles the first, commonly termed regicides, were apprehended, and brought to trial. Thirty-nine were condemned, and ten executed, as traitors. Some others, apprehensive of danger, fled out of the kingdom, before king Charles was proclaimed. Whalley and Goffe made their escape to New England. They arrived at Boston, in July, 1660. Governor Endicot, and other gentlemen of character, in Boston and its vicinity, treated them with peculiar respect and kindness. Whalley had been a lieutenant general, and Goffe a major general, in Cromwell's army. Their manners were elegant; their appearance was dignified. They were universally esteemed: but, no sooner was it known, that the judges had been condemned as traitors, and that these gentlemen were excepted from the act of pardon, than the principal gentlemen in Massachusetts began to be alarmed. Governor Endicot called a court of magistrates, to consult measures for apprehending them. However, their friends were so numerous, that a vote could not, at that time, be obtained for their arrest.

Finding themselves unsafe at Cambridge, they came to Connecticut. They arrived about the 27th of March, 1661, and made Mr. Davenport's house the place of their residence. They were treated with the same marks of esteem

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Upon the 20th of April, 1662, his majesty granted the colony his letters patent, conveying the most ample privileges,

and generous friendship at Newhaven, which they had received in Massachusetts. The more the people became acquainted with them, the more they esteemed them, not only as men of great minds, but of piety and religion. For some time, no danger was apprehended: but it was not long, before the news of the king's proclamation against the regicides arrived, requiring that, wherever they might be found, they should be immediately apprehended. The governor of Massachusetts, in consequence of the royal proclamation, issued his warrant to arrest them. They removed to Milford. There they appeared openly, in the day time; but, at night, often retired privately to Newhaven, and were generally secreted at Mr. Davenport's. This much-esteemed minister of the gospel used all his energies in their favour; and, doubtless with a view to influence his congregation to screen them, preached a sermon from Isaiah, xvi. 3, 4. in which are these words: "Hide the outcasts: bewray not him that wandereth: let mine outcasts dwell with thee." In the mean time, the governor of Massachusetts received a royal mandate, requiring him to apprehend them. This gave a general alarm. A feigned search had been previously made in Massachusetts, for Whalley and Goffe; but the governor and magistrates now began to view the affair in a more serious point of light, and appear to have been in earnest to secure them. They perceived that their own personal safety, and the liberties and peace of the country, might be materially affected by their conduct towards those unhappy men. They therefore immediately gave a commission to two zealous active royalists, to go through the colonies, as far as the Manhadoes, and make a careful and universal search for them. They pursued the judges to Hartford, and afterwards to Guilford; but were very unwelcome messengers. Governor Leet, and the principal men in Guilford and Newhaven, had no ill opinion of the judges. They either viewed their conduct as right, or no more than an error in judgment; and as the fault of great and good men, under peculiar and extraordinary circumstances. They were touched with compassion and sympathy, and had real scruples of conscience, with respect to delivering up such men to death. They were afraid to betray them, lest they should be instrumental in shedding innocent blood. They saw no advantage in putting them to death. They were therefore not zealous to assist the pursuivants. Governor Leet delayed to furnish them with horses, and declined to give them any powers, until he had consulted with his council at Newhaven. The judges were apprized of every transaction, and took their measures accordingly. They changed their quarters from one place to another, as circumstances required, and had faithful friends, to give them information, and to conceal them from their enemies.

On the 13th of March, the pursuivants came to Newhaven. Governor Leet stated all the circumstances to his council, and asked their advice, respecting what ought to be done; but, after he and they had been together

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under the great seal of England. It confirmed to it the whole tract of country, granted by king Charles the first, unto the earl of Warwick, and which was the next year by him assigned unto Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others. The patent granted the lands in free and common socage. The facts stated and pleaded in the petition, were recognized in the charter, nearly in the same words, as reasons of the royal grant, and of the ample privileges which it conveyed.

The company were authorized to have a common seal; to appoint judicatories; make freemen; constitute officers; establish laws; impose fines; assemble the inhabitants in martial array, for the common defence; and, in cases of necessity, to exercise martial law.

It was ordained by the charter, that all the king's subjects, in the colony, should enjoy the privileges of free and natural subjects, within the realm of England, and that the patent should always have the most favourable construction, for the benefit of the governor and company. By it, the restored monarch established a free representative government, or rather confirmed that which the people, twenty-three years before, had established by their own authority, and ever since acted upon. Every power, legislative, judicial, and

five or six hours, they dispersed, without doing any thing. The governor declared that they could not act, without calling a general assembly of the freemen.

The tradition is, that the pursuivants searched Mr. Davenport's house, and also other houses, where they suspected the regicides to be concealed; but they never could find them.

Whalley and Goffe, after the search which had been made for them at Newhaven, left Mr. Davenport's, and took up their quarters with Mr. William Jones, son-in-law to governor Eaton. There they secreted themselves until the 11th of May. Thence they removed to a mill, in the environs of the town. For a short time, they made their quarters in the woods, and fixed themselves in a cave, in the side of a hill, which they named Providence Hill.

To prevent any damage to Mr. Davenport, or the colony, they came into the town openly, and offered to deliver up themselves, to save their friends: but their friends neither desired nor advised them to adopt so dangerous a measure. They hoped to save themselves and the colony harmless, without such a sacrifice; and were not disappointed.

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executive, was invested in the freemen of the corporation, or their delegates, and the colony was under no obligation to communicate its legislative acts to the national sovereign.

This charter has remained without any material alteration to the present day. Its enemies represent it as being in practice a virtual aristocracy. These charges are not supported by the fruits which have been gathered from it. These have been justice, order, peace, and happiness.

An unchecked popular government, existing for a hundred and seventy years, in its primitive simplicity, purity, and energy, answering all the legitimate ends for which social compacts have been formed, is a rare phenomenon in the political world. Such has been the colony and state of Connecticut. Its chartered liberties have been attacked by British kings; its early peace was interrupted by hostile Indians, and threatened by the adjacent French colony of Canada. These have all been honourably and successfully resisted. It was seriously distressed by British invasions, in the revolutionary war: but its internal peace has been preserved, and its constitution has continued under all changes, with undiminished energy. The people of Connecticut were nearly as free before the American revolution, as they have been since.

The charter of Connecticut comprehended Newhaven, though a distinct colony. The latter for some time declined the proposed union; but dangers pressing on all sides, the consolidation of the two colonies was happily effected, in 1665. The town of Branford was so dissatisfied with the union, that the inhabitants, with Mr. Pierson their minister, moved off in a body to Newark, in New Jersey. They carried off the records of the church and town; and, after it had been settled about twenty-five years, left it so destitute of inhabitants, that for many years there was no church formed in the town. People, from various parts of the colony, gradually moved into it, and purchased the lands of the first planters, so that in about twenty years it was re-settled, and, in 1685, was re-invested with town privileges.

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The union of the two colonies was a happy event. It greatly contributed to the convenience, strength, peace, and welfare of the inhabitants of both.

While the negotiations for the union of Connecticut and Newhaven were pending, measures were concerted in England for the conquest of the New Netherlands. In 1664, colonel Nichols appeared before New Amsterdam, and without bloodshed obtained its surrender. This was the more easily accomplished, as it was well known, that the New Englanders, by previous arrangement, were ready to add their force to that of Nichols, so as to make resistance hopeless on the part of the New Amsterdamers. Thus fell the Dutch power in the New Netherlands, to the great joy of English America. This henceforward extended in unbroken continuity, from New Hampshire to Carolina.

Connecticut had but a short respite from political anxiety. In about eleven years, after the conquest of New Amsterdam had freed the New Englanders from troublesome neighbours, they had to encounter a fierce and bloody war, with the Indians, under Philip, one of their most celebrated chiefs. The particulars of this shall be hereafter related. This had scarcely terminated, when the projects of the Stuart kings of England, for consolidating their colonies under a general government, at the expense of their liberties and charters, began to be developed.

In the last years of the reign of king Charles the second, the rights of the nation were violated, and a great number of corporations in England and Wales were deprived of their charters. King James the second began his reign, with the most flagrant violation of the laws. He proceeded in the same lawless manner with the colonies, to vacate the colonial charters.

In 1685, a quo warranto was issued against the governor and company of Connecticut, requiring their appearance before him within eight days of St. Martin's, to show by what warrant they exercised certain powers and privileges.

The governor called a special assembly, to consult what

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should be done for the preservation of the rights of the colony.

The assembly addressed a letter to his majesty, beseeching him to pardon their faults in government, and continue them a distinct colony, in the full enjoyment of their privileges. Especially they besought him to recal the writ of quo warranto, which had been issued against them. They pleaded the charter which they received of his royal brother, and made the strongest professions of loyalty.

On the 21st of July, 1686, two writs of quo warranto were delivered to Treat, governor of Connecticut; but the time for appearance before his majesty was past, before the writ arrived.

Upon the reception of the writs, the assembly appointed Mr. Whiting to be their agent, to present their petition to the king. He was instructed to represent the great injury which the colonists would sustain by the suspension of their charter: and if Connecticut could not be continued a distinct government, to supplicate his majesty to continue to them the enjoyment of their property, their houses and lands, and especially their religious privileges.

A second writ of quo warranto was served on the governor and company, requiring their appearance before his majesty. The design of the king was to reunite all the colonies to the crown. James the second wantonly trampled on the constitution, laws, and liberties of the nation. The most humble petitions, arguments from reason, charters the most solemn, compacts and royal promises, appeals derived from justice, humanity, or other considerations had no weight or influence with him. Nearly fifty corporations in England had been deprived of their charters. The city of London and the corporation of Bermudas had stood trial, and their charters had been taken from them. The charter of Massachusetts had been vacated, and Rhode Island had submitted to his majesty. These events, though discouraging, did not produce despair, nor relax exertions. The governor and company of Connecticut spared no pains for the preservation of their chartered rights.

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A special assembly was called, but they knew not what course to steer. They, with the colonies in general, were in great distress, lest, after all their expense, hardships, and dangers in settling and defending the country, they should not only be deprived of their civil and religious liberties, but even of their houses and lands. There was no security for any thing under a prince like James the second. He had indeed, in his letters, promised them the preservation of all their liberties; yet, without any fault on their part, he was arbitrarily wresting them from their hands. It is difficult to conceive, and much more to express the anxiety of the people.

Mr. Whiting exerted himself in England against a general governor of the colonies, and especially to prevent the suspension of the government of Connecticut, according to charter: but he found his utmost exertions to be in vain.

Mr. Dudley, while president of the royal commissioners, had written to the governor and company, advising them to resign the charter into the hands of his majesty, and promising to use his influence in favour of the colony. Mr. Dudley's commission was superseded by a commission to Sir Edmund Andross, to be governor of New England. The latter arrived at Boston, on the 19th of December, 1686, and took on him the administration of government. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to the governor and company, that he had a commission from his majesty to receive their charter, if they would resign it: and he pressed them, to give him an opportunity to serve them by a voluntary resignation. At this session of the assembly, the governor of Connecticut received another letter from Andross, stating, that he was assured by recent advices from England, that judgment was by that time entered upon the quo warranto against the charter, and that he soon expected to receive his majesty's commands respecting them. He urged them to accept his majesty's favour, so graciously offered them, in case of their prompt compliance with his wishes. Colonel Dungan, governor of New York, used his influence to persuade them to resign. But the colony insisted on their

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rights, and would not surrender their charter. In their petition to the king, they prayed for the continuance of their chartered rights; but desired, if this could not be obtained, and it should be resolved to put them under another government, that it might be under Massachusetts. This was construed into a resignation, though nothing could be further from the design of the colony.

The assembly met, as usual, in October, and the government continued, according to charter, until the last of the month. About this time, Sir Edmund, with his suit, and sixty regular troops, came to Hartford, demanded the charter, and declared the government under it to be dissolved. The assembly was slow to surrender the charter, or to adopt any motion to bring it about. The tradition is, that governor Treat represented the great expense and hardships of the colonists, in planting the country; the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against the savages and foreigners; the hardships and dangers to which he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was giving up his life, to surrender the patent and privileges so dearly bought, and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated, and kept in suspense until the evening, when the charter was brought, and laid upon the table, where the assembly was sitting. By this time, great numbers of people, sufficiently bold to enterprise whatever might be necessary or expedient, were assembled. The lights were instantly extinguished, and captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow tree, fronting the house of Samuel Wyllys. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were relighted: but the patent was gone; and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person who had conveyed it away. Sir Edmund assumed the government, and the records of the colony were closed, in the following words:

"At a general court at Hartford, October 31st, 1687, his excellency Sir Edmund Andross, knight and captain general, and governor of his majesty's territories and dominions in

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New England, by order from his majesty James the second, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, on the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of the colony of Connecticut, it being by his majesty annexed to Massachusetts, and other colonies, under his excellency's government." "Finis."

Sir Edmund, considering himself as the legal governor, appointed officers, civil and military, through the colony, according to his pleasure. He had a council, at first consisting of about forty persons, and afterwards of nearly fifty. Of this number, governor Treat, John Fitz Winthrop, Wait Winthrop, and John Allen, were of Connecticut.

Sir Edmund began his government with the most flattering professions of his regard to the public safety and happiness: but he soon began to play the tyrant.

The fees of all officers, under this new administration, were exorbitant. The common fee, for the probate of a will, was fifty shillings. The widow and fatherless, how distant soever, were obliged to appear at Boston, to transact all business relative to the settlement of estates.

Sir Edmund, without an assembly, or even a majority of his council, taxed the people at pleasure. He and Randolph, with four or five others of his creatures, managed the affairs of government as they pleased. But these were only the beginnings of oppression.

In 1688, Sir Edmund was made governor of New York, as well as of New England; and the same kind of government was exercised in that department. As the charters were now either vacated, surrendered, or the government under them suspended, it was declared that the titles of the colonists to their lands were of no value. No dangers, disbursements, nor labours, in cultivating a wilderness; no grants by charters, nor by legislatures; no declarations of preceding kings, nor of his then present majesty, promising them the quiet enjoyment of their houses and lands; nor fifty or sixty years undisturbed possession, were pleas of any validity, with Sir Edmund. The purchasers and cultivators, after fifty and sixty years improvement, were obliged to take out patents for

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their estates. For these, in some instances, a fee of fifty pounds was demanded. Writs of intrusion were issued against persons of principal character, who would not submit to such impositions; and their lands were patented to others.

Andross and a small number of his council, in the most arbitrary manner, fined and imprisoned numbers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts. All town meetings were prohibited, except one in the month of May. No person was suffered to go out of the country, without leave from the governor. He and his dependents oppressed the people, and enriched themselves, without restraint. All New England groaned under their oppression. Robert Treat, governor by previous popular election, as a father to the people, felt for them in their distresses. The other gentlemen, who were of the council, and had the principal management of affairs in Connecticut, were lovers of justice, and of their fellow subjects. As far as was practicable, they governed the colony according to the former laws and customs. The people were patient and peaceable, though in great fear and despondency. They were well informed of the transactions of the neighbouring colonies, and expected soon to share with them in their miseries. All the motives to great actions, to industry, economy, and enterprise, were, in a great degree, annihilated. A general inactivity and languishment pervaded the whole public body. Liberty, property, and every thing which ought to be dear to men, grew more and more insecure.

Scarcely any thing could be more gloomy than the state of public affairs in New England, at the beginning of the year 1689: but, in the midst of darkness, light arose. On the 5th of November, 1688, the prince of Orange landed at Torbay, in England. He immediately published a declaration of his design, in visiting the kingdom. A copy of this was received, in April, 1689, at Boston, by Mr. Winslow, a gentleman from Virginia. Governor Andross and his council were so alarmed, that they ordered Mr. Winslow to be arrested, and committed to gaol, for bringing into the country a false and traitorous libel. They also issued a proclamation, commanding all the officers and people to be in readiness to prevent

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the landing of any forces, which the prince of Orange might send into that part of America: but the people, who sighed under their burdens, secretly wished and prayed for success to his undertaking. The leaders, in the country, determined quietly to wait the event; but the inhabitants had less patience. In Boston, they took Andross prisoner, and resumed their former government.

On the 9th of May, 1689, governor Treat, and the former magistrates, at the desire of the freemen, resumed the government of Connecticut. The freemen voted that, for the present, "they would re-establish government, as it was at the time when Sir Edmund Andross took it."

Upon the 26th of the same month, a ship arrived at Boston, with advice that William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England. The news soon reached Connecticut. Never was there greater or more general joy in New England, than upon this occasion. The fears of the people were dissipated, and joy brightened in every countenance.

The legislature addressed king William, in the most loyal and dutiful manner. They represented, "that the Lord, who sitteth king upon the floods, had separated his enemies from him, as he divided the waters of Jordan before his chosen people;" and, "that, by the great actions which he had performed, in rescuing the nation from popery and despotism, God had begun to magnify him, as he did Joshua, in the sight of all Israel." They declared, "that it was because the Lord loved his people, that he had exalted him to be king over them, to execute justice and judgment." They most humbly presented their grateful acknowledgments to him, for his zeal for the welfare of the nation. At the same time, they represented to his majesty the charter privileges, which they had obtained, and the manner in which Sir Edmund Andross had suppressed their ancient government; that they had never surrendered their charter; and that, to avoid the inconveniences of having no government, and for their defence against their enemies, they had, at the desire of the freemen, resumed the government, according to its ancient form. They hum-

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bly prayed for his majesty's directions, and his gracious confirmation of their charter rights.

While the revolution delivered the nation from vassalage and popery, it involved it in an immediate war with France, and also the colonies, in a French and Indian war. A large number of troops, and a considerable fleet, were sent from France, in 1689, with a special view to the reduction of New York; but the enterprise was frustrated.

Count Frontenac sent out several parties of French and Indians, against the settlements in New York and New England. The country was alarmed. The most pressing letters were sent to solicit for immediate assistance. It was requested, that Connecticut would unite with the other colonies, in raising an army, for the reduction of Canada.

The assembly determined, that there was a necessity of their utmost exertions, to prevent the settlement of the French at Albany.

For the defence of Connecticut, it was ordered, that a constant watch should be kept in the several towns, and that all the males in the colony should keep watch in their turns.

Though the colony had received no instructions from king William, confirming their charter, or directing the mode of government, yet, at the next general election, the freemen proceeded, as had been usual, to the choice of their officers.

The violation of the charters, in England, had been declared illegal and arbitrary. The charter of the city of London, and those of other corporations in Great Britain, had been restored. The case of Connecticut, respecting its charter, had been stated, and the opinions of gentlemen learned in the law had been given, "that the charter, not being surrendered under the common seal, nor any judgment of record entered against it, the same remains good and valid in law."

The joy of the people, for the re-establishment of their charter, was soon abated, by a new attack on an important right, founded thereon. Colonel Fletcher, governor of New York, was vested with plenary powers of commanding the whole militia of the neighbouring provinces. He particularly

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insisted on the immediate command of the militia of Connecticut. As this was expressly given to the colony, by charter, the legislature would not submit to his requisition.

At a special assembly, in September, 1693, the court directed a petition to be presented to his majesty king William on the subject. Major general Fitz John Winthrop was appointed agent to present it. He was instructed to make a full representation of the great hardships, expense, and dangers of the inhabitants, in planting and defending the colony, and that these had been borne wholly by themselves, without any assistance from the parent country; that it would endanger and ruin the colony, if the command of the militia should be taken from it, and given to strangers, at the distance of New York or Boston. He was also directed to represent the entire satisfaction of the colony with the present government, and the great advantages resulting from it; that the inhabitants were universally the friends of the revolution; and that, in the whole colony, there were not more than four or five malcontents. General Winthrop was also directed, so far as might be judged expedient, to plead the rights granted in the charter, especially that of commanding the militia, and the common usage, ever since the grant of the charter.

The colony wished to serve his majesty's interest, and, as far as possible, to maintain a good understanding with governor Fletcher. William Pitkin was therefore sent to New York, to treat with him, respecting the subject in dispute, until his majesty's pleasure should be further known; but no terms could be made with him, short of an absolute submission of the militia to his command. In October, Fletcher came to Hartford, while the assembly was sitting, and, in his majesty's name, demanded that they would put the militia under his command; and that they would give him a speedy answer, in a word, either yes, or no. He subscribed himself, "his majesty's lieutenant, and commander in chief of the militia, and of all the forces, by sea or land, and of all the forts and places of strength, in the colony of Connecticut." He ordered the militia of Hartford under arms, that he might beat up for volunteers. The assembly insisted, that

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the command of the militia was expressly vested, by charter, in the governor and company of the colony, and that they could not resign it into other hands.

Upon this, colonel Bayard, by Fletcher's command, sent a letter into the assembly, declaring that he had no design upon the civil rights of the colony; but would leave them, in all respects, as he found them. He also tendered a commission to governor Treat, empowering him to command the militia of the colony; but insisted that they should acknowledge it an essential right, inherent in his majesty, to command the militia; and that he was determined not to set his foot out of the colony, until he had seen his majesty's commission obeyed.

The assembly would not give up, nor would governor Treat receive a commission from colonel Fletcher.

The trainbands of Hartford assembled, and, as the tradition is, while captain Wadsworth, the senior officer, was walking in the front of the companies, and exercising the soldiers, colonel Fletcher ordered his commission and instructions to be read. Wadsworth commanded the drummers to beat. This was done with so much spirit, that nothing else could be heard. Fletcher commanded silence, and Bayard began to read. Wadsworth renewed his command to the drummers. They understood their business, and beat up with all their might. After some time, Wadsworth commanded silence, and addressed Fletcher thus: "If I be interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment;" and at the same time commanded the drummers to beat. The address to Fletcher was delivered with so much energy of voice and manner, that no further attempts were made to read the commission, or to enlist men.

Major general Winthrop, on his arrival in England, presented to king William the petition, with which he had been entrusted.

His majesty's attorney and solicitor general gave their opinion in favour of the right of Connecticut, to command the militia: and his majesty, in council, determined according to the report which they had made. A second attempt,

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on the chartered rights of the people of Connecticut, was thus successfully parried.

A third attempt of the same kind was made and defeated in about six years afterwards. Dudley, governor of Massachusetts, Lord Cornbury, governor of New York, and others, combined to rob Connecticut of its charter, and subject it to their government. It appears from the letters and acts on file, that Dudley wished to unite New England under his own government. At the same time, he flattered Lord Cornbury, that, if they could effect the re-union of all the chartered governments to the crown, he should not only have the government of the southern colonies, but of Connecticut. Dudley was a man of great intrigue and duplicity, well versed in court affairs, and had powerful connections in England. He had been connected with Sir Edmund Andross, in the government of New England, and was an enemy to the rights of the colony. He united his influence with the court party, to vacate all the charters in America, and so far succeeded, that, in the latter part of the reign of king William, a bill was prepared for re-uniting all the charter governments to the crown. Early in the reign of queen Anne, this was brought into parliament. It imported that the charters given to the several colonies in New England, east and west New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Carolina, were prejudicial and repugnant to the trade of the kingdom, the welfare of his majesty's subjects in the other plantations, and to his majesty's revenue; and therefore enacted, "that all powers derived from them should be re-vested in the crown."

Sir Henry Ashurst, agent for Connecticut, preferred a petition to parliament, representing, that said bill would do great injustice to the inhabitants of Connecticut. He therefore humbly prayed to be heard by council, at the bar of the house, in their behalf. This was granted.

Sir Henry raised all possible opposition to the passing of the bill. Representations were made, not only of the ample rights and privileges granted to Connecticut by charter, but that they were granted for important considerations, and

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particular services performed; that the inhabitants, at great expense and danger, had purchased, subdued, and planted an extensive country; had defended it against the Dutch, French, and other enemies of the nation; had enlarged his majesty's dominions, and increased commerce; that the charter not only gave the inhabitants powers of government, but secured the title of their land and tenements; and that in these views, the passing of the bill would be an act of great injustice; would be ruinous to the colony, and prejudicial to the general interest. These various considerations operated so powerfully against the bill, that it could not be carried through.

Governor Dudley and Lord Cornbury, however, were not discouraged. They determined to make an open and powerful opposition to the charter, by a direct impeachment of the colony of high misdemeanors. They were powerful enemies. Lord Cornbury was nearly related to her majesty queen Anne, and had many friends at court.

Dudley employed Mr. Bulkley to write against the government. He drew up a large folio book, which he termed, "the doom, or miseries of Connecticut." In this, he not only criminated the colony, but expatiated on the advantages of a general government of New England, and highly recommended the government of Sir Edmund Andross.

Among other complaints, the principal articles particularly charged were, that the colony did not observe the acts of trade and navigation; and that it would not furnish its quota, for the fortification of Massachusetts against the French and Indians. Finally it was charged, that the legislature had made a law, that Christians who were not of their communion should not meet to worship God, without license from their assembly; which law extended even to members of the church of England, as well as to Christians of other denominations.

Queen Anne, deceived by these representations, granted a commission to Joseph Dudley and others, authorising them to hear and determine the whole matter. On the 12th of February, 1705, the hearing came on before her majesty in council. Governor Dudley and Lord Cornbury had

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spared no pains, to carry their point before her majesty. Dudley had been careful to procure and lay before her, an opinion of the attorney general, in king William's reign, "that he might send a governor to Connecticut."

Her majesty had directed Sir Henry Ashurst to appear, and show reasons, if any he had, why she should not appoint a governor over the colony. He considered every thing dear to it at stake, and therefore made exertions in some measure proportionate to the magnitude of the cause, and defended the colony, with all his resources, against the art and intrigue of its adversaries.

Dudley, Cornbury, and their abettors, were unable to support the charges, which they had brought forward. At the same time, the legislature of Connecticut was able to produce the most substantial evidence, that the very reverse of what had been alleged was true.

Meanwhile, Dudley and Cornbury never lost sight of their object; but vigorously prosecuted the design of subverting the government. There had been, nearly fifty years before, a law enacted against the Quakers; but it does not appear, that it had ever been acted upon in Connecticut, and was at that time become obsolete. Governor Dudley by some means obtained a copy of the law, and procured a publication of it in Boston. The knowledge of it was communicated to the Quakers in England, and they were spirited up to petition for its repeal. Sir Henry Ashurst presented a petition to the lords of trade and plantation, to whom the petition of the Quakers had been referred. He represented that the law was obsolete, and that Quakers lived as peaceably in Connecticut, as in any of her majesty's plantations.

Queen Anne, upon the advice of the lords of trade and plantation, declared the act against the Quakers null and void; but took no farther notice of the matter.

Connecticut had scarcely recovered from anxiety about her charter, when troubles of another kind flowed in upon her. Such reports of the preparations of the French and Indians, to make a descent upon some part of New England,

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were spread abroad, in 1707 and 1708, as gave a general alarm to the country, and induced a necessity for fortifying the frontier towns.

In 1709, a letter was laid before the assembly, from queen Anne, relative to an expedition against the enemy. The design was the reduction of the French in Canada, Acadia, and Newfoundland. The letters from the earl of Sunderland, advising that her majesty would despatch a squadron of ships to Boston, by the middle of May, with five regiments of regular troops, required Connecticut to raise three hundred and fifty men. The governments eastward of Connecticut were required to raise twelve hundred men, and to furnish them with transports, flat-bottomed boats, pilots, and provisions for three months service. With this force, it was designed to make an attack upon Quebec. At the same time, it was proposed to raise fifteen hundred men in the governments of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and the southern colonies. This corps was to make a descent upon the island of Montreal.

The legislature of Connecticut voted and raised their quota with expedition. Colonel Whiting was appointed to its command.

All the colonies, except Pennsylvania, furnished their quotas. The troops, with provisions, transports, and articles necessary for the enterprise, were ready in season. The provincials from the eastern colonies were prepared to sail for Quebec, by the 20th of May. The colonies made great exertions for the public service. Besides their quotas, independent companies were raised, and sent on to the army. More than a hundred batteaux, and an equal number of birch canoes, were constructed for crossing the lake. Three forts, several block houses, and stores for provisions were erected. But the armament expected from England did not arrive, and the expedition was defeated. This fruitless undertaking was highly injurious to the colonies. One quarter of the troops died. It also occasioned the first emission of paper money in Connecticut.

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On the 8th of June, 1709, it was enacted, "that, to assist in the expedition, for want of money otherwise to carry it on, there be forthwith imprinted a certain number of bills of credit, which, in the whole, shall amount to the sum of 8,000*l.* and no more." It was enacted, that the bills should be issued from the treasury as money; but should be received in payments, at one shilling on the pound better than money. Taxes were imposed for calling in the one half of it, within the term of one year, and the other at the expiration of two years.

The expectations of the people, in the spring, had been wrought up to a high degree of assurance, that Canada would be reduced before the close of the campaign: but as nothing resulted, except loss and disappointment, the chagrin and depression were proportionably great.

But, nevertheless, the importance of driving the French from Canada induced the colonies to keep that object still in view. A congress of governors was appointed, and met at Rehoboth, to deliberate on the subject. An address to her majesty was agreed upon, representing the great exertions of the colonies in her service; the importance of reducing the French, in North America; and praying her majesty to grant the colonies an armament adequate to the design.

General Nicholson went to England, in the autumn of 1709, on the same business, to solicit a force against Canada. In consequence of these united applications, great expectations were formed, that an expedition against Canada would be resumed. However, it finally proved, that the reduction of Port Royal and Nova Scotia was the only object. This was easily accomplished.

Nicholson, animated with this success, made a second voyage to England, to solicit another expedition against Canada. Having succeeded, he arrived at Boston, in June, with the news that a fleet might soon be expected from England, and with her majesty's orders, that the several governments of New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, should have their respective quotas in immediate readiness for the expedition.

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When the fleet arrived at Boston, the governors were assembled in convention at New London, employed in concerting measures for prosecuting the expedition with energy and despatch.

In a little more than a month from the arrival of the fleet, the new levies and provisions for that and the army were ready. Upon the 30th of July, the whole armament sailed from Boston for Canada. It consisted of fifteen men of war, twelve directly from England, and three which had before been stationed in America, forty transports, six store ships, and a fine train of artillery, with all kinds of warlike stores. The land army on board consisted of five regiments from England and Flanders, and two regiments, raised in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, amounting, in the whole, to seven thousand men.

Upon the same day on which the fleet sailed from Boston, general Nicholson began his journey for Albany, where, a few days after, he appeared at the head of four thousand men, from the colonies of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. Thus, in about five weeks, the colonies had raised two considerable armies, and furnished them with provisions.

Admiral Walker arrived in the mouth of the St. Lawrence, on the 14th of August. In eight days afterwards, about midnight, the seamen discovered that they were driven upon the north shore, among rocks, and upon the verge of a total shipwreck. Eight or nine of the British transports were cast away, on board of which were about seventeen hundred officers and soldiers. Nearly a thousand men were lost. It was determined, by a council of land and naval officers, as they had but ten weeks' provision, to make no further attempt. The admiral sailed directly for England, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 9th of October.

The admiral and English officers, to exculpate themselves, laid the blame wholly upon the colonies; stating, that they had delayed, in furnishing provisions, and raising the provincial troops required; and that the pilots, furnished by them, were unskilful. The Admiral declared that it was the advice of the pilots, that the fleet should come to in the manner it

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did; but the pilots from New England declared upon oath that they gave no such advice.

General Nicholson had not advanced far, before he received intelligence of the loss sustained by the fleet and the army, and soon after returned.

Many pious people, after so many attempts had been blasted, gave up all expectations of the conquest of Canada. They imagined it was not the design of Providence, that this northern continent should ever wholly belong to any one nation.

The expedition was not renewed, and, in 1713, peace was established between Great Britain and France.

The expense of this war was very considerable. Some years, the colony paid a tax of seven pence and eight pence in the pound, on its whole taxable list. Besides, it was found necessary to emit, at several times, between June, 1709, and October, 1713, 33,500*l.* in bills of credit. Provision had been made, by acts of assembly, for the calling in of the whole, within the term of seven years from the termination of the war. The emissions were all in the same form, and, by a law of the colony, the bills of each were to be received in all payments at the treasury, at five per cent better than money, or more than expressed on the face of the bill. In all other payments, it was enacted, that they should be received as money. So small was the sum, and such was the advance at which the bills were received at the treasury, that they appear to have suffered little or no depreciation.

Connecticut had now, 1713, been settled about eighty years. Notwithstanding the many wars, numerous hardships, and difficulties, with which it had almost continually to combat, its progress, in numbers, plantations, husbandry, wealth, and commerce, was considerable.

Within the colony, and under its jurisdiction, were thirty-eight taxable towns; and forty sent deputies.

The grand list of the colony was 281,083*l.* The militia amounted to nearly four thousand effective men. The number of inhabitants was about seventeen thousand.

The shipping consisted of two brigantines, about twenty

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sloops, and some other small vessels. The number of seamen did not exceed a hundred and twenty.

The expense of government was very inconsiderable. The salary of the governor was 200*l.* and that of the deputy governor 50*l.* The whole expense of the civil list did not exceed eight hundred pounds annually.

The style of living, and the domestic economy of the public officers, the clergy, and of the inhabitants in general, were in great republican simplicity.

The manufactures of Connecticut, at this time, were very inconsiderable. There was but one clothier in the colony. The most he could do, was to full the cloth which was made. A great proportion of it was worn without shearing or pressing.

The trade of the colony was inconsiderable. The only articles exported directly from it to Great Britain, were turpentine, pitch, tar, and fur: but these more generally were sent directly to Boston or New York, and were exchanged for such European goods as were consumed in the colony. Its principal trade was with Boston, New York, and the West Indies. To the two former, they exported the produce of the colony, wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, peas, pork, beef, and fat cattle.

To the West Indies, the merchants exported horses, staves, hoops, pork, beef, and cattle. In return, they received rum, sugar, molasses, cotton, wool, bills of exchange, and sometimes small sums of money. But little more was imported than was found necessary for home consumption.

The people of Connecticut, though in a state of infancy, displayed great firmness, magnanimity, and perseverance, in defending their rights. The sufferings and dangers they underwent, the blood and treasure they expended, in settling and defending the country, and their early and unceasing care, amidst surrounding difficulties, to plant the seeds of religion, liberty, and virtuous, orderly conduct, combine to give an incalculable value to the fair inheritance they have transmitted to their descendants.

After the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, Connecticut had a respite from the enemies of her charter. The Indians were so

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far subdued, as no longer to be formidable. Her neighbours, on all sides, with the exception of the French, were, by birth or conquest, subjects of the same king. The colony enjoyed peace and happiness, with very little exception, till the war of 1756, between France and England, disturbed the tranquillity of North America. In it, Connecticut, being only partially exposed, suffered less than some of her neighbours; but she steadily co-operated with them in the common cause. The events of this war, and the termination of it, are elsewhere related. The peace of Paris, in 1763, placed Connecticut on high ground. For the next twelve years, she enjoyed unparalleled prosperity; but, at the end of that period, was involved in a revolutionary war, for defence of the rights, which she had enjoyed from the first moments of her political existence.

Connecticut was settled with a particular view to religion. The first churches, though their numbers were small, commonly supported two ministers. The six first towns in Connecticut, and Newhaven, enjoyed the constant labour of ten able ministers. This was as much as one minister to about fifty families. As other towns settled, churches were gathered, and ministers installed, or ordained. Fourteen or fifteen of these first ministers had been episcopally ordained in England, before they came into America.

With respect to their religious sentiments, they were Puritans, a name of reproach, to distinguish and stigmatize those who did not conform to the liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the church of England. They were strictly Calvinistic. In discipline, they were Congregationalists, and dissented from the national establishment.

Several of the ministers of Connecticut were distinguished for literature and piety. Mr. Hooker, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Stone,* and some others, were men of great learning and

* These three clergymen were invited to return to England, to assist in the deliberations of the assembly of divines, which, about the middle of the seventeenth century, met at Westminster, and, among other things, formed the well-known catechisms, commonly called the larger, shorter, and proof catechisms; which have ever since been a manual of instruction, in many thousands of families, both in Great Britain and America.

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abilities. They were all men of the strictest morals. They were diligent and laborious, in catechising and instructing the children and young people, both in public and private. They paid a constant attention to the religion of their families. They read the scriptures and prayed in them daily, morning and evening.

The people, who followed them into the wilderness, imbibed the same spirit and sentiments. Several of them, Haynes, Hopkins, Wyllys, Ludlow, Wolcott, Eaton, Gregson, Desborough, Leet, and others, were men of great eminence, and ably filled the highest offices in their respective colonies. Their governors, magistrates, and leading men were, for the most part, strictly moral, and exemplary in their lives and conversations. Instances of intemperance, or any other gross immorality, were unknown among the highest ranks, and very rare among the lowest. Morality and a strict attention to religious duties were fashionable, and had the support of public opinion.

The pastors and churches of New England maintained, that bishops and presbyters were only different names for the same office, and that all pastors, regularly separated to the gospel ministry, were scripture bishops.

The fathers of Connecticut, as to politics, were republicans. They rejected, with abhorrence, the doctrines of the divine right of kings, passive obedience, and non-resistance. With Sidney, Hampden, and other great writers, they believed that all civil power and government was originally in the people. Upon these principles, they formed their civil constitutions.

Upon an average, there was not less than one minister to every four hundred and thirty souls. In some of the plantations, thirty families supported a minister. That the first churches and congregations, notwithstanding their poverty, hardships, dangers, and expense in settling a wilderness, should maintain such a number of ministers, strongly marks their character. It affords a striking evidence of their zeal for religion.

The most perfect harmony subsisted between the legisla-

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ture and the clergy. The governors, magistrates, and leading men esteemed and venerated the clergy. The clergy had the highest veneration for their civil rulers, and spared no pains to maintain their authority. Thus they grew in each other's esteem, and mutually supported and increased each other's influence and usefulness.

Many of the clergy, who first came into the country, had good estates, and assisted their poor brethren and parishioners, in their straits, while making new settlements. The clergy possessed a very great proportion of the literature of the colony. They were the principal instructors of the young gentlemen of the country, till they commenced members of college; and they assisted them in their studies, subsequent to their graduation. They instructed and furnished others for public usefulness, who had not a public education. By their example, counsels, exhortations, and money, they assisted and encouraged the people. The people, who came into the country with them, had a high relish for religion. They were exiles and fellow-sufferers in a strange land. These and other circumstances combined to give the clergy an uncommon influence over their hearers, of all ranks and characters. For many years, they were consulted by the legislature, in all affairs of importance, civil or religious. They were appointed on committees, with the governors and magistrates, to advise and assist them in the most delicate and interesting concerns of the commonwealth. In no government have the clergy had more influence, or been treated with more generosity and respect by the civil rulers, and people in general, than in Connecticut*.

* The reverend Gurdon Saltonstal, great grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstal, while in the exercise of his clerical functions, was elected governor of Connecticut, by the freemen of the province, and continued to be uninterruptedly elected, for the seventeen succeeding years. Previous to this election, and to prepare the way for it, the assembly repealed the law, which required that the governor should be chosen from among the magistrates in nomination.

Connecticut has shewn its respect for religion, by exempting towns, which were building meeting houses, from taxation; and the clergy generally from taxation of their persons and property.

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An early provision was made by law, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for the support of the ministry. In Connecticut, all persons were obliged to contribute to the support of the church, as well as the commonwealth. All rates respecting the support of ministers, or any ecclesiastical affairs, were to be made and collected in the same manner as the rates of the respective towns. Special care was taken, that all persons should attend the means of public instruction. The law obliged them to be present at the public worship on Sundays, and all days of public fasting, and prayer, and of thanksgiving, appointed by civil authority, on penalty of a fine of five shillings. The congregational churches were adopted and established by law; but provision was made, that all sober, orthodox persons, dissenting from them, should, upon the manifestation of it to the general court, be allowed peaceably to worship in their own way.

In the grant of all new townships, special care was taken by the legislature, that the planters should not be without a minister, and the stated administration of gospel ordinances.

Every town, consisting of fifty families, was obliged by the laws to maintain a good school, in which reading and writing should be well taught: and in every county town a good grammar school was instituted. Large tracts of land were given and appropriated by the legislature, to afford them a permanent support.

The select men of every town were obliged by law, to keep a vigilant eye upon the inhabitants, and to take care that all the heads of families should instruct their children and servants, to read the English tongue well; and that, once every week, they should catechise them in the principles of religion. The penalty, for every instance of neglect in this respect, was twenty shillings for any family so neglecting. The select men were also authorized to take care, that all families should be well furnished with bibles, orthodox catechisms, and books on practical godliness. It was provided by the legislature, that the capital laws should be read weekly in every family.

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The colony of Newhaven, from the beginning, made provision for the interests of religion, learning, and the good conduct of the inhabitants, with no less zeal than Connecticut.

The care and piety of the first planters did not rest here; but they were careful, as soon as their circumstances were adequate, to found public seminaries, in which young men might be prepared for the ministry, and all places of importance in civil or religious life.

By these means, knowledge, at an early period, was generally diffused among people of all ranks. This abundant public and private instruction, and constant attention to the morals, industry, and good conduct of the inhabitants, have been the means of that general illumination, which has always been observable among the people of Connecticut, and of that high degree of civil, ecclesiastical, and domestic peace and order, which, for so long a period, have rendered them eminent among their neighbours. In this way, they have been formed, not only to virtue, but to industry, economy, and enterprise.

For many years, there were no sectaries in Connecticut. The churches, in general, enjoyed great peace and harmony, during the continuance of the first ministers and settlers: but these being dead or removed, and a new generation having risen up, who had not all imbibed the sentiments and spirit of their pious fathers, the general state of the country was greatly altered. The people, at first, were generally church members, and eminently pious. They loved strict religion, and followed their ministers into the wilderness for its sake. But, with many of their children, and with others, who had since arrived in the country, the case was different. They had made no open profession of religion, and their children were not baptized. They wished for the honours and privileges of church members for themselves, and baptism for their children, though destitute of the qualifications deemed necessary by some of their ministers. A diversity of opinions, on this subject, led to a diversity of practice, and ended in divisions and separations. While the churches were thus

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divided, about the subjects of baptism, they were alarmed by the appearance of the Quakers, who renounced all outward baptism with water. In 1656, Connecticut passed a severe law against them, which was calculated to drive them out of the country.

While settlements and churches were forming, in various parts of the colony, and the English inhabitants were providing for their own instruction, some pains were taken to instruct and Christianize the Connecticut Indians. The ministers of the several towns, where Indians lived, instructed them as they had opportunity: but all attempts, for Christianizing the aborigines of Connecticut, were attended with but little success. They were engaged, a great part of their time, in such implacable wars among themselves, were so totally ignorant of letters, and the English language, and the ministers, in general, were so entirely ignorant of their dialect, that it was extremely difficult to teach them. Not one Indian church was ever gathered by the ministers in Connecticut. Several Indians, however, in some of the towns, became Christians, were baptized, and admitted to full communion in the churches.

The gospel had the most happy effect upon the Quinibaug or Plainfield Indians. Many of these were reformed, as to their manner of living. They became temperate, and held religious meetings. Numbers of them joined the church, and had the sacraments administered to them.*

* In 1650, a society in England, instituted for propagating the gospel, began a correspondence with the commissioners of the united colonies, who were employed as agents for the society. This greatly assisted the exertions which were then making to Christianize the Indians. The Rev. Mr. Eliot, minister of Roxbury, had distinguished himself in this pious work. He had established towns, in which he collected Indian families, taught them husbandry, the mechanic arts, and a prudent management of their affairs; and instructed them, with unwearied attention, in the principles of the Christian religion. His zeal and success have justly obtained for him the title of an apostle.

He began his labours about the year 1646. The first pagans, who enjoyed his labours, resided at Nonantum, now the east part of Newton. Being encouraged by the success of his first attempt, he soon afterwards opened a

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During the term of seventy years from the settlement of Connecticut, the Congregational had been the only mode of worship in the colony: but the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, early in the eighteenth century, fixed two or three Episcopal missionaries in the province. Both the magistrates and ministers frowned upon them, and advised the people not to attend their preaching; but the opposition only increased the zeal of their adherents. The clergy of Connecticut, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, planned and organized the college, which was finally established in Newhaven. Their leading motive was to educate young men for the ministry of the gospel. Of the first

lecture at Neponsit, within the present bounds of Dorchester. These two lectures he continued several years, without any reward or encouragement, but the satisfaction of doing good. Besides preaching to them, he formed two catechisms, one for the children, the other for adults. They readily learned these catechisms. They also seriously attended public preaching, and generally prayed in their families, morning and evening.

After a number of years, certain individuals in England, affected by the pious and disinterested labours of Mr. Eliot, raised generous contributions, for his encouragement. These he gratefully received, declaring, at the same time, that he had never expected any thing. By such timely aid, he was enabled to educate his five sons at college. All these were distinguished for their piety, and all, excepting one, who died while a member of college, were preachers of the gospel. Other ministers, in different parts of New England, influenced by the example of Mr. Eliot, zealously engaged in the missionary work.

That the natives might have the word of God in their own language, Mr. Eliot translated the Bible for their use. The New Testament was published in 1661; and the whole Bible soon after. The expense was borne by the society for propagating the gospel in New England. Mr. Eliot also composed and translated several other books on religious subjects. He took care that schools should be opened in the Indian settlements, where their children were taught to read. Some were placed in English schools, and others studied Latin and Greek. Several were sent to Cambridge university. The legislature instituted judicial courts among the natives, answering to the county courts of the colony. In these courts, one English judge was united with those chosen by the natives. They had rulers and magistrates, elected by themselves, who managed their smaller matters. In the last half of the seventeenth century, there were, in New England, twenty-four congregations, and several hundreds of praying Indians; but these, in common with others, have gradually diminished almost to extinction.

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forty-six graduates of this institution, thirty-four became preachers. The power of ordination, which has been always exercised by Congregational ministers, in Connecticut, has been discreetly used. They have ever been attentive to the morals and literary character of those whom they ordained to the pastoral office. In consequence thereof, their churches have been distinguished for a learned and pious ministry. In 1713, the number of ordained ministers in Connecticut was forty-three; or one minister to every four hundred persons, or eighty families. Their population and clergy have ever since been increasing, and in a corresponding ratio of one to the other. Churches were at all times planted so near to each other, as to make attendance on public preaching convenient to all the inhabitants. These churches, though numerous, have seldom been vacant. Such has been the state of religion in Connecticut, in every period since its first settlement.*

RHODE ISLAND.

The first settlement of Rhode Island was owing to religious persecution. Roger Williams,† on whom a sentence of banishment had been passed, in 1635, by Massachusetts, laid, in 1636, the foundation of the town of Providence. In

* For much of the information contained in the preceding pages, the author acknowledges himself indebted to the Rev. Dr. Trumbull, author of the history of Connecticut. The talents of the writer, and the merits of his subject, are proportioned to each other; for, the history of one of the best governed states, in the Union, has been ably written, by one of the most accurate and faithful historians in the United States.

† Roger Williams, the father of Providence Plantation, was born in Wales, in 1599, and was educated at Oxford. After having been for some time a minister in the church of England, his non-conformity induced him to seek religious liberty in America. He arrived at Boston, in 1631. His peculiar sentiments and conduct soon brought him before the court, where he was accused of holding several opinions, said to be injurious to the order of the church, and peace of society. As he could not be induced to retract any of them, sentence of banishment was passed upon him. He escaped, and went,

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1638, John Clarke, and others, purchased of the Indians the principal island, which was called Rhode Island, and incorporated themselves into a body politic, making choice of William Coddington as their chief magistrate. In 1644, Roger Williams, who had been sent to England, as agent, obtained a patent for the Providence plantations. They were, however, incorporated with Rhode Island. The executive power was placed in the hands of a president and four as-

with four of his friends, to Rehoboth, and, crossing the river, laid the foundation of a town, which, in acknowledgment of God's goodness to him, he called Providence. He purchased the land of the Indians, and, while he claimed liberty of conscience for himself, he granted it to others. He studied the Indian language, and used his endeavours to impart to the savages the blessings of the gospel. He had the entire confidence of the Indian sachems, and was employed by government as an agent between them and the English settlers. In this capacity, his conduct was marked with fidelity, disinterestedness, and wisdom. In 1643, he went to England, as agent for the colonists, to procure an act, confirming their voluntary government. He obtained a charter, and, returning with it, landed at Boston, in 1644. Though he was still under sentence of banishment, a letter of recommendation, from some of the principal members of parliament, secured him from any interruption, on his way to Providence. In 1651, he went again to England, as an agent for the colony, and continued there till 1654. On his return, he was chosen president of the government. In this station, he was continued till 1657. His sphere of usefulness was extensive. He was the father of one of the provinces, and a writer in favour of civil and religious freedom, more bold, just, and liberal, than any of his predecessors or contemporaries. The first of Mr. Williams's publications was a dialogue between Truth and Peace, a book of 247 pages, printed in London, 1644. It required great boldness of thinking, and uncommon abilities, to write this work. Sentiments were promulgated in it, at that time of intolerance, which were afterwards admired in the writings of Milton, Locke, and Furneau. His ideas of the right of every man to think for himself were unusually correct. The various scenes, through which he passed, did not induce any alterations of his opinions, or religious freedom. He died in 1682, in the 85th year of his age. He seems, in the early part of his residence in America, to have been governed by a blind zeal; but his memory is deserving of lasting honour, for the generous toleration which he established, and for the correctness of his opinions concerning liberty of conscience, at an early period, when all sects believed in the rectitude of using power in possession, for supporting their respective tenets. An extraordinary mode of doing honour to his memory, was adopted 120 years after his death. A bank, lately established at Providence, Rhode Island, is called "Roger Williams's Bank."

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sistants. In the year 1663, a royal charter, similar to that of Connecticut, was conferred on Rhode Island and Providence plantations. Nothing but allegiance was reserved to the king. This colony, like Connecticut, had been previously settled by emigrants, chiefly from Massachusetts, who, as an independent people, had seated themselves on land fairly obtained from the native proprietors, without any authority from the parent state, and, as such, exercised legislative powers, on democratic principles, from the year 1647.

Since the date of the charter, the form of government has suffered very little alteration. An act was passed, in 1663, declaring, that all men of competent estates and good conduct, who professed Christianity, with the exception of Roman Catholics, should be admitted freemen. In 1665, the government passed an order to outlaw Quakers, and seize their estates, because they would not bear arms: but the people would not suffer it to be carried into effect. The toleration which was practised in this colony, from the beginning, does much honour to its founders. A quo warranto was issued against the colony, in 1685. At the close of the following year, Andross took upon himself the government; but, after his imprisonment, in 1689, the charter was resumed. In the interval between this period and the American revolution, the history of Rhode Island is, for the most part, incorporated with the general history of New England. A particular local history of it has never yet been given to the public. When the revolution commenced, the population of Rhode Island was 71,959.

NORTH CAROLINA.

On the coast of Carolina, Europeans made their first attempts at settlement, in all that extensive region, which is north of Florida. The first voyages from England to the territories of the United States, and the first attempts to effect English settlements therein, were made on its coasts. To that part of the continent, Amadas, Barlow, and others, under the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, steered their

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course, in 1584, 5, 7. They who settled James Town, about twenty years after the termination of these abortive settlements, were destined for North Carolina; but, by mistake, they entered the Chesapeak, and there began that first English settlement, in the continent of America, which has expanded into the state of Virginia. By this mistake, and the failure of the preceding settlement, at Roanoke, North Carolina lost the honour of being the mother state of the Union.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, some planters emigrated from Virginia, and, with some others, began a settlement in the county of Albemarle. They found the winters mild, and the climate fertile. Every thing which they planted yielded an extraordinary increase. Their horses, cattle, swine, and sheep, multiplied exceedingly, and, as they passed the winter without fodder, their owners found themselves in easy and plentiful circumstances. Thus encouraged, this handful of settlers, dispersed over the country, and surrounded with numerous Indian tribes, determined to stand their ground. From the flattering descriptions given of the country, a considerable number of families were induced to join them. They soon had corn, beef, pork, tallow, hides, deer skins, and furs, for exportation. These they exchanged with the Bermudians and New Englanders, for rum, sugar, salt, molasses, and apparel. In 1661, another settlement was made near Cape Fear, by a number of adventurers from Massachusetts. These obtained a transfer of their lands, from the native proprietors of the soil. This, with occupancy, was reckoned by them a good title to their lands, without deeds or patents from the crown. These, in the year 1667, were in such circumstances of distress, that a general contribution was made throughout the colony of Massachusetts, for their relief.

These settlements were voluntary, and made without any authority from the mother country. The settlers were kept together, by the laws of God, of nature, and society, without any written code, or form of government. They were without the limits of Virginia, and their nearest civilized neighbours, to the southward, were the Spaniards, in St. Augus-

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tine. The country was claimed by England; and king Charles the second had adherents to provide for. He therefore granted, in the year 1663, to Lord Clarendon and others, all that tract of country, lying between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. The patented proprietors of these extensive regions, published proposals for planting their domains. They assured all who would settle in Carolina, of the most perfect freedom in religion; that they should be governed by a free assembly; and that every freeman, during the term of five years, should be allowed a hundred acres of land for himself, and fifty for every servant; paying only an acknowledgment of a half-penny per acre. The settlement of the English colonies was accidentally favourable to the rights of man. While prerogative was urged in England, and the people there were abridged of many of their civil and religious rights, the proprietors of colonies established free constitutions, to allure settlers. The seeds of liberty were thus, from a principle of avarice, planted in the soil of Carolina, and grew up, producing fruit worthy of a nobler origin.

The proprietors, by virtue of their patent, claimed all the lands of Carolina, and also jurisdiction over all who had settled on them. The settlers, in Albemarle, were put under the general superintendence of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia. He repaired to the country, confirmed the settlers in their lands, on the condition published by the proprietors, appointed civil officers, authorized the calling of a general assembly, and appointed Mr. Drummond their governor.

The inhabitants of Albemarle were not well pleased with the new order of things. They had endured the hardships and dangers of making settlements in the wilderness. They had satisfied the Indians for the lands which they occupied; and had enjoyed quiet possession for several years. To be now ejected, or to become tributary to the proprietors, was, in their opinion, inconsistent with every idea of justice. They petitioned that they might be allowed to hold their lands, on the same terms as lands were held in Virginia.

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This petition was not immediately granted, and the settlers revolted from the government of the proprietors, for nearly two years: but they returned to their duty, on receiving assurances that their petition was granted, and that Samuel Stephens, who, in 1677, had been appointed governor, was instructed to grant the lands in Albemarle, on the same terms as the lands were usually granted in Virginia. A constitution was at the same time fixed, for the government of the infant colony. A general assembly was to be constituted, which was to consist of the governor, twelve counsellors, and twelve delegates, annually chosen by the freeholders. The governor was to be appointed by the proprietors. Half the council were to be chosen by the governor, and half by the assembly. No taxes were to be imposed, without the consent of the assembly.

In 1669, governor Stephens convoked the first assembly, under this constitution. Among other laws, passed for the government of the colony, it was enacted, "None shall be sued, during five years, for any cause of action, arising out of the country; and none accept a power of attorney, to receive debts contracted abroad." This law was more calculated to add to the number, than to the morality of the settlers. It was also enacted, in the same session, "that, as there were no ministers, any two persons, carrying before the governor and council a few of their neighbours, and declaring their mutual consent, shall be deemed husband and wife."

Whilst these events were taking place, respecting the settlement in Albemarle, the settlers about Cape Fear were formed into a distinct county, by the name of Clarendon. John Yeamans, a respectable planter, from Barbadoes, was created a baronet, and appointed commander in chief of this more recent establishment. The country, now called North Carolina, was in fact formed into two distinct colonies, Albemarle and Clarendon, with a governor to each; but this subdivision was of short duration. In 1669, the proprietors turned their chief attention to a part of their patent, more to the southward than either; and, in 1670, commenced settle-

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ments at Beaufort, and, in the year following, on the banks of the Ashley. These eventuated in the establishment of a separate colony, to which the distinguishing epithet of "South" was added. Sir John Yeamans was translated to the government of this southern establishment. Clarendon and Albemarle were consolidated, and formed the germe of the present state of North Carolina. The settlers of this most northern division of Carolina located themselves along the sea coast, and on the margins of the sounds and rivers, which empty into the Atlantic. Their progress and improvement were slow. The whole province, in 1702, is said to have contained only six thousand souls. In 1710, a considerable number of Palatines were settled in and near Roanoke. Two years afterwards, or in 1712, the colony sustained a great loss of both men and property, in the horrible massacre, perpetrated by the Tuscarora and Coree Indians, the particulars of which will be elsewhere related.

The enacting style of the colony, after 1715, was, "be it enacted, by the Palatine, the lords proprietors, by and with the consent of the general assembly, now met at Little river, for the north-east of the said province."

After the settlement of South Carolina had commenced, the two adjoining colonies were distinct, so far that they had separate governors and assemblies; but united, as the property of the same proprietors. In 1729, they were completely separated; for seven of the proprietors sold their rights to the crown. This produced a new era in the history of Carolina, and added much to its peace, security, and happiness. The last of the proprietary governors of North Carolina was Sir Richard Everard. The first royal governor was George Barrington. His successors were Gabriel Johnson, 1734, 1752; Matthew Rowan, president of the council, till 1754; Arthur Dobbs, till 1764; William Tryon, till 1771; Josiah Martin, till the revolution.

The population of North Carolina was slow, for the first hundred years. Its first settlements were mostly on the low marshes, or sandy, barren sea coast. About the middle of the eighteenth century, it was ascertained, that the best land of the province lay to the west, and on or near the heads of

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the rivers. The country there was also higher and healthier, and was beautifully variegated, with hills and dales. In it, the necessaries of life were procured with facility, and in the greatest abundance. A knowledge of these circumstances induced a rapid stream of migration, from the more northern provinces, especially Pennsylvania, to the western parts of North Carolina. These were quickly filled with inhabitants, and a wilderness was subjected to immediate cultivation. Care had not been taken to co-extend religious instruction, education, and a legal administration of justice, in any degree suitable to the extent of this recent and rapid population.

Among the new comers, were several whose characters were exceptionable, and to whom the strict administration of justice was inconvenient. These inflamed the passions of others, better than themselves, almost to madness, by high coloured representations of real or supposed grievances. A pretext was furnished by taxes, which were laid to defray the salaries, and provide for the accommodation of civil officers. These taxes, together with the fees of lawyers, sheriffs, clerks, courts, and other instruments of legal justice, all said to be unreasonably high, were pronounced to be intolerable grievances. The inhabitants of these western parts, calling themselves regulators, and complaining of oppressions practised in the administration of law, and by the officers of the courts, rose in arms, to the number of fifteen hundred. To shut up the courts of justice, and destroy the lawyers, were said to be their objects. They were without proper leaders, or any concerted system of operations; and many of them without arms. Governor Tryon marched against them, with about one thousand militia, and, in a battle fought at Alamance, totally defeated them. Three hundred of the regulators were found dead, on the field. Twelve of the insurgents were tried and condemned, for high treason; and six of them were executed. The country was restored to peace, and the reign of law and justice re-established. The expense of quelling these infatuated, wicked, or misled men, for there were some of each description, was great.

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A less sum, judiciously expended in supporting and diffusing the means of civil and religious instruction, co-extensively with the advancing settlements, would probably have prevented the insurrection; especially if the real grievances of the people had been redressed, and efficient systems, for promoting justice, and punishing crimes, had been early adopted. These matters had been too much neglected. Crowds of people, rapidly brought together, several of whom were without either principle or property, and with a slender portion of information, and too often destitute of the means of being taught their civil or religious duties, were easily led astray, by artful and designing men. In four years, after this insurrection was subdued, the American revolution commenced. It was observed, that they who were the first to regulate, were the last to resist Great Britain. Having experienced the royal power to punish, they were afraid to risk its vengeance. They generally took part with the friends of the British government, and, as such, were subjected to many inconveniences. Among these, some were found, who lamented their doubly hard fate; having suffered equally when fighting for and against their king. A great majority of the province supported the cause of America; but the opposition was considerable. Few, if any, of the provinces, increased more rapidly in population, for the thirty years immediately preceding the revolution, than North Carolina. In that period, it more than trebled its numbers. In 1775, it was supposed to contain 248,139 inhabitants. It suffered less from Indian wars, than the adjoining states. With the exception of the insurrection of the regulators, it generally enjoyed a great share of political happiness, and internal peace.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

South Carolina, being settled later than Virginia and New England, had fewer difficulties to encounter. The British empire in America had then acquired some considerable strength; but nevertheless, its inhabitants underwent a dis-

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tressing infancy, of forty-nine years, under a feeble proprietary government, injudiciously administered. In this, they had to defend themselves, against Spaniards, Indians, and pirates; and finally, against the proprietors of the province. Revolting from their inefficient government, by an irregular effort, they threw it off, and cast themselves on the liberality of the crown. They were cordially received, and prospered under its government, for more than half a century. For the first thirty or forty years of the settlement, it was comparatively seldom and partially disturbed, by the Indians. From 1720, till 1755, its internal peace was not seriously interrupted; but, from 1712, to 1718, the inhabitants had severe wars with the Tuscaroras, in North Carolina, and the Yamassees in their own province. These two wars were undertaken by the Indians, with a view to the extermination of the white settlers. They were too late for that purpose; but nevertheless thinned their numbers. From 1755, to 1763, the province was extensively distressed, by the Cherokees, who made incursions into the frontier settlements, and broke them up. For the first eighty years, settlements had not extended, more than an equal number of miles, in advance from the sea coast, westwardly, and chiefly by emigrants from Europe. In the next twenty-five years, a flood of inhabitants poured into the western woods of South Carolina, from the more northern provinces. From the want of a convenient administration of justice, these new settlers, under the name of regulators, took the law into their own hands. Their grievances, which furnished an apology for these illegal proceedings, were promptly redressed, by the circuit court law, passed in 1769. This established six new districts. Order, law, and justice were re-established, and continued till the revolution commenced. Of the parties growing out of that event, the regulators generally took part with their country. They who were in opposition, or the subjects of regulation, were mostly royalists.

The exports of the province, for the first twenty-five years, were lumber, peltry, and naval stores. In the last years of the seventeenth century, rice, which had been introduced by

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Landgrave Smith, became the most prominent staple. To this was added, about the year 1748, indigo, which had been introduced by Miss Lucas.

In the hundred and six years of its colonial existence, the population of South Carolina increased, from a handful of settlers, brought out from England in two vessels, to 248,139. With this population, and all her resources and energies, she joined her sister colonies, in their revolutionary contest for independence.*

GEORGIA.

Georgia, though originally comprehended in the Carolina patent of 1663, was the last settled province of the thirteen, which, revolting from the government of Great Britain, established their independence. General Oglethorpe† is the only

* A particular history of South Carolina was published by the author, in 1809; to which he begs leave to refer for further information. He ardently wishes that, where it has not been already done, some competent citizen would publish the history of each state, in detail. Till the interior economy of the late colonies is better known, the history of the United States, and of the American revolution, will be incomplete, and descend to posterity under great disadvantages. He hears, with great pleasure, that such a history of the state of New York is now preparing for the press, by the learned, eloquent, and industrious Samuel Miller, D. D.

† James Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, was born in England, about the year 1688. Entering the army at an early age, he served under prince Eugene, to whom he became secretary and aid-de-camp. On the restoration of peace, he was returned a member of parliament, and distinguished himself as a useful legislator, by proposing several regulations for the benefit of trade, and a reform in the prisons. His philanthropy is commemorated in Thomson's Seasons. In 1732, he became one of the trustees of Georgia. In the prosecution of this trust, Mr. Oglethorpe embarked in November, with a number of emigrants, and, arriving at Carolina, in the middle of January, 1733, proceeded immediately to Savannah river, and laid the foundation of the town of Savannah. He made treaties with the Indians, and crossed the Atlantic several times, to promote the interests of the colony. Being appointed general and commander in chief of his majesty's forces, in South Carolina and Georgia, he brought from England, in 1738, a regiment of six

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known instance, in modern times, of the founder of a colony living to see it established, as a sovereign state. This unexampled change took place in Georgia, within the period of its first half century. That tract of country, which lies between the river Savannah and Altamaha, though claimed both by England and Spain, for two centuries, was, in the year 1732, totally unoccupied by Europeans.

hundred men, to protect the southern frontiers from the Spaniards. After the commencement of the war between Great Britain and Spain, in 1739, he visited the Indians, to secure their friendship; and, in 1740, conducted an unsuccessful expedition against St. Augustine. As the Spaniards laid claim to Georgia, three thousand men, a part of whom were from Havanna, were sent, in 1742, to drive Oglethorpe from the frontiers. When this force proceeded up the Altamaha, he was obliged to retreat to Frederica. He had but about seven hundred men, besides Indians: yet, with a part of these, he approached within two miles of the enemy's camp, with the design of attacking them by surprise, when a French soldier, of his party, fired his musket, and ran into the Spanish lines. His situation was now very critical; for he knew that the deserter would make known his weakness. Returning, however, to Frederica, he had recourse to the following expedient. He wrote a letter to the deserter, desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and to urge them to the attack. If he could not effect this object, Oglethorpe directed him to use all his art to persuade them to stay three days at fort Simon's; as, within that time, he should have a reinforcement of two thousand land forces, with six ships of war; cautioning him, at the same time, not to drop a hint of admiral Vernon's meditated attack upon St. Augustine. A Spanish prisoner was entrusted with this letter, under promise of delivering it to the deserter: but he gave it, as was expected and intended, to the commander in chief, who instantly put the deserter in irons. In the perplexity occasioned by this letter, while the enemy was deliberating what measures to adopt, three ships of force, which the governor of South Carolina had sent to Oglethorpe's aid, appeared on the coast. The Spanish commander was now convinced, beyond all question, that the letter, instead of being a stratagem, contained serious instructions to a spy; and, in this moment of consternation, set fire to the fort, and embarked so precipitately, as to leave behind him a number of cannon, with a quantity of military stores. Thus, by an event beyond human foresight or control, by the correspondence between the artful suggestions of a military genius, and the blowing of the winds, was the infant colony providentially saved from destruction, and Oglethorpe gained the character of an able general. He now returned to England, and never again revisited Georgia. In 1745, he was promoted to the rank of major general, and was sent against the rebels, but did not overtake them; for which he was tried by a court

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A company was formed, for transplanting, into this unsettled wilderness, such of the suffering poor, in the mother country, as might be willing to search, in a new world, for the means of subsistence. To this company, the territory, now denominated Georgia, was granted by George the second, in 1732: and a corporation, consisting of twenty-one persons, was created, under the name of "trustees for settling and establishing the colony of Georgia." Large sums of money were subscribed, which were applied towards transporting such poor people, as should be willing to go over, and begin the new settlement. In November, one hundred and sixteen persons embarked at Gravesend, under the conduct of general James Oglethorpe, who arrived, early the next year, at Charleston; whence he soon afterwards proceeded to the tract of country allotted for the new colony, and laid the foundation of the town of Savannah, on the river which bears that name. A treaty was held with the Creek Indians, and the cession of a considerable tract of land was obtained from them: but the trustees, totally unacquainted with the situation of the country, devised for it a system, rather calculated to impede than promote its population.

With a view to promote the strength of the province, they agreed to establish such tenures for holding lands, as they judged most favourable to a military establishment. Each tract granted was considered as a military fief, for which the possessor was to appear in arms, and take the field, when called upon for the public defence. The grants were in tail male, and, on the termination of the estate, were to revert to the trust, to be regranted to such persons, as would most

martial, and honourably acquitted. After the return of Gage to England, in 1775, the command of the British army, in America, was offered to general Oglethorpe. He professed his readiness to accept the appointment, if the ministry would authorize him to assure the colonies that justice would be done them: but the command was given to Sir William Howe. He died in August, 1785, at the age of ninety-seven; being the oldest general in the service. Nine years before his death, the province of Georgia, of which he was the father, was raised to the rank of a sovereign, independent state, and had been for two years acknowledged as such, by the mother country, under whose auspices it had been planted.

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benefit the colony. Any part of the lands granted, which should not be enclosed, cleared, and cultivated, within eighteen years, reverted to the trust. The importation of negroes, and of rum, was absolutely prohibited.

The tenure, by which their lands were held, drove the settlers into Carolina, where that property was to be acquired in fee simple. The prohibition of the introduction of negroes rendered the cultivation of the country, in that warm, moist climate, in a great degree impracticable.

Oglethorpe engaged with activity in the business of defence. He erected forts on the Savannah, at Augusta, and at Frederica. Ten miles nearer the sea, a battery was constructed, commanding the entrance into the sound, through which all vessels must come, that were sent against Frederica. These forts were calculated for defence against the Indians and the Spaniards. The latter remonstrated against them, and a commissioner, despatched from the Havanna, insisted on the evacuation of the country, to the thirty-third degree of north latitude: but their complaints and claims were equally disregarded.

Seven years after the settlement of Georgia, Oglethorpe, under an impression that the reduction of St. Augustine would give permanent peace, both to Georgia and Carolina, invaded Florida, with four hundred of his own men, a regiment raised by South Carolina, a small naval force, and some auxiliary Indians. The expedition proved abortive. In two or three years afterwards, this invasion was retaliated, by a considerable land and naval force, from the Havanna. The invaders landed on the banks of the Altamaha, and there built a fort. After sundry skirmishes, they evacuated the province, and peace was restored.

The inhabitants of Georgia remonstrated particularly against the tenures, by which their lands were held, and against the prohibition of the introduction of negroes. These complaints were addressed to persons having but little knowledge of the condition of the petitioners, and were therefore neglected. The settlement of Carolina, not unlike that of Georgia, both in soil and climate, advanced with much

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greater rapidity. Although emigration to the latter colony was encouraged, by premiums, at the public expense, yet the tenure of their lands, and the want of that labour which was to be furnished by negroes, from Africa, more than counterbalanced all these advantages. In the space of ten years, the settlers in Georgia could with infinite difficulty obtain a scanty subsistence.

In 1752, the trustees of Georgia, finding that the province languished under their care, surrendered their charter to the king. Their fundamental regulations were ill adapted to the situation and circumstances of the poor settlers. They rendered the culture of the lands very difficult, if not impracticable. By prohibiting the importation of rum, they deprived the colonists of an excellent market for their lumber, in the West Indies. The government of Great Britain had been at great expense, beside private benefactions, for supporting the colony; but had yet received small returns. The vestiges of its cultivation were scarcely perceptible: and its commerce was neglected and despised by the parent country. Its whole annual exports did not amount to the value of ten thousand pounds sterling. On the surrender of the charter, the people were favoured with the same liberties and privileges, as were enjoyed by their neighbours, under the royal care, and the colony soon began to flourish.

In 1763, all the lands, lying between the rivers Altamaha and St. Mary's, were by royal proclamation annexed to Georgia. The good effects of the new royal government, and of an extension of limits, were soon manifested. That young province had struggled with great difficulties; but from this period it made rapid progress, in population and wealth. Its rich swamps attracted the attention of its neighbours, as well as of strangers; and many settlements were made by Carolinians, about Sunbury, and on or near the Altamaha*.

* Much of the growth of the colony is to be ascribed to its governor, James Wright; "who wanted neither wisdom to discern, nor resolution to pursue, the most effectual means for its improvement." In addition to a paternal administration, he discovered the excellence of the low lands, and

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Georgia, from its first settlement, had very little disturbance from Indians. The increasing strength of South Carolina, on its northern frontier, the recent chastisement of the Yamassees, and the treaties which were made with the Cherokees, three years before its settlement, contributed to its internal peace. When the colony was in a most desirable state of prosperity, the American revolution commenced. The twelve more northern provinces confederated by the most solemn ties, to make a common cause, in defending their liberties, against Great Britain. Georgia, only forty-four years old, for some time hesitated. Some of her first settlers, who came out with Oglethorpe, were still alive, and well knew how vulnerable the province was. Georgia loved liberty; and a majority of her inhabitants felt that they had a common interest, with the northern colonies; but her weakness pointed out the danger of joining with them, in their daring resolutions, to resist the power of Britain. A colony of New England settlers, who had first migrated from Dorchester in Massachusetts, to Dorchester in South Carolina, and afterwards to St. John's in Georgia, led the way, in confederating with their northern neighbours. They, in March, 1775, appointed Dr. Lyman Hall, their delegate to congress, and he was received, as a representative of a part of a colony. In July, 1775, the whole province in convention gave its sanction to the measures of congress, and was admitted as the thirteenth link of the grand chain, comprehending all the colonies between Canada and Florida. The white population of Georgia, at this period, was about fifty thousand. A great proportion of its early settlers was from Scotland.

river swamps; by the proper management and cultivation of which, he acquired a plentiful fortune; and his successful example promoted at once emulation and industry, among the planters. The rapidity of the progress of the colony strikingly appears, by a comparison of its exports. In 1763, the exports of Georgia amounted to no more than 27,021*l.* sterling; but in 1773, the province exported staple commodities, to the value of 121,677*l.* sterling.

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NEW YORK.

The country, which is now the state of New York, was first settled by Hollanders, and held by them for more than half of the seventeenth century. They founded their claim on prior discovery, by Henry Hudson, in 1609, and subsequent permanent occupation. The English claimed the same country, as first discovered by Cabot, in 1497; and also from the circumstance, that the same Hudson, under a commission from the king of England, had, as early as the year 1608, discovered Long Island, New York, and the river which still bears his name. It is neither necessary nor important, to decide which had originally the best title to the country.

In the year 1613, captain Argal was sent out, by Sir Thomas Dale, governor of Virginia, to dispossess the French of the two towns, Port Royal, and St. Croix, in Acadia, then claimed as part of Virginia. In his return, he visited the Dutch, on Hudson's river, who, being unable to resist him, submitted for the present, to the king of England, and, under him, to the governor of Virginia. Argal abandoned his conquests, and the Dutch resumed possession. They also proceeded to settle and fortify. They immediately erected a fort on Manhattan island, and, in the course of twenty years, had a fort on the east side of Delaware bay, and another on Connecticut river, which they called Good Hope.

Determined on the settlement of a colony, the States General made a grant of the country, in 1621, to the West India company. Wouter Van Twiller arrived at fort Amsterdam, now New York, and took upon himself the government, in 1629. The New Englanders having commenced a settlement in Newhaven, Kieft, the second governor of New Netherlands, protested against them; but his protest being unsupported, was disregarded. In the same year, the Dutch protested against a settlement of the Swedes, which had lately been made on the eastern banks of the Delaware. In 1640, the English, who had overspread the eastern part of

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Long Island, advanced to Oyster bay. Kieft broke up their settlement, in 1642, and fitted out two sloops, to drive the English out of Schuylkill, of which the Marylanders had lately possessed themselves.

Peter Stuyvesant was the third and last Dutch governor, and began his administration in 1647. The inroads and claims upon his government kept him constantly employed. New England on the east, and Maryland on the west, alarmed his fears. About the same time, captain Forrester, a Scotchman, claimed Long Island, for the dowager of Stirling. The Swedes, too, were proceeding in their settlements, near the Delaware. Governor Stuyvesant was a faithful servant to the West India company. He early and earnestly stated to his employers, the embarrassments he daily experienced, from the New Englanders, the Marylanders, and the Swedes; and pointed out to them, the probability of a formidable attack from England. His representations were unavailing. No preparations were made against the gathering storm. Maryland on the one side, and Connecticut on the other, urged on their mother country, the necessity of an expedition against the Dutch, who separated the southern from the northern English colonies*. Their representations were regarded by Charles the second. In 1664, he gave to his brother James, duke of York and Albany, a patent, which included what is now called New York and New Jersey, a part of Connecticut, and of what is now called Pennsylvania, and the state of Delaware. To reduce this country, part of which was in the peaceable possession of the Dutch, to the obedience of the Duke of York; to gratify the colonies of Connecticut and Maryland; and to consolidate, in continuity, the English colonies, king Charles the second despatched three armed vessels, having on board three hun-

* Though the whole American continent, northward of the Gulf of Mexico, belonged to Great Britain, in 1763, yet, one hundred years before, it was owned by four distinct European powers. The Spaniards possessed the southern extremity; the French the northern; and the Dutch the middle. The possessions of these three powers were, by treaty and conquest, transferred to England. The Dutch were first conquered.

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dred soldiers. They reached the harbour of New York, in August, 1664. Governor Stuyvesant sent a respectable deputation of citizens, with a letter, desiring to be informed of the reason of their approach, and continuance in the harbour. Colonel Nichols, the commander of the expedition, answered with a summons, to surrender all fortified places to the king of England; and, at the same time, gave assurance to the inhabitants, that all, who submitted to the English government, should be confirmed in their rights to estate, life, and liberty. Stuyvesant promised an answer to the summons, the next morning; and, in the mean time, convened the council and burgomasters. The Dutch governor was a good soldier, and had lost a leg in the service of the states. He would willingly have made a defence, and refused a sight of the summons, both to the inhabitants and burgomasters, lest the easy terms offered might induce them to capitulate. The latter, however, insisted upon a copy, that they might communicate it to the late magistrates, and principal burghers. They called together the inhabitants, at the stadt-house, and acquainted them with the governor's refusal. Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, at the same time, wrote to the director and his council, strongly recommending a surrender. On the 22d of August, the burgomasters came again into council, and desired to know the contents of the English message, from governor Winthrop; which Stuyvesant still refused to communicate. They continued their importunity, and he, in a fit of anger, tore it to pieces; upon which they protested against the act, and all its consequences. Determined upon a defence of the country, Stuyvesant wrote a letter in answer to the summons. In this, he vindicated the title of the Dutch to the country, on the ground of prior possession. He, in particular, asserted that they had, without controul, and, in peace, enjoyed fort Orange, for forty-eight or fifty years; the Manhattans, about forty-one or forty-two years; the South river, for forty; and Fresh water river, for thirty-six years. In the mean time, Nichols published a proclamation, in the country, encouraging the inhabitants to submit, and promising

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them the king's protection, and all the privileges of subjects. Stuyvesant was induced to write another letter; wherein he declared, "that he would stand the storm, yet, to prevent the spilling of blood, he had sent a deputation, to consult, if possible, on accommodation." Nichols, who knew the disposition of the people, answered immediately, that "he would treat about nothing, but a surrender." The Dutch governor, the next day, agreed to a treaty, and surrendered.

The town of New Amsterdam, upon the reduction of the island Manhattan, took the name of New York. Hudson and the South river were, however, still to be reduced. Sir Robert Carr commanded the expedition, on Delaware, and Carteret was commissioned to subdue the Dutch, at fort Orange. The garrison capitulated on the 24th of September; and he called it Albany, in honour of the duke. Sir Robert Carr was equally successful on South river; for he compelled both the Dutch and Swedes to capitulate, and deliver up their garrisons, on the 1st of October, 1664. On that day, fell the Dutch power on the continent of North America; and the whole New Netherlands became subject to the English crown. Before these conquests were completed, the Duke of York had granted a portion of the territory, ceded to him by Charles the second, to Lord Berkely, and Sir George Carteret. This is now called New Jersey.

Though the New Netherlands were reduced, very few of the inhabitants removed from the country. Governor Stuyvesant held his estate, and died there. His posterity still survive, and maintain a respectable rank, among the citizens of the United States. Nichols, being now possessed of the country, took upon himself its government. He permitted the city to be ruled as before, by a scout, burgomasters, and schepens; but gradually introduced the English government.

After an administration of three years, Nichols returned to England. The time, during his short residence, was almost wholly taken up, in confirming the ancient Dutch grants. He erected no courts of justice; but took upon himself the sole decision of all controversies whatsoever. Complaints came before him, by petition; upon which, he gave a

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day to the parties; and after a summary hearing, pronounced judgment. His determinations were called edicts, and executed by the sheriffs, he had appointed. It is much to his honour, that, notwithstanding all this plenitude of power, he governed the province with integrity and moderation.

Colonel Francis Lovelace was appointed, by the duke, to succeed Nichols, in the government of the province: the people lived very peaceably under him, till his powers were rendered inefficient, by the re-surrender of the colony. This was effected in 1673, by the treachery of John Manning, who had at that time the command of the fort. He, by a messenger, sent down to the commander of a few Dutch ships, which had recently arrived, and lay under Staten Island, made his peace. On the same day, the Dutch ships came up, moored under the fort, landed their men, and entered the garrison, without giving or receiving a shot. On the surrender of the capital, all the magistrates from the adjacent country were summoned to New York; and the major part of them swore allegiance to the States General, and the prince of Orange.

The Dutch governor enjoyed his office, but a very short season; for in 1674, a treaty of peace, between England and the States General, was signed; which restored this country to the English. The duke of York, to remove all controversy respecting his property, obtained a new patent from the king, for the same lands, which had been granted to him, ten years before; and two days afterwards he commissioned Edmund Andross, to be governor of his territories, in America.

New York, being a conquered country, was governed, as such, by the duke's governors, and their councils; who, from time to time, made rules and orders, which were esteemed to be binding as laws. This state of things continued till 1683. Orders were then, for the first time, given, to elect representatives of the people, as a branch of the legislature. This was very acceptable to the Dutch and English, the old and new settlers. The people were more pleased than benefited. A dissatisfaction with the government soon became

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general. Papists began to settle in the province, under the smiles of the officers, appointed by the duke. Several public characters openly avowed the Roman Catholic religion. The cry, that the Protestant religion was in danger, became universal. In this state of general alarm, intelligence arrived, that a revolution was on the point of taking place, in England. The hopes of the disaffected were elevated; but none chose to act, till the Bostonians had set the example. Sir Edmund Andross, who was devoted to the arbitrary measures of king James, by his tyranny in New England, had drawn upon himself the universal odium of a people, animated with the love of liberty; and therefore, when they could no longer endure his despotic rule, they seized and imprisoned him; and afterwards sent him to England. Upon the news of these events, several captains of militia convened, to concert measures in favour of the prince of Orange. Among these, Jacob Leisler was the most active. He was a man in esteem among the people, and of a moderate fortune; but destitute of every qualification, necessary for conducting the grand enterprise, which he undertook. Milborne, his son-in-law, an Englishman, directed all his councils.

Their first object was the seizure of the garrison, in New York. Leisler entered it, with forty-nine men, and, having got possession, determined to hold it, till the whole militia should join him. Being now in complete possession of the fort, he sent an address to king William and queen Mary. This was followed by a private letter from Leisler to king William, which informed his majesty of the state of the garrison, and the temper of the people; and concluded with strong protestations of sincerity, loyalty, and zeal.

Leisler's sudden investiture with supreme power over the province, and the probable prospects of king William's approbation of his conduct, excited the envy and jealousy of the late council and magistrates, who had refused to join in the glorious work of the revolution. Leisler, on the other hand, fearful of their influence, and wishing to extinguish the jealousy of the people, admitted several trusty persons to a participation of that power, which the militia had committed

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solely to himself. In conjunction with these, he exercised the government; assuming to himself only the honour of being president in their councils. This model continued, till a packet arrived, with a letter from the Lords Carmarthen, Halifax, and others, directed "to Francis Nicholson, Esq. or, in his absence, to such as, for the time being, take care for preserving the peace, and administering the laws, in their majesties' province of New York, in America." This letter was accompanied with another from Lord Nottingham, which empowered Nicholson to take upon him the chief command, and "to do every thing appertaining to the office of lieutenant governor, according to the laws and customs of New York, until further orders."

Nicholson, who had acted as lieutenant governor, under king James, having absconded, when this packet came to hand, Leisler considered the letter as directed to himself; and, from that time, issued all kinds of commissions in his own name, assuming the title, as well as the authority, of lieutenant governor. Except the eastern inhabitants of Long Island, all the southern part of the colony cheerfully submitted to Leisler's commands. The people of Albany, in the mean time, were determined to hold the garrison and city for king William, independent of Leisler; and formed themselves into a convention, for that purpose.

Taking it for granted, that Leisler at New York, and the convention at Albany, were equally well affected to the revolution, nothing could be more unwise than the conduct of both parties, who, by their unaccommodating tempers, threw the province into convulsions, and sowed the seeds of mutual hatred and animosity. When Albany declared for the prince of Orange, there was nothing else that Leisler could properly require. Rather than sacrifice the public peace of the province to the trifling honour of resisting a man, who had no evil designs, the people of Albany ought, in prudence, to have delivered the garrison into his hands, till the king's definitive order should arrive: but, while Leisler, on the one hand, was inebriated with his new-gotten power, so, on the other, Bayard, Courtland, Schuyler, and their associates,

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could not brook a submission to the authority of a man, mean in his abilities, and inferior in his degree.

Jacob Milborne was commissioned for the reduction of Albany. Upon his arrival there, a great number of the inhabitants armed themselves. In these circumstances, Milborne thought proper to retreat; and soon afterwards departed from Albany. In the spring, he commanded another party, upon the same errand; and the distress of the country, on an Indian irruption, gave him all the desired success. No sooner was he possessed of the garrison, than most of the principal members of the convention absconded; upon which, their effects were arbitrarily seized, and confiscated.

Colonel Henry Sloughter, who had a commission from king William, to be governor of the province, arrived, and published it on the 19th of March, 1691. Never was a governor more necessary to the province, than at this critical conjuncture: but either through the hurry of the king's affairs, or the powerful interest of a favourite, a man was sent over, utterly destitute of every qualification for government; licentious in his morals, avaricious, and poor. If Leisler had delivered the garrison to colonel Sloughter, as he ought to have done, upon his first landing, he would doubtless have attracted the favourable notice, both of the governor and the crown: but, being a weak man, he was so intoxicated with the love of power, that, though he had been well informed of Sloughter's appointment, he not only shut himself up in the fort, with Bayard and Nichols, whom he had imprisoned; but refused to deliver them up, or to surrender the garrison. From this moment, he lost all credit with the governor, who joined the party against him. On the second demand of the fort, Milborne and Delanoy came out, under pretence of conferring with his excellency; but, in reality, to discover his designs. Sloughter, who considered them as rebels, threw them both into gaol. Leisler, upon this event, thought proper to abandon the fort, which colonel Sloughter immediately entered. Bayard and Nichols were now released from their confinement, and sworn of the privy council. Leisler,

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having thus ruined his cause, was apprehended, with many of his adherents; and a commission of oyer and terminer issued for their trials.

In vain did they plead the merit of their zeal for king William, since they had so lately opposed his governor. Leisler endeavoured to justify his conduct, insisting that Lord Nottingham's letter entitled him to act in the quality of lieutenant governor. Leisler and his son were condemned to death, for high treason. These violent measures drove many of the inhabitants, who were fearful of being apprehended, into the neighbouring colonies. Tranquillity was not completely restored, till an act of general indemnity was passed.

Colonel Sloughter proposed, about this time, to set out to Albany: but, as Leisler's party were enraged at his imprisonment, and the late sentence against him, his enemies were afraid new troubles would spring up, in the absence of the governor: for this reason, both the assembly and council advised, that the prisoners should be immediately executed. Sloughter chose rather to delay such a violent step; being fearful of cutting off two men, who had vigorously appeared for the king, and so signally contributed to the revolution. Nothing could be more disagreeable to their enemies, whose interest was deeply concerned in their destruction; and, therefore, when no other measures could prevail with the governor, tradition informs us, that a sumptuous feast was prepared, to which colonel Sloughter was invited. When his excellency's reason was drowned in his cups, the intreaties of the company prevailed with him, to sign the death warrant. Before he recovered his senses, the prisoners were executed. The bodies of these unhappy sufferers were afterwards taken up, and interred with great pomp, in the old Dutch church, in the city of New York. Their estates were restored to their families, and Leisler's descendants, in the public estimation, are rather dignified than disgraced, by the fall of their ancestor. The severity on both sides irritated one half of the people against the other. Leislerians and Anti-Leislerians became the names of two parties, who, for many years,

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hated and opposed each other, to the great disturbance of the people.

The revolution being established, governors were appointed, by the new order of British sovereigns. As they were good, or bad, the people were happy or otherwise. About this time, the French schemes, for joining Canada and Louisiana, and limiting the English colonies to the Atlantic coast, began to be unfolded. The governor of Canada built forts, and otherwise encroached on the limits of New York. He also began to make, and extend, a communication from the St. Lawrence to the lakes of Canada; and gradually to approach the head waters of the Ohio. The friendship of the confederacy of Indians, known by the name of the Six Nations, was courted by both. Roman Catholic missionaries from Canada were sent among them, ostensibly to convert them to Christianity; but really to secure their attachment to France. Severe laws were passed in New York, to punish them as intruders. A great trade was carried on, between Albany and Canada, for goods saleable among the Indians. Burnet, governor of New York,* with the view of keeping

* William Burnet was, at the same time, governor of New Jersey, and afterwards of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. A sketch of his life will throw light on the history of these provinces. He was the eldest son of the celebrated bishop Burnet, and was born at the Hague, in 1688, and named after king William, who, when prince of Orange, stood his godfather. He was governor of New York and New Jersey, from 1720 to 1728.

None of his predecessors had such extensive and just views of the Indian affairs, and of the dangerous neighbourhood of the French. He penetrated into their policy; being convinced, from their possessing the main passes, from their care to conciliate the natives, and from the increase of their settlements, in Louisiana, that the British colonies had much to fear from them. In his first speech to the assembly, he expressed his apprehensions, and endeavoured to awaken the suspicion of the members. Agreeably to his desire, an act was passed, prohibiting the sale of such goods to the French, as were suitable for the Indian trade. This was a wise and necessary measure; for, by means of goods procured from Albany, and transported to Canada, by the Mohawk river, and Lake Ontario, the French were enabled to divert the fur trade from the Hudson to the St. Lawrence, and to seduce the fidelity of the Indian allies. But wise and necessary as this measure was, a clamour was raised against it, by those whose interests were affected. The governor,

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the Six Nations dependent on the English for their supplies, procured acts of the legislature, for restraining this trade:

however, was not prevented from pursuing his plans, for the public welfare. He perceived the importance of obtaining the command of lake Ontario, in order to frustrate the project of the French, for establishing a chain of forts, from Canada to Louisiana; so as to confine the English colonies to narrow limits, along the sea coast. For this purpose, he began the erection of a trading house, at Oswego, in the country of the Seneca Indians, in 1722.

Another circumstance, in addition to the act above mentioned, increased the disaffection of the people to the governor. As he sustained the office of chancellor, he paid great attention to its duties. Though he was not a lawyer, he, in general, transacted the business which was brought before him, with correctness and ability. He had, however, one failing, which disqualified him for a station, that sometimes required a patient application of mind. His decisions were precipitate. He used to say of himself, "I act first, and think afterwards." Such was his disinterested zeal, in prosecuting his plan of opposition to the French, that, after they had built a large storehouse, and repaired the fort at Niagara, in 1726, he, in the following year, at his own expense, built a fort at Oswego, for the protection of the post and trade. This was a measure of the highest importance to the colonies.

Being appointed governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, he reached Boston, July 13, 1728, and was received with unusual pomp. In his speech to the assembly, July 24, he made known his instructions, to insist upon a fixed salary, and expressed his intention firmly to adhere to them. Thus, the controversy, which had been agitated during the administration of his predecessor, Shute, was revived. On the one hand, it was contended, that, if the support of the governor depended upon an annual grant, he would be laid under constraint, and would not act with the necessary independence, and regard to the rights of the king. On the other, it was asserted, that the charter gave the assembly a full right to raise and appropriate all monies, for the support of government; and that an honourable support would always be afforded to a worthy chief magistrate, without rendering him completely independent of the people, whose interests he was bound to promote. The governor pursued the controversy with spirit; but without success. The opposition had an evident effect upon his spirits.

Governor Burnet was a man of superior talents, and, in many respects, of an amiable character. His acquaintance with books, and his free and easy manner of communicating his sentiments, made him the delight of men of letters. His library was one of the richest private collections in America.

He published some astronomical observations, in the transactions of the royal society, and an essay on Scripture prophecy, wherein an attempt is made to explain the three periods, contained in the twelfth chapter of Daniel, and to prove, that the first period expired in 1715. This was published in 1724. He died in 1729.

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but in this he was thwarted, by the selfishness of the merchants. To secure the friendship of the Indians, to obtain the command of the lakes, and of the country between New York and Canada, were objects pursued by both, from an early period of the eighteenth century, or rather from the year 1692. Governor Burnet, who commenced his administration in 1720, was the first who sounded a general alarm, and stirred up the colonists to be on their guard; but reciprocal schemes of counteraction had been previously projected, by the Canadians and New Yorkers, against each other: by the latter, for security; by the former, in subserviency to their grand scheme, of uniting Canada with Louisiana. This was the beginning of a long and bloody war, between France and England, for American empire. Ships, colonies, and commerce, were the objects of both, at that time; as they are at present. In this contest, New York occupied the battle ground, between the two nations. On or near her northern and western borders, was planted the germe of several wars; and particularly of that decisive one, which, after raging from 1755 to 1763, ended in the expulsion of the French from the continent of North America, and remotely in the American revolution. These military events shall be more particularly explained, in the next chapter. At the commencement of the revolution, the number of inhabitants, in the province of New York, was 248,139.

NEW JERSEY.

In 1664, the duke of York sold that part of his patent, which is now called New Jersey, to lord Berkely and Sir George Carteret. It had been previously settled by Hollanders and Swedes. To encourage emigration, its new proprietors offered various privileges to settlers. It was now established, as a fundamental principle, "that all vacant territory shall be purchased, for their use, from the aborigines." As a bounty to those who settled in New Jersey, within a limited period, eighty acres of land were offered to each, at a quit rent of a penny an acre; the payment of

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which, however, was not to commence till March, 1670. Acquainted with the human heart, and instructed in English jurisprudence, the proprietors declared, that the province should be ruled, only by laws made by an assembly, in which the people were represented. They reserved to themselves the whole executive power. Such was the first constitution of New Jersey. The county of Bergen was first settled. The inhabitants thereof, who were numerous at the time of the surrender, remained, and became English subjects. Some Danes had been among the first settlers. Hence came the name of Bergen. The manner of settling it, was in small lots, on which their dwellings were erected, contiguous to each other, in the town of Bergen. But their plantations were at a distance. The reason of fixing thus is said to have been, an apprehension of danger from the Indians in the vicinity. Soon after the surrender of the province, many industrious, respectable farmers removed to it. A considerable number of the English inhabitants, from Long Island, settled in East Jersey. Most of these fixed about Middletown, and from that centre extended themselves, gradually, to Freehold, and its vicinity. Many families also came from New England to Shrewsbury. There were very soon four towns in the province; Elizabeth, Newark, Middletown, and Shrewsbury. These and the adjacent country were, in a few years, supplied with inhabitants, from Scotland, England, and the neighbouring colonies, in addition to the old Dutch settlers, who generally remained after the surrender.

Lord Berkely and Sir George Carteret appointed Philip Carteret governor of New Jersey, and gave him power to grant lands to settlers. In the execution of this duty, he made previous purchases from the Indians. This was readily done, and for inconsiderable sums, compared with the damage that was likely to result from taking possession, without their consent; for they were sufficiently numerous to annoy the settlements. The new comers were obliged, in every instance, to pay the Indians for their lands. The result was favourable. As the Indians parted with their lands,

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to their own satisfaction, they became good neighbours. Though there were frequent reports of their coming to kill the white people, no instance occurred of their hurting them, in this early period of settlement.

Governor Carteret took up his residence in Elizabethtown. With him came about thirty people, who brought with them goods, proper for planting a new country. The governor sent persons to New England, and other places, to publish the proprietors' favourable terms of settlement, and to invite settlers. Many came from the eastern colonies, and settled at Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, Piscataway, and Newark. Sundry vessels were, from time to time, sent by the proprietors, with people and goods, to encourage the settlement of their lands. Under their fostering care, the province of East New Jersey increased, and continued to thrive, till the Dutch invasion, in 1673. This suspended the English government, till the next year, when by a treaty of peace the country was restored to England. In 1672, governor Carteret went to England, and left captain John Beng his deputy; but returned in 1674. On his return, he found the inhabitants more disposed to peace and union. He brought with him the king's proclamation, a fresh commission, and instructions from Sir George Carteret. These were published, and had a good effect. Elizabethtown was at this period the seat of government. There the assemblies and supreme courts held their sessions. And in it, the public offices were kept. It then consisted of only a few families, who had recently settled in the wilderness. But the town and the adjacent country gradually filled with people, from New York and New England, who brought with them their peculiar religion, and established their ancient usages. They encountered none of the disasters, which had proved so fatal to other colonies; because, they settled in the vicinity of cultivated countries, which furnished them with food, and, of New York, whose commerce supplied all their wants. This last circumstance, however advantageous at first, proved at length equally pernicious. It has, to this day, prevented the rise of a mart among themselves to give life to their traf-

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fic. The inhabitants naturally engaged in the same pursuits as their neighbours, in purchasing peltry from the numerous little tribes, which then roved over the adjacent forest; and in raising cattle and grain, which long supplied their wants. They were never much disturbed by Indians. Owing to this cause, and to the salubrity of the climate, a settlement in New Jersey became very desirable. Its tranquillity was at last interrupted, by the approach of the day, when the payment of quit-rents was to commence. To evade this demand, they set up titles, derived from the original possessors, in opposition to those of the proprietors.

The duke of York appointed Andross his lieutenant over his territories, extending from the western bank of Connecticut, to the further shore of the Delaware. The whole powers of government, as well legislative as executive, were invested in a governor and council, whereby a tyranny was established in New Jersey, as at New York. Dyer was, at the same time, appointed collector of "those duties, which the duke thought fit to establish throughout his territories." Andross took possession of his charge, in November, 1674. Meanwhile, lord Berkely, dissatisfied with an estate, which brought him neither profit nor honour, assigned his rights to William Penn, and three associates. But, as all parties soon perceived the disadvantage of a joint property, they divided the province with Carteret. And now, for the first time, was the country formed into East and West Jersey. The former was released, in July, 1676, by the assignees of lord Berkely to Carteret; and he in return conveyed to them the latter. The duke retained the government of the last, as a dependency on New York. Hence commenced a confusion of jurisdiction, and an uncertainty of property, which long distracted the people, and at length ended in the annihilation of the government of the proprietors.

Carteret began, in 1676, to clear out vessels from East Jersey: but he was steadily opposed by Andross, who saw that it tended equally to injure the commerce, and to lessen the customs of New York. The various taxes, which were imposed by the governor and council, on the province of

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New York, in the year 1678, were, at the same time, extended to Jersey. And it was in vain for Carteret to establish, in the latter, a free port, since the governor of New York seized and condemned the vessels trading thither. The duke of York was little inclined "to let go any of that prerogative, which had been always exercised over Jersey." The proprietors of West Jersey had, in the mean time, unceasingly begged the duke of York, to restore to them the rights, which they derived from his grant of 1664; and that their province should be discharged from all future dependence on New York. After various consultations, their pretensions were referred to that eminent lawyer, Sir William Jones, who decided, "that, as the grant to Berkely and Carteret had reserved no profit, or jurisdiction, the legality of the taxes could not be defended." In compliance with this determination, the duke, without hesitation, confirmed West Jersey to the proprietors, in August, 1680. Thus, after being so long ruled as a conquered country, this province was restored to its former privileges. Byllying, one of the proprietors, who had been very instrumental in procuring this advantageous change, was appointed first governor of West Jersey. About this time, the province received a considerable accession of inhabitants. In 1677, and the following years, a number of Quakers arrived from England, and settled about Burlington and Salem. Some of these, in ascending the Delaware, were struck with the high ground, on which Philadelphia now stands, and observed, that it was an excellent site for a city. They proceeded, and laid out the town of Burlington, while Philadelphia was a forest, and five years before it began to be built.

About the same time, a number of settlers, from Long Island and New England, fixed themselves in New Jersey. But it never assumed the appearance of a cultivated country, till its population was promoted by the overflowing of its neighbours. It was overshadowed, however, by Pennsylvania, which grew up with rapidity, along its western borders. The recent change, in the political condition of New Jersey, was deplored by New York, as the certain loss of its trade;

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and as the destruction of its revenue. This apparent evil proved a real blessing. The decisive opinion of Jones, and the subsequent independence of the Jerseys, were the principal causes of the introduction of an assembly in New York; for it was foreseen, that, had the duke even an indisputable right, to impose customs on New York, the exertion of it would only drive people across the Hudson, to the neighbouring colony, to which his power did not extend.

The spirit of discord, which had early disturbed the repose of East Jersey, seems to have been never perfectly allayed. When the assembly convened at Elizabethtown, in October, 1681, a violent dissension commenced, between the governor and council, on the one side, and the representatives on the other, who differed extremely on the question, whether "the late grant, from the duke of York to the proprietors, ought to be considered as the foundation of their government."

Offended with a province, which he could neither please nor govern, Carteret transferred his rights, in February, 1682, to William Penn, and eleven associates, of the Quaker religion. These men immediately conveyed one half of their interest to the earl of Perth, and eleven other Scotchmen; making in the whole, twenty-four proprietors. Desirous rather to hold the province, by an immediate charter from the duke of York, than under their purchase, the Scotch proprietors successfully solicited a new patent. In March, 1683, a grant was conferred on the earl of Perth, and his associates. Thus the property of the soil of East Jersey became invested in owners of different kinds; in the general proprietors; in the purchasers under them; in claimants under patents; and in Indian purchases. A fruitful seed plot of future litigation was thus sown in the colony.

Though oppression fell not so heavily on the people, as to interrupt their pursuits, the Jerseys did not enjoy perfect tranquillity, owing chiefly to the claims of a more powerful neighbour. It was to little purpose, to declare them independent of New York, if she still claimed, and exercised real jurisdiction. Subsequent to the year 1683, the New

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York assembly extended the same taxes to New Jersey, as it had established for its constituents. These impositions were resisted, and complained of to the ruling powers in England. But no farther redress was obtained, than an order to the governor of New York, in May, 1687, "to permit vessels to pass without interruption to East Jersey, paying the same customs as at New York." In pursuance of king James's plans, for consolidating the colonies, the Jerseys were, not long afterwards, annexed to New England. In order to evince their loyalty, and in the hope of losing less by submission than a fruitless resistance, the proprietors of East Jersey made a formal surrender of their patent; praying only for a new grant, securing their title to the soil. But, before a request so reasonable could be granted, a revolution ensued, which transferred the allegiance of proprietors and people, to new sovereigns. From June, 1689, to August, 1692, the Jerseys were left without a government. That of Andross had been overthrown, and no other was established in its place.

East Jersey had been already divided into five counties. The first emigrants were the immediate descendants of the men, who passed the Sound from Connecticut, and settled on Long Island. Soon afterwards lord Perth, and other noblemen of his country, became proprietors. Considerable numbers removed thither from Scotland. Many of these settled about Amboy, and near the river Raritan. The proprietors appointed Robert Barclay, author of the Apology, governor of East Jersey, for life. He continued in that office till 1685, when he was succeeded by lord Neil Campbell, and he, in 1698, by Sir Thomas Lane. In the same period, West Jersey had Olive, Skein, Cox, and Hamilton, in succession, for their governors.

In the last fifteen or twenty years of the seventeenth century, the province was in a state of confusion. The revolution of 1688, in England, unsettled preceding systems, and delays intervened, before a new efficient government was established.

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These disorders, continuing to increase, arose to their greatest height, in 1701. Each of the two divisions of Jersey had many and different proprietors, who promoted separate and clashing interests. Moderate councils were disregarded. A spirit of party and discord took place of order and peace. Every expedient to restore union and regularity was unavailing. In this state of things, the proprietors of both divisions, in 1702, surrendered their rights of government to queen Anne.

This was readily accepted; for at that period, there was an eagerness in the crown, to repossess itself of colonial charters. The distinction of East and West Jersey henceforward ceased, and both were united under the name of New Jersey. The subsequent proceedings of the government were more uniform and systematic.

Queen Anne appointed her cousin, lord Cornbury, first governor of the recently acquired royal province. He was also governor of New York, and in both exercised his powers, to the oppression of the people. The assembly of the latter complained of him to the queen, who divested him of his office. On his becoming a private man, his creditors arrested him; and he remained in the custody of the sheriff, till the death of his father, when, succeeding to the earldom of Clarendon, he returned to England. His successors were lord Lovelace, Ingoldsby, Hunter, Burnet, Montgomerie, Cosby, Anderson, as president of council, and Hamilton; who administered the government in succession, from 1708 to 1738. In this period, government was carried on with more union, energy, and advantage to the people, than before; but the country was not the seat of any great event. The most remarkable was a co-operation in plans for the conquest of Canada. In 1709, the assembly passed laws for emitting 3000*l.* in bills of credit, and enforcing its currency; and also, for the encouragement of volunteers, to go on an expedition to Canada. This was the first paper money emitted in New Jersey. It was well supported, and kept up its credit without depreciation. It was made a tender in law, and answered many valuable purposes, without the evils, which, in some other

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colonies, resulted from bills of credit. About the same time, laws were passed for taking the affirmation of Quakers in legal proceedings, as a substitute for their oaths.

In this period of thirty years, the colony progressively increased in numbers and wealth. Feeling their own importance, they petitioned for a separate governor. Hitherto they had been regularly annexed to the government of New York; and one governor presided over both provinces. Their petition was readily granted. In 1738, Lewis Morris* was appointed governor of New Jersey, distinct from New York. He continued in office till his death, in 1746. He was succeeded by Hamilton, and he by Reading, as presidents of the council. Jonathan Belcher was governor, from 1747, to 1757, and was succeeded by Reading, president of the council. Francis Bernard succeeded to the government, in 1758. His successors were Thomas Boone, Josiah Hardy, and William Franklin; the last of whom continued in office till the termination of royal government. Anterior to the commencement of the revolution, nothing of great political con-

* Lewis Morris, governor of New Jersey, was left an orphan when a child, and was adopted by his uncle. Once, through fear of his resentment, he strolled into Virginia, and thence to the West Indies. On his return, however, he was received with joy. From his infancy, he lived in a manner well calculated to teach him the nature of man, and to fortify his mind, to bear the vicissitudes of life. For several years, he was chief justice of New York, and was the second counsellor of New Jersey, named in lord Cornbury's commission, in 1702; and continued with several suspensions, till 1738, when he was appointed governor of New Jersey, as separate from New York. The province owed much to his early patriotism and abilities. His will was singular. In it, he prohibited rings and scarfs from being given at his funeral, and wished no man to be paid for preaching a funeral sermon upon him; though if any man, churchman or dissenter, minister or not, were inclined to say any thing, he should be permitted to do so. He prohibited any mourning dress to be worn on his account, as he should die when divine Providence should call him away; and was unwilling that his friends should be at the expense, authorized only by the common folly of mankind. He was a man of letters, and, though a little whimsical in his temper, was grave in his manners, and of a most penetrating mind. In the knowledge of the law, he was pre-eminent. Acute in controversy, when he had advanced an argument, he would not yield it, unless it were disproved by demonstration almost mathematical.

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sequence occurred in the province. In accomplishing that great event, New Jersey suffered much, and bled freely. When she confederated with her sister colonies, to resist Great Britain, her population amounted to 161,290.

PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE.

William Penn, who, by purchase, had become a large proprietor* of New Jersey, being dissatisfied with his numerous

* William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, was the son of Sir William Penn, an admiral of the English navy, in the protectorate of Cromwell, and in the reign of Charles the second; and who, as an officer, had rendered very important services to the nation, particularly by the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards, and in a naval victory over the Dutch. The son of this meritorious naval officer, from principle, and in opposition to all worldly motives, at an early period of his life, joined the Quakers, when they were an obscure and persecuted sect. As one of them, and as a preacher among them, he was repeatedly imprisoned. On a particular occasion, when he was brought to trial at the old Bailey, for preaching agreeably to the rules of his sect, he pleaded his own cause, with the freedom of an Englishman, and the magnanimity of a hero. The jury at first brought in their verdict "guilty of speaking in Grace Church street." This being deemed no verdict, they were threatened and sent back. Mr. Penn said to them: "ye are Englishmen! mind your privilege! give not away your right!" They were then shut up all night, without victuals or fire. The next morning, they brought in the same verdict. Being sent back, and threatened again, they brought in their verdict, "not guilty." On this, they were fined forty marks each, and imprisoned along with the accused, till their fines and fees were paid. Penn's feelings and reflections, roused by persecution, led him to adopt the most liberal ideas of toleration. A love for freedom of inquiry, and a total abhorrence of persecution for conscience sake, took possession of his whole soul. It is a singular circumstance in the history of mankind, that divine Providence should give to such a man, as William Penn, an opportunity to make a fair experiment of these excellent maxims, by establishing a colony in America, on the most liberal principles of toleration, at a time, when the oldest nations in Europe were endeavouring to reduce the minds of men, to a most absurd uniformity, in articles of faith, and modes of worship.

Penn, having obtained a grant of a large territory given him as a reward for his father's services, by public advertisement, invited purchasers, and described the country with a display of the advantages, which might be expected from a settlement in it. This induced many single persons, and some families, chiefly of the denomination of Quakers, to think of a removal to it. A number of merchants and others formed themselves into a company, for the sake of encouraging the settlement and trade of the country, and pur-

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partners, formed the design of acquiring for himself a separate estate. On his petition, a charter was issued, in

chased twenty thousand acres of Penn's land. Their objects were to encourage the manufactures of leather and glass; the cutting and sawing of timber, and the whale fishery.

The fee simple of the soil was sold, at the rate of twenty pounds, for every thousand acres. They, who rented lands, were to pay one penny yearly, per acre. In every hundred thousand acres, the proprietor reserved ten for himself. The quit-rents were not agreed to, without difficulty. The purchasers remonstrated against them, as a burden unprecedented in any other American colony.

All preliminaries being adjusted, the first colony came over to America, and began their settlement, above the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware. By them, the proprietor sent a letter to the Indians, informing them, that "the great God had been pleased to make him concerned, in their part of the world, and that the king of the country, where he lived, had given him a great province therein; but that he did not desire to enjoy it, without their consent; that he was a man of peace; and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition: and, if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted, by an equal number of men, chosen on both sides." With this letter, he appointed commissioners to treat with the Indians, about purchasing lands, and promised them, that he would shortly come, and converse with them in person.

At this time the English penal laws, against dissenters, were rigorously executed. This made many of the Quakers desirous of accompanying or following Penn, into America, where they had a prospect of the most extensive liberty of conscience. Having chosen some for his particular companions, he embarked with them, in August, 1682. As the ship sailed up the Delaware, the inhabitants came on board, and saluted their new governor, with an air of joy and satisfaction. Penn, on his landing, summoned the people to meet him. He entertained them with a speech, explaining the purpose of his coming, and the views of his government. Having renewed the commissions of their former magistrates, he went to Chester, where he repeated the same things, and received the congratulations of the inhabitants. Those of them, who were Swedes, appointed a delegate to compliment him on his arrival, and to assure him of their affection and fidelity.

At this time, the number of previous settlers was about three thousand. These were Dutch, Swedes, and Finns. The Dutch were settled on the bay of Delaware, and applied themselves chiefly to trade. At Newcastle they had a court-house, and a place of worship. The Swedes and Finns lived higher up the river, and followed husbandry. Their settlements were Christiana, Tenecum, and Wicoco, at each of which they had a church. They were a plain, sober, and industrious people; and most of them had large families. The colony, which Penn had sent over the year before,

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1681, in which king Charles granted to him, in absolute property, by the title of Pennsylvania, that tract of country,

began their settlement above Wicoco; and it was, by special direction of the proprietor, called Philadelphia.

Within a month after Penn's arrival, he called a general assembly at Chester, when the constitution, which had been formed in England, was to undergo an experiment. The freemen, both of the province and territory, were summoned to compose this assembly in person. Instead of which, they, of their own accord, elected twelve members, in each settlement, amounting in all to seventy-two. These, at the request of their constituents, were distributed into two houses. Three out of each county made a council, consisting of eighteen, and the remaining part formed an assembly of fifty-four.

Penn's next object was to treat with the natives. The benevolence of his disposition led him to exercise great tenderness towards them, which was much increased, by an opinion that he had formed, and which he openly avowed, that they were descended of the ten dispersed tribes of Israel. He travelled into the country, visited them in their cabins, was present at their feasts, conversed with them in a free and familiar manner, and gained their affections, by his obliging carriage, and frequent acts of generosity.

Some of their chiefs made him a voluntary present, of the land which they claimed: others sold it at a stipulated price. He was so happy as to succeed in his endeavours, to gain the good will of the Indians. They have frequently, in subsequent treaties, many years afterwards, expressed great veneration for his memory; and to perpetuate it, they have given to the successive governors of Pennsylvania, the name of Onas, which in their language signifies a Pen.

One part of his agreement with the Indians was, that they should sell no lands to any person, but to himself, or his agents: another was, that his agents should not occupy, nor grant any lands, but those fairly purchased of the Indians.

Penn foresaw, that the situation of his province, and the liberal encouragement which he had given to settlers, would draw people of all denominations thither, and render it a place of commerce. He therefore determined to lay the plan of a capital city, which, in conformity to his catholic and pacific ideas, he called Philadelphia. The site of it was a neck of land, between the river Delaware and Schuylkill; and he designed that the city should extend from one to the other. This spot was chosen on account of the firm soil, the gentle rising from each river, towards the middle, the numerous springs, the depth of water, for ships of burden, and the good anchorage. The ground was surveyed, and a plan of the intended city was drawn, by Thomas Holme, surveyor general. Ten streets, of two miles in length, were laid out from river to river, and twenty streets, of one mile in length, crossing them at right angles. Four squares were reserved for common purposes; one in each quarter of the city, and in the centre, on the

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bounded on the east by the river Delaware, extending westward five degrees of longitude, stretching to the north, from twelve miles northward of Newcastle, to the forty-third degree of latitude, and limited on the south by a circle of

most elevated spot, was a larger square of ten acres, in which were to be built a state-house, a market-house, a school-house, and a place of worship. On the side of each river it was intended to build wharves, and ware-houses; and from each front street, nearest to the rivers, an open space was to be left, in the descent to the shores. All owners of one thousand acres were entitled to a city lot. Before each house, was to be an open court, planted with rows of trees. The city was rapidly built, and its increasing inhabitants were plentifully supplied, from the adjacent farms.

Penn was well contented with the country. Among his printed works, we find an affectionate address to the people of Pennsylvania. This concludes as follows: "my friends, remember that the Lord hath brought you upon the stage. He hath now tried you, with liberty; yea, and with power, he hath put precious opportunities into your hands. Have a care of a perverse spirit; and do not provoke the Lord, by doing those things, by which the inhabitants of the land, that were before you, grieved his spirit: but sanctify God, the living God, in your hearts, that his blessing may fall, and rest upon you and your offspring!"

In the spring of 1683, a second assembly was held in the new city of Philadelphia; and a great number of laws were passed. Among other regulations, it was enacted, that, to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, called peace makers, should be chosen by every county court, to hear and determine small differences, between man and man.

The state of the province at this time, has been compared to that of "a father and his family; the latter united by interest and affection, the former revered for the wisdom of his institutions, and the indulgent use of his authority. Those who were ambitious of repose found it in Pennsylvania; and as none returned with an evil report of the land, numbers followed. The community wore the same equal face: no one was oppressed. Industry was sure of profit, knowledge of esteem, and virtue of veneration." In this prosperous state of his province, Penn left it, and went to England. During his absence, a period of fifteen years, the province experienced many inconveniences. The provincial council, having no steady hand, to hold the balance, had fallen into a controversy respecting their several powers, and privileges; and Moore, one of the proprietary officers, had been impeached of high misdemeanors.

Penn returned in 1699: but did not find the people so tractable as before. Their minds were soured by his long absence, and by the conduct of his deputies. After much time spent in trying their tempers, and penetrating their views, he found it most adviseable to listen to their remonstrances. Discontents were allayed; but perfect good humour was not restored.

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twelve miles, drawn round Newcastle, to the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude.

In this charter, there was no express stipulation, as had been inserted in all other colonial patents, "that the Pennsylvanians, and their descendants, should be considered as subjects born within the realm." But clauses were inserted, providing, that "acts of parliament, concerning trade, navigation, and the customs, should be duly observed;" and it was also stipulated, that "no custom, or other contribution should be laid on the inhabitants, or their estates, unless by the consent of the proprietary or governor, and assembly, or by act of parliament, in England." The omission of the first clause, the insertion of the second, and the reservation in favour of parliament in the last, may have been occasioned by difficulties which had then arisen, about the rights of the colonists, and the power of parliament over them. Massachusetts had, before that time, questioned the authority of parliament to tax them, and legislate for them. The general clause, that the colonists should retain all the privileges of Englishmen, had already been made the basis of claims, against which some in the mother country had many objections. Perhaps the ruling powers of England were sensible, that they had previously delegated too much of independence to their colonies, and intended to be more guarded in future: but their caution was too late. Nearly a century afterwards, Dr. Franklin, when examined at the bar of the British house of commons, explained the matter, by saying, "that the inhabitants, from the first settlement of the province, relied that the parliament never would or could tax them, by virtue of that reservation, till it had qualified itself constitutionally for the exercise of such right, by admitting representatives from the people."

Penn soon commenced a settlement, and published a frame of government for Pennsylvania. Its chief intention was declared to be, "for the support of power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration: for liberty,

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without obedience, is confusion; and obedience, without liberty, is slavery." To carry this intention into effect, it was ordained, that the assembly should consist, first, of the whole body of freemen, afterwards, of two hundred, and never more than five hundred persons. A provincial council was established, consisting of seventy-two members, to be chosen by the freemen; a third of whom annually went out of office, and were replaced by others, chosen in the same manner. After the expiration of the first seven years, an interval of one year was required, before any person, going out of the council, could be re-elected. The governor, possessed of three votes, presided in this council, which was invested with the executive power, and with an authority to prepare bills, to be laid before the assembly, which bills were to be published, and affixed in the most noted places, thirty days before the meeting of the legislature. The people had no further share in the passing of laws, than by their simple yea or nay, to accept or reject such as were prepared, and offered for their consideration by the council of seventy-two.

This frame of government was at length laid aside, as inapplicable to the condition of the colony: and a more simple form, resembling those established in the other provinces, was adopted. This remained, until the proprietary government itself was dissolved.

In August, 1682, Penn, after long solicitations, obtained, from the duke of York, a conveyance of the town of Newcastle, with the territory twelve miles around it, and that tract of land extending thence southward, on the Delaware, to cape Henlopen. This is now the state of Delaware. He soon afterwards set out for America, accompanied by about two thousand emigrants; and, in the October following, landed at Newcastle, on the banks of the Delaware, where, in addition to the colonists sent out by himself, he found settlements, consisting of about three thousand persons, composed of Swedes, Dutch, Finlanders, and English. He cultivated with care the good will of the natives, and purchased from them, at a satisfactory price, such lands as were necessary for the present use of the colony. Within the space of a year

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after the requisites for a regular settlement were obtained, between twenty and thirty sail, with passengers, arrived in the province. The banks of the Delaware were rapidly settled, from the falls of Trenton down to Chester. Most of these primitive settlers were orderly, religious people, chiefly of the Quaker persuasion; and several of them were aforehand. They were from England, Wales, Ireland, and Germany. Emigrants from the last, settled Germantown, in 1682. On their landing, they set about procuring shelter. Some lodged in the woods, under trees; some in caves,* which were easily dug on the high banks of the west side of the Delaware; others in huts, erected in the most expeditious manner. The difference between the finely improved countries they had left, and the wild woody desert on which they were about to fix themselves, was immense: but the soil was fertile, the air clear and healthy, and the streams of water good and plentiful. There was an abundance of wood, for fuel and building. Tools, for cutting it down, and working it up, were brought from England. The anticipation of future comforts, from these natural advantages, together with the recollection of their honourable views, in making the settlement, enabled them to bear up under all difficulties. They soon cleared ground, and planted it with Indian corn and wheat. Though nearly three thousand people came the first year, they were all provided for. Deer, wild turkies, fish, and Indian corn, were in great plenty. A deer could be purchased for about two shillings, and other articles in a relative proportion. Tradition informs us, that, in particular seasons, wild pigeons were in such abundance, as to be easily

* In one of these, John Kay, the first born of English parents, in Philadelphia, drew his first breath. He died at Kennet, Chester county, in 1767, aged eighty-five. If he had lived but a few years longer, so as to approach the age of his countryman and contemporary, Edward Drinker, this houseless, first son of Pennsylvania might have seen, within a few hundred yards of the cave in which he was born, an audience given, by the president of congress, Henry Laurens, the grandson of a persecuted French Protestant refugee, to Monsieur Gerard, sent by the last of the Bourbon kings of France, as minister plenipotentiary to the new-formed states of America, of which Philadelphia was then the capital.

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taken, and to be extensively contributory to the support of the settlers. In this situation, to be strong, healthy, active, and capable of bearing fatigue, was of much more consequence than high birth, or pompous titles. He fared the best, who was most expert in the various practical arts, directly subservient to the procurement of food, clothing, and shelter, from the woods, waters, and surface of an uncultivated country. Even that delicacy of habit, which results from close application to study and mental improvement, was inconvenient; for it abated that capacity for labour which their situation required. Hands were much more in demand than heads. Servants, and the lower class of people, who had been used to work hard, and fare scantily, prospered more than those who had been accustomed to live at their ease, and brought property with them. In a society thus constituted, opinions favourable to liberty, equality, and the rights of man, were of spontaneous growth.

The first assembly was held at Upland, now called Chester, in 1682; and, in a short session of three days, it despatched much important business. They agreed upon an act of settlement, in the nature of a constitution, or form of government; or rather consented to one, offered to them by Penn, for their consideration. The Dutch, Swedes, Finlanders, and others, who had previously settled in the vicinity of the Delaware, were naturalized. Every foreigner, who should join them, and promise allegiance to the king, and obedience to the proprietors, was declared a freeman. The territories, for so was the late purchase from the late duke of York denominated, were annexed to the province; and to the former, all the privileges of the latter were communicated: but some time afterwards, they were detached, and continued a separate colony, with one and the same governor, but a different assembly.

The following principles were adopted, in the early government of Pennsylvania: "That children should be taught some useful trade, to the end, that none may be idle; that the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they became poor;" "factors, wronging their employers, to make satis-

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faction, and one-third over." It was also declared, that every thing "which excites the people to rudeness, cruelty, and irreligion, should be discouraged, and severely punished;" and "that none, acknowledging one God, and living peaceably in society, should be molested for his opinions, or his practice, or compelled to frequent or maintain any ministry whatsoever." To these regulations, which were established as fundamentals, must be attributed the rapid improvement of this colony, and the spirit of diligence, order, and economy, for which the Pennsylvanians have been, at all times, so justly celebrated.

Penn, dissatisfied with the act of settlement, though formed by himself, proposed a second frame of government. To this, with his usual address, he easily procured the assent of the assembly. For the encouragement of aliens, it declared, "that, in case of death, without naturalization, their lands shall descend to their heirs." In order that the inhabitants might be accommodated with such food as Providence had freely afforded, "liberty was given to every one, to hunt on uninclosed lands, and to fish in all waters belonging to the province." The assembly of April, 1683, established various salutary regulations. Abrogating the common law, with regard to the descent of land, it enacted, "that the estates of intestates should be disposed of, one-third of the personal property absolutely, and one-third of the lands during life, to the widow; two-thirds of both among the children, the eldest son having a double share."

By the promulgation of these and similar laws, the growing prosperity of the province was promoted. Their beneficial effects were felt, long after their legislative energy had ceased. While Pennsylvania prospered, by the wisdom of her regulations, Penn, in 1684, went to England. He left his province in profound peace, under the administration of five commissioners, chosen from the provincial council, at the head of whom was president Loyd.

Notwithstanding so much care had been taken, "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power," the proprietary had scarce-

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ly departed, when the most violent dissensions ensued. The provincial council and the assembly contended about their mutual privileges and powers. Controversy necessarily grew out of a constitution so extremely complicated. Penn, disgusted with the disputes of a province, where he expected harmony to preside, and dissatisfied with a frame of government, which had assuredly given them birth, ordered his commissioners, in 1686, to procure its dissolution: but these were steadily opposed by the assembly, which, in the danger of frequent innovation, perceived the loss of the people's rights. The commissioners, being unable to execute the orders which had been given them, were not long afterwards superseded, and a deputy governor, for the first time, appointed.

Every year brought new settlers. In 1683, three counties, named Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks, were laid off, contiguous to the Delaware, and chiefly settled by Quakers. In 1729, it became necessary to establish a new county, on the eastern bank of the Susquehannah. This was named Lancaster. About the same time, an annual stream of emigrants, chiefly from Ireland and Germany, began to pour into Pennsylvania. In the interval between 1730 and 1774, new settlers, from those countries, filled with inhabitants the more westerly and northerly counties, Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Northampton, Berks, Bedford, Northumberland, and Westmoreland. These Irish and German emigrants planted arts and manufactures in Pennsylvania, at an early day. Spinning and weaving were introduced by the first; and the manufacture of linen and woollen, especially of the former, carried to a great extent. Among the Germans were many ingenious handicraftsmen, whose services were much wanted in the new settlement.

In the year 1682, the foundation of Philadelphia, the metropolis of the province, was laid. Within twelve months from its commencement, it contained one hundred houses, and rapidly increased. In ninety-four years, it became the capital of an independent empire; and in it, audience was given to a minister plenipotentiary from the court of France:

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on the very spot, where, in less than a century before, wild beasts prowled, and wild men roamed. At the same time, Pennsylvania, grown to great consequence, held in her hands the balance between six independent states on the north, and as many to the south, as often as they were equally divided, on national questions.

Penn had been so eminently favoured, by Charles the first and Charles the second, that his enemies represented him as a Jesuit, disguised under the garb of Quakerism. Having been a friend to James, he was supposed to be an enemy to William. After his return from America, in 1684, he was detained in Europe, and, at four different times, imprisoned, on vague suspicion, and unfounded charges: but his upright, virtuous character stood the test of the severest scrutiny. He declared, "that he loved his country, and the Protestant religion, above his life, and that he had never acted against either: but that king James had been his friend, and his father's friend, and he thought himself bound, in justice and gratitude, to be a friend to him." The jealous policy of that day had no ear for sentiments of the heart. Penn was among the last to acknowledge the prince and princess of Orange; and the government of Pennsylvania was carried on, for one or two years, in the name of king James, after his abdication. These, and other grounds of suspicion, were urged with so much zeal against Penn, as to induce king William to deprive him of his government. Pennsylvania, without any respect to its charter, was, in 1692, annexed to New York, and subjected to the administration of Fletcher, governor of that province. Penn, having vindicated his character, and established himself in the good opinion of king William, soon regained his province, and appointed William Markham lieutenant governor, to take care of its interests. This storm had scarcely blown over, when another began to lour. Early in the eighteenth century, measures were agitated in England, for reducing all the proprietary governments in America into regal ones; and a bill for that purpose was brought into the House of Lords. By the address of

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the friends of Penn, and of Pennsylvania, this project was given up.

New difficulties, from another quarter, arose. In the last years of the seventeenth, and the first of the eighteenth century, wars raged between France and England. The defence of New York, which borders on Canada, was considered as both the duty and interest of the other provinces. Pennsylvania was called upon, for her quota, in men and money. The assembly of the province, at that time, consisted almost wholly of Quakers, whose pacific principles are opposed to war, in every form. The principles and the security they enjoyed, by their distance from Canada, rendered them averse to granting the aid required. Much altercation ensued. A salvo for their principles and their duty was proposed, and agreed to. They granted sums of money, not for warlike purposes, but to provide for the support of the Six Nations of Indians, who, as allies of Great Britain, co-operated with her, against the French in Canada, and, for that co-operation, were maintained at the expense of government. Another expedient was also adopted: they voted small sums to the queen, without any specification of the use to which it might be applied.

In 1700, the charter of the province was surrendered, by the assembly, under a promise of restitution, with improvements. When a new charter, proffered by Penn, was under debate, the representatives of the lower counties wanted to obtain some privileges, peculiar to themselves, which the others were not willing to allow. The members from the territory, therefore, refused to join, and thus a separation was made of the province of Pennsylvania from the three lower counties.

In this new charter, the people had no voice in the election of counsellors. Whoever afterwards served in this capacity were appointed by the proprietor: but they had no power of legislation. The executive was vested solely in him, and he had a negative on all their laws. On the other hand, the assembly had the right of originating laws, which before had been prepared for their deliberation. If the governor and as-

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sembly should agree, they were invested with all the powers of a legislative body; but not otherwise. On the 28th of October, 1701, this charter was accepted, by the representatives of the province; previous to which, the city of Philadelphia was incorporated by another charter, and the government of it committed to a mayor, recorder, eight aldermen, and twelve common council-men.

These two charters were the last public acts of Mr. Penn's personal administration, in Pennsylvania. Shortly afterwards, he sailed for England. At his departure from Philadelphia, he left, as his deputy, Andrew Hamilton. On Mr. Hamilton's death, John Evans was appointed, in 1704, to succeed him. His administration was one unvaried scene of controversy and uneasiness.

In the year 1706, when the war raged, and the Pennsylvania assembly, true to their principles, would neither pass militia laws, nor do any acts, which had a military aspect, Evans, governor of the province, contrived that an alarm should be extensively circulated, on the foundation of false intelligence, that a number of hostile vessels had entered the Delaware bay, and had advanced a considerable way towards its head. The governor held the Quaker principles of non-resistance in so much contempt, that he believed they would not stand a serious trial; but would yield to the first law of nature, self-preservation, when life and property were in danger. On receipt of the intelligence, which came from Newcastle by express, and as was said by previous concert, the governor rode through the streets of Philadelphia, with a drawn sword in his hand, apparently in great commotion, commanding and urging all to come forward, and defend the city. For some short time, several believed the report. Much property was hid, or carried off; and the helpless part of the community had begun to move up the river. Several armed themselves; but among them were very few of the Quakers. The most intelligent gave no credit to the report. Before the day closed, it was satisfactorily ascertained, that the whole was an imposition. The governor and his friends

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were insulted, as the authors and propagators of a studied deception.

In the same year, Pennsylvania was relieved from an oppressive act of the territorial government, now called the state of Delaware. The assembly thereof had imposed a duty, payable in powder, on all vessels not owned by residents, which passed a fort at Newcastle. Pennsylvania had often, but in vain, remonstrated against this exaction. Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and Samuel Preston, without violating their pacific principles, as Quakers, successfully adopted a new mode of defeating this claim. Hill had a vessel ready for sea; but doubting the resolution of his captain, to pass the fort without a permit, he himself went in her, down the river. Shortly before they came abreast of the fort, Hill dropt anchor, went ashore, and used many arguments, to obtain an uninterrupted passage for his vessel. His request was refused. Hill returned to his vessel, stood to the helm himself, and, passing the fort, received its fire unhurt, and with but very little damage to his rigging. John French, commander of the fort, in an armed boat pursued. On his approach, Hill threw out a rope, and brought him on board. The rope was instantly cut. The boat fell astern. French, separated from his men, boat, and fort, was conducted peaceably to the cabin, while the vessel pursued her voyage, with her new passenger. Hill was not satisfied with this bloodless victory; but interested the merchants of Philadelphia, who petitioned the assembly to interfere. The result was, that the demand of powder money, from that time, wholly ceased.

Though Penn was a wise and good man, and the people he led to Pennsylvania were, in general, orderly and well disposed, yet there were almost constant bickerings between him and them.* He changed the form of government two

* In 1704, the assembly of Pennsylvania drew up a statement of their grievances, and transmitted to Penn, the proprietor, a long and bitter remonstrance, in which they charged him with not performing his promises. They took a retrospective view of his whole conduct, and particularly blamed his long absence from 1684, to 1699; during which, the interest of

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or three times, and each change was apparently for the better, and more to the satisfaction of the inhabitants; yet there was seldom any reciprocal satisfaction between the parties. From Moses, the legislator of Israel, to Penn, the leader of the Quakers, it has been the lot of all men, who have undertaken to conduct emigrants, from one country to another, to fail in satisfying the people, whose benefit was one of the primary objects of the emigration. Between the opposition Penn had to encounter, in England, and the difficulties he had to combat, in Pennsylvania, his life was a continued scene of successive vexations. His private fortune was materially injured, by his advances to promote the infant settlement, particularly to preserve the friendship and good will of the Indians. His province for some considerable time was subjected to a mortgage. After being harassed by his creditors, he was obliged to submit to a temporary loss of his personal liberty. It was his lot, in common with many illustrious benefactors of mankind, to meet with very improper returns, for great philanthropic exertions. He lived poor, but died rich; leaving an inheritance to his children,

the province was sinking. They complained that he had ordered his deputy to call assemblies, by his writs; and to prorogue and dissolve them, at his pleasure; that he had reserved to himself, though in England, an assent to bills passed by his deputy, by which means, three negatives were put on their acts, one by the deputy governor, another by the proprietor, and a third by the crown. They added to their list of grievances, the abuses and extortions of the secretary, surveyor, and other officers, which might have been prevented, if he had passed a bill, proposed by the assembly, in 1701, for regulating fees; and also, the want of an established judicature, between him and the people; for it was alleged, "that the judges, being appointed by him, could not, in that case, be considered as independent and unbiassed." The language of this remonstrance was plain and unreserved.

They sent him another remonstrance, in which they complained, that the grievances before mentioned were not redressed; and they added to the catalogue, articles of impeachment against Logan, the secretary, and Evans, the deputy governor. The latter was removed from his office, and was succeeded by Gookin, in 1709, and he by Sir William Keith, in 1717.

These deputy governors were dependent on the proprietor, for their appointment, and on the people for their support; if they displeased the former, they were recalled; if the latter, their allowance was withheld; and it was next to impossible to keep on good terms with both.

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which, at the commencement of the American revolution, was of immense value. His manifold vexations and embarrassments preyed on his spirits, and had an unhappy effect on his mental powers, which had previously shone with lustre, and been productive of great benefit to mankind. In the year 1712, to free himself from all embarrassments, he offered to sell to queen Anne his province, and the territories, for 20,000*l.*: but finally agreed to take 12,000*l.* The consequences of an apoplexy are said to have prevented his executing a transfer, though he lived till the year 1718. He died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the province remained the property of his family to the revolution.

In the interval, between the death of William Penn and the American revolution, government was administered by governors Keith, Gordon, Thomas, Hamilton, Morris, John Penn, Richard Penn, and two presidents of the council, James Logan and Anthony Palmer. In this period, the province was in a most flourishing state:* but the termination of one dispute was generally the beginning of another. These agitated the minds of public men; but produced no mischievous effects, or indeed any discernible effects whatever, on the majority of the inhabitants. Disputes about unsettled boundaries caused some unpleasant altercations, between the proprietors of Maryland and of Pennsylvania. Each endeavoured to extend his patent over that of the other. The proprietor of Maryland wished to stretch his province to the Delaware. The proprietor of Pennsylvania wished to comprehend in his, some part of Chesapeak bay. There were some controversies with respect to the binding force of proprietary instructions, and the legislative powers of the council; and about the right of enlisting in-

* In the year 1736, the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin commenced his public career. He was then elected clerk of the assembly of Pennsylvania. For more than half a century afterwards, he was, by popular election, almost constantly in the exercise of some important public office; and, for the last thirty-five years of his life, in possession of more literary fame, than had ever fallen to the lot of any American At the same time, he was a zealous friend of liberty, and essentially contributed to procure that inestimable blessing, for the country of his nativity and residence.

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dented servants, as soldiers: but the people industriously pursued their respective employments, without taking any anxious interest in these matters. This province is a singular instance, how public disputes may even promote private prosperity; for, when the spirit of a people is roused, they naturally turn the energy, which they thence acquire, to the usual occupations of life. The government was in the hands of Quakers. Their administration, in time of peace, was well calculated to advance the public good. The assembly, in the war of 1739, 1748, testified their loyalty, by making occasional presents, in money, to the king of Great Britain, without violating their pacific principles. In the war of 1756, 1763, they had a very difficult part to act. By that time, the Quakers no longer were a majority of the province. A vast influx of emigrants, who held the lawfulness of defensive war, had spread over the interior of the country. The Indians were instigated by the French to attack the western frontiers. A militia law, directing and requiring regular organized provincial resistance, to the invasions of Indians, and French parties from the Ohio, was eagerly called for, by these frontier settlers. Serious disputes arose between Irish Presbyterians, in the western country, and pacific Quaker assemblymen, inhabiting the opposite extremity of the province. The former were able and willing to defend themselves; but wished the burden of defence to be regulated and equalized by law. The latter would pass no law, that sanctioned war, in any form. Evil passions were excited to a high degree; and one part of the community was almost instigated to engage in a civil war against the other. Some Indians, under the protection of government, were, in 1763, cruelly massacred by violent men, stirred up to madness against every Indian, whether friend or foe. The Quaker policy was to sooth these wild men, by justice, kindness, and liberality. In this way, they made great exertions, and had preserved peace with them for seventy years. The opposite party thought that prompt, severe, military correction was the most effectual mode of restraining their savage tempers, and preserving peace. When the war was ended, a new dis-

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pute commenced. The governors would not consent to any law, by which unsold proprietary lands should be taxed. The assembly conceived, that the estates of the proprietaries should be taxed, as the estates of other persons were. Resenting this claim of exemption, the assembly took measures to solicit king George to take the province under his paternal care. This overture was defeated, by the eloquence of John Dickinson, who then, 1764, was beginning to display those talents, which shone through a long life, with distinguished splendour. The stamp act, and the tea act, of the mother country, soon drew the attention of the Pennsylvanians from local disputes, to those which interested all the colonies. In a short time after these events, the Boston port act, and other simultaneous, oppressive acts, engrossed the public mind, to the exclusion of all minor subjects.

Pennsylvania, which, with the exception of Georgia, was the last settled of all the colonies, had outstripped several of her elder sisters, in arts, wealth, and numbers. With a population of 372,208 inhabitants, collected and raised in less than a century, she joined the confederated colonies, in their resistance to Great Britain.

DELAWARE.

The country, now called the state of Delaware, was first visited by Swedes and Fins, in or about the year 1627. They purchased from the natives the land on both sides of the Delaware, from cape Henlopen to the falls of that river, and took peaceable possession. They and others had, for some years previously, sailed into the Delaware, and traded with the natives. While English settlements were advancing in Virginia and New England, the attention of other European powers was turned to the American continent. Such reports of the pleasantness and fertility of the country, adjacent to the river Delaware, had been in Sweden, that Gustavus Adolphus, in 1626, influenced his subjects to make settlements therein. A company was formed for this purpose, by royal authority, and denominated the West India company. The king, his lords, barons, knights, several of his principal officers, and

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many of the common people of Sweden and Finland, became members of this company. The next year, the Swedes and Fins came over, and landed on the southern cape of the Delaware, which they named Point Paradise. They called the country, on both sides of the river, New Sweden. Having obtained the good will of the Indians, they made a settlement on Christiana creek, and laid out a handsome town, on the west side of the Delaware. They also made settlements at Lewistown, Tenecum, and Chester. Apprehending danger from the Dutch, in New Amsterdam, now New York, they erected forts at Christiana, Lewistown, Chester, and Tenecum. The fortress on the last of these was called New Gottenburg. This was their seat of government. Here John Printz, their governor, built an elegant seat, which he named Printz-hall. About this time, the English began a settlement at Elsingburgh, on the Jersey side of the Delaware. Keift, the Dutch governor, broke up this settlement, and hired the Swedes, to keep the English out of the river. The Swedish governor improved his opportunity, and built fort Elsingburgh, on the very ground from which the English had been driven. Having got the command of the river, he exercised authority over all vessels that entered it. In 1651, the Dutch built a fort on the Delaware. This was taken from them by the Swedes. The Dutch resented the conduct of the Swedes, and, wishing to possess the river and adjacent country, Stuyvesant, governor of New Amsterdam, in 1655, with a considerable force, attacked and reduced all the Swedish forts and settlements, on both sides of the Delaware. The Swedish officers and principal inhabitants were taken prisoners, and sent to Holland; but the common people, on their submission to the Dutch government, were permitted to remain. The Swedes, at this time, were so numerous, as to have three places of public worship, one at Tenecum, one at Wicoco, and one at Christiana. From the year 1655, the Swedes were incorporated with the Dutch, under one government, and continued so till 1664.

All the English settlements were made, after the conquest of the Dutch, in that year, and were subjected to the govern-

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ment of New York. In 1655, the Dutch took from the Swedes a fort on the west banks of the Delaware. This was called Casimir by the Swedes, and afterwards Niewer Amstel by the Dutch. A village rose under its wall, which, on the conquest of the country, in 1664, took, and has ever since retained, the name of Newcastle. This, with the exception of Jamestown, is the oldest town in the United States, to the southward of New York; but its size and population bear no proportion to its age, when compared with its more thriving junior neighbours, Philadelphia and Baltimore. A settlement made by the Dutch, on cape Henlopen, excited the attention of Lord Baltimore. He sent a commission to Newcastle, ordering the Dutch governor to remove beyond the fortieth degree of north latitude. The command was not obeyed; and the place remained in the possession of the Dutch, till the conquest of New Amsterdam, by the English, in 1664. It then became the property of the duke of York. In 1682, the duke conveyed it to William Penn. It was also claimed by Lord Baltimore, as a part of Maryland; but Penn's rights were established to one-half of the peninsula, between the Delaware and Chesapeak, and the property remained in his family, till the American revolution.

From 1682 till 1703, it was governed as a part of Pennsylvania. From the latter year, it had a distinct assembly; but one governor presided over both provinces. This country underwent many changes, after it became the property of Penn. Its government was fixed, but it was not the seat of any striking events, prior to the revolution. Its tranquillity, throughout this period, was undisturbed, except by the wars in which, as a province of Great Britain, it was obliged to participate. In the war of 1755, 1763, Delaware was inferior to none of the colonies, in active zeal to co-operate with the parent state. At the close of this war, parliament granted her 4000*l.* sterling, as a reimbursement of her extraordinary expenses, in the common cause. In the revolutionary war, the Delaware regiment was reckoned the most efficient in the continental army. When Delaware joined the con-

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federacy against Great Britain, in 1775, its population was 87,219.

In the space of seventy-four years, part of the seventeenth century, the North American continent, from New Hampshire to Georgia, was parcelled out into distinct governments. Little did the wisdom of these early periods of American history foresee of the consequences, both good and evil, that were to result to the old world, from discovering and colonizing the new. When we consider the immense floods of gold and silver, which have flowed from it into Europe, the subsequent increase of industry and population, the prodigious extension of commerce, manufactures, and navigation, and the influence of the whole on manners and arts; we see such an accumulation of good, as leads us to rank Columbus among the greatest benefactors of the human race: but when we view the injustice done the natives; the extirpation of many of their numerous nations, whose names are no more heard; the havoc made among the first settlers; the slavery of the Africans, to which America has furnished the temptation, and the many long and bloody wars which it has occasioned; we behold such a crowd of woes, as excites an apprehension, that the evil has outweighed the good.*

* The slave trade, or bringing negroes from Africa, to be sold as slaves, grew out of the discovery of America, and commenced seventy-one years after that event. Captain Hawkins, who was the first to engage in this branch of commerce, brought three hundred negroes from Africa, in 1563, and sold them for slaves, to the Spaniards in Hispaniola. It commenced in British America, thirteen years after the settlement of James Town. The first importers of slaves into America were Englishmen. The first importers into the country, now called the United States, were Dutchmen. In about seventeen years after the first settlement of New England, negroes were imported into it, in the course of trade, from the West Indies. The trade was never brisk, in the northern colonies; for, in them, labour could be advantageously performed by white men: but in the warmer southern states, especially near the sea coast, the capacity of white men to labour in the swamps, and under higher degrees of solar heat, was very little. In these states, the introduction of slaves was carried to so great an extent, that their aggregate number, inclusive of their issue, born in the country, at the commencement of the revolution, was about half a million. The evil did not terminate with the

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In vain do we look among ancient nations, for examples of colonies, established on principles of policy, similar to those of the colonies of Great Britain. England did not, like the republics of Greece, oblige her sons to form distant communities, in the wilds of the earth. Like Rome, she did not give lands as a gratuity to soldiers, who became a military force, for the defence of her frontiers: she did not, like Carthage, subdue the neighbouring states, in order to acquire an exclusive right to their commerce. No conquest was ever attempted over the aborigines of America. Their right to the soil was disregarded, and their country looked

revolution; for the most southern states continued the importation, till it was prohibited, in 1808.

The discovery of America was also the occasion of a great increase of piracy. Hordes of lawless men associated, and took their station in some of the uninhabited spots of the new world, where they gave themselves up to all manner of licentiousness. They lived by hunting swine and cattle, which abounded in the mountains, and acquired the name of Buccaneers, from the practice of preserving their beef and pork, called in French *boucane*. After living in this manner, some became cultivators; but others betook themselves to piracy. They fortified themselves in Tortuga, and, sallying forth, in small companies, sought for booty. This was divided with the most scrupulous justice. Though they violated that virtue with others, they observed it among themselves. After their plunder was expended, they went in quest of more. To these enemies of the human race, frequent accessions were made from the outcasts of all nations. They became formidable, and attacked several Spanish towns. In 1697, they took Carthagena, and property to the value of seven or eight millions of dollars. They also extended their depredations along the American coast, from Maine to Carolina, especially in the southern extreme. Landing in several places, they buried their ill-gotten wealth, in spots known only to themselves. To dig for this hidden treasure, was the amusement of several credulous inhabitants, for a considerable part of the eighteenth century. The pirates, at one time, had the command of the gulf of Florida, and in it made many valuable prizes. They almost ruined the trade to the West Indies, and, for a short time, nearly blocked up the port of Charleston, in South Carolina. They had two contiguous harbours, one in cape Fear river, North Carolina, and another at New Providence, from which they sallied forth, and made many prizes. Their rendezvous, in the latter place, was broke up by captain Rogers; in the former, in the year 1718, by governor Johnson and colonel Rhett, of South Carolina. Many years passed away, and the strong arm of government was vigorously exerted, before the American seas were cleared of freebooters.

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upon as a waste, open to the occupancy and use of other nations. It was considered that settlements might be there formed, for the advantage of those who should migrate thither, as well as of the mother country. The rights and interests of the native proprietors were, all this time, deemed of no account.

What was the extent of obligations, by which colonies, planted under these circumstances, were bound to the mother country, is a subject of nice discussion. Whether these arose from nature and the constitution, or from compact, is a question necessarily connected with many others. While the friends of union contended, that the king of England had a property in the soil of America, by virtue of a right derived from prior discovery, and that his subjects, by migrating from one part of his dominions to another, did not lessen their obligations, to obey the supreme power of the nation, it was inferred, that the emigrants to English America continued to owe the same obedience to the king and parliament, as if they had never quitted the land of their nativity. But if, as others contended, the Indians were the only lawful proprietors of the country, in which their Creator had placed them, and they sold their right to emigrants, who, as men, had a right to leave their native country, and as subjects, had obtained chartered permission to do so, it follows, that the obligations of the colonists, to their parent state, must have resulted more from compact, and the prospect of reciprocal advantage, than from natural obligation. The latter opinions seem to have been adopted by several of the colonists, particularly in New England. Sundry persons of influence in that country always held, that birth was no necessary cause of subjection; for that the subject of any prince or state had a natural right to remove to any other state or quarter of the globe; especially if deprived of liberty of conscience; and that, upon such removal, his subjection ceased.

The validity of charters, about which the emigrants to America were universally anxious, rests upon the same foundation. If the right of the sovereigns of England, to

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the soil of America, were ideal, and contrary to natural justice, and if no one can give what is not his own, their charters were on several accounts a nullity. In the eye of reason and philosophy, they could give no right to American territory. The only validity, which such grants could have, was, that the grantees had from their sovereign, a permission to depart from their native country, and negotiate with the proprietors for the purchase of the soil, and thereupon to acquire a power of jurisdiction subject to his crown. These were the opinions of many of the settlers in New England. They looked upon their charters as a voluntary compact, between their sovereign and themselves, by which they were bound neither to be subject to, nor seek protection from any other prince; nor to make any laws repugnant to those of England: but did not consider them as inferring an obligation of obedience to a parliament, in which they were unrepresented. The prospects of advantage, which the emigrants to America expected from the protection of their native sovereign, and the prospect of aggrandizement, which their native sovereign expected from the extension of his empire, made the former very solicitous for charters, and the latter very ready to grant them. Neither reasoned clearly on their nature, nor well understood their extent. In less than eighty years, fifteen hundred miles of the sea coast were granted away; and so little did they who gave, or they who accepted of charters, understand their own transactions, that in several cases the same ground was covered by contradictory grants; and with an absurdity that can only be palliated by the ignorance of the parties, some of the grants extended to the South Sea, over a country whose breadth is yet unknown, and which to this day is unexplored.

Ideal as these charters were, they answered a temporary purpose. The colonists reposed confidence in them, and were excited to industry on their credit. They also deterred foreign European powers from disturbing them, because, agreeably to the late law of nations, relative to the appropriation of newly-discovered heathen countries, they inferred the protection of the sovereign who gave them. They also

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opposed a barrier to open and gross encroachments of the mother country on the rights of the colonists. A particular detail of these is not now necessary. Some general remarks may, nevertheless, be made on the early periods of colonial history, as they cast light on the late revolution. Long before the declaration of independence, several of the colonies, on different occasions, declared, that they ought not to be taxed, but by their own provincial assemblies; and that they considered subjection to acts of a British parliament, in which they had no representation, as a grievance. It is also worthy of being noted, that of the thirteen colonies, which have been lately formed into states, no one, Georgia excepted, was settled at the expense of government. Towards the settlement of that southern frontier, considerable sums have at different times been granted by parliament; but the twelve more northern Atlantic provinces have been wholly settled by private adventurers, without any advances from the national treasury. It does not appear, from existing records, that any compensation for their lands was ever made to the aborigines of America, by the crown or parliament of England; but policy, as well as justice, led the colonists to purchase and pay for what they occupied. This was done in almost every settlement; and they prospered most, who, by justice and kindness, took the greatest pains to conciliate the good will of the natives.

It is in vain to look for well-balanced constitutions, in the early periods of colonial history. Till the revolution, in the year 1688, a period subsequent to the settlement of the colonies, England herself can scarcely be said to have had a fixed constitution. At that eventful era, the line was first drawn, between the privileges of subjects and the prerogatives of sovereigns. It is sufficient in general to observe, that in less than eighty years from the first permanent English settlement in North America, the two original patents, granted to the Plymouth and London companies, were divided, and subdivided, into twelve distinct and unconnected provinces; and in fifty years more a thirteenth,

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by the name of Georgia, was added to the southern extreme of previous establishments.

To each of these, after various changes, there was ultimately granted a form of government, resembling, in its most essential parts, as far as local circumstances would permit, that which was established in the parent state. A minute description of constitutions, which no longer exist, would be both tedious and unprofitable. In general, it may be observed, that agreeably to the spirit of the British constitution, considerable provision was made for the liberties of the inhabitants. The prerogatives of royalty, and dependence on the mother country, were but feebly impressed, on the colonial forms of government. In some of the provinces, the inhabitants chose their governors, and all other public officers; and their legislatures were under little or no control. In others, the crown delegated most of its power to particular persons, who were also invested with the property of the soil. In those which were most immediately dependent on the king, he exercised no higher prerogatives over the colonists, than over their fellow-subjects, in England; and his power over the provincial legislative assemblies was not greater, than what he was constitutionally vested with, over the house of commons, in the mother country. From the acquiescence of the parent state, the spirit of her constitution, and daily experience, the colonists grew up in a belief, that their local assemblies stood in the same relation to them, as the parliament of Great Britain to the inhabitants of that island. The benefits of legislation were conferred on both, only through these constitutional channels.

It is remarkable, that though the English possessions in America were far inferior in natural riches to those which fell to the lot of other Europeans, yet the security of property and of liberty, derived from the English constitution, gave them a consequence to which the colonies of other powers, though settled at an earlier day, have not yet attained. The wise and liberal policy of England towards her colonies, during the first hundred and fifty years after their settlement, had a considerable influence in exalting them to

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this pre-eminence. She, for the most part, gave them full liberty to govern themselves, by such laws as their local legislatures thought necessary, and left their trade open to every individual in her dominions. She generally gave them permission to pursue their respective interests, in such manner as they thought proper, and reserved little for herself, but the benefit of their trade, and that of a political union, under the same head. The colonies, founded by other powers, experienced no such indulgences. Portugal and Spain burdened theirs with many vexatious regulations; gave encouragement only to what was for their own interest; and punished whatever had a contrary tendency. France and Holland did not adopt such oppressive maxims; but were, in fact, not much less rigorous and coercive. They assigned their colonies to mercantile associations, which sold to colonists the commodities of Europe, at an enormous advance, and took the produce of their lands, at a low price; and, at the same time, discouraged the growth of any more than they could dispose of, at excessive profits. These oppressive regulations were followed with their natural consequences. The settlements, thus restricted, advanced but slowly in population and in wealth.

The English colonies participated in that excellent form of government, with which their parent isle was blessed, and which had raised it to an admirable height of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. After many struggles, it had been acknowledged to be essential to the constitution of Great Britain, that the people could not be compelled to pay any taxes, nor be bound by any laws, but such as had been granted, or enacted, with the consent of themselves, or of their representatives. It was also one of their privileges, that they could not be affected, either in their property, their liberties or their persons, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of their peers.

From the operation of these general principles of liberty, and the wise policy of Great Britain, her American settlements increased in number, wealth, and resources, with a rapidity which surpassed all previous calculations. Neither

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ancient nor modern history can produce an example of colonies governed with equal wisdom, or flourishing with equal rapidity. In the short space of a hundred and fifty years, their numbers increased to three millions, and their commerce to such a degree, as to be more than a third of that of Great Britain. They also extended their settlements fifteen hundred miles on the sea coast, and three hundred miles to the westward. Their rapid population, though partly accelerated by the influx of strangers, was principally owing to internal causes. In consequence of the equality of fortune and simplicity of manners, which prevailed among them, their inhabitants multiplied far beyond the proportion of old nations, corrupted and weakened by the vices of wealth, and above all, of vanity; than which, perhaps, there is no greater enemy to the increase of the human species.

The good effects of a wise policy, and equal government, were not only discernible, in raising the colonies of England, to a pre-eminence over those of other European powers, but in raising some among themselves to greater importance than others. Their relative population and wealth were by no means correspondent to their respective advantages of soil and climate. From the common disproportion between the natural and artificial wealth of different countries, it seems to be a general rule, that the more nature does for any body of men, the less they are disposed to do for themselves.

The New England provinces, though possessed of a comparatively barren country, were improved much faster than others, which were blessed with a superior soil and milder climate. Their first settlers were animated with a high degree of that religious fervour, which excites to great undertakings. They also settled their vacant lands on principles of the wisest policy. Instead of granting large tracts to individuals, they sold the soil in small farms, to those who personally cultivated the same. Instead of disseminating their inhabitants over an extensive country, they formed successive settlements, in townships of six miles square. They also made such arrangements, in these townships, as co-extended the blessings of education, and of religious instruction, with

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their settlements. By these means, industry and morality were propagated, and knowledge was generally diffused.

In proportion to their respective numbers, it is probable that no other country in the world contained more sober, orderly citizens, and fewer who were profligate and abandoned. Those high crimes, which are usually punished with death, were so rare in New England, that many years have elapsed, in large populous settlements, without a single execution. Their less fertile soil disposed them to a spirit of adventure, and their victorious industry rose superior to every obstacle. In carrying on the whale fishery, they not only penetrated the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay, and Davis's Straits, but pierced into the opposite regions of polar cold. While some of them were striking the harpoon, on the coast of Africa, others pursued their gigantic game, near the shores of Brazil. While they were yet in their infancy, as a political society, they carried on this perilous business to an extent exceeding all that the perseverance of Holland, the activity of France, or the vigour of English enterprise, had ever accomplished. A spirit of liberty prompted their industry, and a free constitution guarded their civil rights. The country was settled with yeomanry, who were both proprietors and cultivators of the soil. Luxury was estranged from their borders. Enervating wealth and pinching poverty were both equally rare. Early marriages and a numerous offspring were common; thence population was rapid, and the inhabitants generally possessed that happy state of mediocrity, which favours the improvement, both of mind and body.

New York adjoined New England, but did not increase with equal rapidity. A few, by monopolizing large tracts of land, reduced many to the necessity of being tenants, or of removing to other provinces, where land could be obtained on more favourable terms. The increase of population, in this province, was nevertheless great, when compared with that of old countries. This appears from the following statement of their numbers, at different periods. In 1756, the province of New York contained 83,233 whites, and in 1771,

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148,124; an increase of nearly two for one, in the space of fifteen years.

Pennsylvania was at first settled by industrious inhabitants, chiefly of the sect of Quakers. The population of this country advanced equally, with that of the New England provinces. Among the inducements operating on foreigners to settle in Pennsylvania, was a most excellent form of provincial government, which secured the religious, as well as the civil rights of its inhabitants. While the mother country laboured under an oppressive ecclesiastical establishment, and while partialities of the same kind were sanctioned by law, in some of the American provinces; perfect liberty of conscience, and an exact equality of all sects, were, in every period, a part of the constitution of Pennsylvania.

Quaker simplicity, industry, and frugality, contributed, in like manner, to the flourishing of that province. The habits of that plain people correspond, admirably, with a new country, and with republican constitutions. Opposed to idleness and extravagance, they combined the whole force of religion, with customs and laws, to exile these vices from their society. The first Quaker settlers were followed by Germans, whose industry was not inferior to their own. The emigrants from other countries, who settled in Pennsylvania, followed these good examples; and industry and frugality became predominant virtues, over the whole province.

The policy of a loan-office was also eminently beneficial. The proprietaries of Pennsylvania sold their lands, in small tracts, and on long credit. The purchasers were indulged with the liberty of borrowing, on interest, paper bills of credit, out of the loan-office, on the mortgage of their lands. Perhaps there never was an institution which contributed more to the happiness of the people, or to the flourishing of a new country, than this land loan-office scheme. The province, being enriched by the clear interest of its loaned paper, was thereby enabled to defray the expenses of government, with moderate taxes. The industrious farmer was furnished with the means of cultivating and stocking his farm. These improvements, by increasing the value of the land, not only

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established the credit of the paper, but enabled the borrower, in a few years, to pay off the original loan, with the productions of the soil. The progressive improvement of Pennsylvania may be estimated, from the increase of its trade. In the year 1704, that province imported goods from the mother country, amounting in value only to 11,499*l.* sterling; but in 1772, to the value of 507,909*l.* an increase of nearly fifty for one, in little more than half a century.

In Maryland and Virginia, a policy less favourable to population, and somewhat different from that of Pennsylvania, took place. The church of England was incorporated, simultaneously, with the first settlement of Virginia; and, in the lapse of time, it also became the established religion of Maryland. In both these provinces, long before the American revolution, that church possessed a legal pre-eminence, and was maintained at the expense, not only of its own members, but of all other denominations. This deterred great numbers, especially of the Presbyterian denomination, who had emigrated from Ireland, from settling within the limits of these governments, and fomented a spirit of discord, between those who belonged to, and those who dissented from the established church.

In these and the other southern provinces, domestic slavery was common. Though it was not by law forbidden any where, yet there were comparatively few slaves any where to the northward of Maryland. The peaceable and benevolent religion of the Quakers induced their united opposition to all traffic in the human race. Many individuals of other denominations, in like manner, discountenanced it; but the principal ground of difference on this head, between the northern and southern provinces, arose, less from religious principles, than from climate, and local circumstances. In the former, they found it to be their interest to cultivate their lands with white men, in the latter, with those of an opposite colour. The stagnant waters, and low lands, so frequent on the shores of Maryland and Virginia, and on the coasts, and near the rivers in the southern provinces, generate diseases, which are more fatal to whites than blacks.

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It is certain, that a great part of the low country, in several of the provinces, must have remained without cultivation, if it had not been cultivated by black men. From the natural state of the country, domestic slavery seemed to be forced on the southern provinces. It favoured cultivation, but produced many baneful consequences. It was particularly hostile to the proper education of youth. Industry, temperance, and abstinence, virtues essential to the health and vigour of both mind and body, were with difficulty practised, where the labour of slaves procured an abundance, not only of the necessaries, but of the delicacies of life, and where daily opportunities and facilities were offered, for early, excessive, and enervating indulgences. Slavery also led to the monopoly of land, in the hands of a few. It impeded the introduction of labouring freemen, and of course diminished the capacity of the country for active defence; and at the same time endangered internal tranquillity, by multiplying a species of inhabitants, who had no interest in the soil. Where it is common, a few grow rich, and live in ease and luxury; but the community is deprived of many of its resources for independent happiness, and depressed to a low station on the scale of national greatness. The aggregate industry of a country, in which slaves and freemen are intermixed, will always be less than where there is a number of freemen equal to both. Nothing stimulates to industry so much as interest. The man who works for another will contrive many artifices, to make that work as little as possible: but he who has an immediate profit from his labour, will disregard tasks, times, and seasons. In settlements where the soil is cultivated by slaves, it soon becomes unfashionable for freemen to labour; than which no greater curse can befal a country. The individuals, who, by the industry of their slaves, are released from the necessity of personal exertions, will be strongly tempted to many practices, injurious to themselves and others. Idleness is the parent of every vice; while labour of all kinds favours and facilitates the practice of virtue. Unhappy is that country, where necessity compels the use of slaves; and unhappy are the people, where

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the original decree of heaven, "that man should eat his bread in the sweat of his face," is by any means whatever generally eluded.

The influence of these causes was so extensive, that, though the southern provinces possessed the most fruitful soil, the most valuable staples, and the mildest climate, yet they were far inferior to their neighbours in strength, population, industry, and aggregate wealth. This inferiority increased or diminished, with the number of slaves in each province, contrasted with the number of freemen. The same observation held good between different parts of the same province. The sea coast, which, from necessity, could be cultivated only by black men, was deficient in many of the enjoyments of life, and lay at the mercy of every bold invader; while the western country, where cultivation was more generally carried on by freemen, though settled at a later period; sooner attained the means of self defence, and, relatively, a greater proportion of those comforts, with which a cultivated country rewards its industrious inhabitants.

In the southern provinces, the long credit, given by British merchants, was a principal source of their flourishing. The immense capitals of the merchants, trading to the North American continent, enabled them to extend credit to the term of several years. They received a profit on their goods, and an annual interest of five per cent. on the sums for which they were sold. This enabled the American merchant to extend credit to the planter, from whom he received a higher interest than he paid in Great Britain. The planters, being furnished on credit, with every thing necessary for the cultivation of their lands, when careful and industrious, cleared so much more than the legal interest, with which they were charged, that in a few years of successful planting, the difference enabled them to pay their debts, and clear their capital. By the help of credit, a beneficial intercourse was established, which redounded to the benefit of both parties.

These causes eminently contributed to the prosperity of the English provinces. Others, besides co-operating to the same

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end, produced a warm love for liberty, a high sense of the rights of human nature, and a predilection for independence.

The first emigrants from England, for colonizing America, left the mother country at a time when the dread of arbitrary power was the predominant passion of the nation. Except the very modern charter of Georgia, in the year 1732, all the English colonies obtained their charters, and their greatest number of European settlers, between the years 1603 and 1688. In this period a remarkable struggle between prerogative and privilege commenced, and was carried on till it terminated in a revolution, highly favourable to the liberties of the people. In the year 1621, when the English House of Commons claimed freedom of speech, "as their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors;" King James replied, "that he could not allow of their style, in mentioning their ancient and undoubted rights; but would rather have wished they had said, that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of their sovereign." This was the opening of a dispute which occupied the tongues, pens and swords, of the most active men in the nation, for a period of seventy years. It is remarkable that the same period is exactly co-incident with the settlement of the English colonies. James, educated in the arbitrary sentiments of the divine right of kings, conceived his subjects to be his property, and that their privileges were matters of grace and favour, flowing from his generosity. This high claim of prerogative excited opposition in support of the rights of the people. In the progress of the dispute, Charles, son of King James, in attempting to levy ship-money, and other revenues, without consent of parliament, involved himself in a war with his subjects; in which, after various conflicts, he was brought to the block, and suffered death as an enemy to the constitution of his country. Though the monarchy was restored under Charles the second, and transmitted to James the second, yet, the same arbitrary maxims being pursued, the nation, tenacious of its rights, invited the prince of Orange to the sovereignty of the island, and expelled the reigning family

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from the throne. While these spirited exertions were made, in support of the liberties of the parent isle, the English colonies were settled, and chiefly with inhabitants of that class of people, which was most hostile to the claims of prerogative. Every transaction, in that period of English history, supported the position, that the people have a right to resist their sovereign, when he invades their liberties, and to transfer the crown from one to another, when the good of the community requires it.

The English colonists were, from their first settlement in America, devoted to liberty, on English ideas, and English principles. They not only conceived themselves to inherit the privileges of Englishmen, but, though in a colonial situation, actually possessed them.

After a long war between king and parliament, and a revolution, these were settled on the following fundamental principles: "that it was the undoubted right of English subjects, being freemen or freeholders, to give their property only by their own consent; that the house of commons exercised the sole right of granting the money of the people of England, because that house alone represented them; that taxes were the free gifts of the people to their rulers; that the authority of sovereigns was to be exercised only for the good of their subjects; that it was the right of the people to meet together, and peaceably to consider of their grievances; to petition for a redress of them; and finally, when intolerable grievances were unredressed, to seek relief, on the failure of petitions and remonstrances, by forcible means."

Opinions of this kind, generally prevailing, produced, among the colonists, a more determined spirit of opposition to all encroachments on their rights, than would probably have taken place, had they emigrated from the mother country, in the preceding century, when the doctrines of passive obedience, non resistance, and the divine right of kings, were generally received.

That attachment to their sovereign, which was diminished in the first emigrants to America, by being removed to a great distance from his influence, was still farther diminish-

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ed, in their descendants. When the American revolution commenced, the inhabitants of the colonies were, for the most part, the third and fourth, and sometimes, the fifth or sixth generation, from the original emigrants. In the same degree as they were removed from the parent stock, they were weaned from that partial attachment, which bound their forefathers to the place of their nativity. The affection for the mother country, as far as it was a natural passion, wore away in successive generations, till at last it had scarcely any existence.

That mercantile intercourse, which connects different countries, was, in the early periods of the English colonies, far short of that degree, which is necessary to perpetuate a friendly union. The eastern provinces were the first, which were thickly settled: and as they did not for a long time cultivate an extensive trade with England, their descendants speedily lost the fond attachment, which their forefathers felt to their parent state. The majority of the people in New England knew little of the mother country, having only heard of her as a distant kingdom, the rulers of which had, in the seventeenth century, persecuted and banished their ancestors to the woods of America.

The distance of America from Great Britain generated ideas, in the minds of the colonists, favourable to liberty. Three thousand miles of ocean separated them from the mother country. Seas rolled, and months passed, between orders, and their execution. In large governments, the circulation of power is enfeebled at the extremities. This results from the nature of things, and is the eternal law of extensive or detached empire. Colonists, growing up to maturity, at such an immense distance from the seat of government, perceived the obligation of dependence much more feebly, than the inhabitants of the parent isle, who not only saw, but daily felt, the fangs of power. The wide extent and nature of the country contributed to the same effect. The natural seat of freedom is among high mountains, and pathless deserts, such as abound in the wilds of America.

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The religion of the colonists also nurtured a love for liberty. They were chiefly protestants; and all protestantism is founded on a strong claim to natural liberty, and the right of private judgment. A majority of them were of that class of men, who, in England, are called Dissenters. Their tenets, being the protestantism of the protestant religion, are hostile to all interference of authority, in matters of opinion, and predispose to a jealousy for civil liberty. They who belonged to the Church of England were, for the most part, independents, as far as church government and hierarchy were concerned. They used the liturgy of that church, but were without bishops, and were strangers to those systems, which make religion an engine of state. That policy, which unites the lowest curate with the greatest metropolitan, and connects both with the sovereign, was unknown among the colonists. Their religion was their own, and neither imposed by authority, nor made subservient to political purposes. Though there was a variety of sects, they all agreed in the communion of liberty; and all reprobated the courtly doctrines of passive obedience, and non-resistance. The same dispositions were fostered by the usual modes of education in the colonies. The study of law was common and fashionable. The infinity of disputes, in a new and free country, made it lucrative, and multiplied its followers. No order of men has, in all ages, been more favourable to liberty, than lawyers. Where they are not won over to the service of government, they are formidable adversaries to it. Professionally taught the rights of human nature, they keenly and quickly perceive every attack made on them. While others judge of bad principles, by the actual grievances they occasion, lawyers discover them at a distance, and trace future mischiefs from gilded innovations.

The reading of those colonists, who were inclined to books, generally favoured the cause of liberty. Large libraries were uncommon in the New World. Disquisitions on abstruse subjects, and curious researches into antiquity, did not accord with the genius of a people, settled in an uncultivated country, where every surrounding object impelled to

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action, and little leisure was left for speculation. Their books were generally small in size, and few in number: a great part of them consisted of those fashionable writers, who have defended the cause of liberty. Sydney and Locke were their standard authors in politics. Cato's letters, the Independent Whig, and such productions, were common in one extreme of the colonies; while in the other, histories of the Puritans kept alive the remembrance of the sufferings of their forefathers, and inspired a warm attachment, both to the civil and the religious rights of human nature.

In the southern colonies, slavery nurtured a spirit of liberty, among the free inhabitants. All masters of slaves, who enjoy personal liberty, will be both proud and jealous of their freedom. It is, in their opinion, not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. In them, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of liberty. Nothing could more effectually animate the opposition of a planter to the claims of Great Britain, than a conviction that those claims, in their extent, degraded him to a degree of dependence on his fellow-subjects, equally humiliating with that which existed between his slaves and himself.

The state of society in the colonies favoured a spirit of liberty and independence. Their inhabitants were all of one rank. Kings, nobles, and bishops, were unknown among them. From their first settlement, the English provinces received impressions favourable to democratic forms of government. Their dependent situation forbade any inordinate ambition among their native sons, and the humility of their society, abstracted as they were from the splendor and amusements of the Old World, held forth few allurements to invite the residence of such from the mother country, as aspired to hereditary honours. In modern Europe, the remains of the feudal system have occasioned an order of men superior to that of the commonalty; but, as few of that class migrated to the colonies, they were settled with the yeomanry. Their inhabitants, unaccustomed to that distinction of ranks, which the policy of Europe has established, were

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strongly impressed with an opinion, that all men are by nature equal. They could not easily be persuaded, that their grants of land, or their civil rights, flowed from the munificence of princes. Many of them had never heard of magna charta, and those who knew the circumstances of the remarkable period of English history, when that was obtained, did not rest their claims to liberty and property on the transactions of that important day. They looked up to Heaven, as the source of their rights, and claimed, not from the promises of kings, but from the Parent of the universe. The political creed of an American colonist was short, but substantial. He believed that God made all mankind originally equal; that he endowed them with the rights of life, property, and as much liberty, as was consistent with the rights of others; that he had bestowed on his vast family of the human race, the earth for their support; and that all government was a political institution between men naturally equal, not for the aggrandizement of one, or a few, but for the general happiness of the whole community. Impressed with sentiments of this kind, they grew up, from their earliest infancy, with that confidence which is well calculated to inspire a love for liberty, and a prepossession in favour of independence.

In consequence of the vast extent of vacant country, every colonist was, or easily might be, a freeholder. Settled on lands of his own, he was both a farmer and landlord. Producing all the necessaries of life from his own grounds, he felt himself both free and independent. Each individual might hunt, fish, or fowl, without injury to his neighbours. These immunities, which, in old countries, are guarded by the sanction of penal laws, and monopolized by a few, are the common privileges of all, in America. Colonists, growing up in the enjoyment of such rights, felt the restraint of law more feebly than they, who are educated in countries, where long habits have made submission familiar. The mind of man naturally relishes liberty; where, from the extent of a new and unsettled country, some abridgments thereof are useless, and others impracticable, the natural de-

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sire of freedom is strengthened, and the independent mind revolts at the idea of subjection.

The colonists were preserved from the contagion of ministerial influence, by their distance from the metropolis. Remote from the seat of power and corruption, they were not overawed by the one, nor debauched by the other. Few were the means of detaching individuals from the interest of the public. High offices were neither sufficiently numerous, nor lucrative, to purchase many adherents; and the most valuable of these were conferred on natives of Britain. Every man occupied that rank only, which his own industry, or that of his near ancestors, had procured him. Each individual being cut off from all means of rising to importance, but by his personal talents, was encouraged to make the most of those, with which he was endowed. Prospects of this kind excited emulation, and produced an enterprising, laborious set of men, not easily overcome by difficulties, and full of projects for bettering their condition.

The enervating opulence of Europe had not yet reached the colonists. They were destitute of gold and silver, but abounded in the riches of nature. A sameness of circumstances and occupations created a great sense of equality, and disposed them to union in any common cause, from the success of which, they might expect to partake of equal advantages.

The colonies were communities of separate independent individuals, under no general influence, but that of their personal feelings and opinions. They were not led by powerful families, nor by great officers, in church or state. Residing chiefly on lands of their own, and employed in the wholesome labours of the field, they were, in a great measure, strangers to luxury. Their wants were few, and, among the great bulk of the people, for the most part, supplied from their own grounds. Their enjoyments were neither far-fetched, nor dearly purchased; and were so moderate in their kind, as to leave both mind and body unimpaired. Inured, from their early years, to the toils of a country life, they dwelt in the midst of rural plenty. Unacquainted with ideal wants, they

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delighted in personal independence. Removed from the pressures of indigence, and the indulgence of affluence, their bodies were strong, and their minds vigorous.

The great majority of the British colonists were farmers, or planters, who were also proprietors of the soil. The merchants, mechanics, and manufacturers, taken collectively, did not amount to one-fifteenth of the whole number of inhabitants. While the cultivators of the soil depend on nothing but heaven and their own industry, other classes of men contract more or less of servility, from depending on the caprice of their customers. The excess of the farmers, over the collective numbers of all the other inhabitants, gave a cast of independence to the manners of the people, and diffused the exalting sentiments, which have always predominated among those, who are cultivators of their own grounds. These were further promoted by their moderate circumstances, which deprived them of all superfluity for idleness, or effeminate indulgence.

The provincial constitutions of the English colonies nurtured a spirit of liberty. The king and government of Great Britain held no patronage in America, which could create a portion of attachment and influence, sufficient to counteract that spirit in popular assemblies, which, when left to itself, can ill brook any authority that interferes with its own.

The inhabitants of the colonies, from the beginning, especially in New England, enjoyed a government, which was but little short of being independent. They had not only the image, but the substance of the English constitution. They chose most of their magistrates, and paid them all. They had, in effect, the sole direction of their internal government. The chief mark of their subordination consisted, in making no laws repugnant to the laws of their mother country; their submitting such laws as they made, to be repealed by the king; and their obeying such restrictions, as were laid on their trade, by parliament. The latter were often evaded, and with impunity. The other small checks were scarcely felt, and, for a long time, were in no respect injurious to their interests.

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Under these favourable circumstances, colonies in the New World had advanced nearly to the magnitude of a nation, while the greatest part of Europe was almost wholly ignorant of their progress. Some arbitrary proceedings of governors, proprietary partialities, or democratical jealousies, now and then interrupted the political calm, which generally prevailed among them; but these, and other occasional disputes, soon subsided, without any other effect, than a more general diffusion of political knowledge, and a keener sense of the rights of man. The circumstances of the country afforded but little scope for the intrigues of politicians, or the turbulence of demagogues. The colonists, being but remotely affected by the bustlings of the Old World, and having but few objects of ambition or contention among themselves, were absorbed in the ordinary cares of domestic life, and, for a long time, exempted from a great proportion of those evils, which the governed too often experience, from the passions and follies of statesmen: but all this time they were rising higher, and, though not sensible of it, growing to a greater degree of political consequence.

The colonies, which now form the United States, may be considered as Europe transplanted. Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Poland, and Italy, furnished the original stock of the present population, and are supposed to have contributed to it, in the order they are enumerated. The first settlers of the two first colonies, Virginia and Massachusetts, were chiefly from England. Their posterity are now of the seventh, eighth, or ninth generation. For the last seventy or eighty years, no nation has contributed so much to the population of America as Ireland. From it, there has been an annual stream of emigrants, directed to the country, now called the United States. The Hollanders settled New York and New Jersey, in the first half of the seventeenth century. The French Protestant refugees fled to America, in great numbers, from and after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1685. The Germans, since 1730. The Swedes were among the most early settlers, near the river Delaware; but their number

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was not great. The emigrants from Poland and Italy were inconsiderable. From the other European nations, which are not mentioned, there were few or none. The descendants of these respective nations have coalesced into one. They have generally dropped the language of their original countries; and in the second, or at most the third generation, are divested of the peculiarities of the parent nation, and all partial attachments to it. Where whole settlements consisted of one species of emigrants, the dialect of their descendants, and some national peculiarities, have been more permanent. These original settlers were generally of the Reformed or Protestant religion. Maryland was first planted by Roman Catholics, and Virginia by members of the Church of England; but the other provinces, chiefly by Dissenters, or foreign Protestants. In Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, there never was any established religion. Roger Williams and William Penn, the founders of three of these colonies, had, in this early period, unusually correct ideas of religious liberty. Taught in the school of persecution, they appreciated the rights of private judgment. They discarded the word toleration, as a term, which, in its common acceptance, has no meaning among equal freemen: but having suffered, from the intolerance of others, without appearing to grant as a favour what was a matter of common right, they left the settlers, in the colonies which they established, at full liberty to pursue their own ideas of religion, without any diminution of their natural or civil rights. In some of the provinces, legal provision was made for the support of the clergy, but on so limited a scale, as to be scarcely felt. The government of all the churches was little more than advisory; for it inflicted no civil penalties. Spiritual courts were harmless.

The civil government of all the provinces was so far republican, that, in every one of them, the assent of the people was indispensably necessary to acts of legislation. Neither royal nor proprietary governors, nor councils, could constitutionally pass any law, without their concurrence. The prerogatives of juries were the same, on the English and

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American sides of the Atlantic. The rights of British subjects, and the common law of England, were equally respected in both.

The fiscal history of the provinces was very different from that of the parent state. In every period of time, and in every one of the colonies, there was a deficiency of gold and silver, for the necessary purposes of exchange. This resulted, in some degree, from their state of dependence, and the monopoly of their trade by Great Britain. The manufactures of the mother country were so much wanted in the colonies, that payments for the native commodities of the latter were seldom made in gold or silver; and the balance of trade was always against America. In addition to this natural necessity for bills of credit, there was superadded one that was artificial or political. In the various wars, between 1690 and 1763, in which Great Britain was engaged, the colonies, in general, took an active part. Their military operations would have been crippled, without paper credit; for all the real money, within their grasp, was far short of a sufficiency, for raising, paying, and supporting the armies they brought forward, in aid of the cause, which was common to the parent state and her colonies. On both accounts, there was an incessant call for paper money, or some domestic medium of circulation. Bills of credit were first authorized by Massachusetts, in the year 1690, to defray the expenses of an unsuccessful expedition, for the conquest of Canada; but they were issued, more or less, at successive periods, in several provinces; nor were they wholly discontinued, till about the year 1789, when the constitution of the United States prohibited all further emissions. The long experience the colonists had, of the possibility of substituting paper for money, encouraged them to urge this expedient, in the revolutionary war, to a great extent. While paper money was the principal currency of America, its value was frequently varying. Where the quantity was small, and that punctually called in by taxes, very little depreciation took place. Under other circumstances, the paper bills lost much of their nominal value. Being made a legal tender, in payment of debts, they

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furnished opportunities for defrauding creditors. As the country was improving, and capital much wanted, paper bills of credit were, in many respects, useful; but when they were not well supported, or emitted in too great quantities, they proved a source of great injustice. A fondness for them kept up increasing contentions, between the governors and the assemblies; for the former were generally inimical to paper money, and the latter friendly to it.

The colonists, for some time, imported from England much of their provision, and all their clothing. Their first exports were peltry and lumber; but their imports and exports constantly increased, ever since the first difficulties of making settlements were overcome. Ship building began in New England, about 1625; and a trade with the West Indies was opened, as early as 1636. From these islands, negroes were imported into New England, in eighteen years after they had been introduced into Virginia, from Africa. After the year 1660, the colonial trade was regulated by act of parliament, and principally confined to British ports. Paper money grew out of these restrictions; for they impeded the introduction of foreign coin, and British money was less sought after than British manufactures. The want of real money introduced the resemblance of it, in the form of bills of credit.

COLONIAL LITERATURE.

Massachusetts, though not the first settled, was the first which made legislative provision for the education of youth. This was so effectually done, that, for the most part, on the death of the first literary emigrants, natives of the province were qualified to fill their places. After the lapse of sixty years, subsequent to the first settlement of Massachusetts, few men rose to any considerable distinction, either in church or state, but those who had been educated in New England. The first settlers were excited to foster literature, from their eager desire to furnish the means of fitting young men for the service of the church. Among their first settlers, were several who had been educated at the English universities,

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and who were possessed of all the learning of the times. Several of their early emigrant clergymen were men of considerable erudition.* A multitude of this description came over nearly together, in consequence of the act of uniformity, passed in 1662, when upwards of two thousand Puritan ministers were, in one day, ejected from their livings, in England. The learning, piety, and personal character of these, and the other clergymen in New England, gave them an ascendency over the minds of the laity. Their advice was frequently asked, by the ruling powers of the country: and few great changes in its policy were decided upon, before they were consulted. In the formation of new settlements, a minister and a meeting-house, or church, were essential appendages. Scarcely had the venerable founders of New England felled the trees of the forest, when they began to provide means to insure the stability of their colony. They wisely judged learning and religion to be the firmest pillars of the church and commonwealth. The legislature of Massachusetts, having previously founded a public school or college, in 1637, ordered that it be at Newtown, and appointed a committee, to carry the order into effect. The liberality of an individual contributed to the speedy completion of this wise and pious design. John Harvard, a worthy minister, left a legacy of nearly 800*l.* to this infant seminary. In honour of him, it was named Harvard College: and Newtown, in compliment to the college, and in memory of the place, where many of the first settlers of New England received their education, was called Cambridge. In 1642, this first American college began to confer degrees.

In 1691, the general assembly of Virginia solicited, and obtained a charter from the crown, for the establishment of a college, in that colony. The king and queen gave, at the same time, nearly two thousand pounds towards the building, and endowed the seminary with twenty thousand acres of the best land, together with the perpetual revenue, arising from

* One of them, president Chauncey, before his arrival in America, had been professor of Greek, in the university of Cambridge, in England.

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the duty of one penny per pound, on all tobacco transported from Virginia and Maryland, to the other English plantations. In grateful acknowledgment of the royal patronage and benefaction, the college was called William and Mary. The instruction of Indians was one of the objects of this institution. Before the establishment of William and Mary college, the learning of Virginia had been in a state of retrogradation. In the eighty-four years of settlement, which had preceded that establishment, most of the original emigrants, educated in England, had died. Their places were supplied by later emigrants, or a new race, born in a new country, in which the means of education had not been generally planted. Indeed, the ruling powers seem to have been averse to the encouragement of learning. In the year 1671, sixty-four years after the settlement of Virginia, Sir William Berkely, its governor, in his answer to the enquiries of the lords of the committee of the colonies, observes, "I thank God, there are no free-schools, nor printing presses; and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years: for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."*

The next college was established in Connecticut, and obtained its charter and endowments, in 1701. It was called Yale College, in honour of one of its principal benefactors. The principal motive that led to this establishment, was a

* Lord Effingham, who was appointed governor of Virginia, in 1683, was ordered, agreeably to the prayer of Sir William Berkely, "to allow no person to use a printing press, on any occasion whatever." The revolution in England, which took place in 1688, and the establishment of an illustrious seminary of learning in the capital, in three years thereafter, made an alteration in the literary state of the colony. These dark periods of Virginian history are coincident with the arbitrary reigns of Charles the second, and James the second, and prove the connection which subsists between knowledge and liberty, and the hostility of tyrants to both. If the education of youth had been neglected, in the British colonies, the whole period of their colonial existence, they would have been poorly prepared for entering upon, and buffeting with the storms of their revolutionary tempest.

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desire of training up young men, for the ministry of the gospel.

A college, which began at Newark, New Jersey, was finally established at Princeton, in the same state, and began to confer degrees, in 1748. The trustees proposed to call it Belcher Hall, in compliment to governor Belcher, who had been its friend and benefactor; but he declined the honour, and suggested the propriety of calling it Nassau Hall, commemorative of king William, prince of Orange and Nassau, the revolutionary deliverer of England from arbitrary power. To train up young men, for the service of the church, was a primary object of the founders of this institution. A charter, and permission to draw lotteries, were all the favours conferred on this college, by the province of New Jersey. It depended, for support, on private donations, and the ardent zeal of its founders, who were uncommonly active, in promoting its interests, as connected with the cause of religion, learning, and liberty.

Soon after the year 1750, two colleges were established, one in New York, and the other in Philadelphia.

A college was established at Rhode Island, in 1764, and, in five years after its foundation, it began to confer the higher degrees in the arts.

A college was established in New Hampshire, in 1769, which, in ten years, began to confer degrees. To this institution was given the name of Dartmouth College, in honour of lord Dartmouth, who had been its friend and benefactor. The instruction of Indians was one of the principal objects contemplated by the first patrons of this institution. English youths were educated with the Indians, that the latter might, by the example of the former, be allured to love learning and agriculture. Indians labour under a strong prejudice, that it is beneath the dignity of man to delve in the earth.

In addition to these colleges, founded prior to the revolution, there were grammar schools in every town of New England, and free schools established in the counties of Maryland, and parishes of South Carolina, by their respec-

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tive legislatures; in all of which public aid was given to the contributions of private inhabitants, in support of literature.

Besides these literary institutions, fostered by government, there were several founded at different periods, either by religious societies, private donations, or by enterprising individuals. Of the first kind, one of the most useful, and which continues to this day, with undiminished reputation, was the Friends' school, in Philadelphia. This began in 1689, in the eighth year after the settlement of Pennsylvania. Its funds were furnished by Quakers, and its overseers were of that profession. Poor children were taught gratis; but others paid a moderate sum for instruction. The first master was George Keith. He was succeeded by Thomas Makin, who, in 1728, and 1729, wrote two elegant Latin poems, of considerable length, in hexameter verse; one entitled, "Encomium Pennsylvaniæ," the other, "In Laudes Pennsylvaniæ, Poema seu Descriptio Pennsylvaniæ." These, if not the only, are the earliest specimens of Latin poetry, written in the colonies, which have descended to posterity.

The first literary publication, of American origin, is a translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, made, in 1623, by George Sandys, treasurer of the Virginia company. This was dedicated to king Charles: and the author, in the dedication, informed his majesty, "that it was doubly a stranger, being sprung from an ancient Roman stock, and bred up in the New World."

About the same time, the poem, entitled "The Golden Fleece," was written by Dr. William Vaughan, in Newfoundland, on the confines of the United States. This was a quarto volume, and printed in 1626.

In the year 1734, a translation was made of Cicero's "Treatise on Old Age," by James Logan, of Philadelphia, in the sixtieth year of his age. This was printed, in 1744, by Benjamin Franklin, in a large type, for the sake of old people. The celebrity of the original author, of the translator, and printer, makes this a literary curiosity. This, and Sandys's Ovid, are the only known translations, from the

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ancient classical authors, which have been executed in this country, in its colonial state.*

Some of the early settlers of Virginia were learned men: but, with the exception of their Historians, Smith, Stith, Beverley, and Keith, either they have not published any literary works, or, if published, they are not generally known. The pens of Virginians were used much to the

* An elegant Latin poem, about these colonies, was written in Europe, prior to any English settlements in America; but in prospect of their speedily taking place, and producing extensive good to mankind. This was the work of Stephen Parmenius, a learned native of Hungary, who being in England, in 1583, became acquainted with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, at the time he was preparing to embark with a colony for America. The poet, struck with the grandeur of the undertaking, wrote this poem, in anticipation of its success. It is highly complimentary to Sir Humphrey, and in animated language describes the future glories and happiness of English America. It also ascribes to England, the forecast of providing habitations in a New World for her offspring, against the time when her immense power would fall by its own weight. This is expressed by the following verses:

ORIGINAL TEXT.

"Pacis bellique bonis notissima vasto
Insula oceano, magni decus Anglia mundi;
Postquam opibus dives, populu numerosa frequenti,
Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe;
Non incauta sui, ne quando immensa potestas
Pondere sit ruitura suo, nova mœnia natis
Quærat, et in longum extendat sua regna recessum."

TRANSLATION.

"A well known Isle,
In peace and war far-famed, pride of the world,
England, for wealth, for numbers, deeds, renown'd.
Aware that time may come, when power immense
By its own weight may fall, new walls she seeks,
And stretches far, for her own sons, her realms."

The author came to Newfoundland, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, with the very first embarkation of colonists, for her majesty's American dominions. The project of making a settlement there failed. Parmenius, on his return to England, together with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his vessel, and crew, were lost in a storm, on the 9th of September, 1583. His poem, having been previously published in Europe, has descended to posterity, and may be found in the ninth volume of the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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benefit of their fellow-colonists, in the twelve years of paper war, that preceded the revolution. Their memorials, remonstrances, and other public acts, in vindication of their rights, were executed in a masterly manner. In addition to these official papers, there were sundry valuable pamphlets published, on the great question of American taxation, particularly "An Enquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies," by Richard Bland, in 1776; "The Monitor's Letters," by Dr. Arthur Lee, in 1769; "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," by Thomas Jefferson, in 1774; "Considerations, &c." by Robert Carter Nicholas, about the same time.

The controversy was, in like manner, ably supported by the New England writers, both in and out of the legislature. They had a much more subtle opponent, in governor Hutchinson,* to contend with, than the shallow minions, who re-

* Thomas Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts Bay, was a descendant from one of the most ancient and honourable families in New England. He passed through strange vicissitudes. At one time, he was the most popular character in Massachusetts; at another, the object of public abhorrence.

Mr. Hutchinson was admitted into Harvard college, when he was only twelve years of age. His progress in literature was the subject of notice and applause. In 1727, he was graduated; but, instead of following his studies, and entering one of the professions, as was expected, he applied himself to merchandize. It seemed to be the most ardent desire of his soul, to acquire property. Ambition and avarice frequently agitate the same breast. His fellow-townsmen regarded him, more for his probity and honour, than for his mercantile skill. They thought him capable of transacting public business; and, by their favour, he was stimulated to bend his mind wholly to the study of history, law, and politics. He was chosen a selectman of Boston, in 1738, and conducted with so much prudence and fidelity, that he was appointed by the town, agent, to manage all its important business, in Great Britain. This he undertook, and settled to their satisfaction. When he returned from London, he was chosen one of the representatives of Boston, for the general court; and was annually elected to the same office, till he was advanced to the council board. In the house of representatives, he acquired great reputation. His language was impressive and elegant. He was argumentative or pathetic, as the case required. In the despatch of public business, he was active, diligent, plausible, and, upon all occasions, seemed to be influenced, more by public spirit, than selfish considerations. In 1747, he was chosen speaker of the house; but had the same influence among the

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presented king George, in most of the other provinces. Theology boasts of her Edwards, and Philosophy of her

members, as when he led in their debates. He succeeded Mr. Sewal, as chief justice of Massachusetts, in 1761, and was lieutenant governor, from 1758 to 1770. He held, at the same time, these two offices, and that of counsellor and judge of probate, for the county of Suffolk. Paying a profound respect to the religious institutions of his country, and preserving a gravity of deportment, while he condescended to all classes of citizens, he acquired a great degree of public confidence. His discernment pointed out to him the way of preferment, among a religious and sober people. He was suspected of having forwarded the stamp act, by letters written upon the occasion. After the arrival of the stamps, a mob in Boston assaulted his house, August 26th, 1765, and either destroyed or carried off his plate, family pictures, most of his household furniture, wearing apparel, money, books, and manuscripts, which he had been thirty years collecting. This outrage was discountenanced the next day, by the town of Boston, and compensation made to him for his losses; but the suspicions of the people against him were never eradicated. In 1769, Hutchinson became commander in chief, and soon after was appointed governor. He now began to unmask, explicitly avowed his independence of the people, and informed the legislature, that his majesty had made ample provision for his support, without their aid. They immediately called upon him to relinquish the unconstitutional stipend, and to accept such a salary as should be given him, by the general assembly. He replied, that this would be a breach of his instructions from the king. The command of his sovereign was his constant apology, for every arbitrary step. He had been the means of bringing the regular troops to Boston, in 1768, and was inflexible in his determination to retain them, notwithstanding every argument which was used for their removal. In the year 1772, a number of his letters, written to the members of the British cabinet, were obtained by Dr. Franklin, and sent to Massachusetts. They disclosed his whole character at once, and proved him the secret enemy of his country, who stimulated the ministry to enforce their plans, and who even declared to them, that "there must be an abridgment of English liberties, in colonial administration." Immediately after this detection of his treachery, the general court voted an impeachment, and requested that his majesty would remove him from office forever: but as soon as he was informed of the determined measures, which they were adopting, he dissolved the assembly. Being superseded by governor Gage, in 1774, he sailed for England. Before his departure, a few partizans sent him an address, thanking him for his services. These men were long distinguished by the appellation of Hutchinson's addressers. His impeachment was without effect; and the lords of the privy council made a report highly in his favour: but he soon experienced the neglect of those, to the furtherance of whose plans he had largely sacrificed, and to whom he had been ready to yield the rights of his country. Becom-

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Franklin, about the middle of the eighteenth century. The first volume of the transactions of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, is the only work of general literature, produced in the colonies, prior to their revolution. Anterior to that event, the few philosophers in English America, published their ordinary lucubrations, in the newspapers of the country; and, such as were of a higher grade, through the medium of the Royal Society of London. Fourteen Americans, namely, four of the name of Winthrop,*

ing an object of disgust, with all parties, he lived many months in a state of chagrin and despondence, and died at Brampton, in the beginning of June, 1780, aged sixty-nine years.

Governor Hutchinson published a brief state of the claim of the colonies, &c. 1764; the history of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, from the first settlement thereof, in 1628, until the year 1750, in two volumes; and a collection of original papers, relative to the history of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, 8vo. 1769. These works are held in high estimation, by those who are searching into the early history of English America.

* Among the colonial literati of America, the name and family of Winthrop is distinguished. John Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, and son of the first governor of Massachusetts, was one of the founders of the Royal Society of London. He sent to it many specimens of American productions, with his remarks on them. By an order of the Royal Society, he was, in a particular manner, invited to take upon himself the charge of being their chief correspondent, in the west. His son, Fitz John, was also famous for his philosophical knowledge, and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. John Winthrop, grandson of the first governor of Connecticut, was also a distinguished member of the Royal Society, and to him the fortieth volume of their transactions was dedicated, by Dr. Mortimer, their secretary. Another of the same name, son of Adam Winthrop, was more distinguished than any other of the family. In 1738, at the age of twenty-four, he was appointed Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, in Harvard College. He immediately entered upon the duties of this office, and discharged them with fidelity, and high reputation through life. In 1761, he sailed to St. John's, in Newfoundland, to observe the transit of Venus over the sun's disk, on the 6th of June, agreeably to the recommendation of Dr. Halley. When the day arrived, he was favoured with a fine clear morning; and enjoyed the inexpressible satisfaction of observing a phenomenon, which had never before been seen, excepting Messrs. Horrocks and Crabtree, in 1639, by any inhabitant of this earth. After having been a professor, for forty years, he died at Cambridge, May 3d, 1779, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was distinguished for his very intimate acquaintance with mathematical science. The most abstruse reasonings of Newton's

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Paul Dudley, President Leverett, Thomas Brattle, Cotton Mather, Bejamin Franklin, doctors Boylston,* Mitchel,

Principia were familiar to him; and few philosophers, of his day, possessed greater vigour and penetration of mind. In the variety and extent of his knowledge, he has seldom been equalled. While he wrote Latin with purity and elegance, and studied the scriptures with critical attention, in their original languages, he was also versed in several of the modern languages of Europe. He had deeply studied the policies of different ages; had read the principal fathers; and was thoroughly acquainted with the controversy, between Christians and Deists. His firm faith in the Christian religion, was founded upon an accurate examination of the evidences of its truth, and the virtues of his life added a lustre to his powers and attainments. The day before his death, he observed to a friend that, "the wise men of antiquity, by every plausible argument, endeavoured to prove the reality of a future state; but that the wise men, of modern times, had bent all their exertions, to weaken the proofs of our immortal existence, and to undermine the only hope, which can sustain us at the close of life." His accurate observations of the transit of Mercury, in 1740, were honourably noticed by the Royal Society of London, and recorded in the forty-second volume of their transactions. He published a Lecture on Earthquakes, 1755; Answer to Mr. Prince's Letter on Earthquakes, 1756; two Lectures on Comets, 1759; and an Account of several fiery Meteors, seen in North America.

* Zabdiel Boylston, F. R. S. an eminent physician, and the father of inoculation for the small pox, in America, was born at Brookline, Massachusetts, in the year 1680.

In the year 1721, the small pox prevailed in Boston, and was very fatal. The reverend Dr. Cotton Mather, who had read, in a volume of the Philosophical Transactions, two communications from the East, which gave an account of the mode of inoculation, for the small pox, conceived the idea of introducing a similar practice in Boston. He accordingly addressed a letter to the physicians of that place, enclosing an abridgment of the communications, in the Philosophical Transactions, and requesting them to meet and take the subject into consideration. As this request was treated with neglect, he wrote to Dr. Boylston separately, and sent him all the information which he had collected, in the hope, that he would be persuaded to embrace a new and favourable means, for the preservation of human life. Dr. Boylston determined to venture upon it. He first inoculated his own son, of the age of six years, and two of his servants. Encouraged by the success of this experiment, he began to enlarge his practice. The other physicians gave their unanimous opinion against inoculation, as it would infuse a malignity into the blood; and the selectmen of Boston forbade it. But these discouragements did not quench the zeal and benevolence, which were now excited. They might have done it, and prejudice might have triumphed over reason, if the clergy had not stepped in to support the novel project. Six venerable

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Morgan, Garden, and Rittenhouse, were admitted members of that society, in the colonial state of their country. These,

ministers of Boston gave their whole influence in its favour. The weight of their characters, the confidence reposed in their wisdom, and the deep reverence inspired by their piety, were hardly sufficient to preserve the growing light from extinction. They were abused; but they triumphed. In the year 1721, and the beginning of 1722, Dr. Boylston inoculated two hundred and forty-seven persons. Thirty-nine were inoculated by other physicians; making, in the whole, two hundred and eighty-six, of whom only six died. During the same period, of five thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine persons, who had the small pox, in the natural way, eight hundred and forty-four died. The utility of the practice was now established, and its success contributed to its more general extension in England, in which country, it had been tried only upon a few persons; most or all of whom were convicts. In the prosecution of this good work, Boylston was assailed with the most virulent opposition. Dr. Douglass bent his whole force to annihilate the practice. He asserted, that it was a crime, which came under the description of poisoning and spreading infection, made penal by the laws of England. In the pamphlets which were published, in 1721, and 1722, various kinds of reasonings are found. The following extracts will give some idea of the spirit of them. "To spread abroad a mortal contagion, is to cast abroad arrows and death. If a man should wilfully throw a bomb into a town, burn a house, or kill a man, ought he not to die? I do not see how we can be excused from great impiety, when ministers and people, with loud and strong cries, made supplications to Almighty God, to avert the judgment of the small pox, and at the same time, some have been carrying about instruments of inoculation, and bottles of the poisonous humour, to infect all who were willing to submit to it; whereby, we might as naturally expect the infection to spread, as a man to break his bones, by casting himself headlong from the highest pinnacle. Can any man infect a family in the town, in the morning, and pray to God, in the evening, that the distemper may not spread?" It was contended, "that, as the small pox was a judgment from God, for the sins of the people, to endeavour to avert the stroke, would provoke him the more; that inoculation was an encroachment upon the prerogatives of Jehovah, whose right it was, to wound and to smite; and that, as there was an appointed time, to man upon earth, it would be useless to attempt to stay the approach of death." With these and similar arguments, calculated to operate on a religious people, was the new practice of inoculation for the small pox assailed, in Boston.

The people became so exasperated, that it was unsafe for Dr. Boylston to travel in the evening: but his cool and determined spirit, supported by his trust in God, enabled him to persevere. Believing that he was in the way of his duty, he did not tremble at the apprehension of the evils, which might come upon him.

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with Morton, of Plymouth, Clayton, of Virginia, Bartram and Logan, of Pennsylvania, Colden, of New York, Brownrigg, of North Carolina, and Lining, of South Carolina, transmitted papers on philosophical subjects, which were read and published by that society, before the revolution. For more than a century after the first settlement of the colonies, such of their inhabitants, as were devoted to literature, gave an undue proportion of their time to the study of languages. Several of the early settlers of New England were well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and a few in the oriental languages. Their ministers excelled in knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and all branches of Biblical learning, and wrote well on theological subjects.

In most of the middle and southern colonies, the lawyers and planters took the lead, as writers; but in New England, the clergy were their principal historians and public writers. To particularize them all, at the distance of Charleston, S. C. with all the assistance which public and private libraries afford, would be impossible. Some opinion of the multifarious literary labours of the New England clergy may be formed, from the following facts. There were, in or near Boston, between 1635 and 1785, four successive generations of the venerable name of Mather, namely, Richard, Increase, Cotton, and Samuel, all clergymen, and all authors. Increase Mather,

Had Dr. Boylston gone, at this time, to England, he might have accumulated an immense fortune, by his skill, in treating the small pox. He did not however visit that country, till 1725, when inoculation was common. He was then received with the most flattering attention; was chosen a member of the Royal Society; and was admitted to the intimacy and friendship of some of the most distinguished characters of the nation. After his return to his native country, he continued at the head of his profession, and engaged in a number of literary pursuits. His communications to the Royal Society were ingenious and useful.

After a long period of eminence, in his profession, he was induced from age and infirmity to retire to his patrimonial estate, in Brookline, on which he passed the remainder of his days. Dr. Boylston was the first British subject, who practised inoculation for the small pox, on a large scale; and he had the pleasure of seeing it introduced, into general use, and of knowing that he was himself considered as one of the benefactors of mankind. He died, March 1st, 1766, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

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the second of this respectable series, in addition to his clerical functions, for sixty-six years, was president of Cambridge college, for seven years, and for three or four years agent for the province of Massachusetts, at the court of Great Britain.* His son, Cotton Mather, who died in 1728, was the author of three

* In his capacity of agent, Dr. Mather rendered his country important services. With king James, he could accomplish nothing; for his majesty hated New England, as the hot bed of republicanism; but with king William, he found favour. On being introduced to this deliverer of the nation, Mather, after congratulating him on his accession to the English throne, implored his favour to New England; and, on receiving a gracious answer, added, "that the prayers of that people would be of some service to his majesty, for they were a good and praying people." On a second interview with king William, Mather assured him, that he might, by the assistance of the New Englanders, whenever he pleased, become emperor of America; and, at the same time, declared, "that nothing more was desired for them, than that they might enjoy their ancient rights and privileges."

This indefatigable agent improved every honourable means of making friends to his country. He had the address to engage the warm support of archbishop Tillotson, and bishop Burnet, in behalf of the New England Puritans. This was the more remarkable, as sixty years had not elapsed, since Laud, the predecessor of Tillotson, had, by his persecutions, banished the forefathers of the present inhabitants of New England to America.

Mather also united, in the cause of his country, the Dissenting interest, which was considerable, in king William's reign. If he knew any Non-conforming minister, who had influence with any person of quality, Mather would engage that minister to exert his interest, on the behalf of New England. One method of engaging him was, by preaching for him. This was done over all England. By this means, Mather was introduced into the same acquaintance, and multiplied his friends. He published a pamphlet, entitled "Reasons for the confirmation of Charter Privileges, granted to the Massachusetts Colony." This he dispersed among the lords of his majesty's privy council, and personally addressed himself unto the most of them, humbly praying their lordships' favour to New England. His maxim was, that, in all affairs, a few did all; and his method was, to find out the most potent leaders in all affairs, and make sure of them. This true New England man, by perseverance and address, succeeded in every point, except the restoration of the old charter. King William was inflexible in refusing to the people the right of choosing their governor; but politely permitted Mather and his co-agents to name the first. They accordingly named Sir William Phipps. These particulars are stated, on the authority of the collections of the Massachusetts Historical society; a work which merits a place in the library of every American, who wishes to know the early history of the United States.

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hundred and eighty-two books,* published in his life time; some of them very large, particularly his "Magnalia Christi Americana," or the Ecclesiastical History of New England, from 1620 to 1698. A catalogue of these three hundred and eighty-two books is subjoined to his life, by his son and biographer, Samuel Mather, the last clergyman in the direct line of this distinguished family.

The indelibility of the clerical character was, at no time, the creed of New England men. The versatility of the talents of these enterprising people, in all cases remarkable, has been particularly so, in the case of clergymen, who, from particular reasons, laid aside their clerical character. Several such attained to high eminence, as statesmen. One instance deserves particular notice. Elisha Williams, who had been a preacher, and a publisher of theological works, and president of Yale college for several years, after resigning these offices, became colonel of a regiment of regular troops, raised for the reduction of Canada; speaker of the house of representatives; and a provincial agent, at the court of Great Britain. He discharged his duty, in all these capacities, with credit to himself, and greatly to the satisfaction and advantage of his country.

In New England, from its first settlement, public business was generally introduced with a sermon. Their frequent fast and thanksgiving days, their ordinations, elections, the meetings of their general courts, and other public occasions, gave birth to an infinity of discourses, which were afterwards printed.† These frequent calls for popular addresses made

* One of these, entitled, "Essays to do Good," has been lately revived in England, ninety-eight years after it was first published in Boston.

† From their familiarity with the Bible, the clergy had a wonderful knack at finding texts of Scripture, adapted to every emergency. In October, 1780, the celebrated Dr. William Cooper was called upon, to preach before the general court, on the day of the commencement of their new state constitution. He took his text in Jeremiah, xxx. 21. the first words of which are, "And their nobles shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them;" and, from it, preached an excellent sermon, which was translated into different languages, and extensively read, both in Europe

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the art of composition, to meet both the public eye and ear, a common study, and diffused a taste for literature. At the same time, their regular devotional exercises on Sundays kept their minds under the constant influence of religious impressions. The New Englanders entered upon the revolution, with tongues and pens prepared to justify their measures, as well as with swords, to defend them. The popular leaders, in consequence of this general illumination, were enabled to carry along with them the mass of the people, fully convinced of the rectitude of the measures adopted by their common councils.

COLONIAL STATE OF SOCIETY.

The state of society, in the colonies, was peculiar. In it were laid the foundations of liberty. The first settlers had suffered severely, on the account of religion. Their feelings aided their reason, in detecting the absurdity and wickedness of punishing men, for their private opinions. On their coming to America, every thing concurred to confirm their sentiments in favour of liberty. The means of living were to be procured, or famine must be encountered. A similarity of situations and employments produced a similarity of state, condition, and opinion. To be strong, active, and healthy, was of the greatest importance; but birth and titles were unavailing, in the necessary labour of clearing the wilderness,

and America. Under the first charter of the province, the people, for sixty years, chose their own governor and counsellors. By the charter of 1692, these privileges were abridged, and much of what was then left to the people was taken from them, by act of parliament, in 1775. By it, counsellors, governors, and other great public officers of royal appointment, were authorized to rule over the province. This brought on the revolution. When the people had established their independence, they organized a form of government for themselves, by which the citizens were, at stated periods, to choose their governors and counsellors. The suitableness of the text to the solemn occasion of inaugurating a new free constitution, with these ample rights restored to the people, was so striking, to all who knew the preceding history of the province, as to induce a belief among the pious, that the text was made for the occasion; that old prophecies were fulfilling; and that the hand of God was in the revolution.

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and deriving support from the earth. Every new settlement confirmed and extended the same principles. The settlers were left to pursue the course of nature, and that led to safety and comfort. An independent spirit, in the great body of the people, was the direct effect of natural causes, operating on the minds of freemen, solely employed in extracting from their own grounds, with their own hands, the necessaries and comforts of life. It grew with their growth, and strongly predisposed them to resist every species of oppression. They were prepared to do this effectually, by a competent knowledge of arms. The vicinity of French and Spanish colonies, and frequent attacks from the aborigines, made it necessary for every British colonist to be a soldier. Militia laws, for training the inhabitants to defend themselves, were common in the provinces. The abundance of wild beasts sometimes imposed a necessity for destroying them, and at all times made hunting both useful and profitable. This induced a general familiarity with fire arms. The colonists grew up, not only with a high sense of their rights in their minds, and the love of liberty in their hearts, but with arms in their hands, to guard these inestimable blessings. Frequent occasions occurred, in which the necessity of self-defence gave them some practical knowledge of the art of war. This shall be forthwith explained.

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CHAPTER II.

A brief view of the military history of the North American English colonies, anterior to their revolution; of Indian wars; the massacre at James Town; war with Philip; with the Tuscaroras; the Yamassees; of the wars between the French and English colonies, between 1692 *and* 1697, 1702 *and* 1713, 1744 *and* 1748; *of the claims of France and England to the Ohio lands; of the war between these two nations, for American territory, from* 1756 *to* 1763; *the reduction of Louisburg, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Oswego, Fort Frontinac, Fort Duquesne, Quebec, and Canada. General reflections on the conquest of Canada; Indian wars, purely so, and excited by European nations, hostile to each other.*

THAT European adventurers should settle down, without opposition, on lands, in a new hemisphere, held, for time immemorial, by native inhabitants, could not be expected. This was the less probable, because the new comers were settled along twelve or fifteen hundred miles of the shores of the Atlantic, under different charters, and in detached positions; but always in the vicinity of the aborigines; for the same inducements of drawing supplies from the water, weighed with both, to settle near the ocean and the rivers. When the first embarkation of the English settled themselves at James Town, in Virginia, there were, in the opinion of captain Smith, five thousand Indians, within the compass of sixty miles; and of them, fifteen hundred were warriors. The first settlers at Plymouth, thirteen years afterwards, were not exposed to equal danger; for the Indians, in the vicinity, had, two years before, been nearly destroyed by a pestilential disease: but, in both situations, if the natives had been guided by united councils, and a prudent policy, they would soon have expelled the new comers. Instead thereof, in the first instance, they incautiously gave them peaceable possession of a part of their surplus land. Some early began to

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suspect danger, and took measures for the extermination of the English colonists. These were both weak and wicked; were executed without union or system; and eventuated in hastening their own destruction: for they exasperated the colonists to urge their extermination. To detail the numerous wars, between the new comers and the old inhabitants, is now impossible. Most of them originated in private acts of violence, and but few from national objects. A brief recapitulation of some of the most important is proper, as they, in general, paved the way to the revolution, by inuring the emigrants to self-defence; for, in every period of colonial history, the frontier white settlers found it necessary to be soldiers, as well as farmers.

The massacre of the colonists by the Indians, in Virginia, in 1622, is the first in the order of time. This was the result of system and premeditation; but apparently arose from a private quarrel, in which one man was killed on both sides. To revenge the death of the Indian, his countrymen formed a conspiracy, to exterminate the colony, which well nigh succeeded. The particulars of this war, and also of that carried on against the Pequots, by New England, in 1637, have already been related.

The most destructive Indian war, sustained by the infant colonies, began in the year 1675, by Philip, sachem of the Wampanoags, who lived in Rhode Island. For some years, he had been preparing for hostilities. The warriors, under his own immediate command, were about five hundred; but, by alliances, he had increased his force to three thousand. Believing, as he did, that nothing short of the entire destruction of the English would rescue the Indians from total ruin, he exerted his utmost energies, in prosecuting a war of extermination. Murder, fire, and destruction marked the route of his followers. There was scarcely an English family, which did not suffer in property, or by the loss of relatives.

The war commenced, June, 1675, in the following manner. Sausaman, an Indian friendly to the English, gave them notice of the hostile intentions of Philip's Indians. He was soon afterwards murdered, by his own countrymen. The

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fact being substantiated, in a court of justice, his murderers were convicted, and suffered death. Philip, thereupon, prepared for war. His people began by killing the cattle, and rifling the houses of the English settlers. One of these sufferers shot an Indian. The Indians retaliated, by killing all the English, that were in their power. Eight or nine were slain, in one day, at Swanzey, and its vicinity. Skirmishes followed, with various success. The Indians retreated into a swamp, from which they fired, and killed several of the English. The former retired deeper into the swamp. The latter, finding that they attacked the Indians in the swamps, under great disadvantages, resolved to starve them; but the Indians found means to escape.

Captain Hutchison, with twenty horsemen, while pursuing the Indians, fell into an ambuscade, and lost almost all his men. A few escaped; but were closely pursued by the Indians, who assaulted the town, to which the vanquished had fled. The pursuing savages set fire to every house, excepting one, to which all the inhabitants had gathered, for security. When they had nearly succeeded in firing that also, major Willard arrived, with forty-eight dragoons, and dispersed them. The Hadley Indians were attacked, at a place called Sugarloaf Hill; and about twenty-six of them were slain, as were also about half of the assailants. These Indians rallied, and, obtaining new associates, fell upon Deerfield, killed one man, and laid most of the town in ashes. On the same day, Hadley was alarmed by the Indians, in the time of public worship, and the people thrown into the utmost confusion; but the enemy were repulsed, by the valour and good conduct of an aged, venerable man, who, suddenly appearing in the midst of the affrighted inhabitants, put himself at their head, led them to the onset, and instantly dispersed the enemy. This deliverer of Hadley, supposed by some to be an angel, was general Goffe, one of the judges of Charles the first, who was at that time concealed in the town.

The Springfield Indians, though previously friendly to the English, perfidiously concurred with Philip's Indians, to burn the town of Springfield, and actually succeeded so far, as to

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burn thirty-two houses; but the remainder of the town was saved. The confederation of the New England colonies was now found of great service. The war, on the part of the Indians, was conducted with so much ability, vigour, and perseverance, as to require the united efforts of the confederated colonies. They severally furnished their quotas, and proceeded, with combined forces and counsels, to attack their common foe. The Indians, apprized of an armament intended against them, had fortified themselves very strongly, within the swamp. The English, without waiting to draw up in order of battle, marched forward, in quest of the enemy's camp. Some Indians, appearing at the edge of the swamp, were no sooner fired upon by the English, than they returned the fire, and fled. The whole army now entered the swamp, and followed the Indians to their fortress. It stood on a rising ground, in the midst of the swamp, and was composed of palisades, which were encompassed by a thick hedge. It had but one practicable entrance, which was over a log, four or five feet from the ground; and that aperture was guarded by a block-house. The English captains entered it, at the head of their companies. The two first, Johnson and Davenport, with many of their men, were shot dead at the entrance. Four other captains, Gardner, Gallop, Siely, and Marshal, were also killed. When the troops had effected an entrance, they attacked the Indians, who fought desperately, and beat the English out of the fort. After a hard fought battle, of three hours, the English became masters of the place, and set fire to the wigwams. In the conflagration, many Indian women and children perished. The surviving Indian men fled into a cedar swamp, at a small distance; and the English retired to their quarters. Of the English, there were killed and wounded about two hundred and thirty. Of the Indians, one thousand were supposed to have perished.

On the 10th of February, 1676, several hundreds of the Indians fell upon Lancaster; plundered and burned the greatest part of the town; and killed or captivated forty persons. Two or three hundred of the Narraganset, and other

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Indians, not long afterwards, surprised Medfield, and burned nearly one half of the town. On the 25th of February, the Indians assaulted Weymouth, and burned seven or eight houses and barns. On the 13th of March, they burned the whole town of Groton, excepting four garrisoned houses; and on the 17th, they entirely burned Warwick, with the exception of one house. On the 26th of March, they laid most of the town of Marlborough in ashes. On the same day, captain Pierce, of Scituate, who had been sent out by the governor and council of Plymouth colony, with about fifty white men, and twenty friendly Indians, of Cape Cod, was cut off by the enemy, with most of his party. Two days afterwards, the Indians fell upon Rehoboth, and burned forty dwelling-houses, and about thirty barns; and the day after, about thirty houses in Providence.

Early in April, they did much mischief at Chelmsford, Andover, and in the vicinity of those places. Having, on the 17th of the same month, burned the few deserted houses, at Marlborough, they, immediately afterwards, violently attacked Sudbury, burned several houses and barns, and killed ten or twelve of the English, who had come from Concord, to the assistance of their neighbours. Captain Wadsworth, who had been sent at this juncture from Boston, with about fifty men, to relieve Marlborough, learning that the enemy had gone through the woods, towards Sudbury, turned immediately back, in pursuit of them. When the troops were within a mile of the town, they spied, at no great distance, a party of Indians, apparently about one hundred, who by retreating, as if through fear, drew the English above a mile into the woods; when a large body of the enemy, supposed to be about five hundred, suddenly surrounded them, and precluded the possibility of their escape. The gallant leader and his brave soldiers, fought with desperate valour; but were completely defeated. The few, who were taken alive, were destined to tortures unknown to their companions, who had the happier lot to die in the field of battle.

About the same time, the Indians burned nineteen houses and barns, at Scituate; but they were bravely encountered,

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and repulsed by the inhabitants. On the 8th of May, they burned and destroyed seventeen houses and five barns; and, two days afterwards, they burned seven houses and two barns, in that town, and the remaining houses in Namasket.

Several large bodies of Indians having assembled on Connecticut river, in the vicinity of Deerfield, the inhabitants of Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton, combined to attack them. One hundred and sixty men marched silently twenty miles, in the dead of night, and, a little before the break of day, surprised the Indians, whom they found asleep, and without guards. The first notice that they gave of their approach was, by a discharge of their guns into the wigwams. Some of the Indians, in their consternation, ran directly into the river, and were drowned. Others betook themselves to their bark canoes, and, having in their hurry forgotten their paddles, were hurried down the falls, and dashed against the rocks. Many of them, endeavouring to secrete themselves under the banks of the river, were discovered and slain. In this action, distinguished by the name of the Fall Fight, the Indians lost three hundred men, women, and children; but recovering from their surprise, and attacking the rear of the English on their return, they killed captain Turner, commander of the expedition, and thirty-eight of his men.

On the 30th of May, a great body of Indians, supposed to be six or seven hundred, appeared before Hatfield. Having burned twelve houses and barns without the fortification, they attacked the houses in the centre of the town, that were surrounded with palisadoes: but twenty-five resolute young men of Hadley, adventuring over the river, and boldly charging the Indians, they instantly fled from the town, with the loss of twenty-five of their men.

Though Massachusetts was the chief theatre of the war, Connecticut, her sister colony, was active in the suppression of the common enemy. Volunteer companies had been formed, early in the year, principally from New London, Norwich, and Stonington, which associated with them a number of the Mohegan, Pequot, and Narraganset tribes. These

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companies ranged the Narraganset country, and harassed the hostile Indians. Between the spring and the succeeding autumn, the volunteer captains, with their flying parties, made ten or twelve expeditions, in which they killed and captivated two hundred and thirty of the enemy, took fifty muskets, and brought in one hundred and sixty bushels of their corn. They drove all the Narraganset Indians, excepting those of Ninnigret, out of their country.

The assembly of Connecticut raised three hundred and fifty men, who were to be a standing army, to defend the country, and harass the enemy. Major John Talcot was appointed to the chief command. Early in June, he marched from Norwich, with two hundred and fifty soldiers, and two hundred Moheagan and Pequot Indians, into the Wabaquasset country; but found the country entirely deserted. On the 5th of June, the army under his command marched to Chanagongum, in the Nipmuck country, where they killed nineteen Indians, and took thirty-three prisoners; and thence marched by Quabaog to Northampton. On the 12th of June, four days after their arrival at Northampton, about seven hundred Indians made a furious attack upon Hadley; but major Talcot, with his gallant soldiers, soon appeared for the relief of the garrison, and drove off the enemy.

On the 3d of July, the same troops, on their march towards Narraganset, surprised the main body of the enemy, by the side of a large cedar swamp, and attacked them so suddenly, that a considerable number of them were killed and taken on the spot. Others escaped to the swamp, and were immediately surrounded by the English, who, after an action of two or three hours, killed and took one hundred and seventy of the enemy. Shortly afterwards, they killed and captured sixty-seven, near Providence and Warwick. About the 5th of July, they returned to Connecticut, and, on their way, took sixty prisoners.

The enemy, thus pursued, and hunted from one lurking place to another, straitened for provisions, and debilitated by hunger and disease, became divided, scattered, and disheartened. In July and August, they began to come in, and to

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surrender themselves to the mercy of their conquerors. Philip, who had fled to the Mohawks, having provoked that warlike nation, had been obliged to abandon their country, and was now, with a large body of Indians, lurking about Mount Hope. The Massachusetts and Plymouth soldiers were vigilant and intrepid, in pursuit of him; and, on the second of August, captain Church, with about thirty English soldiers, and twenty friendly Indians, surprised him in his quarters; killed about one hundred and thirty of his men; and took his wife and son prisoners: but Philip escaped.

About ten days after this surprise, an Indian deserter brought information to captain Church, that Philip was at Mount Hope Neck, and offered to guide him to the place, and help to kill him. Church instantly set out, in pursuit of him, with a small company of English and Indians. On his arrival at the swamp, he made a disposition of his men, at proper stations, so as to form an ambuscade, putting an Englishman and an Indian together, behind coverts. These commenced a fire on the enemy's shelter, which was on the margin of the swamp. It was open, in the Indian manner, on the side next to the swamp, to favour a sudden flight. Philip, at the instant of the fire from the English, seizing his gun, fled towards the thickets; but ran in a direction towards an English soldier and an Indian, who were at the station assigned them by captain Church. The Englishman snapped his gun; but it missed fire. He then bade the Indian fire; and he instantly shot him dead.

The death of Philip was the signal of complete victory. The Indians, in all the neighbouring country, now generally submitted to the English, or fled, and incorporated themselves with distant and strange nations. In this short but tremendous war, about six hundred of the inhabitants of New England, composing its principal strength, were either killed in battle, or murdered by the Indians. Twelve or thirteen towns were entirely destroyed, and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were burnt. In addition to these calamities, the colonies contracted an enormous debt, while,

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by the loss of their substance, from the ravages of the enemy, their resources were essentially diminished.

The fall of Philip was then considered as the extinction of a virulent and implacable enemy. It is now viewed as the fall of a great warrior, a penetrating statesman, and a mighty prince. It then excited universal joy and congratulation, as a prelude to the close of a merciless war. It now awakens sober reflections, on the instability of empire, the peculiar destiny of the aboriginal race, and the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. The patriotism of the man was then overlooked, in the cruelty of the savage; and little allowance was made for the natural jealousy of the sovereign, on account of the barbarities of the warrior. Philip, in the progress of the English settlements, foresaw the loss of his territory, and the extinction of his tribe; and made one mighty effort to prevent these calamities. He fell; and his fall contributed to the rise of the United States. Joy for this event should be blended with regret for his misfortunes, and respect for his patriotism and talents.

In this distressing war, the New Englanders comforted themselves, that it was unprovoked on their part. The worthy governor Winslow, in a letter, dated May 1st, 1676, observed: "I think I can clearly say, that, before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, which was not fairly obtained, by honest purchase, from the Indian proprietors."*

* For the preceding details of Philip's war, and for many other particulars, the author is indebted to the American annals of Dr. Holmes; a work of the greatest merit and utility. In it, there are more ample materials for American history, correctly stated, and a greater variety of facts, relative thereto, brought into view, than can be found in any other work whatever. To him, writers on American history, are under peculiar obligations; for he has greatly facilitated their labour, by furnishing them with facts and dates, in the order of time, of every important transaction, respecting not only the United States and British America, but the insular and continental possessions of all European powers, in the New World. The author of this history, while acknowledging his obligations, embraces the opportunity of tendering his grateful thanks to Dr. Holmes, for the information he has derived from his much esteemed annals.

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In the year 1712, the Tuscarora Indians, in North Carolina, alarmed at the increasing population of the whites, formed a plan for cutting them off, by a general and instantaneous massacre. Twelve hundred bow-men concurred in this horrid plot. All of them had agreed to begin their murderous operations, in the same night. When that night came, they entered the planters' houses; demanded provisions; affected to be displeased with them; and then murdered men, women, and children, without mercy or distinction. To prevent the alarm spreading through the settlement, they ran from house to house, slaughtering the scattered families, wherever they went. None of the colonists, during the fatal night, knew what had befallen their neighbours, until the assailants had reached their own doors.

The destruction at Roanoke was great. One hundred and thirty-seven of the settlers were put to death, in a few hours. Those who escaped were collected together, and guarded by the militia, until assistance was received from their neighbours. Colonel Barnwell, of South Carolina, was detached, with six hundred militia, and three hundred and sixty-six Indians, to their relief. He had to march through an intermediate wilderness, of two hundred miles. On his arrival, he attacked the Indians of North Carolina, with great resolution and success. Of them, three hundred were killed, and one hundred taken prisoners. The survivors sued for peace; but many of them abandoned the country, and, uniting with the five nations of Indians, made the sixth of that confederacy. These several Indian wars seem to have been systematic attempts of the aborigines, to rid their country of the new comers. The rapidly increasing population, and regular encroachments of the latter on the former, gave a serious alarm to the ancient lords of the soil, who discovered, when it was too late, that their destruction was likely to result, from their having too readily permitted strangers to take possession of their land. These, and other less important wars, were purely Indian: but, from about the year 1690, the Indians, in addition to private and personal sources of contention, were stirred up to hostilities against their white neigh-

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bours, by the French and Spaniards, whose colonies were conterminous. The morality of civilized Christian kings did not restrain them from employing the heathen savages of the wilderness, to harass and destroy the settlements and Christian subjects of each other.

The particulars of Indian wars have already been given, sufficiently in detail. A general view of the subject is now more proper. These wars took place, more or less, along the whole western frontier of the colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia, and from the year 1690, to the peace of Paris, 1763. Through that wide range, and for that long period of seventy-three years, with occasional intermissions, Indian hostilities, fomented by the French in the north, and the Spaniards in the south, disturbed the peace, and stinted the growth of the English colonies. The mode, in which these wars were waged, was very different from that usual among civilized nations. The Indians were seldom or never seen, before they did execution. They appeared not in the open field, but did their exploits by surprise; chiefly in the morning, keeping themselves hid behind logs and bushes, near the paths in the woods, or the fences contiguous to the doors of houses. Their lurking holes could be known only by the report of their guns. They rarely assaulted a house, unless they knew there would be little resistance. It has been afterwards known, that they have lain in ambush, for days together, watching the motions of the people at their work, without daring to discover themselves.

Their cruelty was chiefly exercised upon children, and such aged, infirm, or corpulent persons, as could not bear the hardships of a journey, through the wilderness. If they took a woman, far advanced in pregnancy, their knives were plunged into her bowels. An infant, when it became troublesome, had its brains dashed out against the next tree or stone. Sometimes, to torment the wretched mother, they would whip and beat the child, till almost dead, and then throw it to her, to comfort and quiet it. If the mother could not readily still its crying, the hatchet was buried in its skull.

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A prisoner, wearied with his burden, was often sent to rest the same way. If a captive appeared sad and dejected, he was sure to meet with insult; but if he could sing, and dance, and laugh with his masters, he was caressed as a brother.

Famine was a common attendant on these captivities. The Indians, when they caught any game, devoured it all at one sitting; and then, girding themselves round the waist, travelled without sustenance, till chance threw more in their way. The captives, unused to such canine repasts and abstinences, could not support the surfeit of the one, nor the craving of the other. The obvious hardships of travelling half naked and barefoot, through pathless deserts, over craggy mountains, and deep swamps, through frost, rain, and snow; exposed by day and night to the inclemency of the weather, and in summer, to the venomous stings of those numberless insects, with which the woods abound; the restless anxiety of mind; the retrospect of past scenes of pleasure; the remembrance of distant friends; and the daily apprehension of death, either by famine or the savage enemy, were a few of the horrors of an Indian captivity.

On the other hand, there have been instances of justice, generosity, and tenderness, during these wars, which would have done honour to a civilized people. A kindness shewn to an Indian was remembered as long as an injury. They would sometimes carry children on their arms and shoulders; feed their prisoners with the best of their provision; and pinch themselves, rather than their captives should want food. When sick or wounded, they would afford them comfort, and means for their recovery. But the most remarkably favourable circumstance, in an Indian captivity, was their decent behaviour to women. There is no evidence, that any woman, who fell into their hands, was ever treated with the least immodesty: but testimonies to the contrary are very frequent. Whatever may be the cause, the fact is certain; and it was a most happy circumstance, for female captives, that, in the midst of all their distresses, they had no reason to fear from a savage foe, the perpetration of a crime, which has too frequently disgraced, not only the per-

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sonal, but the national character of those, who make large pretences to civilization and humanity.

In the war between France and England, from 1690, to 1697, the French, who were then proprietors of Canada, instigated the Indians to hostilities against the English colonists: such of the latter, as inhabited the eastern part of New England, were severely harassed, and of them many were killed. Similar events took place in the war between the same European powers, which began in 1702, and ended in 1713. Excited by similar influence, a more extensive and mischievous warfare was carried on, between the Indians and the inhabitants of the middle colonies, in the war between the same powers, which ended in 1763. Hitherto, Indian excursions had proceeded from Canada, and were directed against the frontier settlers of New York, or New England; but from the year 1754, when the French established themselves at fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, parties of French and Indians, advancing from that post, carried havock and desolation, for four years, over the western settlements of the middle colonies, to the extent of many hundred miles, and to so great a degree, that Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, Fredericktown, in Maryland, and the Blue Ridge, in Virginia, were, in the year 1756, exposed as a frontier.

The distresses of the inhabitants exceeded all description. If they went into stockade forts, they suffered from the want of provisions, were often surrounded, and sometimes cut off. By fleeing, they abandoned the conveniences of home, and the means of support. If they continued on their farms, they lay down every night under apprehensions of being murdered before morning. But this was not the worst. Captivity and torture were frequently their portion. To all these evils, women, aged persons, and children were equally liable, with men in arms; for savages make no distinction. Extermination is their object. The settlements in advance, were abandoned, broken up, or drenched in blood, from the repeated and sudden incursions of light parties of Indians, headed by Frenchmen, who, after perpetrating extensive

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mischief in a few days, saved themselves, by rapidly retreating to the Ohio.

A similar policy, on a smaller scale, had influenced the Spaniards, while they possessed Florida; from which they excited the neighbouring Indians, to harass the most southern colonies.

In the year 1715, the Yamassees, a numerous and powerful tribe of Indians, inhabiting a considerable territory, on the north-east side of Savannah river, then and now known by the name of Indian land, formed, under Spanish influence, a general conspiracy; in which every Indian tribe, from Florida to cape Fear river, was said to have joined. The object was the extermination of the English settlements. On the 15th of April, at the dawn of day, the Indians fell on the defenceless settlers, unapprehensive of danger, and, in a few hours, massacred above ninety persons, in Pocotaligo. One man escaped to Port Royal, and alarmed the town. The inhabitants of it generally fled to Charleston. While the Yamassees were laying waste the southern frontiers of Carolina, other tribes, from the northward, were perpetrating similar devastations, in that quarter. The southern division of the enemy consisted, by computation, of six thousand bow-men; and the northern, between six hundred and a thousand. The planters, thus taken by surprise, were so dispersed, that they could not assemble together, nor act in concert. They generally fled to Charleston. The intelligence they brought magnified the danger, so as to induce doubts of the safety even of the capital; for, at that time, it contained on the muster roll no more than twelve hundred men, fit to bear arms. A party of four hundred Indians came to Goose creek, about twenty miles from Charleston. Every family there had fled to town, with the exception of seventy white men and forty negroes, who, having surrounded themselves with a slight breast work, resolved on defence. After they had resisted for some time, they incautiously agreed to terms of peace. The faithless savages, being admitted within their works, butchered the garrison.

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The invaders spread destruction through the parish of St. Bartholomew, and, advancing as far as Stono, burned the church, and every house on the plantations by the way. Similar ravages were committed, in several other places. In this time of general calamity, governor Craven, of South Carolina, acted with spirit. He proclaimed martial law, laid an embargo on all vessels in the harbour, and marched out of town, at the head of the militia, to attack the Yamassee invaders. He guarded himself against their mode of fighting from thickets, and behind trees; and took every precaution to prevent a surprise. He knew, full well, that his followers must either conquer or die, most probably by torture. The fate of the province depended on the success of his arms. The event of the expedition would decide, whether Carolina should remain a British province, or be annexed to Florida, in the occupation of the aborigines. There was no back country, then settled with friendly white inhabitants, to whom the settlers below might fly for refuge, or from whom they might look for relief. Virginia was the nearest place, from which effectual aid could be expected.

As governor Craven marched through the country, straggling parties of the Indians fled before him, till he reached Saltcatchers, where they had pitched their great camp. Here a sharp and bloody contest took place. The Indians fought from behind trees and bushes, alternately retreating and returning to the charge. The militia, with the governor at their head, kept close to the enemy, improved every advantage, and drove them from their lurking places. The pursuit was continued, till the invaders were expelled from Carolina, and forced to retreat over Savannah river. The number of the militia lost in this expedition, or of the Indians killed therein, is not known; but, in the course of the war, four hundred of the inhabitants of Carolina were murdered, by the invading savages.

The Yamassees, after their defeat and expulsion from Carolina, went directly to the Spanish garrison, St. Augustine, where they were received with so much hospitality and kind-

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ness, and had such ample encouragement given them, to settle in Florida, as confirmed the suspicions previously entertained, that their late conspiracy was contrived by Spaniards, and carried on by their encouragement.

Thus, in almost every period anterior to the revolution, there were occasional hostilities, and a constant expectation of them kept up, between the white settlers and the Indians. The arms of the colonists were not suffered to rust. This state of things excited anxiety, but, at the same time, promoted alertness. Removed, as the colonists were, from the military scenes of Europe, in case of permanent domestic tranquillity, they would have been indifferently prepared, for the revolutionary contest. In their wars with the Indians, the colonists were taught their first military lessons; but before they had completed their infantile period of political existence, they had more ample means of instruction.

In the hundred and fifty-six years, which intervened between the first English settlement in North America, and the complete expulsion of the French from it, there were constant bickerings, between their respective colonies, and frequent wars between their parent nations. As far as territorial rights depended on prior discovery, the English had the advantage; but, as far as they flowed from occupancy, the French were in some respects superior, and in all nearly equal. The settlement of James Town and of Quebec, the first capitals of both, are so nearly cotemporary, as to be within fifteen months of each other. Six years had not elapsed from the first settlement of either, when hostilities commenced in the New World, between the two rival nations of the Old, whose wars, for centuries, had furnished nearly half of the materials for the history of Europe.

In the year 1613, captain Argall, in two successive expeditions, one accidental, the other authorized, and fitted out by the governor of Virginia, destroyed all the French settlements, to the southward of the forty-sixth degree of north latitude; broke in pieces the cross which the Jesuits had erected; and set up another, inscribed with the name of the king of England, for whom possession was formally taken.

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The settlements, thus destroyed, were three or four years older than that at James Town. The French were not discouraged, but persevered in planting colonies, to the north of New England, and very far to the north of Virginia, when these were the only English settlements on the American continent. These early French settlements had become so considerable, that, in 1628, king Charles the first gave a commission to David Kirk, to conquer the American dominions of France. He succeeded so far, that, in the next year, Quebec was surrendered to him. In 1632, Charles the first, by treaty, restored to France Acadie, New France, and Canada generally, and without limits, and particularly Port Royal, Quebec, and Cape Breton. By this inconsiderate surrender, the power of France in America was revived; and to it are justly chargeable all the wars for American territory, that, for the succeeding hundred and thirty years, drenched the frontiers of New England and New York, in blood, and finally cost the life of the incomparable Wolfe. On the other hand, the restoration of the French power kept alive a military spirit, in the English colonies; taught them the importance of union; to know their own strength; and finally prepared them for shaking off the domination of the Old World, and erecting a free, independent, and happy government, in the woods of the New.

The French, restored to all their claims on the northern part of the American continent, proceeded with spirit, in making settlements. To the aborigines they paid particular attention, and were successful, beyond all others, in securing their affections. While Englishmen generally kept at a distance from these sons of the forest, Frenchmen, by conforming to their customs, intermarrying with them, and coinciding with their views, obtained an astonishing ascendency over their untutored minds. Peace was of short duration between these nations, whose interests so materially clashed; for each wished to be the predominant power in North America. Wars succeeded wars, as shall be more particularly related, and treaties succeeded treaties; but nothing was accomplished, which tended to peace. After years of hostili-

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ties, the losses on both sides exceeded the profits. Neither had such a decided superiority, as to give the law to the other; and the general termination of their wars was a reciprocal restitution of conquests. In these unprofitable contests, the colonies of both nations, as appendages to their respective parent states, followed as they were led, and partook in the follies, losses, and expenses of the countries, from which they respectively sprung. If the French power had never been revived, after its prostration, in 1629, the English colonies would have had little necessity for keeping on their armour. They would have known nothing of the mechanism of armies, or of the modes which experience has proved to be best adapted for drawing forth, organizing, and supporting the yeomanry of their country, for military purposes: but, in consequence of the treaty of Germain, the English colonists, in contending with their French neighbours, had sufficient experience of war, to be alert in their own defence; and yet were not so much nor so often involved, as to be materially stinted in their growth. They were thus, by the wars of Europeans, carried on in America, prepared for their great revolutionary contest for independence. A review of these early colonial contests requires our next attention.

In the war between France and England, which, after several years continuance, ended in 1697, the conquest of New York and of Boston, on the one side, and of Quebec and of Canada, on the other, were projected. Neither succeeded, though repeated attempts were made by both parties, to accomplish their wishes. In the year 1688, a French fleet sailed from Rochefort, which, with the aid of land forces, destined to march from Canada, was intended for the attack of New York. While this expedition was preparing, the Five Nations of Indians suddenly landed twelve hundred men, on the island of Montreal, and killed one thousand of the French inhabitants, who thought themselves perfectly secure. These Indians continued their incursions into Canada, with such horrid effect, that many of the inhabitants were killed; and a scarcity ensued, from the inability of the

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survivors to cultivate their fields. This state of things saved New York from an attack, in preparation for which, considerable progress had been made. These incursions into Canada, by the Indians attached to the British interest, were severely retaliated, by parties of Indians and French, penetrating from Canada into the English settlements. One of these, after a tedious march, through an uninhabited country, covered with snow, arrived in February, 1690, about midnight, at the village of Schenectady, near Albany. The invaders, dividing themselves into small parties, invested every house, at the same time. While the inhabitants were asleep, without any apprehension of danger, their doors were suddenly forced open, and an indiscriminate massacre commenced. Sixty-seven persons were put to death, and twenty-seven were taken prisoners. The rest fled naked, through deep snow, to Albany. Of these, twenty-five lost their limbs, from the effects of cold.

Similar bloody incursions, often repeated, induced a general eagerness among the contiguous colonists, to effect the conquest of Canada, which they considered as the source from which all the evils of Indian warfare originated. Commissioners from these colonies met at New York, and fixed on a plan of operations for that purpose. A fleet of thirty-five vessels, the largest of which carried forty-four guns, with about two thousand men on board, commanded by Sir William Phipps, sailed from Nantasket, for Quebec, on the 9th of August, 1692. This fleet was to be assisted by eight hundred and fifty men, who were to march, by the way of lake Champlain, from Connecticut and New York, to Montreal. The fleet arrived before Quebec, in October, when it was too late to do any thing, otherwise than by an immediate assault, to which their force was unequal. The land army, after advancing to the lake, was obliged to retreat, from the want of canoes and provisions. The projected invasion was frustrated, because there was no common superintending power, to give union and system to the plan of combined attack.

King William, after earnest solicitation, determined to aid Massachusetts, in accomplishing the object of her wishes.

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The plan was, to send a British fleet and army, to reduce Martinique, afterwards to proceed to Boston, and co-operate with the forces of Massachusetts, in the reduction of Canada. By the 11th of June, when the British fleet and army had reached Boston, from the West Indies, they were so reduced, by the diseases common in that tropical climate, that thirteen hundred out of twenty-one hundred sailors, and eighteen hundred of twenty-four hundred soldiers were buried. The enterprise against Canada was therefore, from necessity, deferred. In the year 1696, the invasion and conquest of Canada was again contemplated by Massachusetts, and the assistance of England again solicited. In the same year, the French formed an expedition against Boston: but both projects proved abortive.

The peace of Ryswic, in 1697, for the present composed these contentions; but was very far from extinguishing the eagerness of either power, for enlarging their possessions in the New World.

By this peace, France and England reciprocally agreed to restore to each other all conquests made during the war. Nothing being settled, as to the boundaries of their American territories, war soon recommenced. Indian incursions, into the New England colonies, immediately followed. These, as usual, excited a general wish for the conquest of Canada. An address to queen Anne, requesting her to aid an expedition for that purpose, was voted by the general court of Massachusetts, in 1708. This was well received, and expeditions were projected, in the years 1709, 1710, and 1711, for the reduction of Canada, and other adjacent French possessions; but, from the difficulty of concert, in combined operations, between sea and land forces from England, and troops, to be raised by distinct American legislatures, together with bad weather, and a hazardous coast, nothing more was effected, than the reduction of Port Royal, or Annapolis, as it was afterwards called.

While war raged in the north, between the French and English colonies, those which were situated in the middle, from New Jersey to North Carolina, inclusive, were undis-

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turbed. French influence did not, before the middle of the eighteenth century, extend over the Indians, to the southward of New York. These middle colonies were too far north, for Spanish influence, from Florida in the south. The case with South Carolina and Georgia was different. In every period, prior to the peace of Paris, 1763, Spain claimed these two colonies, as part of Florida. From the commencement of the eighteenth century, contentions for boundary were common to the south, as well as to the north. In both situations, the colonies, as appendages to their respective European sovereigns, followed the fortunes of their superiors. While France and Spain were arranged against England, the English northern colonies contended with Canada, and other adjacent possessions of France, and the southern English colonies with those of Spain. In the year 1702, governor Moore, of South Carolina, conducted an expedition against St. Augustine, the capital of Florida. This consisted of six hundred militia-men, and an equal number of Indians. The enterprise, being without any proper naval support, was abandoned, on the appearance of a small Spanish marine force, in the vicinity of St. Augustine. Though it was abortive, and of short duration, it cost the infant colony six thousand pounds sterling. In four years, this hostile visit to St. Augustine, from Carolina, was returned from the Havannah, by eight hundred men, under Monsieur Le Feboure, or Treboure, with four ships and a galley. These crossed the bar, and cast anchor near Sullivan's island. The next day, a party landed on James island, and burnt some houses. A party also landed on Wando neck. These were completely routed by captain Cantey, at the head of one hundred men. The whole party, which had landed, were killed, wounded, captured, or drowned. Colonel William Rhett, with a fleet of six small ships, suddenly manned and armed, in Charleston, bore down on the enemy, who precipitately weighed anchor, and sailed over the bar. A party of the enemy landed at Sewee bay. These were attacked and routed by a body of militia, under captain Fenwick. Rhett sailed round to Sewee, and captured the ship, from which the enemy had

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landed, and brought her, with ninety prisoners, in triumph, to Charleston. Of the eight hundred men, who came against the infant colony, nearly three hundred were killed or captured. The loss of the provincial militia was inconsiderable. Governor Johnson, who conducted the defence of the province, acquired great reputation, by his judicious and spirited conduct; and the militia fought like men, whose honour and property were at stake. From this period till the peace of Paris, 1763, the Spaniards planned sundry expeditions, for the recovery of South Carolina and Georgia, both of which they claimed, as belonging to Florida. These were thrice retorted against St. Augustine and Florida; but in every instance, and on both sides, proved abortive, as to conquest, or settlement of boundary. They produced an immensity of individual distress, without any national benefit. The invaders, on both sides, either from interest or revenge, plundered and laid waste the settlements and property of their respective adversaries.

In the year 1745, a daring enterprise was projected against Louisburg, a strong fortress belonging to the French, on the island of Cape Breton. This was proposed by Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, and approved of by the general court of that province. Louisburg was the Dunkirk of North America. Five millions of dollars had been employed in its fortifications. It was of great importance to France, and also to England, meditating, as both did, the extension of their American possessions. Upwards of five thousand men were raised in the New England colonies, and put under the command of William Pepperell, a respectable merchant in Massachusetts. This force arrived at Canso, early in April, 1745. A British marine force, from the West Indies, commanded by commodore Warren, acted in concert with these land forces. The siege was conducted with such spirit and address, that, on the 17th of June, the fortress capitulated.*

* A detail of this enterprise will give an idea of the colonial mode of carrying on wars, in their infantile period. Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, having formed an idea of the project, communicated his plan to the British ministry, with the view of obtaining a naval co-operation. Without

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The reduction of Louisburg, by colonial troops, gave to European powers, enlarged ideas of the value of American pos-

waiting for an answer, he proceeded to negotiate with the general court of Massachusetts. In the first instance, he requested the members to lay themselves under an oath of secrecy, previously to their receiving a proposal from him, of very great importance. They readily took the oath, and he communicated to them the plan, which he had formed for attacking Louisburg. The secret was kept for some days, till a member, who performed the family devotion, at his lodgings, inadvertently discovered it, by praying for a blessing on the attempt. At the first deliberation, the proposal was rejected; but, by the address of the governor, it was finally carried, by a majority of one voice, in the absence of several members, who were known to be against it. Circular letters were immediately despatched, to all the colonies, as far as Pennsylvania; requesting their assistance, and an embargo in their ports. Laws were passed by Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, for furnishing troops and stores. New York sent a supply of artillery, and the Quaker assembly of Pennsylvania furnished provisions.

The person appointed to command the expedition was William Pepperell, of Kittery, colonel of a regiment of militia, a merchant of unblemished reputation, and engaging manners; and very popular. These qualities were necessary in the commander of an army of volunteers, who were to quit their domestic connexions, and engage in a hostile enterprise, which none of them knew how to conduct. Professional skill and experience were entirely out of the question. If these qualities had been indispensably necessary, the expedition must have been laid aside; for there was no person in New England, in these respects, qualified for the command. Fidelity, resolution, and popularity had to supply the place of military talents.

A plan, for the reduction of a regularly constructed fortress, was drawn by a lawyer, to be executed by a merchant, at the head of a body of husbandmen and mechanics, animated indeed by ardent patriotism; but destitute of professional skill and experience. After they had embarked, the hearts of many began to fail. Some repented, that they had either concurred in, or promoted the expedition. The most thoughtful were in the greatest perplexity.

A surprise was intended; but this failed, and it became necessary to invest the city. Vaughan of New Hampshire, at the head of a detachment, marched to the north east part of the harbour in the night, where he burned the ware-houses, containing the naval stores, and staved a large quantity of wine and brandy. The smoke of this fire, being driven by the wind into the grand battery, so terrified the French, that they abandoned it, and retired to the city, after having spiked the guns, and cut the halliards of the flag-staff. The next morning, Vaughan, when returning with thirteen men, crept up the hill which overlooked the battery, and observed that the chimnies of the barracks were without smoke, and the staff without a flag. With a bottle of brandy, he hired one of his party, a Cape Cod Indian, to crawl in at

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sessions. The war henceforward became more important. Great projects occupied the attention of the belligerent

an embrasure, and open the gate. He then wrote to the general these words: "May it please your honour to be informed, that by the grace of God, and the courage of thirteen men, I entered the royal battery, about nine o'clock; and am waiting for a reinforcement, and a flag." Before either could arrive, one of the men climbed up the staff, with a red coat in his teeth, which he fastened by a nail, to the top. This piece of triumphant vanity alarmed the city, and immediately a hundred men were despatched in boats, to retake the battery. But Vaughan, with his small party, on the naked beach, and in the face of a smart fire from the city and the boats, kept them from landing, till the reinforcement arrived. In every duty of fatigue or sanguine adventure, he was always ready; and the New Hampshire troops, animated by the same enthusiastic ardour, partook of all the labours and dangers of the siege. They were employed for fourteen nights successively, in drawing cannon from the landing place, to the camp, through a morass. Their lieutenant colonel, Messervè, being a ship carpenter, constructed sledges, on which the cannon were drawn, when it was found that their wheels were buried in the mire. The men, with straps over their shoulders, and sinking to their knees in mud, dragged after them ponderous masses, beyond the power of oxen. This labour could be done only in the night, or in a foggy day; the place being within plain view, and random shot, of the enemy's walls.

The business of the council of war was conducted with all the formality of a legislative assembly. The want of discipline was visible in the camp. While some were on duty at the trenches, others were racing, wrestling, pitching quoits, firing at marks, or at birds, or running after shot from the enemy's guns, for which they received a bounty. The ground was so uneven, and the people so scattered, that the French could form no estimate of their numbers. The garrison of Louisburg had been so mutinous before the siege, that the officers could not trust the men, to make a sortie, lest they should desert.

Much has been ascribed, and much is justly due, to the activity and vigilance of commodore Warren, and the ships under his command: much is also due to the vigour and perseverance of the land forces; and the success was doubtless owing, under God, to the joint efforts of both. There was one piece of management, which greatly contributed to the surrender of the city.

The Vigilant, a French sixty-four gun ship, commanded by the marquis de la Maison Forte, and richly laden with military stores, for the relief of the garrison, was fortunately captured. This ship had been anxiously expected by the French, and it was thought, that the news of her capture, if properly communicated to them, might produce a good effect. This was accomplished in the following manner. In a skirmish on the island, with a party of French and Indians, some English prisoners had been taken by them,

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powers. The recovery of Louisburg, the reduction of Nova Scotia, the total devastation of the sea coast, and even the complete conquest of New England, were contemplated by France. With this view, a powerful fleet, and army of three thousand men, under the command of duke d'Anville, sailed, in 1746, for the American coast. There was no British fleet at hand, to resist this force. The distress of the colonies was great. Their apprehensions of danger were excited to a high pitch; when Providence wrought this deliverance. The French ships were visited by such an awful sickness, that thirteen hundred of their crews died at sea. Their whole fleet was dispersed by a violent tempest. Some of the ships were lost. Those which escaped returned singly to France. The whole expedition was defeated, without the firing of a single gun. Great Britain, not less sanguine, counted on the expulsion of the French, from the continent

and used with cruelty. This circumstance was made known to the marquis, and he was requested to go on board of all the ships in the bay, where French prisoners were confined, and observe the condition in which they were kept. He did so, and was well satisfied with their fare and accommodations. He was then desired to write to the governor of the city, and inform him how well the French prisoners were treated; and to request the like favour for the English prisoners. The humane marquis readily consented, and the letter was sent the next day, by a flag, intrusted to the care of a captain Macdonald. The bearer was carried before the governor, and his chief officers. By pretending not to understand their language, he had the advantage of listening to their discourse. By this manœuvre, he found that they had not before heard of the capture of the Vigilant, and that the news of it, under the hand of her late commander, caused great consternation. This event, with the erection of a battery on the high cliff, at the light-house, and other preparations, indicating an assault on the fortress, induced the commander to surrender. Upon entering the fortress, and viewing its strength, the plenty and variety of its means of defence, all were convinced of the impracticability of carrying it by assault. The French flag was kept flying on the ramparts, and several rich prizes were decoyed into the harbour.

The news of this important victory filled America with joy, and Europe with astonishment. The enterprising spirit of New England gave a serious alarm to those jealous fears, which had long predicted the independence of the colonies. Pepperell received the title of a baronet, and a commission in the British establishment, and was empowered to raise a regiment in America, to be in the pay of the crown. The same emolument was given to Shirley.

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of America; and that Canada, with the adjacent French possessions, would soon be British provinces. Preparations were made for executing these gigantic projects; but they came to nothing. No further important transaction took place in America, till the war ended, by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748. By this, it was stipulated, that all conquests, made during the war, should be restored. The British colonists had the mortification to see Louisburg returned to its former owners, the French.

The treaty of Aix la Chapelle left all controversies between France and England, on the subject of boundaries, undecided. France continued in possession of Canada, in the north, and the Mississippi, in the south; and her settlements approximated each other, by the extension of new establishments, northerly, up the Mississippi, and southwardly, down the lakes and the Ohio. In this state of things, disputes grew so naturally out of the manner in which the country had been settled, that they could only be adjusted by the sword, or by an accommodating pacific policy, not usual among kings. The claims of each stood on such plausible grounds, as might have induced both nations to believe they were right. The European powers, having parcelled out the American territory among themselves, on the idea that the rights of the natives were of no account, could substitute no rights of their own, but such as necessarily militated with each other. As they established the position, that those who first discovered, and took possession of any heathenish country, became its rightful proprietors, the extent of the country, thus acquired by discovery and occupancy, could not be exactly ascertained; for only a small part of it could be reduced to actual occupation. Contests accordingly arose, among all the first settlers, respecting the extent of their possessions.

The English colonies, originally planted on the sea coast, advanced westwardly, and their rights were supposed to extend in that direction, across the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. The French, possessing Canada in the north, and the mouth of the Mississippi in the south, and

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stretching their settlements from north to south, necessarily crossed those of the English, extending from east to west. These interfering claims gave to each a plausible title to the same country; for the principles of colonizing, adopted by the parties, would have given to each of them, all that delightful region, which lies between the Alleghany mountains and the Mississippi. Both considering their respective rights, as founded on the new law of nations, rushed into a fierce and bloody war, extending, in its progress, from the Ohio to the Ganges, for lands which belonged to neither, and which, in twenty years after the termination of hostilities, passed away, by common consent, from both; and were vested in a new power, whose national existence, by a mysterious Providence, in a great measure, grew out of their contentions.

This controversy, about the Ohio lands, was by far the most important, which had ever taken place on the North American continent. The prize contended for was of immense value, and drew forth the energies of both nations. The white population of the English colonies was, at that period, about twenty for one of the French: but the latter was united, under a single military governor, who could give an uniform direction to the physical force of the country, which was under his sole command. The government was military, and the people could be called into the field, whenever their service was required. The French also had great influence over the Indians, and were uncommonly successful in securing their affections.

The New England governments sometimes acted in concert; but the other English colonies were in the habit of pursuing different interests, under distinct legislatures, and, being dispersed over a large extent of territory, were, for the most part, unused to military operations. Under these circumstances, two of the greatest powers, in the Old World, entered into a bloody competition, for ascendency in the New.

The collision of the exclusive claims of France and England, in the same country, was accelerated, in the following manner. About the year 1749, a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land, in the neighbourhood of the Ohio, was

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made out in favour of certain persons in Westminster, London, and Virginia, who had associated, under the title of the Ohio company. At this time, France was in possession of the country, on both sides of the mouth of the Mississippi, as well as of Canada, and wished to form a communication between these two extremities of her territories in North America. She was therefore alarmed at the scheme in agitation, by the Ohio company, inasmuch as the land granted to them lay between her northern and southern settlements. Remonstrances against British encroachments, as they were called, having been made in vain, by the governer of Canada, the French, at length, seized some British subjects, who were trading among the Twightwees, a nation of Indians near the Ohio, as intruders on the land of his most Christian majesty, and sent them to a fort, on the south side of lake Erie. The Twightwees, by way of retaliation for capturing British traders, whom they deemed their allies, seized three French traders, and sent them to Pennsylvania. The French, persisting in their claims to the country on the Ohio, as part of Canada, strengthened themselves, by erecting new forts in its vicinity, and at length began to seize and plunder the British traders, found on or near that river. Repeated complaints of those violences being made to the governor of Virginia, it was at length determined to send a suitable person to the French commandant near the Ohio, with a letter, to demand the reason of his hostile proceedings, and to insist on his evacuating a fort he had lately built. Major Washington, being then but little more than twenty-one years of age, offered his service, which was accepted. The distance to the French settlement was more than four hundred miles; and one half of the route led through a wilderness, inhabited only by Indians. He received his commission, October 31st, 1753, and immediately commenced his journey. On the way, his horses failed. He, nevertheless, proceeded on foot, with a gun in his hand, and a pack on his back. On the 12th of December, he found the French commandant at a fort, on the river Le Boeuf, and tendered to him governor Dinwiddie's letter of remonstrance. In a few days, he received the commandant's

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answer, and, on his return, delivered it to governor Dinwiddie, at Williamsburg, about the middle of January, 1754. This answer was of such a nature, as induced the Virginia assembly to raise a regiment, to support the claims of his Britannic majesty, over the territory in dispute. Of this, Mr. Fry was appointed colonel, and George Washington lieutenant colonel. The latter, in April, 1754, advanced, with two companies of the regiment, as far as the Great Meadows, and, in the vicinity thereof, came up with, and surprised, in the night, a party of Frenchmen, who were advancing towards the English settlements. The commanding officer, Mr. Inmonville, was killed; one person escaped; and all the rest surrendered. Shortly afterwards, colonel Fry died, and Washington became commander of the regiment. He collected the whole at the Great Meadows, and was there joined by two independent companies. With this force, he erected a small stockade fort, which was afterwards called Fort Necessity. A small garrison was left therein; and colonel Washington advanced, with the main body, to dislodge the French from Fort Duquesne, which they had recently erected, at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers. On his way, he was informed, by friendly Indians, that the French had strongly reinforced Fort Duquesne, and were advancing in force towards the English settlements. A council of war recommended a retreat to the Great Meadows; and to make a stand at the fort, lately erected there. Shortly after they reached that place, and before they had time to fortify themselves, they were attacked by Monsieur de Villier, at the head of a considerable force. Colonel Washington made a brave defence, behind the small unfinished work, called Fort Necessity; but at length surrendered, on articles of capitulation, by which it was agreed, that the garrison should march out, with the honours of war, and be permitted to retain their arms and baggage; and to march, unmolested, into the inhabited parts of Virginia.

From the eagerness discovered by both nations for these lands, it occurred to all, that a rupture between France and England, could not be far distant. It was also evident to

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the rulers of the latter, that the colonies would be the most convenient centre of operation, for repressing French encroachments. To draw forth the colonial resources, in an uniform system of operations, became an object of public attention. To digest a plan for this purpose, a general meeting of the governors, and most influential members of the provincial assemblies, was held at Albany. The commissioners, at this congress, were unanimously of opinion, that an union of the colonies was necessary: and they proposed a plan to the following effect; "that a grand council should be formed of members, to be chosen by the provincial assemblies, which council, together with a governor, to be appointed by the crown, should be authorized to make general laws, and also to raise money, from all the colonies, for their common defence. The leading members of the provincial assemblies were of opinion, that, if this plan were adopted, they could defend themselves from the French, without any assistance from Great Britain. This plan, when sent to England, was not acceptable to the ministry, and, in lieu thereof, they proposed, "that the governors of all the colonies, attended by one or two members of their respective councils," which were, for the most part of royal appointment, "should, from time to time, concert measures for the whole colonies; erect forts; and raise troops; with a power to draw upon the British treasury, in the first instance: but to be ultimately reimbursed, by a tax to be laid on the colonies, by act of parliament." This was as much disrelished by the colonists, as the former plan had been by the British ministry. The principle of some general power, operating on the whole of the colonies, was still kept in mind, though dropped for the present.

The ministerial plan, laid down above, was transmitted to governor Shirley; and by him communicated to Dr. Franklin, and his opinion thereon requested. That sagacious patriot sent to the governor an answer, in writing, with remarks upon the proposed plan, in which, by his strong reasoning powers, on the first view of the new subject, he anticipated the substance of a controversy, which, for twenty

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years, employed the tongues, pens, and swords, of both countries.

The policy of repressing the encroachments of the French, on the British colonies, was generally approved, both in England and America. It was therefore resolved, to take effectual measures for driving them from the Ohio, and also for reducing Niagara, Crown Point, and the other posts, which they held within the limits claimed by the king of Great Britain.

To effect the first purpose, general Braddock was sent from Ireland to Virginia, with two regiments; and was there joined by so many more, as amounted, in the whole, to twenty-two hundred men. He was a brave man; but destitute of the other qualifications of a great officer. His haughtiness disgusted the Americans, and his severity made him disagreeable to the regular troops. He particularly slighted the country militia, and the Virginia officers. Colonel Washington, who acted as aid-de-camp of the general, begged his permission to go before him, and scour the woods with provincial troops, who were well acquainted with that service; but this was refused. The general, with twelve hundred men, pushed on incautiously, till he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians. An invisible enemy commenced a heavy and well-directed fire, on his uncovered troops. The van fell back on the main body; and the whole was thrown into disorder. Marksmen levelled their pieces particularly at officers, and others on horseback. In a short time, Washington was the only aid-de-camp left alive, and not wounded. He had two horses shot under him; and four bullets passed through his coat; but he escaped unhurt, though every other officer on horseback was either killed or wounded. Providence preserved him, for further and greater services. Throughout the whole of the carnage and confusion of this fatal day, Washington displayed the greatest coolness, and the most perfect self-possession. Braddock was undismayed, amidst a shower of bullets; and, by his countenance and example, encouraged his men to stand their ground: but valour was useless, and discipline only offered surer marks, to the

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destructive aim of unseen marksmen. Unacquainted with the Indian mode of fighting, Braddock neither advanced upon, nor retreated from the assailants; but very injudiciously endeavoured to form his broken troops, on the ground where they were first attacked, and where they were exposed, uncovered, to the incessant galling fire of a sheltered enemy. The action lasted nearly three hours. In the course of it, the general had three horses shot under him, and finally received a mortal wound. The officers in the British regiments displayed the greatest bravery. Their whole number was eighty-five; and sixty-four of them were killed, or wounded. The common soldiers were so disconcerted, by the unusual mode of attack, that they soon broke, and could not be rallied: but the provincials, more used to Indian modes of fighting, were not so much disconcerted. They continued in an unbroken body, under colonel Washington, and covered the retreat of their associates.

Notwithstanding these hostilities, war had not yet been formally declared. Previous to the adoption of that measure, Great Britain, contrary to the usage of nations, captured sundry French vessels, and made prisoners of eight thousand French sailors. This heavy blow for a long time crippled the naval operations of France; but, at the same time, inspired her with a desire to retaliate, whenever a proper opportunity should present itself.

The second object of the campaign, of 1755, was the reduction of Niagara. This was to be attempted by general Shirley, with fifteen hundred men. Though great diligence was used, on his part, yet he was not able to reach Oswego, before the latter end of August. He proposed to embark about seven hundred of his troops on the lake, and to proceed against Niagara. But, while he was employed in this embarkation, a succession of heavy rains arrested his progress. The troops were discouraged, and his Indians dispersed. The season being too far advanced for the completion of the enterprise, it was relinquished. The general left seven hundred men in Oswego, and returned to Albany.

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The third expedition of this campaign was against Crown Point. This originated with Massachusetts, and was to be executed by colonial troops, raised in New England, and New York. The command was given to William Johnson, one of the council of New York. The delays which are inseperable from all undertakings, depending on distinct and separate authorities, were now experienced to a great extent. The expedition was not fully prepared to proceed, till the last of August. Baron Dieskau, who commanded the French, did not wait for the arrival of Johnson; but determined to attack him, while advancing towards Crown Point. Johnson detached colonel Williams, with a thousand men, to skirmish with the approaching enemy. They met and immediately engaged. Williams fell, and his party fled. A second detachment, ordered to their aid, experienced the same fate; and both were closely pursued, by the French, till they rejoined the main body, which was a few miles in the rear, and posted behind fallen trees. The French halted. The Americans, recovering from their first alarm, played two pieces of artillery with great effect, on the assailants. These now, in their turn, retreated, and were briskly pursued. Dieskau, being mortally wounded, became a prisoner. This repulse was magnified into a victory, and seemed to remove the depression, occasioned by the defeat of general Braddock. William Johnson was rewarded by the English house of commons, with 5000*l.* sterling; and the title of baronet was confered on him, by the king of Great Britain.

Thus ended the campaign of 1755. The expeditions, against fort Duquesne and Niagara, entirely failed. Though an advantage had been gained over the French, commanded by Dieskau, no impression was made on Crown Point, the reduction of which was one of the principal objects of the campaign. These failures seemed to arise, from the want of a general superintending will, to harmonise the operations of the different colonies, and to direct them with effect and expedition, to the point on which they were to act. From the want of it, the movements of the forces were, in every season, too late for effective service. In the mean

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time, the frontier settlers, for several hundred miles, were exposed to the ravages of the Indians: for the French maintained a complete ascendency over them. By their bloody incursions, whole settlements were frequently broken up and abandoned.

The plan for the campaign, of 1756, was as extensive, as that of 1755. This was agreed upon, in a grand council of war, held by general Shirley, commander in chief of the British forces, in America, and the governors of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The reduction of Crown Point and Niagara, with the other posts on lake Ontario, and of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, were the objects of this campaign. It was resolved to raise nineteen thousand men in America. But this so far exceeded what had ever been done, by the colonies, that unavoidable delays took place, before a sufficient number could be recruited. The service was further and materially injured, by a regulation, which required, that, in every case, provincial officers should be under British officers, when they acted together. While they were adjusting their respective claims to rank, and deliberating whether to attack Niagara or Fort Duquesne, Montcalm, an able and experienced officer, who succeeded Dieskau, in the command of the French troops, in Canada, advanced at the head of five thousand Europeans, Canadians, and Indians, and invested Oswego. His operations were conducted with such address and ability, that the garrison, consisting of sixteen hundred men, supplied with provisions for five months, was speedily compelled to surrender. This so disconcerted the offensive plan of operations, agreed upon, that every thing of that kind was given up, and the the whole attention of the British general was directed to security against further losses. The colonies were urged to send on reinforcements to their army, by representations, that the enemy would have it in their power to overrun the country, unless a superior force was immediately brought forward, to oppose them. While their fears were alarmed, with this serious view of their danger, another object of terror was presented. The small pox broke out in Albany.

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To a people, who had never been the subjects of that disorder, it appeared as a most formidable evil, from which they could not secure themselves, otherwise than by flight. The sanguine hopes of the colonists, for a successful campaign, again terminated in disappointment. Much labour had been employed, in collecting and transporting troops, provisions, and military stores, for decisive operations; and yet nothing had been accomplished. No one enterprise, contemplated at the commencement of the campaign, had been carried into effect.

Notwithstanding all these discouragements, great exertions were made for opening the campaign, of 1757, with a force that might ensure success. Lord Loudon, the commander in chief of the British forces, applied for four thousand men, from New England; which were readily granted. A large fleet and army arrived, from Europe, to aid in prosecuting the war with vigour. From a junction of these formidable armaments, the colonists confidently expected the speedy downfal of the power of France, in America.

Instead of attempting a variety of objects, as before, it was proposed to strike at a single one, in the campaign of 1757. This was the reduction of Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton. After an expedition for this purpose, was in great forwardness, intelligence arrived, that a fleet had lately arrived from Brest; and that Louisburg was garrisoned, by an army of six thousand regular troops, and defended by seventeen line of battle ships. As no hope of success, against this formidable force, could be entertained, the proposed expedition was abandoned, and the British general and admiral returned to New York. While they relinquished all ideas of offensive operations, the French general took them up. Feeling himself secure, with respect to Louisburg, he determined to gain complete possession of lake George. With an army of nine thousand men, collected at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, the adjacent French forts, and from the Canadians and Indians, he laid siege to Fort William Henry, which was in good condition, and garrisoned by three thousand men. The French commander urged his approaches,

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with such vigour, that colonel Monroe in six days surrendered the fort, on articles of capitulation.

Thus ended the campaign, of 1757. The affairs of Britain, and British America, were in a very alarming situation. Three campaigns had produced nothing, but expense and disappointment. The French had the command of the lakes, a complete ascendency over the Indians, and were in possession of the country, about which the war had commenced. With an inferior force, they had been successful, in every campaign. This was not only the case in America, but in Europe, and Asia. Wherever hostilities had been carried on, the British arms failed of success. Gloomy apprehensions, respecting the destinies of the British colonies, were common. That Britain would fail, in establishing her claim to the western country, connected with the waters of the Mississippi, was feared by many good citizens. It was, at the same time, believed by several, that the French would connect Canada with Louisiana; and so form a bow, of which the British colonies would be no more than the string. These apprehensions were soon done away. The campaigns of 1758, 1759, and 1760, assumed a new aspect. Victory every where crowned the British arms; and, in a short time, the French were dispossessed, not only of all the territories in dispute, between the two countries, but of Quebec, and their ancient province Canada, of which they had been in possession, before the establishment of the first British province, in the continent of North America. This change took place under the vigorous administration of William Pitt, earl of Chatham, who, in this crisis, was called to the helm of Great Britain. His plans, for carrying on the war, were gigantic, and never crippled from the want of means. Possessing the public confidence, he commanded the resources of the nation. Employing merit wherever found, he brought into public service, the first talents of the country. In a circular letter to the American governors, he assured them, that a formidable force would be sent to operate against the French, in America; and he called on them to raise as large bodies of men, as their numbers and resources would allow. The legisla-

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ture of Massachusetts voted seven thousand men, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand. These were ready to take the field, early in May. The earl of Loudon, now commander in chief of the British Forces, found himself at the head of the most powerful army, ever seen in North America. No delays interposed, to defeat the objects of the campaign. The winters were regularly devoted to necessary preparations, and for taking the field, as soon as the season would permit. Three expeditions were proposed; the first, against Louisburg; the second, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; the third, against Fort Duquesne. Fourteen thousand men, twenty ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, were assigned to the expedition, against Louisburg. This formidable armament arrived before Louisburg, on the 2nd of June, and proceeded with such vigour, as to compel the surrender of the place, in less than eight weeks. The expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point was not successful. The force ordered on this service, consisted of about sixteen thousand men. These embarked on lake George, in one hundred and twenty-five whale boats, and nine hundred batteaux. After they had debarked on the west side of the lake, they marched towards the advanced guards of the French, and on their way skirmished with the enemy. At the first fire, lord Howe was killed. General Abercrombie proceeded, and took possession of a post near Ticonderoga. Under the impression of false intelligence, an assault was resolved upon, and took place on the 8th of July: but the French were so well covered by abbatis, and a breast work eight feet high, that the British troops could not carry the works. After a contest of four hours, and the loss of one thousand eight hundred of the assailants, a retreat was ordered. Abercrombie relinquished, for the present, all designs against Ticonderoga; but detached colonel Bradstreet, with three thousand men, eight pieces of cannon, and three mortars, against Fort Frontenac, a fortress on the north side of lake Ontario. Bradstreet commenced operations against the fort, in the latter end of Au-

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gust, and, in a few days, received the unconditional surrender of the garrison, consisting of one hundred and ten men.

The expedition against Fort Duquesne was committed to general Forbes, at the head of eight thousand men. Upon their arrival at the fort, they found it abandoned. The garrison had recently escaped in boats, down the Ohio. To the fort, henceforward, was given the name of Pittsburg, in compliment to Mr. Pitt, who, with so much reputation, directed the affairs of Great Britain. The Indians came in, and made their submissions to the conquerors. Treaties were concluded with them, which gave peace to the frontier settlements of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

Two of the three objects of the campaign, of 1758, having been accomplished, the entire conquest of Canada was proposed, as the object to be pursued in the next year. To accomplish this great undertaking, it was agreed that three powerful armies should enter Canada, by different routes, and attack, at the same time, all the strong holds in that country. At the head of one division, general Wolfe was to ascend the St. Lawrence, and, with the co-operation of a fleet, lay siege to Quebec. The main army was destined, in the first instance, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and, after the reduction of these places, to proceed to the St. Lawrence, and, descending that river, to join general Wolfe, before Quebec. The third army was to be conducted by general Prideaux, in the first instance, against Niagara: and, after the reduction of that place, to embark on lake Ontario, and proceed down the St. Lawrence, against Montreal, and afterwards to Quebec. General Amherst advanced with the main army, to lay siege to Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but, on his approach, both places were abandoned, and their garrisons retired to Isle aux Noix. Amherst made great exertions, to obtain a naval superiority on the lake, that he might be enabled to attack the French, who had a considerable marine force, at its northern extremity: but, after gaining a partial advantage, by destroying two vessels of the enemy, he was obliged, by storms, and the advanced season of the year, to return to Crown Point, and put his

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troops in winter quarters. General Prideaux advanced towards Niagara, and, having effected a landing, about three miles from the fort, he proceeded to invest the place, by regular approaches. In the prosecution of the siege, he was killed; and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. A party of French came from Detroit and Venango, to the relief of the garrison; but they were defeated, and the garrison, consisting of six hundred men, surrendered in the last week of July. Though the armies, led by Amherst and Prideaux, against Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Niagara, had succeeded, yet their success was neither so complete, nor so early in the season, as to enable them to fulfil the ulterior objects of the campaign, by an efficient co-operation with general Wolfe, to whom had been assigned, the hazardous and difficult operation, of a direct attack on Quebec. On the breaking up of the ice in the river St. Lawrence, the enterprising and gallant Wolfe embarked eight thousand men, with a very formidable train of artillery, at Louisburg, under convoy of admirals Sanders and Holmes, and landed with them, on the island of Orleans, near to Quebec. The difficulties to be overcome would have deterred ordinary men, from making any attempt; at least before the arrival of general Amherst: but in general Wolfe's opinion, "a victorious army finds no difficulties." His first essay was against the French entrenchments, at the falls of Montmorency: but in this he failed. At length, the British troops landed in the night, and ascended a steep craggy cliff to an eminence, called the heights of Abraham, which commanded the town. Montcalm, the French general, immediately perceived, that he must quit his strong camp, and risk a battle; on the issue of which, the fate of Quebec depended. This took place, on the 13th of September; and in it general Wolfe was killed, and the French general, Montcalm, mortally wounded. The French were defeated: and, in a few days, Quebec capitulated with general Townsend. In the next year, general Amherst advanced from Albany, to the St. Lawrence, and, in the course of it, to Montreal. Detroit, Michilimachinac, and all other French posts, in Canada, were surren-

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dered to his Britannic majesty. The regular troops were transported to France, and the Canadians, being promised protection of their property, and the undisturbed enjoyment of their religion, submitted, and took the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty. With the fall of Canada, fell the French power in North America.

Till the year 1758, or rather 1759, it seemed doubtful whether France or England should have the ascendency in the New World; and, in particular, whether the British should not be confined to a narrow slip of land, on the shores of the Atlantic. The superior population and wealth of the English colonies, and the immense superiority of the British navy over that of France, and particularly the energy of Pitt's administration, turned the scales in favour of England. Great joy was diffused throughout the British dominions: but in no place was it felt, in a higher degree, or with greater reason, than in America. For one hundred and fifty years, France and England had been contending for American territory, and for the last half of that period, almost incessantly. Neither knew the precise extent of their boundaries; but both were willing to enlarge them. They possessed much, but coveted more. Neither was backward to make encroachments on the other; and both were prompt to repel them, when made, or supposed to be made, on themselves. Throughout this period, especially the last half of it, in addition to the unavoidable calamities of war, indiscriminate massacres had been so frequently and extensively committed, on numerous settlers, dispersed over many hundred miles of exposed frontier, that it has been supposed, that the British colonies lost not less than twenty thousand inhabitants.* War assumed a most terrific aspect among the colonists. Not confined to men in arms, as is common in Europe, aged persons, women, and children were frequently its victims. The

* If Canada had not been restored to France, in 1632, or if it had been conquered, as was intended, and might have been effected, in the reign of king William, about the year 1692, and the subsequent destruction of frontier settlers thereby prevented, the population of the northern and eastern states would probably have been, at this day, immensely greater than it is.

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Tomahawk and scalping knife, carried to the fire sides of peaceable helpless families, were applied promiscuously to every age and sex. It was hoped, that the reduction of Canada would close these horrid scenes forever, with respect to the northern and middle colonies. As the Indians could in future derive supplies from none but the English, and as they would no longer be exposed to the seduction of French influence; it was confidently expected, that they would desist from their depredations, and leave the colonists to pursue their own happiness. This was in a great measure the case, for about twelve years after the peace of Paris, in 1763. At the end of that period, a new war, on new principles, commenced, in which, the same ground was fought over, and the same posts were contended for, by new parties. The Indians were again called in as auxiliaries, and encouraged to the same horrid scenes of devastation and murder, from which, the colonists had fondly hoped, that the conquest of Canada had forever delivered them. The origin of this revolution is the next object of inquiry. Before we enter on that subject, a few reflections are proper.

One hundred and fifty-six years had passed away, between the first permanent British establishment, in North America, and the conquest of Canada. In a considerable portion of that period, the three greatest naval powers of Europe, England, France, and Spain, had been incessantly contending for the same American territory. The boundaries of the colonies, which now form the United States, were subjects of controversy, on every side, except where nature's highway, the ocean, precluded all ideas of appropriation. Ignorance of American geography laid the foundation for disputes, respecting the boundaries of adjoining provinces, though granted by the same sovereign; and, still more so, respecting the extent of territory, claimed by different nations. The former might be adjusted in civil courts; but the latter, where there was no common umpire, to whom an appeal could be made, were generally referred to the decision of the sword. For seventy years, wars had succeeded wars, without settling any of the points in controversy. At length a great and de-

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cisive effort took place, in which a complete trial of strength was made, by the naval powers. In this, the law of war decided differently, from the new law of nations, in favour of prior occupants : the sword settled all claims of territory, in such a manner, that the English, who were the last occupiers of a part, became the sole possessors of almost the whole North American continent, to the exclusion of their vanquished rivals, who had a prior possession of its northern and southern extremities.

From the first settlements at James Town and Plymouth, heart burnings and jealousies existed between the aborigines, straitened in their limits, and the new comers, extending themselves in all directions. These afterwards broke out into destructive wars, aiming at extermination. For the last seventy years, the Indians were tools in the hands of hostile Europeans, for laying waste the defenceless settlements of their respective adversaries. These frequent wars stinted the growth of the colonies, and kept their frontier settlers in habitual fear. Revenge, which is natural to savage breasts, must have been gratified, by seeing and hearing how their invaders were made scourges to each other ; and how much blood they shed, in apportioning that territory among themselves, which they had both, in many instances, wrongfully taken from its native proprietors. Such of them, as are acquainted with past transactions, and can reason on them, must be doubly gratified, in tracing the wars of European nations, for the partition of their country, to their termination in the ejection of them all, and the establishment of an American government, friendly to the best interests of the aborigines, by new people, who like themselves are natives of the soil.

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CHAPTER III.

The consequences of the war, which ended in the expulsion of the French, from the North American continent, by British conquests. The peace of Paris. The origin of the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies, from 1763, *till* 1773.

In the course of the war between France and England, which has just been reviewed, some of the colonies made exertions, so far beyond their equitable quota, as to merit a re-imbursement, from the national treasury; but this was not universally the case. In consequence of internal disputes, together with their greater domestic security, the necessary supplies had not been raised, in due time, by others, of the provincial assemblies. That a British minister should depend on colony legislatures, for the execution of his plans, did not well accord with the decisive genius of Mr. Pitt; but it was not prudent, by any innovation, to irritate the colonies during a war, in which, from local circumstances, their exertions were peculiarly beneficial. The advantages, that would result, from an ability to draw forth the resources of the colonies, by the same authority, which commanded the wealth of the mother country, might in these circumstances have suggested the idea of taxing the colonies, by authority of the British parliament. Mr. Pitt is said to have told Dr. Franklin, "that, when the war closed, if he should be in the ministry, he would take measures to prevent the colonies from having a power to refuse or delay the supplies, that might be wanted for national purposes;" but did not mention what those measures should be. As often as money or men were wanted from the colonies, a requisition was made to their legislatures. These were generally and cheerfully complied with. Their exertions, with a few exceptions, were great, and manifested a serious desire to carry into effect the plans of Great Britain, for reducing the power of France.

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In the prosecution of this war, the advantages which Great Britain derived from the colonies, were severely felt by her enemies. Upwards of four hundered privateers, which were fitted out of the ports of the British colonies, successfully cruised on French property. These not only ravaged the West India islands, belonging to his most Christian majesty, but made many captures on the coast of France. Besides distressing the French nation by privateering, the colonies furnished twenty-three thousand eight hundred men, to co-operate with the British regular forces, in North America. They also sent powerful aids, both in men and provisions, out of their own limits, which facilitated the reduction of Martinique, and of the Havannah. The success of their privateers, the co-operation of their land forces, the convenience of their harbours, and their contiguity to the West India islands, made the colonies great acquisitions to Britain, and formidable adversaries to France. From their growing importance, the latter had much to fear. Their continued union with Great Britain threatened the subversion of the commerce, and American possessions, of France.

After hostilities had raged nearly eight years, a general peace was concluded, on terms, by which France ceded Canada to Great Britain. The Spaniards, having also taken part in the war, were, at the termination of it, induced to relinquish to the same power, both East and West Florida. This peace gave Great Britain possession of an extent of country, equal, in dimensions, to several of the kingdoms of Europe. The possession of Canada in the north, and of Florida in the south, made her almost sole mistress of the North American continent.

This laid a foundation for future greatness, which excited the envy and the fears of Europe. Her navy, her commerce, and her manufactures had greatly increased, when she held but a part of the continent; and when she was bounded by the formidable powers of France and Spain. Her probable future greatness, when without a rival, with a growing vent for her manufactures, and increasing employment for her marine, threatened to destroy that balance of power, which

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European sovereigns have for a long time endeavoured to preserve. Kings are republicans with respect to each other; and behold, with democratic jealousy, any one of their order towering above the rest. The aggrandizment of one tends to excite the combination, or at least the wishes of many, to reduce him to the common level. From motives of this kind, the naval superiority of Great Britain was viewed with jealousy, by her neighbours. They were, in general, disposed to favour any convulsion, which promised a diminution of her overgrown power.

The addition to the British empire of new provinces, equal in extent to old kingdoms, not only excited the jealousy of European powers, but occasioned doubts in the minds of enlightened British politicians, whether or not, such immense acquisitions of territory would contribute to the felicity of the parent state. They saw, or thought they saw, the seeds of disunion planted in the too widely extended empire. Power, like all things human, has its limits: and there is a point beyond which the longest and sharpest sword fails of doing execution. To combine, in one uniform system of government, the extensive territory, then subjected to the British sway, appeared, to men of reflection, a work of doubtful practicability. Nor were they mistaken in their conjectures.

The seeds of discord were soon planted, and speedily grew up to the rending of the empire. The high notions of liberty and independence, which were nurtured in the colonies, by their local situation, and the state of society in the New World, were increased by the removal of hostile neighbours. The events of the war had also given them some experience in military operations, and some confidence in their own ability. Foreseeing their future importance, from the rapid increase of their numbers, and extension of their commerce; and being jealous of their rights, they readily admitted, and with pleasure indulged, ideas and sentiments favourable to independence. While combustible materials were daily collecting, in the New World, a spark, to kindle the whole, was produced in the Old. Nor were there wanting those, who, from a jealousy of Great Britain, helped to fan the flame.

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From the first settlement of English America till the close of the war of 1755, the general conduct of Great Britain towards her colonies affords an useful lesson to those who are disposed to colonization. From that era, it is equally worthy of the attention of those who wish for the reduction of great empires to small ones. In the first period, Great Britain regarded the provinces as instruments of commerce. Without charging herself with the care of their internal police, or seeking a revenue from them, she contented herself with a monopoly of their trade. She treated them as a judicious mother does her dutiful children. They shared in every privilege belonging to her native sons, and but slightly felt the inconveniences of subordination. Small was the catalogue of grievances, with which even democratical jealousy charged the parent state, antecedent to the period before mentioned.

Till the year 1764, the colonial regulations seemed to have no other object, but the common good of the whole empire. Exceptions, to the contrary, were few, and had no appearance of system. When the approach of the colonies to manhood made them more capable of resisting impositions, Great Britrin changed the ancient system, under which her colonies had long flourished. When policy would rather have dictated a relaxation of authority, she rose in her demands, and multiplied her restraints.

From the conquest of Canada, in 1760, some have supposed, that France began secretly to lay schemes, for wresting those colonies from Great Britain, which she was not able to conquer. Others allege, that from that period, the colonists, released from all fears of dangerous neighbours, fixed their eyes on independence, and took sundry steps, preparatory to the adoption of that measrue. Without recurring to either of these opinions, the known selfishness of human nature is sufficient to account for that demand on the one side, and that refusal on the other, which occasioned the revolution. It was natural for Great Britain, to wish for an extension of her authority over the colonies, and equally so for them, on their approach to maturity, to be more

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impatient of subordination, and to resist every innovation, for increasing the degree of their dependence.

The sad story of colonial oppression commenced in the year 1764. Great Britain, then, adopted new regulations, respecting her colonies, which, after disturbing the ancient harmony of the two countries, for about twelve years, terminated in a dismemberment of the empire.

These consisted in restricting their former commerce, but more especially in subjecting them to taxation, by the British parliament. By adhering to the spirit of her navigation act, in the course of a century, the trade of Great Britain had increased far beyond the expectation of her most sanguine sons; but by rigidly enforcing the strict letter of the same, in a different situation of public affairs, effects, directly the reverse, were produced.

From the enterprising commercial spirit of the colonists, the trade of America, after filling all its proper channels to the brim, swelled out on every side, and overflowed its proper banks, with a rich redundance. In the cure of evils, which are closely connected with the causes of national prosperity, vulgar precaution ought not to be employed. In severely checking a contraband trade, which was only the overflowing of an extensive fair trade, the remedy was worse than the disease.

For some time before and after the termination of the war of 1755, a considerable intercourse had been carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, consisting of the manufactures of Great Britain, imported by the former, and sold to the latter, by which the British colonies acquired gold and silver, and were enabled to make remittances to the mother country. This trade, though it did not clash with the spirit of the British navigation laws, was forbidden by their letter. On account of the advantages, which all parties, and particularly Great Britain, reaped from this intercourse, it had long been winked at, by persons in power; but, at the period before mentioned, some new regulations were adopted, by which it was almost destroyed. This was effected by armed cutters, whose commanders were enjoined

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to take the usual custom-house oaths, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers. So sudden a stoppage of an accustomed and beneficial commerce, by an unusually rigid execution of old laws, was a serious blow to the northern colonies. It was their misfortune, that, though they stood in need of vast quantities of British manufactures, their country produced very little, that afforded a direct remittance, to pay for them. They were, therefore, under a necessity of seeking, elsewhere, a market for their produce, and, by a circuitous route, acquiring the means of supporting their credit, with the mother country. This they found, by trading with the Spanish and French colonies, in their neighbourhood. From them they acquired gold, silver, and valuable commodities, the ultimate profits of which centered in Great Britain. This intercourse gave life to business of every denomination, and established a reciprocal circulation of money and merchandise, to the benefit of all parties concerned. Why a trade, essential to the colonies, and which, so far from being detrimental, was indirectly advantageous to Great Britain, should be so narrowly watched, and so severely restrained, was not obvious to the Americans. Instead of viewing the parent state, as formerly, in the light of an affectionate mother, they conceived her, as beginning to be influenced by the narrow views of an illiberal stepdame.

In 1764, the trade between the British, and the French and Spanish colonies, was in some degree legalized, but under circumstances, that brought no relief to the colonists; for it was loaded with such enormous duties, as were equivalent to a prohibition. It was also enacted, that the monies, arising from these duties, should be paid into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, there to be entered separately, and reserved, to be disposed of by parliament, towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing America. Till that act passed, no act avowedly for the purpose of revenue, and with the ordinary title and recital of such, was to be found in the parliamentary statute book. The wording of it made the colonists fear, that the parliament would go on, in charging them with such taxes, as they

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pleased, and for the support of such military force, as they should think proper. The act was the more disgusting, because the monies, arising from it, were ordered to be paid in specie, and regulations were adopted against colonial paper money. To obstruct the avenues of acquiring gold and silver, and, at the same time, to interdict the use of paper money, appeared to the colonists as a further evidence, that their interests were either misunderstood, or disregarded. The imposition of duties, for the purpose of raising a revenue, in America, was considered as a dangerous innovation; but the methods adopted, for securing their collection, were resented as arbitrary and unconstitutional. It was enacted by parliament, that, whenever offences should be committed against the acts, which imposed them, the prosecutor might bring his action for the penalty, in the courts of admiralty; by which means the defendant lost the advantage of being tried by a jury, and was subjected to the necessity of having his case decided upon, by a single man, a creature of the crown, whose salary was to be paid out of forfeitures, adjudged by himself; and, also, according to a course of law, which exempted the prosecutor from the trouble of proving his accusation, and obliged the defendant, either to evince his innocence, or to suffer. By these regulations, the guards, which the constitution had placed round property, and the fences, which the ancestors of both countries had erected, against arbitrary power, were thrown down, as far as they concerned the colonists, charged with violating the laws for raising a revenue in America.

They who directed public affairs in Great Britain feared, that, if the collection of these duties were enforced, only in the customary way, payment would be often eluded. To obviate that disposition which the colonists discovered to screen one another, in disobeying offensive acts of parliament, regulations were adopted, bearing hard on their constitutional rights. Unwilling as the colonists were to be excluded, by the imposition of enormous duties, from an accustomed and beneficial line of business, it is not wonderful that they were disposed to represent these innovations of the mother coun-

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try, in the most unfavourable point of view. The heavy losses, to which many individuals were subjected, and the general distress of the mercantile interest, in several of the oldest colonies, soured the minds of many. That the mother country should infringe her own constitution, to cramp the commerce of her colonies, was a fruitful subject of declamation: but these murmurings would have evaporated in words, had Great Britain proceeded to no further innovations. Instead of this, she adopted the novel idea of raising from the colonies, an efficient revenue, by direct internal taxes, laid by authority of her parliament.

Though all the colonies disrelished, and many, from the pressure of actual sufferings, complained of the British restrictions on their manufactures and commerce, yet a great majority was disposed to submit to both. Most of them acknowledged, that the exercise of these powers was incident to the sovereignty of the mother country; especially when guarded by an implied contract, that they were to be only used for the common benefit of the empire. It was generally allowed, that, as the planting of colonies was not designed to erect an independent government, but to extend an old one, the parent state had a right to restrain their trade in every way, which conduced to the common emolument.

They, for the most part, considered the mother country authorized to name ports and nations, to which alone their merchandise should be carried, and with which alone they should trade: but the novel claim, of taxing them without their consent, was universally reprobated, as contrary to their natural, chartered, and constitutional rights. In opposition to it, they not only alleged the general principles of liberty, but ancient usage. During the first hundred and fifty years of their existence, they had been left to tax themselves, and in their own way. If there were any exceptions to this general rule, they were too inconsiderable to merit notice. In the war of 1755, the events of which were fresh in the recollection of every one, the parliament had in no instance attempted to raise either men or money in the colonies, by its own authority. As the claim of taxation on one

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side, and the refusal of it on the other, were the very hinges on which the revolution turned, they merit a particular discussion.

Colonies were formerly planted by warlike nations, to keep their enemies in awe, to give vent to a surplus of inhabitants, or to discharge a number of discontented and troublesome citizens: but in modern ages, the spirit of violence being in some measure sheathed in commerce, colonies have been settled, by the nations of Europe, for the purposes of trade. These were to be attained by their raising, for the mother country, such commodities as she did not produce, and supply themselves from her with such things as they wanted. In subserviency to these views, Great Britain planted colonies, and made laws, obliging them to carry to her, all their products which she wanted, and all their raw materials which she chose to work up. Besides this restriction, she forbade them to procure manufactures from any other part of the globe, or even the products of European countries, which could rival her, without being first brought to her ports. By a variety of ways, she regulated their trade, in such a manner, as was thought most conducive to their mutual advantage, and her own particular welfare. This principle of commercial monopoly ran through no less than twenty-nine acts of parliament, from 1660, to 1764. In all these acts, the system of commerce was established, as that from which, alone, their contributions to the strength of the empire were expected. During this whole period, a parliamentary revenue was no part of the object of colonization. Accordingly, in all the laws which regarded them, the technical words of revenue laws were avoided. Such have usually a title, purporting their being "grants," and the words, "give and grant," usually precede their enacting clauses. Although duties were imposed on America, by previous acts of parliament, no one title of "giving an aid to his majesty," or any other of the usual titles to revenue acts, was to be found in any of them. They were intended as regulations of trade, and not as sources of national supplies. Till the year 1764, all stood on commercial regulation and restraint.

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While Great Britain attended to this first system of colonization, her American settlements, though exposed in unknown climates, and unexplored wildernesses, grew and flourished; and in the same proportion the trade and riches of the mother country increased. Some estimate may be made of this increase, from the following statement. The whole export trade of England, including that to the colonies, in the year 1704, amounted to 6,509,000*l.* sterling: but so immensely had the colonies increased, that the exports to them alone, in the year 1772, amounted to 6,022,132*l.* sterling, and they were yearly increasing. In the short space of sixty-eight years, the colonies added nearly as much to the export commerce of Great Britain, as she had grown to, by a progressive increase of improvement, in seventeen hundred years. And this increase of colonial trade was not at the expense of the general trade of the kingdom; for that increased, in the same time, from six millions to sixteen.

In this auspicious period, the mother country contented herself with exercising her supremacy, in superintending the general concerns of the colonies, and in harmonizing the commercial interest of the whole empire. To this, the most of them bowed down with such a filial submission, as demonstrated that they, though not subject to parliamentary taxes, could be kept in due subordination, and in perfect subserviency to the grand views of colonization.

Immediately after the peace of Paris, 1763, a new scene was opened. The national debt of Great Britain then amounted to one hundred and forty-eight millions, for which an interest of nearly five millions was annually paid. While the British minister was digesting plans, for diminishing this amazing load of debt, he conceived the idea of raising a substantial revenue in the British colonies, from taxes laid by the parliament of the parent state. On the one hand it was urged, that the late war originated on account of the colonies; and that it was reasonable, more especially as it had terminated in a manner so favourable to their interest, that they should contribute to defraying the expenses it had occa-

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sioned. Thus far both parties were agreed; but Great Britain contended, that her parliament, as the supreme power, was constitutionally vested with an authority to lay them on every part of the empire. This doctrine, plausible in itself, and conformable to the letter of the British constitution, when the whole dominions were represented in one assembly, was reprobated in the colonies, as contrary to the spirit of the same government, when the empire became so far extended, as to have many distinct representative assemblies. The colonists believed, that the chief excellence of the British constitution consisted in the right of the subjects to grant, or withhold taxes; and in their having a share in enacting the laws, by which they were to be bound.

They conceived, that the superiority of the British constitution, to other forms of government, was, not that their supreme council was called parliament, but that the people had a share in it, by appointing members, who constituted one of its constituent branches, and without whose concurrence, no law, binding on them, could be enacted. In the mother country, it was asserted to be essential to the unity of the empire, that the British parliament should have a right of taxation, over every part of the royal dominions. In the colonies, it was believed, that taxation and representation were inseparable; and that they could neither be free nor happy, if their property could be taken from them, without their consent. The common people in America reasoned on this subject, in a summary way: "If a British parliament," said they, "in which we are unrepresented, and over which we have no control, can take from us any part of our property, by direct taxation, they may take as much as they please; and we have no security for any thing that remains, but a forbearance on their part, less likely to be exercised in our favour, as they lighten themselves of the burdens of government, in the same proportion that they impose them on us." They well knew, that communities of mankind, as well as individuals, have a strong propensity to impose on others, when they can do it with impunity; and especially when there is a prospect, that the imposition will be attended with ad-

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vantage to themselves. The Americans, from that jealousy of their liberties, which their local situation nurtured, and which they inherited from their forefathers, viewed the exclusive right of laying taxes on themselves, free from extraneous influence, in the same light, as the British parliament views its peculiar privilege of raising money, independent of the crown. The parent state appeared, to the colonists, to stand in the same relation to their local legislatures, as the monarch of Great Britain to the British parliament. His prerogative is limited by that palladium of the people's liberty, the exclusive privilege of granting their own money. While this right rests in the hands of the people, their liberties are secured. In the same manner reasoned the colonists: "In order to be styled freemen, our local assemblies, elected by ourselves, must enjoy the exclusive privilege of imposing taxes upon us." They contended, that men settled in foreign parts, to better their condition, not to submit their liberties; to continue the equals, not to become the slaves of their less adventurous fellow-citizens; and that, by the novel doctrine of parliamentary power, they were degraded from being the subjects of a king, to the low condition of being subjects of subjects. They argued, that it was essentially involved in the idea of property, that the possessor had such a right therein, that it was a contradiction to suppose any other man, or body of men, possessed a right to take it from him, without his consent. Precedents in the history of England justified this mode of reasoning. The love of property strengthened it; and it had a peculiar force on the minds of colonists, three thousand miles removed from the seat of government, and growing up to maturity, in a New World, where, from the extent of country, and the state of society, even the necessary restraints of civil government were impatiently borne. On the other hand, the people of Great Britain revolted against the claims of the colonists. Educated in habits of submission to parliamentary taxation, they conceived it to be the height of contumacy, for the colonists to refuse obedience to the power, which they had been taught to revere. Not adverting to the common interest, which existed between the

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people of Great Britain and their representatives, they believed, that the said community of interests was wanting. The pride of an opulent, conquering nation, aided this mode of reasoning. "What!" said they, "shall we, who have so lately humbled France and Spain, be dictated to by our own colonists? Shall our subjects, educated by our care, and defended by our arms, presume to question the rights of parliament, to which we are obliged to submit?" Reflections of this kind, congenial to the natural vanity of the human heart, operated so extensively, that the people of Great Britain spoke of their colonies and of their colonists, as of a kind of possession annexed to their persons. The love of power, and of property, on the one side of the Atlantic, were opposed by the same powerful passions on the other.

The disposition to tax the colonies was also strengthened, by exaggerated accounts of their wealth. It was said, "that the American planters lived in affluence, and with inconsiderable taxes; while the inhabitants of Great Britain were borne down, by such oppressive burdens, as to make a bare subsistence, a matter of extreme difficulty." The officers who had served in America, during the late war, contributed to this delusion. Their observations were founded on what they had seen in cities, and at a time, when large sums were spent by government, in support of fleets and armies, and when American commodities were in great demand. To treat with attention those, who came to fight for them, and also to gratify their own pride, the colonists had made a parade of their riches, by frequently and sumptuously entertaining the gentlemen of the British army. These, judging from what they saw, without considering the general state of the country, concurred in representing the colonists, as very able to contribute, largely, towards defraying the common expenses of the empire.

The charters, which were supposed to contain the principles on which the colonies were founded, became the subject of serious investigation on both sides. One clause was found to run through the whole of them, except that which had been granted to Mr. Penn. This was a declaration, "that the

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emigrants to America should enjoy the same privileges, as if they had remained, or had been born within the realm;" but such was the subtilty of disputants, that both parties construed this general principle, so as to favour their respective opinions. The American patriots contended, that as English freeholders could not be taxed, but by representatives, in choosing whom, they had a vote, neither could the colonists: but it was replied, that, if the colonists had remained in England, they must have been bound to pay the taxes, imposed by parliament. It was therefore inferred, that, though taxed by that authority, they lost none of the rights of native Englishmen, residing at home. The partizans of the mother country could see nothing in charters, but security against taxes, by royal authority. The Americans, adhering to the spirit more than to the letter, viewed their charters as a shield against all taxes, not imposed by representatives of their own choice. This construction they contended to be expressly recognised by the charter of Maryland. In that, king Charles bound both himself and his successors, not to assent to any bill, subjecting the inhabitants to internal taxation, by external legislation.

The nature and extent of the connection between Great Britain and America, was a great constitutional question, involving many interests, and the general principles of civil liberty. To decide this, recourse was, in vain, had to parchment authorities, made at a distant time; when neither the grantor, nor grantees, of American territory, had in contemplation, any thing like the present state of the two countries.

Great and flourishing colonies, daily increasing in numbers, and already grown to the magnitude of a nation, planted at an immense distance, and governed by constitutions, resembling that of the country from which they sprung, were novelties in the history of the world. To combine colonies, so circumstanced, in one uniform system of government, with the parent state, required a great knowledge of mankind, and an extensive comprehension of things. It was an arduous business, far beyond the grasp of ordinary statesmen, whose minds were narrowed by the formalities of law, or the

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trammels of office. An original genius, unfettered with precedents, and exalted with just ideas of the rights of human nature, and the obligations of universal benevolence, might have struck out a middle line, which would have secured as much liberty to the colonies, and as great a degree of supremacy to the parent state, as their common good required: but the helm of Great Britain was not in such hands. The spirit of the British constitution, on the one hand, revolted at the idea, that the British parliament should exercise the same unlimited authority over the unrepresented colonies, which it exercised over the inhabitants of Great Britan. The colonists, on the other hand, did not claim a total exemption from its authority. They in general allowed the mother country a certain undefined prerogative over them, and acquiesced in the right of parliament, to make many acts, binding them in many subjects of internal policy, and regulating their trade. Where parliamentary supremacy ended, and at what point colonial independency began, was not ascertained. Happy would it have been, had the question never been agitated; but much more so, had it been compromised by an amicable compact, without the horrors of a civil war.

The English colonies were originally established on the principles of a commercial monopoly. While England pursued trade, her commerce increased at least four fold. The colonies took the manufactures of Great Britain, and paid for them with provisions, or raw materials. They united their arms in war, their commerce and their councils in peace, without nicely investigating the terms on which the connection of the two countries depended.

A perfect calm in the political world is not long to be expected. The reciprocal happiness, both of Great Britain and of the colonies, was too great to be of long duration. The calamities of the war, of 1755, had scarcely ended, when the germ of another war was planted, which soon grew up and produced deadly fruit.

At that time, sundry resolutions passed the British parliament, relative to the imposition of a stamp duty in America, which gave a general alarm. By them the right, the equity,

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the policy, and even the necessity of taxing the colonies, was formally avowed. These resolutions, being considered as the preface of a system of American revenue, were deemed an introduction to evils of much greater magnitude. They opened a prospect of oppression, boundless in extent, and endless in duration. They were nevertheless not immediately followed by any legislative act. Time, and an invitation, were given to the Americans, to suggest any other mode of taxation, that might be equivalent in its produce to the stamp act: but they objected, not only to the mode, but the principle; and several of their assemblies, though in vain, petitioned against it. An American revenue was, in England, a very popular measure. The cry in favour of it was so strong, as to silence the voice of petitions to the contrary. The equity of compelling the Americans, to contribute to the common expenses of the empire, satisfied many, who, without inquiring into the policy or justice of taxing their unrepresented fellow-subjects, readily assented to the measures adopted by the parliament, for this purpose. The prospect of easing their own burdens, at the expense of the colonists, dazzled the eyes of gentlemen of landed interest, so as to keep out of their view the probable consequences of the innovation.

The omnipotence of parliament was so familiar a phrase, on both sides of the Atlantic, that few in America, and still fewer in Great Britain, were impressed, in the first instance, with any idea of the illegality of taxing the colonists.

Illumination on that subject was gradual. The resolutions in favour of an American stamp act, which passed in March, 1764, met with no opposition. In the course of the year, which intervened between these resolutions, and the passing of a law grounded upon them, the subject was better understood, and constitutional objections against the measure, were urged by several, both in Great Britain and America. This astonished and chagrined the British ministry: but as the principle of taxing America had been, for some time, determined upon, they were unwilling to give it up. Impelled by partiality for a long cherished idea, Mr. Grenville, in

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March 1765, brought into the house of commons his long-expected bill, for laying a stamp duty in America. By this, after passing through the useful forms, it was enacted, that the instruments of writing, in daily use among a commercial people, should be null and void, unless they were executed on stamped paper or parchment, charged with a duty imposed by the British parliament.

When the bill was brought in, Mr. Charles Townsend concluded a speech in its favour, with words to the following effect: "And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?" To which colonel Barré replied: "they planted by your care! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from tyranny to a then uncultivated and unhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelty of a savage foe, the most subtle, and, I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's earth! and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends. They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the 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, whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them: men promoted to the highest seats of justice—some who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour amidst their

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constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And, believe me, that same spirit of freedom, which actuated these people at first, will accompany them still: but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows, I do not, at this time, speak from any motives of party heat. I deliver the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you; having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal, as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated: but the subject is too delicate. I will say no more."

During the debate on the bill, the supporters of it insisted much on the colonies being virtually represented in the same manner, as Leeds, Halifax and some other towns were. A recurrence to this plea was a virtual acknowledgment, that there ought not to be taxation without representation. It was replied, that the connection between the electors and non-electors of parliament, in Great Britain, was so interwoven, from both being equally liable to pay the same common tax, as to give some security of property to the latter: but with respect to taxes laid by the British parliament, and paid by the Americans, the situation of the parties was reversed. Instead of both parties bearing a proportionable share of the same common burden, what was laid on the one, was exactly so much taken off from the other.

The bill met with no opposition in the house of Lords; and, on the 22nd of March, 1765, it received the royal assent. The night after it passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson; "The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." Mr. Thomson answered: "I was apprehensive, that other lights would be the consequence;" and he foretold the opposition which shortly took place. On its being suggested from authority, that the stamp officers would not be sent from Great Britain,

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but selected from among the Americans, the colony agents were desired to point out proper persons for the purpose. They generally nominated their friends, which affords a presumptive proof, that they supposed the act would have gone down. In this opinion, they were far from being singular. That the colonists would be, ultimately, obliged to submit to the stamp act, was at first commonly believed, both in England and America. The framers of it, in particular, flattered themselves, that the confusion, which would arise upon the disuse of writings, and the insecurity of property, which would result from using any other than that required by law, would compel the colonies, however reluctant, to use the stamp paper, and consequently to pay the taxes imposed thereon. They, therefore, boasted that it was a law, which would execute itself. By the term of the stamp act, it was not to take effect till the first day of November; a period of more than seven months after its passing. This gave the colonists an opportunity for leisurely canvassing the new subject, and examining it fully on every side. In the first part of this interval, struck with astonishment, they lay in silent consternation, and could not determine what course to pursue. By degrees, they recovered their recollection. Virginia led the way in opposition to the stamp act. Mr Patrick Henry, on the 29th of May, 1765, brought into the house of burgesses of that colony, the following resolutions, which were substantially adopted.

"Resolved, that the first adventurers, settlers of this his majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other, his majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this, his majesty's said colony, all the liberties, privileges, and immunities, that have, at any time, been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, that, by two royal charters, granted by king James the first, the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens, and natural subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

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"Resolved, that his majesty's liege people, of this his ancient colony, have enjoyed the rights of being thus governed, by their own assembly, in the article of taxes, and internal police; and that the same have never been forfeited, or yielded up: but have been constantly recognised by the king and people of Britain.

"Resolved, therefore, that the general assembly of this colony, together with his majesty, or his substitutes, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power, to lay taxes and imposts, upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt, to vest such power in any other person or persons, whatsoever, than the general assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and hath a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American liberty.

"Resolved, that his majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law, or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them, other than the laws or ordinances of the general assembly aforesaid.

"Resolved, that any person, who shall, by speaking, or writing, assert or maintain, that any person, or persons, other than the general assembly of this colony, have any right or power, to impose, or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to this his majesty's colony."*

Upon reading these resolutions, the boldness and novelty of them affected one of the members to such a degree, that he cried out, "treason! treason!" They were, nevertheless, well received by the people; and immediately forwarded to the other provinces. They circulated extensively, and gave

* Patrick Henry, whose eloquence was of the same family with the poetry of Shakespeare, introduced these resolutions, with an animated speech, which is unfortunately lost, or, perhaps, was never written. Tradition informs us, that, while he was pouring out his whole soul, in the brilliant extemporaneous effusions of the most ardent patriotism, he broke off abruptly, or was silenced by a call to order, in the middle of a sentence, which began as follows. "Cæsar had his Brutus; Charles his Oliver; and if king George go on as he has begun, he will find"——

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a spring to the discontented. Till they appeared, most were of opinion, that the act would be quietly adopted. Murmurs, indeed, were common, but they seemed to be such, as would soon die away. The countenance of so respectable a colony, as Virginia, confirmed the wavering, and emboldened the timid. Opposition to the stamp act, from that period, assumed a bolder face. The fire of liberty blazed forth from the press. Some well-judged publications set the rights of the colonists, in a plain, but strong point of view. The tongues and the pens of the well-informed citizens laboured in kindling the latent sparks of patriotism. The flame spread from breast to breast, till the conflagration became general. In this business, New England had a principal share. The inhabitants of that part of America, in particular, considered their obligations to the mother country, for past favours, to be very inconsiderable. They were fully informed, that their forefathers were driven, by persecution, to the woods of America, and had there, without any expense to the parent state, effected a settlement on bare creation. Their resentment, for the invasion of their accustomed right of taxation, was not so much mitigated, by the recollection of late favours, as it was heightened by the tradition of grievous sufferings, to which their ancestors, by the rulers of England, had been subjected.

The heavy burdens, which the operation of the stamp act would have imposed on the colonists, together with the precedent it would establish of future exactions, furnished the American patriots with arguments, calculated as well to move the passions, as to convince the judgments of their fellow-colonists. In great warmth they exclaimed: "If the parliament have a right to levy the stamp duties, they may, by the same authority, lay on us imposts, excises, and other taxes, without end, till their repacity is satisfied, or our abilities are exhausted. We cannot, at future elections, displace these men, who so lavishly grant away our property. Their seats and their power are independent of us, and it will rest with their generosity, where to stop, in transferring the expenses of government, from their own, to our shoulders."

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It was fortunate for the liberties of America, that newspapers were the subject of a heavy stamp duty. Printers, when uninfluenced by government, have generally arranged themselves on the side of liberty, nor are they less remarkable for attention to the profits of their profession. A stamp duty, which openly invaded the first, and threatened a diminution of the last, provoked their united zealous opposition. They daily presented to the public, original dissertations, tending to prove, that, if the stamp act were suffered to operate, the liberties of America were at an end, and their property virtually transferred, to their trans-Atlantic fellow-subjects. The writers among the Americans, seriously alarmed for the fate of their country, came forward with essays, to prove, that, agreeably to the British constitution, taxation and representation were inseparable; that the only constitutional mode of raising money, from the colonists, was by acts of their own legislatures; that the crown possessed no further power, than that of requisition; and that the parliamentary right of taxation was confined to the mother country, where it originated from the natural right of man, to do what he pleased with his own, transferred by consent from the electors of Great Britain, to those whom they chose to represent them in parliament. They also insisted much on the misapplication of public money, by the British ministry. Great pains were taken, to inform the colonists, of the large sums, annually bestowed on pensioned favourites, and for the various purposes of bribery. Their passions were inflamed, by high coloured representations of the hardship of being obliged to pay the earnings of their industry, into a British treasury, well known to be a fund for corruption.

The writers on the American side were opposed by arguments, drawn from the unity of the empire; the necessity of one supreme head; the unlimited power of parliament; and the great numbers in the mother country, who, though legally disqualified from voting at elections, were nevertheless bound to pay the taxes, imposed by the representatives of the nation. To these objections it was replied, that the very idea of subordination of parts excluded the notion of simple

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undivided unity; that, as England was the head, she could not be the head and the members too; that, in all extensive empires, where the dead uniformity of servitude did not prevent, the subordinate parts had many local privileges and immunities; that, between these privileges and the supreme common authority, the line was extremely nice; and that, nevertheless, the supremacy of the head had an ample field of exercise, without arrogating to itself the disposal of the property of the unrepresented subordinate parts. To the assertion, that the power of parliament was unlimited, the colonists replied, that before it could constitutionally exercise that power, it must be constitutionally formed; and that, therefore, it must at least, in one of its branches, be constituted by the people, over whom it exercised unlimited power; that, with respect to Great Britain, it was so constituted; and with respect to America, it was not. They therefore inferred, that its power ought not to be the same over both countries. They argued also, that the delegation of the people was the source of power, in regard to taxation; and, as that delegation was wanting in America, they concluded the right of parliament, to grant away their property, could not exist; and that the defective representation in Great Britain, should be urged as an argument for taxing the Americans, without any representation at all, proved the encroaching nature of power. Instead of convincing the colonists of the propriety of their submission, it demonstrated the wisdom of their resistance; for, said they, "one invasion of natural right is made the justification of another, much more injurious and oppressive."

The advocates for parliamentary taxation, laid great stress on the rights supposed to have accrued to Great Britain, on the score of her having reared up and protected the English settlements, in America, at great expense. It was, on the other hand, contended by the colonists, that, in all the wars which were common to both countries, they had taken their full share; but in all their own dangers, in all the difficulties belonging separately to their situation, which did not immediately concern Great Britain, they were left to them-

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selves, and had to struggle through a hard infancy; and, in particular, to defend themselves, without any aid from the parent state, against the numerous savages in their vicinity; that, when France had made war upon them, it was not on their own account, but as appendages to Great Britain; that, confining their trade for the exclusive benefit of the parent state, was an ample compensation for her protection, and a sufficient equivalent for their exemption from parliamentary taxation; and that the taxes imposed on the inhabitants of Great Britain, were incorporated with their manufactures, and ultimately fell on the colonists, who were the consumers.

The advocates, for the stamp act, also contended, that, as the parliament was charged with the defence of the colonies, it ought to possess the means of defraying the expenses incurred thereby. The same argument had been used by king Charles the first, in support of ship-money; and it was now answered in the same manner, as it was by the patriots of that day; "that the people, who were defended or protected, were the fittest to judge of and to provide the means of defraying the expenses incurred on that account" In the mean time, the minds of the Americans underwent a total transformation. Instead of their late peaceable and steady attachment to the British nation, they were daily advancing to the opposite extreme. The people, especially in the large cities, became riotous, insulted the persons, and destroyed the property of such as were known or supposed to be friendly to the stamp act. The mob were the visible agents, in these disorderly proceedings; but they were encouraged by persons of rank and character.

As opportunities offered, the assemblies generally passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right, to lay taxes on their constituents. The people, in their town meetings, instructed their representatives to oppose the stamp act. For a specimen of the spirit and style of their instructions, see Appendix, No. I.

The expediency of calling a continental congress, to be composed of deputies from each of the provinces, had early occurred to the people of Massachusetts. The assembly of

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that province passed a resolution in favour of that measure, and fixed on New York as the place, and the second Tuesday of October, 1765, as the time, for holding the same. They sent circular letters to the speakers of the several assemblies, requesting their concurrence. This first advance towards continental union was seconded in South Carolina, before it had been agreed to by any colony to the southward of New England. The example of this province had a considerable influence, in recommending the measure to others, divided in their opinions, as to its propriety.

The assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, were prevented, by their governors, from sending a deputation to this congress. Twenty-eight deputies from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, met at New York; and, after mature deliberation, agreed on a declaration of their rights, and on a statement of their grievances. They asserted, in strong terms, their exemption from all taxes, not imposed by their own representatives. They also concurred in a petition to the king, a memorial to the house of lords, and a petition to the house of commons. The colonies, prevented from sending their representatives to this congress, forwarded petitions similar to those adopted by the deputies who attended.

While a variety of legal and illegal methods were adopted, to oppose the stamp act, the first of November, on which it was to commence its operation, approached. This, in Boston, was ushered in, by a funeral tolling of bells. Many shops and stores were shut. The effigies of the planners and friends of the stamp act, were carried about the streets in public derision, and then torn in pieces, by the enraged populace. It was remarkable, that though a large crowd was assembled, there was not the least violence, or disorder.

At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, the morning was ushered in, with tolling all the bells in town. In the course of the day, notice was given to the friends of liberty, to attend her funeral. A coffin, neatly ornamented, and inscribed with the word, *Liberty*, in large letters, was carried to the

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grave. The funeral procession began from the state-house, attended with two unbraced drums. While the inhabitants who followed the coffin were in motion, minute guns were fired, and continued till the coffin arrived at the place of interment. Then an oration, in favour of the deceased, was pronounced. It was scarcely ended, before the coffin was taken up; it having been perceived, that some remains of life were left: on which, the inscription was immediately altered to "Liberty revived." The bells immediately exchanged their melancholy for a more joyful sound; and satisfaction appeared in every countenance. The whole was conducted with decency, and without injury or insult, to any man's person or property.

The general aversion to the stamp act was, by similar methods, in a variety of places, demonstrated. It is remarkable that the proceedings of the populace, on these occasions, were carried on with decorum and regularity. They were not ebullitions of a thoughtless mob; but, for the most part, planned by leading men, of character and influence, who were friends to peace and order. These, knowing well that the bulk of mankind are more led by their senses, than by their reason, conducted the public exhibitions on that principle, with a view of making the stamp act, and its friends, both ridiculous and odious.

Though the stamp act was to have operated from the 1st of November, yet legal proceedings, in the courts, were carried on as before. Vessels entered and departed without stamped papers. The printers boldly printed and circulated their newspapers, and found a sufficient number of readers; though they used common paper, in defiance of the act of parliament. In most departments, by common consent, business was carried on, as though no stamp act had existed. This was accompanied by spirited resolutions to risk all consequences, rather than submit to use the paper required by law. While these matters were in agitation, the colonists entered into associations against importing British manufactures, till the stamp act should be repealed. In this manner, British liberty was made to operate against British tyranny.

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Agreeably to the free constitution of Great Britain, the subject was at liberty to buy, or not to buy, as he pleased. By suspending their future purchases on the repeal of the stamp act, the colonists made it the interest of merchants and manufacturers, to solicit for that repeal. They had usually taken so great a proportion of British manufactures, that the sudden stoppage of all their orders, amounting, annually to two or three millions sterling, threw some thousands, in the mother country, out of employment, and induced them, from a regard to their own interest, to advocate the measures wished for by America. The petitions from the colonies were seconded by petitions from the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. What the former prayed for as a matter of right, and connected with their liberties, the latter also solicited from motives of immediate interest. In order to remedy the deficiency of British goods, the colonists betook themselves to a variety of necessary domestic manufactures. In a little time, large quantities of common cloths were brought to market; and these, though dearer, and of a worse quality, were cheerfully preferred to similar articles, imported from Britain. That wool might not be wanting, they entered into resolutions to abstain from eating lambs. Foreign elegancies were laid aside The women were as exemplary as the men, in various instances of self-denial. With great readiness, they refused every article of decoration for their persons, and luxury for their tables. These restrictions, which the colonists had voluntarily imposed on themselves, were so well observed, that multitudes of artificers, in England, were reduced to great distress, and some of their most flourishing manufactories were, in a great measure, at a stand. An association was entered into, by many of the sons of liberty, the name given to those who were opposed to the stamp act, by which they agreed, "to march with the utmost expedition, at their own proper costs and expense, with their whole force, to the relief of those that should be in danger from the stamp act, or its promoters and abettors, or any thing relative to it, on account of any thing that may have been done, in opposition to its obtaining."

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This was subscribed by so many, in New York and New England, that nothing but a repeal could have prevented the immediate commencement of a civil war.

From the decided opposition to the stamp act, which had been adopted by the colonies, it became necessary for Great Britain to enforce, or to repeal it. Both methods of proceeding had supporters. The opposers of a repeal urged arguments, drawn from the dignity of the nation, the danger of giving way to the clamours of the Americans, and the consequences of weakening parliamentary authority over the colonies. On the other hand, it was evident, from the determined opposition of the colonies, that it could not be enforced without a civil war, by which, in every event, the nation must be a loser. In the course of these discussions, Dr. Franklin was examined at the bar of the house of commons, and gave extensive information on the state of American affairs, and the impolicy of the stamp act, which contributed much to remove prejudices, and to produce a disposition that was friendly to a repeal.

Some speakers of great weight, in both houses of parliament, denied their right of taxing the colonies. The most distinguished supporters of this opinion were Lord Camden, in the house of peers, and Mr. Pitt, in the house of commons. The former, in strong language, said: "My position is this; I repeat it; I will maintain it to my last hour. Taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more; it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whatever is a man's own is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him, without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury. Whoever does it, commits a robbery." Mr. Pitt, with an original boldness of expression, justified the colonists, in opposing the stamp act. "You have no right," said he, "to tax America. I rejoice, that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow-subjects, so lost to every sense of virtue, as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He concluded with giving his advice, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally,

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and immediately; that the reason for the repeal be assigned; that it was founded on an erroneous principle. "At the same time," said he, "let the sovereign authority of this country, over the colonies, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade; confine their manufactures; and exercise every power, except that of taking their money out of their pockets, without their consent." The approbation of this illustrious statesman, whose distinguished abilities had raised Great Britain to the highest pitch of renown, inspired the Americans with additional confidence, in the rectitude of their claims of exemption, from parliamentary taxation; and emboldened them to further opposition, when, at a future day, as shall be hereafter related, the project of an American revenue was resumed. After much debating, two protests in the house of lords, and passing an act, "for securing the dependence of America on Great Britain," the repeal of the stamp act was carried, in March, 1766. This event gave great joy in London. Ships in the river Thames displayed their colours; and houses were illuminated, all over the city. It was no sooner known in America, than the colonists rescinded their resolutions, and recommenced their mercantile intercourse with the mother country. They presented their homespun clothes to the poor; and imported more largely than ever. The churches resounded with thanksgivings; and their public and private rejoicings knew no bounds. By letters, addresses, and other means, almost all the colonies showed unequivocal marks of acknowledgment and gratitude. So sudden a calm, after so violent a storm, is without a parallel in history. By the judicious sacrifice of one law, the parliament of Great Britain procured an acquiescence, in all that remained.

There were enlightened patriots, fully impressed with an idea, that the immoderate joy of the colonists was disproportioned to the advantage they had gained.

The stamp act, though repealed, was not repealed on American principles. The preamble assigned as the reason thereof: "that the collecting the several duties and revenues,

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as by the said act was directed, would be attended with many inconveniences, and productive of consequences, dangerous to the commercial interests of these kingdoms." Though this reason was a good one in England, it was by no means satisfactory in America. At the same time that the stamp act was repealed, the absolute, unlimited supremacy of parliament was, in words, asserted. The opposers of the repeal contended for this as essential. The friends of that measure acquiesced in it, to strengthen their party, and make sure of their object. Many of both sides thought, that the dignity of Great Britain required something of the kind, to counterbalance the loss of authority, that might result from her yielding to the clamours of the colonists. The act for this purpose was called the declaratory act; and was, in principle, more hostile to American rights, than the stamp act: for it annulled those resolutions and acts of the provincial assemblies, in which they had asserted their right to exemption from all taxes, not imposed by their own representatives; and also enacted, "that the parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies, in all cases whatsoever."

The majority of the Americans, intoxicated with the advantage they had gained, overlooked this statute, which, in one comprehensive sentence, not only deprived them of liberty and property, but of every right incident to humanity. They considered it as a salvo for the honour of parliament, in repealing an act, which had so lately received their sanction; and flattered themselves it would remain a dead letter; and that, although the right of taxation was in words retained, it would never be exercised. Unwilling to contend about paper claims of ideal supremacy, they returned to their habits of good humour, with the parent state.

The repeal of the stamp act, in a relative connection with all its circumstances and consequences, was the first direct step to American independence. The claims of the two countries were not only left undecided; but a foundation was laid for their extending, at a future period, to the impossibility of a compromise. Though, for the present, Great Britain receded from enforcing her claim of American revenue, a nu-

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merous party, adhering to that system, reserved themselves for more favourable circumstances to enforce it; and, at the same time, the colonists, more enlightened on the subject, and more fully convinced of the rectitude of their claims, were encouraged to oppose it, under whatsoever form it should appear, or under whatsoever disguise it should cover itself.

Elevated with the advantage they had gained, from that day forward, instead of feeling themselves dependent on Great Britain, they conceived that, in respect to commerce, she was dependent on them. It inspired them with such high ideas of the importance of their trade, that they considered the mother country to be brought under greater obligations to them, for purchasing her manufactures, than they were to her for protection and the administration of civil government. The freemen of British America, impressed with the exalting sentiments of patriotism and of liberty, conceived it to be within their power, by future combinations, at any time to convulse, if not to bankrupt the nation, from which they sprung.

Opinions of this kind were strengthened by their local situation, favouring ideas, as extensive as the unexplored continent of which they were inhabitants. While the pride of Britons revolted at the thought, of their colonies refusing subjection to that parliament, which they obeyed; the Americans, with equal haughtiness, exclaimed: "Shall the petty island of Great Britain, scarce a speck on the map of the world, control the free citizens of the great continent of America?"

These high-sounding pretensions would have been harmless, or, at most, spent themselves in words, had not a ruinous policy, untaught by recent experience, called them into serious action. Though the stamp act was repealed, an American revenue was still a favourite object with many in Great Britain. The equity and the advantage of taxing the colonists, by parliamentary authority, were very apparent to their understandings; but the mode of effecting it, without hazarding the public tranquillity, was not so obvious.

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Mr. Charles Townsend, afterwards chancellor of the exchequer, pawned his credit to accomplish what many so earnestly desired. He accordingly, in 1767, brought into parliament a bill, for granting duties in the British colonies on glass, paper, painters' colours, and tea, which was afterwards enacted into a law. If the small duties, imposed on these articles, had preceded the stamp act, they might have passed unobserved: but the late discussions, occasioned by that act, had produced among the colonists, not only an animated conviction of their exemption from parliamentary taxation, but a jealousy of the designs of Great Britain.

The sentiments of the Americans, on this subject, bore a great resemblance to those of their British countrymen, of the preceding century, in the case of ship-money. The amount of that tax was very moderate, little exceeding twenty thousand pounds. It was distributed upon the people with equality, and expended for the honour and advantage of the kingdom; yet all these circumstances could not reconcile the people of England to the imposition. It was entirely arbitrary. "By the same right," said they, "any other tax may be imposed." In like manner, the Americans considered these small duties, in the nature of an entering wedge, designed to make way for others, which would be greater and heavier. In a relative connection with late acts of parliament, respecting domestic manufactures and foreign commerce, laws, for imposing taxes on British commodities exported to the colonies, formed a complete circle of oppression, from which there was no possibility of escaping.

The colonists had been, previously, restrained from manufacturing certain articles, for their own consumption. Other acts confined them to the exclusive use of British merchandise. The addition of duties put them wholly in the power and discretion of Great Britain. "We are not," said they, "permitted to import from any nation, other than our own parent state, and have been, in some cases, restrained by her from manufacturing for ourselves; and she claims a right to do so, in every instance, which is incompatible with her interest. To these restrictions we have hitherto submit-

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ted: but she now rises in her demands, and imposes duties on those commodities, the purchasing of which elsewhere, than at her market, her laws forbid, and the manufacturing of which for our own use, she may, any moment she pleases, restrain. If her right be valid, to lay a small tax, it is equally so to lay a large one; for, from the nature of the case, she must be guided exclusively by her own opinions of our ability, and of the propriety of the duties she may impose. Nothing is left for us to do, but to complain, and pay."

The colonists contended that there was no real difference, between the principle of these new duties and the stamp act. They were both designed to raise a revenue in America, and in the same manner. The payment of the duties, imposed by the stamp act, might have been eluded by the total disuse of stamped paper; and so might the payment of these duties, by the total disuse of those articles on which they were laid: but in neither case, without great difficulty. The colonists were, therefore, reduced to the hard alternative of being obliged, totally, to disuse articles of great utility in human life, or to pay a tax without their consent. The fire of opposition, which had been smothered by the repeal of the stamp act, burned afresh against the same principle of taxation, exhibited in its new form. Mr. Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, on this occasion, presented to the public a series of letters, signed a Farmer, proving the extreme danger which threatened the liberties of America, from their acquiescence in a precedent, which might establish the claim of parliamentary taxation. They were written with great animation; and were read with uncommon avidity. Their reasoning was so convincing, that many of the candid and disinterested citizens of Great Britain acknowledged, that the American opposition to parliamentary taxation was justifiable. The enormous sums, which the stamp act would have collected, had thoroughly alarmed the colonists for their property.

It was now demonstrated by several writers, especially by the Pennsylvania Farmer, that a small tax, though more specious, was equally dangerous; as it established a precedent, which eventually annihilated American property. The

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declaratory act, which at first was the subject of but few comments, was now dilated upon, as a foundation for every species of oppression; and the small duties, lately imposed, were considered as the beginning of a train of much greater evils.

Had the colonists admitted the propriety of raising a parliamentary revenue among them, the erection of an American board of commissioners, for managing it, which was about this time instituted at Boston, would have been a convenience, rather than an injury; but united as they were in sentiments, of the contrariety of that measure to their natural and constitutional rights, they illy brooked the innovation. As it was coeval with the new duties, they considered it as a certain evidence, that the project of an extensive American revenue, notwithstanding the repeal of the stamp act, was still in contemplation. A dislike to British taxation naturally produced a dislike to a board, which was to be instrumental in that business; and occasioned many insults to its commissioners.

The revenue acts of 1767, produced resolves, petitions, addresses, and remonstrances, similar to those, with which the colonists opposed the stamp act. It also gave rise to a second association, for suspending further importations of British manufactures, till these offensive duties should be taken off. Uniformity, in these measures, was promoted by a circular letter from the assembly of Massachusetts, to the speakers of the other assemblies. This stated the petitions and representations, which they had forwarded against the late duties, and strongly pointed out the great difficulties, that must arise to themselves and their constituents, from the operation of acts of parliament, imposing duties on the unrepresented American colonies; and requesting a reciprocal free communication, on public affairs. Most of the provincial assemblies, as they had opportunities of deliberating on the subject, approved the proceedings of the Massachusetts assembly, and harmonised with them in the measures, which they had adopted. They stated their rights, in firm but de-

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cent language; and prayed for a repeal of the late acts, which they considered as infringements on their liberties.

It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the minister, who planned these duties, hoped, that they would be regarded as regulations of trade. He might also presume, that, as they amounted only to an inconsiderable sum, they would not give any alarm. The circular letter of the Massachusetts assembly, which laid the foundation for united petitions against them, gave therefore great offence. Lord Hillsborough, who had lately been appointed secretary of state, for the American department, wrote letters to the governors of the respective provinces, urging them to exert their influence, to prevent the assemblies from taking any notice of it; and he called on the Massachusetts assembly, to rescind their proceedings on that subject. This measure was both injudicious and irritating. To require a public body to rescind a resolution, for sending a letter, which was already sent, answered, and acted upon, was a bad specimen of the wisdom of the new minister. To call a vote, for sending a circular letter, to invite the assemblies of the neighbouring colonies to communicate together, in the pursuit of legal measures, to obtain a redress of grievances, "a flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace," appeared to the colonists a very injudicious application of harsh epithets, to their constitutional right of petitioning. To threaten a new house of assembly with dissolution, in case of their not agreeing to rescind an act of a former assembly, which was not executory, but executed, clashed no less with the dictates of common sense, than the constitutional rights of British colonists. The proposition for rescinding was negatived, by a majority of ninety-two to seventeen. The assembly was immediately dissolved, as had been threatened. This procedure of the new secretary was considered, by the colonists, as an attempt to suppress all communication of sentiments between them; and to prevent their united supplications from reaching the royal ear.

The bad humour, which, from successive irritation, already too much prevailed, was about this time wrought up to

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a high pitch of resentment and violence, on occasion of the seizure of Mr. Hancock's sloop Liberty, June 10th, 1768, for not having entered all the wines she had brought from Madeira. The popularity of her owner, the name of the sloop, and the general aversion to the board of commissioners, and parliamentary taxation, concurred to inflame the minds of the people. They used every means in their power to interrupt the officers, in the execution of their business; and numbers swore that they would be revenged. Mr. Harrison, the collector, Mr. Hallowell, the comptroller, and Mr. Irwine, the inspector of imports and exports, were so roughly handled, as to bring their lives in danger. The windows of some of their houses were broken; and the boat of the collector was dragged through the town, and burned on the common. Such was the temper and disposition of many of the inhabitants, that the commissioners of the customs thought proper to retire on board the Romney man of war; and afterwards to Castle William.

The commissioners, from the first moment of their institution, had been an eye-sore to the people of Boston. This, though partly owing to their active zeal, in detecting smugglers, principally arose from the association, which existed in the minds of the inhabitants, between that board and an American revenue. The declaratory act of 1766, the revenue act of 1767, together with the pomp and expense of this board, so disproportionate to the small income of the present duties, conspired to convince not only the few who were benefitted by smuggling, but the great body of enlightened freemen, that further and greater impositions of parliamentary taxes were intended. In proportion as this opinion gained ground, the inhabitants became more disrespectful to the executive officers of the revenue, and more disposed, in the frenzy of patriotism, to commit outrages on their persons and property. The constant bickering, that existed between them and the inhabitants, together with the steady opposition given by the latter, to the discharge of the official duties of the former, induced the commissioners and friends of an American revenue, to solicit the protection of a regular force,

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to be stationed at Boston. In compliance with their wishes, his majesty ordered two regiments and some armed vessels to repair thither, for supporting and assisting the officers of the customs, in the execution of their duty. This restrained the active exertion of that turbulent spirit, which, since the passing of the late revenue laws, had revived; but it added to its pre-existing causes.

When it was reported in Boston, that one or more regiments were ordered there, a meeting of the inhabitants was called, and a committee appointed, to request the governor to issue precepts, for convening a general assembly. He replied, "that he could not comply with this request, till he had received his majesty's commands for that purpose." This answer being reported, it was voted, that the select men of Boston should write to the select men of other towns, to propose, that a convention of deputies from each, be held, to meet at Faneuil hall, in Boston.

Ninety-six towns, and eight districts, agreed to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Boston, and appointed deputies, to attend a convention; but the town of Hatfield refused its concurrence. When the deputies met, they conducted with moderation; disclaimed all legislative authority; advised the people to pay the greatest deference to government; and to wait patiently for a redress of their grievances, from his majesty's wisdom and moderation. After stating to the world the causes of their meeting, and an account of their proceedings, they dissolved themselves, after a short session, and went home.

Within a day after the convention broke up, the expected regiments arrived, and were peaceably received. Hints had been thrown out by some, that they should not be permitted to come on shore. Preparations were made, by the captains of the men of war in the harbour, to fire on the town, in case opposition had been made to their landing; but the crisis for an appeal to arms was not yet arrived. It was hoped by some, that the folly and rage of the Bostonians would have led them to this rash measure, and thereby have afforded an opportunity for giving them some naval and military correc-

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tion; but both prudence and policy induced them to adopt a more temperate line of conduct.

While the contention was kept alive, by the successive irritations, which have been mentioned, there was, particularly in Massachusetts, a species of warfare carried on between the royal governors, and the provincial assemblies. Each watched the other with all the jealousy, which strong distrust could inspire. The latter regarded the former as instruments of power, wishing to pay their court to the mother country, by curbing the spirit of American freedom; and the former kept a strict eye on the latter, lest they might smooth the way to independence, at which they were charged with aiming. Lieutenant governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, virtually challenged the assembly to a dispute, on the ground of the controversy between the two countries. This was accepted by the latter; and the subject discussed with all the subtilty of argument which the ingenuity of either party could suggest.

The war of words was not confined to the colonies. While the American assemblies passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to tax their constituents, the parliament, by resolves, asserted their unlimited supremacy in and over the colonies. While the former, in their public acts, disclaimed all views of independence, they were successively represented in parliamentary resolves, royal speeches, and addresses from lords and commons, as being in a state of disobedience to law and government; as having proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution; and manifesting a disposition to throw off all subordination to Great Britain.

In February, 1769, both houses of parliament went one step beyond all that had preceded. They concurred in a joint address to his majesty, in which they expressed their satisfaction in the measures his majesty had pursued; gave the strongest assurances, that they would effectually support him in such further measures, as might be found necessary, to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws, in Massachusetts Bay; beseeched him, "to direct the governor to take the most effectual methods for procuring the full-

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est information, touching all treasons or misprisions of treason, committed within the government, since the 30th day of December, 1767; and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons, who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of the secretaries of state, in order that his majesty might issue a special commission for inquiring of, hearing, and determining, the said offences, within the realm of Great Britain, pursuant to the provision of the statute of the thirty-fifth of King Henry the eighth." The latter part of this address which proposed the bringing of delinquents from Massachusetts, to be tried at a tribunal in Great Britain, for crimes committed in America, underwent many severe animadversions.

It was asserted to be totally inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution: for, in England, a man charged with a crime, had a right to be tried in the county in which his offence was supposed to have been committed. "Justice is regularly and impartially administered in our courts," said the colonists; "and yet, by direction of parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a jury of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages which result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money."

The house of burgesses of Virginia met, soon after official accounts of the joint address of lords and commons, on this subject, reached America; and passed resolutions, asserting "their exclusive right to tax their constituents; their right to petition their sovereign for redress of grievances; the lawfulness of procuring the concurrence of the other colonies, in praying for the royal interposition, in favour of the violated rights of America; that all trials for treason, or for any crime whatsoever, committed in that colony, ought to be before his majesty's courts, within the said colony; and that the seizing any person, residing in the said colony, suspected of any crime whatsoever, committed therein, and sending such person to places beyond the sea to be tried, was highly derogatory to the rights of British subjects." The next day,

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lord Botetourt, the governor of Virginia, sent for the house of burgesses, and addressed them as follows: "Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the house of burgesses, I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you; and you are dissolved accordingly."

The assembly of North Carolina adopted resolutions, similar to those of Virginia, for which Tryon their governor dissolved them. The members of the house of burgesses in Virginia, and of the assembly of North Carolina, after their dissolution, met as private gentlemen, chose their late speakers, moderators, and adopted resolutions against importing British goods. The non-importation agreement was, in this manner, forwarded by the very measures intended to curb the spirit of American freedom, from which it sprang. Meetings of the associations were regularly held, in the various provinces. Committees were appointed to examine all vessels arriving from Britain. Censures were freely passed on such as refused to concur in these associations, and their names published in the newspapers, as enemies to their country. The regular acts of the provincial assemblies were not so much respected and obeyed, as the decrees of these committees.

In Boston, lieutenant-governor Hutchinson endeavoured to promote a counter association; but without effect. The friends of importation objected, that, till parliament made provision for the punishment of the confederacies against importation, a counter association would answer no other purpose, than to expose the associators to popular rage.

The Bostonians, about this time, went one step further. They re-shipped goods to Great Britain, instead of storing them as formerly. This was resolved upon, in a town meeting, on the information of an inhabitant, who communicated a letter he had lately received from a member of parliament, in which it was said, "that shipping back ten thousand pounds worth of goods would do more, than storing a hundred thousand." This turned the scale, and procured a majority of votes for re-shipping. Not only in this, but in

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many other instances, the violences of the colonists were fostered by individuals in Great Britain. A number of these were in principle with the Americans, in denying the right of parliament, to tax them; but others were more influenced by a spirit of opposition to the ministerial majority, than by a regard to the constitutional liberties of either country.

The non-importation agreement had now lasted some time, and by degrees had become general. Several of the colonial assemblies had been dissolved, or prorogued, for asserting the rights of their constituents. The royal governors, and other friends to an American revenue, were chagrined. The colonists were irritated. Good men, both in England and America, deplored these untoward events, and beheld with concern an increasing ill humour between those, who were bound by interest and affection, to be friends to each other.

In consequence of the American non-importation agreement, founded in opposition to the duties of 1767, the manufacturers of Great Britain experienced a renewal of the distresses, which followed the adoption of similar resolutions, in the year 1765. The repeal of these duties was therefore solicited by the same influence, which had procured the repeal of the stamp act. The rulers of Great Britain acted without decision. Instead of persevering in their own system of coercion, or, indeed, in any one uniform system, they struck out a middle line, embarrassed with the consequences, both of severity and of lenity, and without the complete benefits of either. Soon after the spirited address to his majesty, last mentioned, had passed both houses of parliament, assurances were given for repealing all the duties, imposed in 1767, excepting that of three pence per pound on tea.

Anxious on the one hand to establish parliamentary supremacy, and on the other afraid to stem the torrent of opposition, they conceded enough to weaken the former, and yet not enough to satisfy the latter. Had Great Britain generously repealed the whole, and for ever relinquished all claim to the right, or even the exercise of the right of taxation, the union of the two countries might have lasted for ages. Had she seriously determined to compel the submission of the colo-

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nies, nothing could have been more unfriendly to this design, than her repeated concessions to their reiterated associations. The declaratory act, and the reservation of the duty on tea, left the cause of contention between the two countries, in full force; but the former was only a claim on paper, and the latter might be evaded, by refusing to purchase any tea, on which the parlimentary tax was imposed. The colonists, therefore, conceiving that their commerce might be renewed, without establishing any precedent, injurious to their liberties, relaxed in their associations, in every particular, except tea, and immediately recommenced the importation of all others articles of merchandise. A political calm once more took place. The parent state might now have closed the dispute for ever, and honourably receded, without a formal relinquishment of her claims. Neither the reservation of the duty on tea, by the British parliament, nor the exceptions made by the colonists, of importing no tea, on which a duty was imposed, would, if they had been left to their own operation, have disturbed the returning harmony of the two countries. Without fresh irritation, their wounds might have healed, and not a scar been left behind.

Unfortunately for the friends of union, so paltry a sum as three pence per pound on so insignificant an article as tea, in consequence of a combination between the British ministry and East India company, revived the dispute to the rending of the empire.

These two abortive attempts, to raise a parliamentary revenue in America, caused a fermentation in the minds of the colonists, and gave birth to many inquiries respecting their natural rights. Reflections and reasonings on this subject produced a high sense of liberty, and a general conviction, that there could be no security for their property, if they were to be taxed at the discretion of a British parliament, in which they were unrepresented, and over which they had no control. A determination not only to oppose this new claim of taxation, but to keep a strict watch, lest it might be established in some disguised form, took possession of their minds.

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It commonly happens, in the discussion of doubtful claims between states, that the ground of the original dispute insensibly changes. When the mind is employed in investigating one subject, others, associated with it, naturally present themselves. In the course of inquiries on the subject of parliamentary taxation, the restriction on the trade of the colonists, and the necessity that was imposed on them, to purchase British and other manufactures, loaded with their full proportion of all taxes, paid by those who made or sold them, became more generally known. While American writers were vindicating their country from the charge of contributing nothing to the common expenses of the empire, they were led to set off, to their credit, the disadvantage of their being confined exclusively to purchase manufactures in Britain. They instituted calculations, by which they demonstrated, that the monopoly of their trade drew from them greater sums, for the support of government, than were usually paid by an equal number of their fellow-citizens of Great Britain; and that taxation, superadded to such a monopoly, would leave them in a state of perfect uncompensated slavery. The investigation of these subjects brought matters into view, which the friends of union ought to have kept out of sight. These circumstances, together with the extensive population of the eastern states, and their adventurous spirit of commerce, suggested to some bold spirits, that not only British taxation, but British navigation laws, were unfriendly to the interests of America. Speculations of this magnitude suited well with the extensive views of some capital merchants; but never would have roused the bulk of the people, had not new matter brought the dispute between the two countries to a point, in which every individual was interested.

On reviewing the conduct of the British ministry, respecting the colonies, much weakness as well as folly appears. For a succession of years, there was a steady pursuit of American revenue; but great inconsistency in the projects for obtaining it. In one moment, the parliament was for enforcing their laws; the next, for repealing them. Doing and undoing, menacing and submitting, straining and relax-

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ing followed each other, in alternate succession. The object of administration, though twice relinquished, as to any present efficiency, was invariably pursued; but without any unity of system,

On the 9th of May, 1769, the king, in his speech to parliament, highly applauded their hearty concurrence, in maintaining the execution of the laws, in every part of his dominions. Five days after this speech, lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for the colonies, wrote to lord Botetourt, governor of Virginia: "I can take upon me to assure you, notwithstanding informations to the contrary, from men, with factious and seditious views, that his majesty's present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to parliament, to lay any further taxes upon America, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and that it is, at present, their intention to propose, the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce." The governor was also informed, that "his majesty relied upon his prudence and fidelity, to make such an explanation of his majesty's measures, as would tend to remove prejudices, and to re-establish mutual confidence and affection, between the mother country and the colonies." In the exact spirit of his instructions, lord Botetourt addressed the Virginia assembly as follows: "It may possibly be objected, that, as his majesty's present administration are not immortal, their successors may be inclined to attempt to undo, what the present ministers shall have attempted to perform; and to that objection I can give but this answer: that it is my firm opinion, that the plan, I have stated to you, will certainly take place, and that it will never be departed from; and so determined am I forever to abide by it, that I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the last hour of my life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power, with which I either am, or ever shall be, legally invested, in order to obtain and maintain for the continent of America, that satisfaction, which I have been authorised to promise this day, by the confidential ser-

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vants of our gracious sovereign, who, to my certain knowledge, rates his honour so high, that he would rather part with his crown, than preserve it by deceit."

These assurances were received, with transports of joy, by the Virginians. They viewed them as pledging his majesty for security, that the late design for raising a revenue in America was abandoned, and never more to be resumed. The assembly of Virginia, in answer to lord Botetourt, expressed themselves thus: "We are sure our most gracious sovereign, under whatever changes may happen in his confidential servants, will remain immutable in the ways of truth and justice, and that he is incapable of deceiving his faithful subjects; and we esteem your lordship's information not only as warranted, but even sanctified by the royal word."

How far these solemn engagements, with the Americans, were observed, subsequent events will demonstrate. In a perfect reliance on them, most of the colonists returned to their ancient habits of good humour, and flattered themselves that no future parliament would undertake to give, or grant away their property.

From the royal and ministerial assurances given in favour of America, in the year 1769, and the subsequent repeal in 1770, of five-sixths of the duties which had been imposed in 1767; together with the consequent renewal of the mercantile intercourse between Great Britain and the colonies, many hoped, that the contention between the two countries was finally closed. In all the provinces, excepting Massachusetts, appearances seemed to favour that opinion. Many incidents operated there to the prejudice of that harmony, which had begun, elsewhere, to return. Stationing a military force among them was a fruitful source of uneasiness. The royal army had been brought thither, with the avowed design of enforcing submission to the mother country. Speeches from the throne, and addresses from both houses of parliament, had taught them to look upon the inhabitants as a factious, turbulent people, who aimed at throwing off all subordination to Great Britain. They, on the other hand were ac-

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customed to look upon the soldiery as instruments of tyranny, sent on purpose to dragoon them out of their liberties.

Reciprocal insults soured the tempers, and mutual injuries embittered the passions, of the opposite parties. Some fiery spirits, who thought it an indignity to have troops quartered among them, were constantly exciting the towns people to quarrel with the soldiers.

On the second of March, 1770, a fray took place near Mr. Gray's ropewalk, between a private soldier of the twenty-ninth regiment, and an inhabitant. The former was supported by his comrades, the latter by the rope-makers, till several on both sides were involved in the consequences. On the 5th, a more dreadful scene was presented. The soldiers, when under arms, were pressed upon, insulted and pelted by a mob, armed with clubs; sticks, and snowballs covering stones. They were also dared to fire. In this situation, one of the soldiers who had received a blow, in resentment fired at the supposed aggressor. This was followed by a single discharge from six others. Three of the inhabitants were killed, and five were dangerously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion. Such were the temper, force, and number of the inhabitants, that nothing but an engagement to remove the troops out of the town, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the townsmen from falling on the soldiers. Preston, the captain who commanded, and the party, who fired on the inhabitants, were committed to jail, and afterwards tried. The captain and six of the men were acquitted. Two were brought in guilty of manslaughter. It appeared on the trial, that the soldiers were abused, insulted, threatened, and pelted, before they fired. It was also proved, that only seven guns were fired by the eight prisoners. These circumstances induced the jury to give a favourable verdict. The result of the trial reflected great honour on John Adams, and Josiah Quincy, the counsel for the prisoners; and, also, on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinions.

The events of that tragical night sunk deep in the minds

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of the people, and were made subservient to important purposes. The anniversary of it was observed with great solemnity. Eloquent orators were successively employed, to deliver an annual oration, to preserve the remembrance of it fresh in their minds. On these occasions the blessings of liberty, the horrors of slavery, the dangers of the standing army, the rights of the colonies, and a variety of such topics were presented to the public view, under their most pleasing and alarming forms. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning, with an incessant flame.

The obstacles to returning harmony, which have already been mentioned, were increased, by making the governor and judges in Massachusetts, independent of the province. Formerly they had been paid by yearly grants from the assembly; but about this time provision was made for paying their salaries by the crown. This was resented as a dangerous innovation; as an infraction of their charter; and as destroying that balance of power, essential to free governments. That the crown should pay the salary of the chief justice, was represented by the assembly as a species of bribery, tending to bias his judicial determination. They made it the foundation for impeaching Mr. Justice Oliver, before the governor; but he excepted to their proceedings, as unconstitutional. The assembly, nevertheless, gained two points. They rendered the governor more odious to the inhabitants, and increased the public respect for themselves, as the counterpart of the British house of commons, and as guardians of the rights of the people.

A personal animosity, between lieutenant governor Hutchinson, and some distinguished patriots, in Massachusetts, contributed to perpetuate a flame of discontent in that province, after it had elsewhere visibly abated. This was worked up, in the year, 1773, to a high pitch, by a singular combination of circumstances. Some letters had been written, in the course of the dispute, by governor Hutchinson, lieutenant governor Oliver, and other royal servants in Boston, to persons of power in England, which contained a very unfa-

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vourable representation, of the state of public affairs, and tended to show the necessity of coercive measures, and of changing the chartered system of government, to secure the obedience of the province. These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of the province, who transmitted them to Boston. The indignation and animosity, which was excited on the receipt of them, had no bounds. The house of assembly agreed on a petition and remonstrance to his majesty, in which they charged their governor, and lieutenant governor, with being betrayers of the people they governed, and of giving private, partial, and false information. They also declared them enemies to the colonies, and prayed for justice against them, and for their speedy removal from their places. These charges were carried through by a majority of eighty-two to twelve.

The petition and remonstrance being transmitted to England, their merits were discussed before his majesty's privy council. After an hearing before that board, in which Dr. Franklin represented the province of Massachusetts, the governor and lieutenant governor were acquitted. Mr. Wedderburne, who defended the accused royal servants, in the course of his pleadings, inveighed against Dr. Franklin, in the severest language, as the fomenter of the disputes between the two countries.* It was no protection to this venerable sage, that, being the agent of Massachusetts, he conceived it his duty to inform his constituents, of letters, written on public affairs, calculated to overturn their chartered constitution. The age, respectability, and high literary

* This charge is now known to be false. Dr. Franklin took every method in his power to prevent a rupture between Great Britain and America. His advice to his countrymen was, "to bear every thing for the present; as they were sure, in time, to outgrow all their grievances; and as it could not be in the power of the mother country to oppress them long." With that command of countenance, which is peculiar to great minds, he bore Wedderburne's abuse without any visible emotion: but that he felt, and remembered it, is probable from the following circumstance. About five years afterwards, when, as minister plenipotentiary of the United States, he signed a treaty of alliance on their behalf, with the king of France, he intentionally wore the same coat he had on, when he was insulted by Wedderburne. See Dr. Priestly's life. Vol. II. page 454.

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character, of the subject of Mr. Wedderburne's philippic, turned the attention of the public, on the transaction. The insult offered to one of their public agents, and especially to one, who was both the pride and ornament of his native country, sunk deep in the minds of the Americans. That a faithful servant, whom they loved, should be insulted, for discharging his official duty, rankled in their hearts. Dr. Franklin was immediately dismissed from the office of deputy postmaster general, which he held under the crown. It was not only by his transmission of these letters, that he had given offence to the British ministry, but by his popular writings, in favour of America. Two pieces of his, in particular, had lately attracted a large share of public attention, and had an extensive influence on both sides of the Atlantic. The one purported to be an edict from the king of Prussia, for taxing the inhabitants of Great Britain, as descendants of emigrants from his dominions. The other was entitled: "Rules for reducing a great empire to a small one." In both of which he had exposed the claims of the mother country, and the proceedings of the British ministry, with the severity of poignant satire.

For ten years there had now been little intermission to the disputes, between Great Britain and her colonies. Their respective claims had never been compromised on middle ground. The calm, which followed the repeal of the stamp act, was in a few months disturbed, by the revenue act of the year 1767. The tranquillity, which followed the repeal of five-sixths of that act, in the year 1770, was nothing more than a truce. The reservation of the duty on tea, as an avowed evidence of the claims of Great Britain to tax her colonies, kept alive the jealousy of the colonists; while, at the same time, the stationing of an army in Massachusetts, the continuance of a board of commissioners in Boston, the constituting the governors and judges of that province independent of the people, were constant sources of irritation. The altercations which, at this period, were common between the royal governors and the provincial assemblies, together with numerous vindications of the claims of America, made

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the subject familiar to the colonists. The ground of the controversy was canvassed in every company. The more the Americans read, reasoned, and conversed on the subject, the more were they convinced of their right to the exclusive disposal of their property. This was followed by a determination to resist all encroachments on that palladium of liberty. They were as strongly convinced of their right, to refuse and resist parliamentary taxation, as the ruling powers of Great Britain of their right, to demand and enforce their submission to it.

The claims of the two countries, being thus irreconcileably opposed to each other, the partial calm, which followed the concession of parliament, in 1770, was liable to disturbance, from every incident. Under such circumstances, nothing less than the most guarded conduct on both sides could prevent a renewal of the controversy. Instead of following those prudential measures, which would have kept the ground of the dispute out of sight, an impolitic scheme was concerted, between the British ministry and the East India company, that placed the claims of Great Britain and of her colonies in hostile array against each other.

In the year 1773, commenced an new æra of the American controversy. To understand this in its origin, it is necessary to recur to the period, when the solitary duty on tea was excepted from the partial repeal of the revenue act of 1767. When the duties which had been laid on glass, paper, and painters' colours, were taken off, a respectable minority in parliament contended, that the duty on tea should also be removed. To this it was replied; "that as the Americans denied the legality of taxing them, a total repeal would be a virtual acquiescence in their claims; and that in order to preserve the rights of the mother country, it was necessary to retain the preamble, and at least one of the taxed articles." It was rejoined, that a partial repeal would be a source of endless discontent; and that the tax on tea would not defray the expenses of collecting it. The motion in favour of a total repeal was rejected by a great majority. As the parliament thought fit to retain the tax on tea, for an evidence of their

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right of taxation, the Americans, in like manner, to be consistent with themselves in denying that right, discontinued the importation of that commodity. While there was no attempt to introduce tea into the colonies, against this declared sense of the inhabitants, these opposing claims were in no danger of collision. In that case, the mother country might have solaced herself, with her ideal rights, and the colonies, with their favourite opinion of a total exemption from parliamentary taxes, without disturbing the public peace. This mode of compromising the dispute, which seemed at first designed as a salvo for the honour and consistency of both parties, was, by the interference of the East India company, in combination with the British ministry, completely overset.

The expected revenue from tea failed, in consequence of the American association to import none on which a duty was charged. This proceeded as much from the spirit of gain, as of patriotism. The merchants found means of supplying their countrymen with tea, smuggled from countries to which the power of Britain did not extend. They doubtless conceived themselves to be supporting the rights of their country, by refusing to purchase tea from Britain; but they also reflected, that if they could bring the same commodity to market, free of duty, their profits would be proportionably greater.

The love of gain was not peculiar to the American merchants. From the diminished exportation to the colonies, the ware-houses of the British East India company had in them seventeen millions of pounds of tea, for which a market could not be procured. The ministry and East India company, unwilling to lose, the one, the expected revenue from the sale of the tea in America, the other, their usual commercial profits, agreed on a measure by which they supposed both would be secured.

The East India company was, by law, authorized to export their tea free of duties, to all places whatsoever. By this regulation, tea, though loaded with an exceptionable duty, would come cheaper to the colonies, than before it had been made a source of revenue: for the duty taken off it, when

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exported from Great Britain, was greater than that to be paid on its importation into the colonies. Confident of success, in finding a market for their tea, thus reduced in its price, and also of collecting a duty on its importation and sale in the colonies, the East India company freighted several ships, with teas, for the different colonies, and appointed agents for its disposal. This measure united several interests in opposition to its execution. The patriotism of the Americans was corroborated by several auxiliary aids, no ways connected with the cause of liberty.

The merchants in England were alarmed at the losses, that must accrue to themselves, from the exportations of the East India company, and from the sales going through the hands of consignees. Letters were written to colonial patriots, urging their opposition to the project.

The smugglers, who were both numerous and powerful, could not relish a scheme which, by underselling them, and taking a profitable branch of business out of their hands, threatened a diminution of their gains. The colonists were too suspicious of the designs of Great Britain to be imposed upon.

The cry of endangered liberty once more excited an alarm, from New Hampshire to Georgia. The first opposition to the execution of the scheme, adopted by the East India company, began with the American merchants. They saw a profitable branch of their trade likely to be lost, and the benefits of it to be transferred to people in Great Britain. They felt for the wound, that would be inflicted on their country's claim of exemption from parliamentary taxation; but they felt, with equal sensibility, for the losses they would sustain, by the diversion of the streams of commerce, into unusual channels. Though the opposition originated in the selfishness of the merchants, it did not end there. The great body of the people, from principles of the purest patriotism, were brought over to second their wishes. They considered the whole scheme as calculated to seduce them into an acquiescence with the views of parliament, for raising an American revenue. Much pains were taken to enlighten the co-

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lonists on this subject, and to convince them of the eminent hazard to which their liberties were exposed.

The provincial patriots insisted largely on the persevering determination of the parent state, to establish her claim of taxation, by compelling the sale of tea in the colonies, against the solemn resolutions and declared sense of the inhabitants; and that, at a time, when the commercial intercourse of the two countries was renewed, and their ancient harmony fast returning. The proposed venders of the tea were represented as revenue officers, employed in the collection of an unconstitutional tax, imposed by Great Britain. The colonists contended, that, as the duty and the price of the commodity were inseparably blended, if the tea were sold, every purchaser would pay a tax imposed by the British parliament, as part of the purchase money. To obviate this evil, and to prevent the liberties of a great country from being sacrificed by inconsiderate purchasers, sundry town meetings were held in the capitals of the different provinces, and combinations were formed to obstruct the sales of the tea, sent by the East India company.

The resolutions adopted, by the inhabitants of Philadelphia, on the 18th of October, 1773, afford a good specimen of the whole. These were as follow:

"1. That the disposal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen; that there can be no property in that which another can, of right, take from us without our consent; that the claim of parliament to tax America, is, in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on us at pleasure.

"2. That the duty, imposed by parliament upon tea landed in America, is a tax on the Americans, or levying contributions on them, without their consent.

"3. That the express purpose, for which the tax is levied on the Americans, namely, for the support of government, administration of justice, and defence of his majesty's dominions in America, has a direct tendency to render assemblies useless, and to introduce arbitrary government and slavery:

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"4. That a virtuous and steady opposition, to this ministerial plan of governing America, is absolutely necessary, to preserve even the shadow of liberty; and is a duty which every freeman in America owes to his country, to himself, and to his posterity.

"5. That the resolution, lately entered into by the East India company, to send out their tea to America, subject to the payment of duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce this ministerial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America.

"6. That it is the duty of every American to oppose this attempt.

"7. That whoever shall, directly or indirectly, countenance this attempt, or, in any wise, aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea sent, or to be sent out by the East India company, while it remains subject to the payment of a duty here, is an enemy to his country.

"8. That a committee be immediately chosen, to wait on those gentlemen, who, it is reported, are appointed by the East India company, to receive and sell said tea, and request them, from a regard to their own character and the peace and good order of the city and province, immediately to resign their appointment."

As the time approached, when the arrival of the tea ships might be soon expected, such measures were adopted, as seemed most likely to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea consignees, appointed by the East India company, were, in several places, compelled to relinquish their appointments; and no others could be found, hardy enough, to act in their stead. The pilots, in the river Delaware, were warned not to conduct any of the tea ships into their harbour. In New York, popular vengeance was denounced against all who would contribute, in any measure, to forward the views of the East India company. The captains of the New York and Philadelphia ships, being apprized of the resolution of the people, and fearing the consequence of landing a commodity, charged with an odious duty, in violation of their de-

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clared public sentiments, concluded to return directly to Great Britain, without making any entry at the custom house.

It was otherwise in Massachusetts. The tea ships, designed for the supply of Boston, were consigned to the sons, cousins, and particular friends of governor Hutchinson. When they were called upon to resign, they answered, "that it was out of their power." The collector refused to give a clearance, unless the vessels were discharged of dutiable articles. The governor refused to give a pass for the vessels, unless properly qualified for the custom-house. The governor, likewise, requested admiral Montague to guard the passages out of the harbour; and gave orders to suffer no vessels, coasters excepted, to pass the fortress from the town, without a pass signed by himself. From a combination of these circumstances, the return of the tea vessels, from Boston, was rendered impossible. The inhabitants, then, had no option, but to prevent the landing of the tea; or to suffer it to be landed, and depend on the unanimity of the people not to purchase it; or to destroy the tea; or to suffer a deep-laid scheme against their sacred liberties to take effect. The first would have required incessant watching, by night, as well as by day, for a period of time, the duration of which no one could compute. The second would have been visionary to childishness, by suspending the liberties of a growing country, on the self-denial and discretion of every tea-drinker in the province. They viewed the tea as the vehicle of an unconstitutional tax, and as inseparably associated with it. To avoid the one, they resolved to destroy the other. About seventeen persons, dressed as Indians, repaired to the tea ships, broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and, without doing any other damage, discharged their contents into the water.

Thus, by the inflexibility of the governor, the issue of this business was different, at Boston, from what it was elsewhere. The whole cargoes of tea were returned from New York and Philadelphia. That which was sent to Charleston was landed and stored; but not offered for sale. Mr. Hutchinson had repeatedly urged government to be firm and per-

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severing. He could not, therefore, consistent with his honour, depart from a line of conduct, he had so often and so strongly recommended to his superiors. He also believed, that the inhabitants would not dare to perfect their engagements; and flattered himself, that they would desist, when the critical moment arrived.

Admitting the rectitude of the American claims of exemption, from parliamentary taxation, the destruction of the tea, by the Bostonians, was warranted by the great law of self-preservation; for it was not possible for them, by any other means, to discharge the duty they owed to their country.

The event of this business was very different from what had been expected in England. The colonists acted with so much union and system, that there was not a single chest, of any of the cargoes sent out by the East India company, sold for their benefit.

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CHAPTER IV.

Proceedings of the British parliament, in consequence of the destruction of the tea, by the Bostonians. Boston port act, &c.

Intelligence of the events, which have been stated in the last chapter, was, on the 7th of March, 1774, communicated, in a message from the throne, to both houses of parliament. In this communication, the conduct of the colonists was represented, as not only obstructing the commerce of Great Britain, but as subversive of its constitution. The message was accompanied with a number of papers, containing copies and extracts of letters, from the several royal governors and others; from which it appeared, that the opposition to the sale of tea was not peculiar to Massachusetts; but common to all the colonies. These papers were accompanied with declarations, that nothing short of parliamentary interference could re-establish order, among the turbulent colonists; and that, therefore, decisive measures should be immediately adopted. If the right of levying taxes on the Americans were vested in the parent state, these inferences were well-founded; but if it were not, their conduct, in resisting an invasion of their rights, was justified, not only by many examples in the history of Britain, but by the spirit of the constitution of that country, which they were opposing.

By the destruction of the tea, the people of Boston had incurred the sanction of penal laws. Those in Great Britain, who wished for an opportunity to take vengeance on that town, commonly supposed by them to be the mother of sedition and rebellion, rejoiced, that her inhabitants had laid themselves open to castigation.

It was well known, that the throwing of the tea into the river did not originate with the persons, who were the immediate instruments of that act of violence; and that the whole had been concerted, at a public meeting, and was, in a quali-

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fied sense, the act of the town. The universal indignation, which was excited in Great Britain, against the people of Boston, pointed out to the ministry the suitableness of the present moment for humbling them. Though the ostensible ground of complaint was nothing more than a trespass, on private property, committed by private persons; yet it was well known to be part of a long digested plan of resistance, to parliamentary taxation. Every measure, that might be pursued on the occasion, seemed to be big with the fate of the empire. To proceed in the usual forms of law, appeared to the rulers, in Great Britain, to be a departure from their dignity. It was urged by the ministry, that parliament, and parliament only, was capable of re-establishing tranquillity, among these turbulent people, and of bringing order out of confusion. To stifle all opposition from the merchants, the public papers were filled with writings, which stated the impossibility of carrying on a future trade to America, if this flagrant outrage on commerce should go unpunished.

It was in vain urged, by the minority, that no good could arise from coercion, unless the minds of the Americans were made easy on the subject of taxation. Equally vain was a motion for a retrospect into the conduct of the ministry, which had provoked their resistance.

The parliament confined themselves solely to the late misbehaviour of the Americans, without any inquiry into its provoking causes.

The violence of the Bostonians, in destroying an article of commerce, was largely insisted upon, without any indulgence for the jealous spirit of liberty, in the descendants of Englishmen. The connection between the tea, and the unconstitutional duty imposed thereon, was overlooked, and the public mind of Great Britain solely fixed on the obstruction given to commerce, by the turbulent colonists. The spirit raised against the Americans became as high, and as strong, as their most inveterate enemies desired. This was not confined to the common people; but took possession of legislators, whose unclouded minds ought to be exalted above the mists of prejudice or partiality. Such, when they consult on

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public affairs, should be free from the impulses of passion; for it rarely happens, that resolutions, adopted in anger, are founded in wisdom. The parliament of Great Britain, transported with indignation against the people of Boston, in a fit of rage resolved to take legislative vengeance on that devoted town.

Disregarding the forms of her own constitution, by which none are to be condemned unheard, or punished without a trial, a bill was finally passed, by which the port of Boston was virtually blocked up; for it was legally precluded from the privilege of landing and discharging, or of lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise. The minister, who proposed this measure, stated, in support of it, that the opposition, to the authority of parliament, had always originated in that colony, and had always been instigated by the seditious proceedings of the town of Boston; that it was therefore necessary to make an example of that town, which, by an unparalleled outrage, had violated the freedom of commerce; and that Great Britain would be wanting in the protection she owed to her peaceable subjects, if she did not punish such an insult, in an exemplary manner. He therefore proposed, that the town of Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea, which had been destroyed. He was further of opinion, that making a pecuniary satisfaction, for the injury committed, would not alone be sufficient; but that, in addition thereto, security must be given in future, that trade might be safely carried on; property protected; laws obeyed; and duties paid. He urged, therefore, that it would be proper to take away, from Boston, the privileges of a port, until his majesty should be satisfied, in these particulars, and publicly declare in council, on a proper certificate of the good behaviour of the town, that he was so satisfied. Until this should happen, he proposed that the custom-house officers should be removed to Salem. The minister hoped, that this act would execute itself; or at most, that a few frigates would secure its execution. He also hoped, that the prospect of advantage to the town of Salem, from its being made the seat of the custom-house, and from the occlusion of the port of

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Boston, would detach them from the interest of the latter, and dispose them to support a measure, from which they had so much to expect. It was also presumed, that the other colonies would leave Boston to suffer the punishment due to her demerits. The abettors of parliamentary supremacy flattered themselves, that this decided conduct of Great Britain would, forever, extinguish all opposition of the refractory colonists to the claims of the mother country; and the apparent equity of obliging a delinquent town to make reparation, for an injury occasioned by the factious spirit of its inhabitants, silenced many of the friends of America. The consequences, resulting from this measure, were the reverse of what were wished by the first, and dreaded by the last.

By the operation of the Boston port act, the preceding situation of its inhabitants, and that of the East India company, was reversed. The former had more reason to complain of the disproportionate penalty, to which they were indiscriminately subjected, than the latter of that outrage on their property, for which punishment had been inflicted. Hitherto, the East India company were the injured party; but, from the passing of this act, the balance of injury was on the opposite side. If wrongs received entitled the former to reparation, the latter had a much stronger title on the same ground. For the act of seventeen or eighteen individuals, as many thousands were involved in one general calamity.

Both parties viewed the case on a much larger scale than that of municipal law. The people of Boston alleged, in vindication of their conduct, that the tea was a weapon aimed at their liberties; and that the same principles of self-preservation, which justify the breaking of the assassin's sword, uplifted for destruction, equally authorized the destruction of that tea, which was the vehicle of an unconstitutional tax, subversive of their liberties. The parliament of Great Britain considered the act of the people of Boston, in destroying the tea, as an open defiance of that country. The demerit of the action, as an offence against property, was lost, in the supposed superior demerit of treasonable intention, to emancipate themselves from a state of colonial dependence. The

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Americans conceived the case to be intimately connected with their liberties: the inhabitants of Great Britain with their supremacy. The former considered it as a duty they owed their country, to make a common cause with the people of Boston; the latter thought themselves under equal obligations, to support the privileges of parliament.

On the third reading of the Boston port bill, a petition was presented by the lord mayor, in the name of several natives and inhabitants of North America, then residing in London. It was drawn with great force of language, and stated that, "the proceedings of parliament against Boston were repugnant to every principle of law and justice, and established a precedent, by which no man in America could enjoy a moment's security." The friends of parliamentary supremacy had long regretted the democratic constitutions of the provinces, as adverse to their schemes. They saw, with concern, the steady opposition that was given to their measures, by the American legislatures. These constitutions were planned, when Great Britain neither feared nor cared for her colonies. Not suspecting that she was laying the foundation of future states, she granted charters that gave to the people so much of the powers of government, as enabled them to make, not only a formidable, but a regular, constitutional opposition, to the country from which they sprung.

Long had her rulers wished for an opportunity to revoke these charters, and to new model these governments.* The

* The three last kings of the Stuart line laboured hard, to annihilate the charters of the English colonies in America; and nothing but the revolution of 1688, in England, prevented the accomplishment of their designs. The four first sub-revolutionary sovereigns of England discontinued the attempt; but it was revived, in the reign of the fifth. This abrogation of the charter of Massachusetts was the entering wedge, and, if successful, would doubtless have been followed, by a prostration of the charters of the other provinces, to make room for a more courtly system, less dependent on the people. The American revolution saved the colonies, in the last case, as the English revolution had in the first. So necessary are occasional revolutions, to bring governments back to first principles, and to teach rulers, that the people are the fountain of all legitimate power, and their happiness the object of all its delegations.

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present moment seemed favourable to this design. The temper of the nation was high; and the resentment against the province of Massachusetts general and violent. The late outrages in Boston furnished a pretence for the attempt. An act of the British parliament speedily followed the one for shutting up the port of Boston, entitled, an act for the better regulating the government of Massachusets. The object of this was to alter the charter of the province, in the following particulars.

The council, or second branch of the legislature, heretofore elected by the general court, was to be, from the first of August, 1774, appointed by the crown. The royal governor was, also, by the same act, invested with the power of appointing and removing all judges of the inferior courts of common pleas, commissioners of oyer and terminer, the attorney general, provost marshal, justices, sheriffs, &c. The town meetings, which were sanctioned by the charter, were with a few exceptions expressly forbidden to be held, without the leave of the governor or lieutenant governor in writing, expressing the special business of said meeting, first had and obtained; and with a further restriction, that no matter should be treated of at these meetings, except the election of public officers, and the business expressed in the leave given by the governor or lieutenant governor. Jurymen, who had been before elected by the freeholders and inhabitants of the several towns, were to be, by this new act, all summoned and returned, by the sheriffs of the respective counties. The whole executive government was taken out of the hands of the people; and the nomination of all important officers vested in the king or his governor.

This act excited a greater alarm than the port act. The one affected only the metropolis; the other the whole province. The one had the appearance of being merited; as it was well known, that an act of violence had been committed by its inhabitants, under the sanction of a town meeting: but the other had no stronger justifying reason than that the proposed alterations were, in the opinion of the parliament absolutely necessary, in order to the preservation of the peace

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and good order of the said province. In support of this bill, the minister who brought it in alleged, that an executive power was wanting in the country. The very people, said he, who commit the riots are the posse comitatus, in which the force of the civil power consists. He further urged the futility of making laws, the execution of which, under the present form of government in Massachusetts, might be so easily evaded; and therefore contended for a necessity to alter the whole frame of their constitution, as far as related to its executive and judicial powers. In opposition it was urged, that the taking away the civil constitution of a whole people, secured by a solemn charter, upon general charges of delinquencies and defects, was a stretch of power, of the most arbitrary and dangerous nature.

By the English constitution, charters were sacred, revocable only by a due course of law, and on a conviction of misconduct. They were solemn compacts between the prince and the people, and without the constitutional power of either party. The abettors of the British schemes reasoned in a summary way. Said they, "the colonies, particularly Massachusetts, by their circular letters, associations, and town meetings, have, for years past, thwarted all the measures of government, and are meditating independency. This turbulent spirit of theirs is fostered by their constitution, which invests them with too much power, to be consistent with their state of subordination. Let us therefore lay the axe at the root; new model their charter; and lop off those privileges which they have abused."

When the human mind is agitated with passion, it rarely discerns its own interest, and but faintly foresees consequences. Had the parliament stopped short with the Boston port act, the motives to union, and to make a common cause with that metropolis, would have been feeble, perhaps ineffectual to have roused the other provinces; but the arbitrary mutilation of the important privileges contained in a solemn charter, without a trial, and without a hearing, by the will of parliament, convinced the most moderate, that the cause of Massachusetts was the cause of all the provinces.

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It readily occurred to those who guided the helm of Great Britain, that riots would probably take place, in attempting the execution of the acts just mentioned. They also discerned, that such was the temper of the people, that trials for murders, committed in suppressing riots, if held in Massachusetts, would seldom terminate in favour of the parties, who were engaged on the side of government. To make their system complete, it was necessary to go one step further, and to screen their active friends from the apprehended partiality of such trials. It was therefore provided by law, that if any person was indicted for murder, or for any capital offence, committed in aiding magistracy, that the government might send the person, so indicted, to another colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried. This law was the subject of severe comments. It was considered as an act of indemnity to those, who should embrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens. It was asked, how the relations of a murdered man could effectually prosecute, if they must go three thousand miles to attend that business. It was contended, that the act, by stopping the usual course of justice, would give rise to assassinations, and dark revenge among individuals; and encourage all kinds of lawless violence. The charge of partiality was retorted. For, said they, "if a party spirit, against the authority of Great Britain, would condemn an active officer, in Massachusetts, as a murderer, the same party spirit, for preserving the authority of Great Britain, would, in that country, acquit a murderer as a spirited performer of his duty." The case of captain Preston was also quoted, as a proof of the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts.

The same natives of America, who had petitioned against the Boston port bill, presented a second one against these two bills. With uncommon energy of language, they pointed out many constitutional objections against them; and concluded with fervently beseeching, "that the parliament would not, by passing them, reduce their countrymen to an abject state of misery and humiliation, or drive them to the last re-

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source of despair." The lords of the minority entered also a protest against the passing of each of these bills.

It was fortunate for the people of Boston, and those who wished to promote a combination of the colonies against Great Britain, that these three several laws passed nearly at the same time. They were presented in quick succession: either in the form of bills, or of acts, to the consideration of the inflamed Americans, and produced effects on their minds, infinitely greater than could have been expected from either, especially from the Boston port act alone.

When the fire of indignation, excited by the first, was burning, intelligence of these other acts, operated like fuel, and made it flame out with increasing vehemence. The three laws were considered as forming a complete system of tyranny, from the operation of which, there was no chance of making a peaceable escape.

"By the first," said they, "the property of unoffending thousands is arbitrarily taken away, for the act of a few individuals. By the second, our chartered liberties are annihilated: and by the third, our lives may be destroyed with impunity. Property, liberty, and life, are all sacrificed on the altar of ministerial vengeance." This mode of reasoning was not peculiar to Massachusetts. These three acts of parliament, contrary to the expectation of those who planned them, became the cement of a firm union among the colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia. They now openly said, "Our charters and other rights and immunities, must depend on the pleasure of parliament." They were sensible that they had all concurred, more or less, in the same line of opposition, which had provoked these severe statutes against Massachusetts; and they believed, that vengeance, though delayed, was not remitted; and that the only favour, the least culpable could expect, was to be the last that would be devoured. The friends of the colonies contended, that these laws were in direct contradiction to the letter and the spirit of the British constitution. Their opposers could support them on no stronger grounds than those of political necessity and expedience. They acknowledged

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them to be contrary to the established mode of proceeding; but defended them, as tending ultimately to preserve the constitution, from the meditated independency of the colonies.

Such was the temper of the people in England, that the acts hitherto passed were popular. A general opinion had gone forth in the mother country, that the people of Massachusetts, by their violent opposition to government, had drawn on themselves merited correction.

The parliament did not stop here; but proceeded one step further, which inflamed their enemies in America, and lost them friends in Great Britain. The general clamour in the provinces was, that the proceedings in the parliament were arbitrary and unconstitutional. Before they completed their memorable session, in the beginning of the year 1774, they passed an act respecting the government of Quebec, which, in the opinion of their friends, merited these appellations. By this act, the government of that province was made to extend southward to the Ohio, and westward to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward to the boundary of the Hudson's Bay company. The principal objects of the act were to form a legislative council, for all the affairs of the province, except taxation, which council should be appointed by the crown; the office to be held during pleasure; his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects to be entitled to a place therein; to establish the French laws, and a trial without jury, in civil cases; and the English laws, with a trial by jury, in criminal; and to secure, to the Roman Catholic clergy, except the regulars, the legal enjoyment of their estates, and their tythes, from all who were of their own religion. Not only the spirit, but the letter of this act were so contrary to the English constitution, that it diminished the popularity of the measures, which had been formed against the Americans.

Among the more southern colonists, it was conceived, that its evident object was to make the inhabitants of Canada fit instruments, in the hands of power, to reduce them to a state of slavery.

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They well remembered the embarrassments occasioned to them, in the late war between France and England, by the French inhabitants of Canada. They supposed, that the British administration meant, at this time, to use these people in the same line of attack, for their subjugation. As Great Britain had new modelled the chartered government of Massachusetts, and claimed an authority so to do in every province, the colonists were apprehensive, that, in the plenitude of her power, she would impose on each of them, in their turn, a constitution, similar to the one projected for the province of Canada.

They foresaw, or thought they foresaw, the annihilation of their ancient assemblies, and their whole legislative business transferred to creatures of the crown. The legal parliamentary right to a maintenance, conferred on the clergy of the Roman Catholic religion, gave great offence to many in England; but the political consequences, expected to result from it, were most dreaded by the colonists.

They viewed the whole act as an evidence, that hostilities were intended against them, and as calculated to make Roman Catholics subservient to the purposes of military coercion.

The session of parliament, which passed these memorable acts, had stretched far into summer. As it drew near a close, the most sanguine expectations were indulged, that, from the resolution and great unanimity of parliament, on all American questions, the submission of the colonists would be immediate, and their future obedience and tranquillity effectually secured. The triumphs and congratulations of the friends of the ministry, were unusually great.

In passing the acts, which have been just mentioned, dissentients, in favour of America, were unusually few. The ministerial majority, believing that the refractory colonists depended chiefly on the countenance of their English abettors, were of opinion, that as soon as they received intelligence of the decrease of their friends, and of the decisive conduct of parliament, they would acquiesce in the will of Great

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Britain. The fame and grandeur of the nation was such, that it was never imagined, they would seriously dare to contend with so formidable a people. The late triumphs of Great Britain had made such an impression on her rulers, that they believed the Americans, on seeing the ancient spirit of the nation revive, would not risk a trial of prowess with those fleets and armies, which the combined forces of France and Spain, were unable to resist. By an impious confidence in their superior strength, they precipitated the nation into rash measures, from the dire effects of which, the world may learn a useful lesson.

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CHAPTER V.

Proceedings of the colonies, in 1774, in consequence of the Boston port act.

THE winter which followed the destruction of the tea in Boston, was fraught with anxiety to those of the colonists, who were given to reflection. Many conjectures were formed about the line of conduct, Great Britain would probably adopt, for the support of her dignity. The fears of the most timid were more than realized, by the news of the Boston port bill. This arrived on the 10th of May, 1774; and its operation was to commence the 1st of the next month. Various town meetings were called, to deliberate on the state of public affairs. On the 13th of May, the town of Boston passed the following vote:

"That it is the opinion of this town, that, if the other colonies come to a joint resolution, to stop all importation from Great Britain and the West Indies, till the act, for blocking up this harbour, be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America, and her liberties. On the other hand, if they continue their exports and imports, there is high reason to fear that fraud, power, and the most odious oppression, will rise triumphant over justice, right, social happiness, and freedom. And, moreover, that this vote be transmitted by the moderator, to all our sister colonies, in the name and behalf of this town."

Copies of this vote were transmitted to each of the colonies. The opposition to Great Britain had hitherto called forth the pens of the ingenious, and, in some instances, imposed the self-denial of non-importation agreements: but the bulk of the people had little to do with the dispute. The spirited conduct of the people of Boston, in destroying the tea, and the alarming precedents set by Great Britain, in

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consequence thereof, brought subjects into discussion, with which every peasant and day labourer was concerned.

The patriots, who had hitherto guided the helm, knew well, that, if the other colonies did not support the people of Boston, they must be crushed; and it was equally obvious, that in their coercion a precedent, injurious to liberty, would be established. It was therefore the interest of Boston, to draw in the other colonies. It was also the interest of the patriots, in all the colonies, to bring over the mass of the people, to adopt such efficient measures as were likely to extricate the inhabitants of Boston, from the unhappy situation in which they were involved. To effect these purposes, much prudence as well as patriotism was necessary. The other provinces were but remotely affected by the fate of Massachusetts. They had no particular cause, on their own account, to oppose the government of Great Britain. That a people so circumstanced, should take part with a distressed neighbour, at the risk of incurring the resentment of the mother country, did not accord with the selfish maxims by which states, as well as individuals, are usually governed. The ruled are, for the most part, prone to suffer as long as evils are tolerable: and, in general, they must feel before they are roused to contend with their oppressors: but the Americans acted on a contrary principle.

They commenced an opposition to Great Britain, and ultimately engaged in a defensive war, on speculation. They were not so much moved by oppression, actually felt, as, by a conviction, that a foundation was laid, and a precedent about to be established for future oppressions. To convince the bulk of the people, that they had an interest in foregoing a present good, and submitting to a present evil, in order to obtain a future greater good, and to avoid a future greater evil, was the task assigned to the colonial patriots. It called for the exertion of their utmost abilities. They effected it in a great measure, by means of the press. Pamphlets, essays, addresses, and newspaper dissertations, were daily presented to the public, proving that Massachusetts was suffering in the common cause; and that interest and policy re-

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quired the united exertions of all the colonies, in support of that much injured province. It was inculcated on the people, that, if the ministerial schemes were suffered to take effect, in Massachusetts, the other colonies must expect the loss of their charters, and that a new government would be imposed upon them, like that projected for Quebec. The king and parliament held no patronage in America, sufficient to oppose this torrent. The few, who ventured to write in their favour, found a difficulty in communicating their sentiments to the public. No pensions or preferments awaited their exertions. Neglect and contempt were their usual portion; but popularity, consequence, and fame, were the rewards of those who stepped forward in the cause of liberty. In order to interest the great body of people, the few, who were at the helm, disclaimed any thing more decisive, than convening the inhabitants, and taking their sense on what was proper to be done. In the mean time, great pains were taken to prepare them for the adoption of vigorous measures.

The words whigs and tories, for want of better, were now introduced, as the distinguishing names of parties. By the former, were meant those who were for making a common cause with Boston, and supporting the colonies in their opposition to the claims of parliament. By the latter, those who were, at least, so far favourers of Great Britain, that they wished, either that no measures, or only palliative measures, should be adopted in opposition to her schemes.

These parties were so nearly balanced in New York, that nothing more was agreed to, at the first meeting of the inhabitants, than a recommendation to call a congress.

At Philadelphia, the patriots had a delicate part to act. The government of the colony being proprietary, a multitude of officers, connected with that interest, had much to fear from convulsions, and nothing to expect from a revolution. A still greater body of people, called Quakers, denied the lawfulness of war; and therefore could not adopt such measures, for the support of Boston, as naturally tended to produce an event so adverse to their system of religion.

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The citizens of Boston not only sent forward their public letter, to the citizens of Philadelphia, but accompanied it with private communications, to individuals of known patriotism and influence, in which they stated the impossibility of their standing alone, against the torrent of ministerial vengeance, and the indispensable necessity, that the leading colony of Pennsylvania, should afford them its support and countenance. The advocates in Philadelphia, for making a common cause with Boston, were fully sensible of the state of parties in Pennsylvania. They saw the dispute with Great Britain brought to a crisis, and a new scene opening, which required exertions different from any heretofore made. The success of these, they well knew, depended on the wisdom, with which they were planned, and the union of the whole people, in carrying them into execution. They saw the propriety of proceeding with the greatest circumspection; and, therefore, resolved, at their first meeting, on nothing more than to call a general meeting of the inhabitants, on the next evening. At this second meeting, the patriots had so much moderation and policy, as to urge nothing decisive, contenting themselves with taking the sense of the inhabitants, simply on the propriety of sending an answer to the public letter from Boston. This was universally approved. The letter agreed upon was firm but temperate. They acknowledged the difficulty of offering advice on the present occasion; sympathized with the people of Boston in their distress; and observed, that all lenient measures, for their relief, should be first tried. They said, that, if the making restitution for the tea destroyed, would put an end to the unhappy controversy, and leave the people of Boston upon their ancient footing of constitutional liberty, it could not admit of a doubt what part they should act; but that it was not the value of the tea; it was the indefeasible right of giving and granting their own money, which was the matter in consideration; that it was the common cause of America; and, therefore, necessary, in their opinion, that a congress of deputies from the several colonies should be convened, to devise means for restoring harmony between Great Britain and the colonies,

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and preventing matters from coming to extremities. Till this could be brought about, they recommended firmness, prudence, and moderation to the immediate sufferers; assuring them, that the people of Pennsylvania would continue to evince a firm adherence to the cause of American liberty.

In order to awaken the attention of the people, a series of letters was published, well calculated to rouse them to a sense of their danger, and point out the fatal consequences of the late acts of parliament. Every newspaper teemed with dissertations in favour of liberty; and with debates of the members of parliament, especially with the speeches of the favourers of America, and the protests of the dissenting lords. The latter had a particular effect on the colonists, and were considered by them as proofs, that the late acts against Massachusetts were unconstitutional and arbitrary.

The minds of the people being thus prepared, the friends of liberty promoted a petition to the governor, for convening the assembly. This they knew would not be granted, and that the refusal of it, would smooth the way for calling the inhabitants together. The governor having refused to call the assembly, a general meeting of the inhabitants was requested. About eight thousand met, on the 18th of June, 1774, and adopted sundry spirited resolutions. In these they declared, that the Boston port act was unconstitutional; that it was expedient to convene a continental congress; to appoint a committee for the city and county of Philadelphia, to correspond with their sister colonies and the several counties of Pennsylvania; and to invest that committee with power to determine on the best mode for collecting the sense of the province, and appointing deputies to attend a general congress. Under the sanction of this last resolve, the committee appointed for that purpose, wrote a circular letter to all the counties of the province, requesting them to appoint deputies to a general meeting, proposed to be held on the 15th of July. Part of this letter was in the following words:

"We would not offer such an affront to the well-known public spirit of Pennsylvanians, as to question your zeal on the present occasion. Our very existence in the rank of

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freemen, and the security of all that ought to be dear to us, evidently depends on our conducting this great cause to its proper issue, by firmness, wisdom, and magnanimity. It is with pleasure we assure you, that all the colonies, from South Carolina to New Hampshire, are animated with one spirit, in the common cause, and consider this as the proper crisis, for having our differences, with the mother country, brought to some certain issue, and our liberties fixed upon a permanent foundation. This desirable end can only be accomplished by a free communication of sentiments, and a sincere and fervent regard for the interests of our common country."

The several counties readily complied with the request of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and appointed deputies; who met at the time appointed, and passed sundry resolves, in which they reprobated the late acts of parliament; expressed their sympathy with Boston, as suffering in the common cause; approved of holding a congress; and declared their willingness to make any sacrifices, that might be recommended by a congress, for securing their liberties.

Thus, without tumult, disorder, or divided counsels, the whole province of Pennsylvania was, by prudent management and temperate proceedings, brought into the opposition, with its whole weight and influence. This is the more remarkable, as it is probable, that, if the sentiments of individuals had been separately taken, there would have been a majority against involving themselves in the consequences of taking part, with the destroyers of the tea, at Boston.

While these proceedings were carrying on in Pennsylvania, three of the most distinguished patriots of Philadelphia, under colour of an excursion of pleasure, made a tour throughout the province, in order to discover the real sentiments of the common people. They were well apprized of the consequences of taking the lead in a dispute, which every day became more serious, unless they could depend on being supported by the yeomanry of the country. By freely associating and conversing with many of every class and denomination, they found them unanimous in that fundamental princi-

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ple of the American controversy, "that the parliament of Great Britain had no right to tax them." From their general determination on this subject, a favourable prognostic was formed, of a successful opposition to the claims of Great Britain.

In Virginia, the house of burgesses, on the 26th of May, 1774, resolved, that the first of June, the day on which the operation of the Boston port bill was to commence, should be set apart by the members, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer; "devoutly to implore the divine interposition, for averting the heavy calamities which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of a civil war; and to give them one heart and one mind, to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." On the publication of this resolution, the royal governor, the earl of Dunmore, dissolved them. The members, notwithstanding their dissolution, met in their private capacities, and signed an agreement, in which, among other things, they declared, "that an attack made on one of their sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, was an attack made on all British America, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied."

In South Carolina the vote of the town of Boston, of the 13th of May, being presented to a number of the leading citizens in Charleston, it was unanimously agreed to call a meeting of the inhabitants.

That this might be as general as possible, letters were sent to every parish and district in the province, and the people were invited to attend, either personally, or by their representatives at a general meeting of the inhabitants. A large number assembled, in which were some, from almost every part of the province. The proceedings of the parliament against the province of Massachusetts were distinctly related to this convention. Without one dissenting voice, they passed sundry resolutions, expressive of their rights, and of their sympathy with the people of Boston. They also chose five delegates to represent them in a continental congress, and

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invested them, "with full powers, and authority, in behalf of them and their constituents, to concert, agree to, and effectually to prosecute such legal measures as, in their opinion, and the opinion of the other members, would be most likely to obtain a redress of American grievances."

The events of this time may be transmitted to posterity; but the agitation of the public mind can never be fully comprehended, by those who were not witnesses of it.

In the counties and towns of the several provinces, as well as in the cities, the people assembled and passed resolutions, expressive of their rights, and of their detestation of the late acts of parliament. These had an instantaneous effect on the minds of thousands. Not only the young and impetuous, but the aged and temperate, joined in pronouncing them to be unconstitutional and oppressive. They viewed them as deadly weapons aimed at the vitals of that liberty, which they adored; and as rendering abortive the generous pains taken by their forefathers, to procure for them in a new world, the quiet enjoyment of their rights, They were the subjects of their meditation when alone, and of their conversation when in company.

Within little more than a month, after the news of the Boston port bill reached America, it was communicated from state to state; and a flame was kindled, in almost every breast, through the widely extended provinces.

In order to understand the mode by which this flame was spread, with such rapidity, over so great an extent of country, it is necessary to observe, that the several colonies were divided into counties, and these again sub-divided into districts, distinguished by the names of towns, townships, precincts, hundreds or parishes. In New England the sub-divisions, which are called towns, were, by law, bodies corporate; had their regular meetings; and might be occasionally convened by their proper officers. The advantages derived from these meetings, by uniting the whole body of the people, in the measures taken to oppose the stamp act, induced other provinces to follow the example. Accordingly, under the association which was formed to oppose the revenue act

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of 1767, committees were established, not only in the capitals of every province, but in most of the subordinate districts. Great Britain, without designing it, had, by her two preceding attempts at American revenue, taught her colonies, not only the advantages, but the means of union. The system of committees, which prevailed, in 1765, and also in 1767, was revived in 1774. By them there was a quick transmission of intelligence, from the capital towns, through the subordinate districts, to the whole body of the people, and an union of counsels and measures was effected, among widely disseminated inhabitants.

It is perhaps impossible for human wisdom, to contrive any system more subservient to these purposes, than such a reciprocal exchange of intelligence, by committees. From the want of such a communication with each other, and consequently of union among themselves, many states have lost their liberties, and more have been unsuccessful in their attempts to regain them, after they were lost.

What the eloquence and talents of Demosthenes could not effect, among the states of Greece, might have been effected by the simple device of committees of correspondence. The few have been enabled to keep the many in subjection, in every age, from the want of union among the latter. Several of the provinces of Spain complained of oppression, under Charles the fifth, and in transports of rage took arms against him; but they never consulted or communicated with each other. They resisted separately, and were therefore separately subdued.

The colonists, sympathizing with their distressed brethren in Massachusetts, felt themselves called upon, to do something for their relief; but to determine what was most proper, did not so obviously occur. It was a natural idea, that, for harmonising their measures, a congress of deputies from each province should be convened. This early occurred to all; and, being agreed to, was the means of producing union and concert among inhabitants, removed several hundred miles from each other. In times less animated, various questions about the place and legality of their meeting, and

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about the extent of their power, would have produced a great diversity of sentiments; but on this occasion, by the special agency of Providence, there was the same universal bent of inclination, in the great body of the people. A sense of common danger extinguished selfish passions. The public attention was fixed on the great cause of liberty. Local attachments and partialities were sacrificed on the altar of patriotism.

There were not wanting moderate men, who would have been willing to pay for the tea destroyed, if that would have put an end to the controversy; for, it was not for the value of the tea, nor of the tax, but the right of giving and granting their money, that the colonists contended. The act of parliament was so cautiously worded, as to prevent the opening of the port of Boston, even though the East India company had been reimbursed for all damages, "until it was made appear to his majesty in council, that peace and obedience to the laws were so far restored, in the town of Boston, that the trade of Great Britain might be safely carried on there, and his majesty's customs duly collected." The latter part of this limitation, "the due collection of his majesty's customs," was understood to comprehend submission to the late revenue laws. It was therefore inferred, that payment, for the tea destroyed, would produce no certain relief, unless they were willing to give operation to the law, for raising a revenue on future importations of that commodity, and also to acquiesce in the late mutilation of their charter. As it was deliberately resolved, never to submit to either, the most lukewarm of well-informed patriots, possessing the public confidence, neither advised nor wished for the adoption of that measure. A few in Boston, who were known to be in the royal interest, proposed a resolution for that purpose; but they met with no support. Of the many, who joined the British in the course of the war, there was scarcely an individual to be found in this early stage of the controversy, who advocated the right of parliamentary taxation. There were doubtless many timid persons, who, fearing the power of Britain, would rather have submitted to her encroachments,

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than risked the vengeance of her arms; but such, for the most part, suppressed their sentiments. Zeal for liberty being immediately rewarded with applause, the patriots had every inducement to come forward, and avow their principles; but there was something so unpopular in appearing to be influenced by timidity, interest, or excessive caution, when essential interests were attacked, that such persons shunned public notice, and sought the shade of retirement.

In the three first months, which followed the shutting up of the port of Boston, the inhabitants of the colonies in hundreds of small circles, as well as in their provincial assemblies and congresses, expressed their abhorrence of the late proceedings of the British parliament against Massachusetts; their concurrence in the proposed measure of appointing deputies for a general congress; and their willingness to do and suffer whatever should be judged conducive to the establishment of their liberties.

A patriotic flame, created and diffused by sympathy, was communicated to so many breasts, and reflected from such a variety of objects, as to become too intense to be resisted.

While the combination of the other colonies, to support Boston, was gaining strength, new matter of dissention daily took place in Massachusetts. The resolution, for shutting the port of Boston, was no sooner taken, than it was determined to order a military force to that town. General Gage, the commander in chief of the royal forces in North America, was also sent thither, in the additional capacity of governor of Massachusetts. He arrived in Boston, on the third day after the inhabitants received the first intelligence of the Boston port bill. Though the people were irritated by that measure, and though their republican jealousy was hurt by the combination of the civil and military character in one person, yet the general was received with all the honours which had been usually paid to his predecessors. Soon after his arrival, two regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery, and some cannon, were landed in Boston. These troops were by degrees reinforced, with others from Ireland, New York, Halifax and Quebec.

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The governor announced that he had the king's particular command, for holding the general court at Salem, after the first of June. When that eventful day arrived, the act for shutting up the port of Boston commenced its operation. It was devoutly kept at Williamsburg, as a day of fasting and humiliation. In Philadelphia, it was solemnized with every manifestation of public calamity and grief. The inhabitants shut up their houses. After divine service, a stillness reigned over the city, which exhibited an appearance of the deepest distress.

In Boston, a new scene opened on the inhabitants. Hitherto, that town had been the seat of commerce and of plenty. The immense business, transacted therein, afforded a comfortable subsistence to many thousands. The necessary, the useful, and even some of the elegant arts were cultivated among them. The citizens were polite and hospitable. In this happy state, they were sentenced, on the short notice of twenty-one days, to a total deprivation of all means of subsisting. The blow reached every person. The rents of the landholders either ceased, or were greatly diminished. The immense property, in stores and wharves, was rendered comparatively useless. Labourers, artificers, and others, employed in the numerous occupations created by an extensive trade, partook of the general calamity. They who depended on a regular income, flowing from previous acquisitions of property, as well as they, who, with the sweat of their brow, earned their daily subsistence, were equally deprived of the means of support; and the chief difference between them was, that the distresses of the former were rendered more intolerable, by the recollection of past enjoyments. All these inconveniencies and hardships were borne with a passive, but inflexible fortitude. Their determination to persist in the same line of conduct, which had been the occasion of their suffering, was unabated.

The authors and advisers of the resolution, for destroying the tea, were in the town, and still retained their popularity and influence. The execrations of the inhabitants fell not on them, but on the British parliament. Their countrymen ac-

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quitted them of all selfish designs, and believed that, in their opposition to the measures of Great Britain, they were actuated by an honest zeal for constitutional liberty. The sufferers, in Boston, had the consolation of sympathy from the other colonists. Contributions were raised, in all quarters, for their relief. Letters and addresses came to them from corporate bodies, town meetings, and provincial conventions, applauding their conduct, and exhorting them to perseverance.

The people of Marblehead, who, by their proximity, were likely to reap advantage from the distresses of Boston, generously offered the merchants thereof, the use of their harbour, wharves, ware-houses, and also their personal attendance on the lading or unlading of their goods, free of all expense.

The inhabitants of Salem, in an address to governor Gage, concluded with these remarkable words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit: but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce, of that convenient mart; and, were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes, on the ruins of our suffering neighbours."

The Massachusetts general court met at Salem, according to adjournment, on the 7th of June. Several of the popular leaders took, in a private way, the sense of the members, on what was proper to be done. Finding they were able to carry such measures, as the public exigencies required, they prepared resolves, and moved for their adoption: but before they went on the latter business, their door was shut.

One member, nevertheless, contrived means of sending information to governor Gage of what was doing. His secretary was sent off, to dissolve the general court; but was refused admission. As he could obtain no entrance, he read the proclamation at the door, and immediately afterwards in council; and thus dissolved the general court. The house, while sitting with their doors shut, appointed five of the most respectable inhabitants as their committee, to meet commit-

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tees from other provinces, that might be convened the 1st of September at Philadelphia; voted them seventy-five pounds sterling each; and recommended, to the several towns and districts, to raise the said sum by equitable proportions. By these means, the designs of the governor were disappointed. His situation in every respect was truly disagreeable. It was his duty to forward the execution of laws, which were universally execrated. Zeal for his master's service prompted him to endeavour, that they should be carried into full effect; but his progress was retarded by obstacles from every quarter. He had to transact his official business with a people, who possessed a high sense of liberty, and were uncommonly ingenious in evading disagreeable acts of parliament. It was a part of his duty, to prevent the calling of the town meetings, after the 1st of August, 1774. These meetings were nevertheless held. On his proposing to exert authority, for the dispersion of the people, he was told by the selectmen, that they had not offended against the act of parliament; for that only prohibited the calling of town meetings; and no such call had been made: a former constitutional meeting, before the 1st of August, having only adjourned themselves from time to time. Other evasions, equally founded on the letter of even the late obnoxious laws, were practised.

As the summer advanced, the people of Massachusetts received stronger proofs of support, from the neighbouring provinces. They were, therefore, encouraged to further opposition. The inhabitants of the colonies, at this time, with regard to political opinions, might be divided into three classes. Of these, one was for rushing precipitately into extremities. They were for immediately stopping all trade, and could not even brook the delay of waiting, till the proposed continental congress should meet. Another party, equally respectable, both as to character, property, and patriotism, was more moderate; but not less firm. These were averse to the adoption of any violent resolutions, till all others were ineffectually tried. They wished that a clear statement of their rights, claims, and grievances, should precede every

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other measure. A third class disapproved of what was generally going on: a few from principle, and a persuasion that they ought to submit to the mother country; some from the love of ease; others from self-interest; but the bulk from fear of the mischievous consequences likely to follow. All these latter classes, for the most part, lay still, while the friends of liberty acted with spirit. If they, or any of them, ventured to oppose popular measures, they were not supported, and therefore declined further efforts. The resentment of the people was so strong against them, that they sought for peace by remaining quiet. The same indecision, that made them willing to submit to Great Britain, made them apparently acquiesce in popular measures which they disapproved. The spirited part of the community, being on the side of liberty, the patriots had the appearance of unanimity; though many either kept at a distance from public meetings, or voted against their own opinion, to secure themselves from resentment, and promote their present ease and interest.

Under the influence of those who were for the immediate adoption of efficacious measures, an agreement, by the name of the solemn league and covenant, was adopted by numbers. The subscribers of this bound themselves, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Massachusetts restored to its chartered rights.

General Gage published a proclamation, in which he styled this solemn league and covenant, "an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination." And all magistrates were charged to apprehend, and secure for trial, such as should have any agency in publishing or subscribing the same, or any similar covenant. This proclamation had no other effect, than to exercise the pens of the lawyers, in showing that the association did not come within the description of legal treason; and that, therefore, the governor's proclamation was not warranted by the principles of the constitution.

The late law, for regulating the government of the provinces, arrived near the beginning of August, and was accompanied with a list of thirty-six new counsellors, appointed

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by the crown, and in a mode variant from that prescribed by the charter. Several of these, in the first instance, declined an acceptance of the appointment. Those, who accepted of it, were every where declared to be enemies to their country. The new judges were rendered incapable of proceeding in their official duty. Upon opening the courts, the juries refused to be sworn, or to act in any manner, either under them, or in conformity to the late regulations. In some places, the people assembled, and filled the court-houses, and avenues to them, in such a manner, that neither the judges, nor their officers, could obtain entrance: and, upon the sheriff's commanding them, to make way for the court, they answered, "that they knew no court independent of the ancient laws of their country, and to none other would they submit."

In imitation of his royal master, governor Gage issued a proclamation, "for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the prevention and punishing vice, prophaneness, and immorality." In this proclamation, hypocrisy was inserted as one of the immoralities, against which the people were warned. This was considered by the inhabitants, who had often been ridiculed for their strict attention to the forms of religion, to be a studied insult, and as such was more resented than an actual injury.

The proceedings and apparent dispositions of the people, together with the military preparations, which were daily made through the province, induced general Gage to fortify that neck of land, which joins Boston to the continent. He also seized upon the powder lodged in the arsenal at Charlestown.

This excited a most violent and universal ferment. Several thousand of the people assembled at Cambridge; and it was with difficulty, they were restrained from marching directly to Boston, to demand a delivery of the powder, with a resolution, in case of refusal, to attack the troops.

The people, thus assembled, proceeded to lieutenant governor Oliver's house, and to the houses of several of the new counsellors, and obliged them to resign, and to declare,

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that they would no more act under the laws lately enacted. In the confusion of these transactions, a rumour went abroad, that the royal fleet and troops were firing upon the town of Boston. This was probably designed by the popular leaders, on purpose to ascertain what aid they might expect from the country, in case of extremities. The result exceeded their most sanguine expectations. In less than twenty-four hours, there were upwards of thirty thousand men in arms marching towards the capital. Other risings of the people took place in different parts of the colony; and their violence was such, that in a short time the new counsellors, the commissioners of the customs, and all who had taken an active part in favour of Great Britain, were obliged to screen themselves in Boston. The new seat of government at Salem was abandoned: and all the officers connected with the revenue were obliged to consult their safety, by taking up their residence in a place, which an act of parliament had proscribed from all trade.

About this time, delegates from every town and district, in the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the county town, had a meeting; at which they prefaced a number of spirited resolutions, containing a detail of the particulars of their intended opposition to the late acts of parliament, with a general declaration, "that no obedience was due from the province to either, or any part of the said acts; but that they should be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America." The resolves of this meeting were sent on to Philadelphia, for the information and opinion of the congress, which, as shall be hereafter related, had met there about this time.

The people of Massachusetts rightly judged, that from the decision of congress on these resolutions, they would be enabled to determine what support they might expect. Notwithstanding present appearances, they feared that the other colonies, who were no more than remotely concerned, would not hazard the consequences of making a common cause with them, should subsequent events make it necessary to repel force by force. The decision of congress exceeded

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their exceptions. They "most thoroughly approved the wisdom and fortitude, with which opposition to wicked ministerial measures had been hitherto conducted in Massachusetts; and recommended to them perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct, as expressed in the resolutions of the delegates, from the county of Suffolk." By this approbation and advice, the people of Massachusetts were encouraged to resistance, and the other colonies became bound to support them. The former, more in need of a bridle than a spur, proceeded as they had begun; but with additional confidence.

Governor Gage had issued writs for holding a general assembly at Salem; but subsequent events, and the heat and violence which every where prevailed, made him think it expedient to counteract the writs, by a proclamation for suspending the meeting of the members. The legality of a proclamation for that purpose was denied; and, in defiance thereof, ninety of the newly elected members met, at the time and place appointed. They soon afterwards resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and adjourned to Concord, about twenty miles from Charlestown. On their meeting there, they chose Mr. Hancock president, and proceeded to business. One of their first acts was to appoint a committee, to wait on the governor, with a remonstrance, in which they apologized for their meeting, from the distressed state of the colony; complained of their grievances; and, after stating their apprehensions, from the hostile preparations on Boston neck, concluded with an earnest request, "that he would desist from the construction of the fortress, at the entrance into Boston, and restore that pass to its natural state."

The governor found some difficulty in giving them an answer, as they were not, in his opinion, a legal body; but the necessity of the times overruled his scruples. He replied, by expressing his indignation at the supposition, "that the lives, liberties, or property of any people, except enemies, could be in danger, from English troops." He reminded them, that, while they complained of alterations, made in

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their charter, by acts of parliament, they were by their own acts subverting it altogether. He, therefore, warned them of the rocks they were upon, and to desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings. The governor's admonitions were unavailing. The provincial congress appointed a committee, to draw up a plan, for the immediate defence of the province. It was resolved to inlist a number of the inhabitants, under the name of minute men, who were to be under obligations to turn out at a minute's warning. Jedediah Pribble, Artemas Ward, and Seth Pomeroy, were elected general officers to command these minute men and the militia, in case they should be called out to action. A committee of safety, and a committee of supplies were appointed. These consisted of different persons, and were intended for different purposes. The first were invested with an authority to assemble the militia, when they thought proper, and were to recommend to the committee of supplies the purchase of such articles, as the public exigencies required. The last were limited to the small sum of 15,627*l.* 15*s.* sterling, which was all the money at first voted, to oppose the power and riches of Great Britain. Under this authority, and with these means, the committees of safety and of supplies, acting in concert, laid in a quantity of stores, partly at Worcester, and partly at Concord. The same congress met again, and soon afterwards resolved, to get in readiness twelve thousand men, to act on any given emergency; and that a fourth part of the militia should be enlisted as minute men, and receive pay. John Thomas and William Heath were appointed general officers. They also sent persons to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, to inform them of the steps they had taken, and to request their co-operation in making up an army of twenty thousand men. Committees, from these several colonies, met a committee from the provincial congress of Massachusetts, and settled their plans. The proper period, for commencing opposition to general Gage's troops, was determined to be, whenever they marched out with their baggage, ammunition, and artillery. The aid of the clergy was called in upon this occasion; and a circular

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letter was addressed to each of the several ministers in the province, requesting their assistance, "in avoiding the dreadful slavery with which they were threatened."

As the winter approached, general Gage ordered barracks for his troops to be erected; but such was the superior influence of the popular leaders, that, on their recommendation, the workmen desisted from fulfilling the general's wishes, though the money for their labour would have been paid by the crown.

An application to New York was equally unsuccessful; and it was with difficulty, that the troops could be furnished with winter lodgings. Similar obstructions were thrown in the way, of getting winter covering for the soldiery. The merchants of New York, on being applied to, answered, "that they would never supply any article for the benefit of men, who were sent as enemies to the country." The inhabitants of Massachusetts encouraged the desertion of the soldiers; and acted systematically in preventing their obtaining any other supplies, but necessary provisions. The farmers were discouraged from selling them straw, timber, boards, and such like articles of convenience. Straw, when purchased for their service, was frequently burnt. Vessels, with bricks intended for their use, were sunk; carts with wood were overturned; and the king's property was daily destroyed.

A proclamation had been issued by the king, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Britain, which reached America, in the latter end of the year 1774. On receiving intelligence thereof, in Rhode Island, the people seized upon, and removed from the public battery, about forty pieces of cannon; and the assembly passed resolutions for obtaining arms and military stores by every means, and also for raising and arming the inhabitants. About this time, December 13th, a company of volunteers, headed by John Sullivan and John Langdon, beset his majesty's castle at Portsmouth. They stormed the fort, and secured and confined the garrison, till they broke open the powder-house, and took the powder away. The powder being secured, the garrison was released from confinement.

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Throughout this whole season, civil government, legislation, judicial proceedings, and commercial regulations were in Massachusetts, to all appearance, annihilated. The provincial congress exercised all the semblance of government which existed. From their coincidence, with the prevailing disposition of the people, their resolutions had the weight and efficacy of laws. Under the simple style of recommendation, they organized the militia, and made ordinances respecting public monies, and such further regulations as were necessary for preserving order, and for defending themselves against the British troops.

In this crisis, it seemed to be the sense of the inhabitants of Massachusetts to wait events. They dreaded every evil, that could flow from resistance, less than the operation of the late acts of parliament; but, at the same time, were averse to be the aggressors, in bringing on a civil war. They chose to submit to a suspension of regular government, in preference to permitting the streams of justice to flow in the channel, prescribed by the late acts of parliament, or to conducting them forcibly in the old one, sanctioned by their charter. From the extinction of the old, and the rejection of the new constitution, all regular government was, for several months, abolished. Some hundred thousands of people were in a state of nature, without legislation, magistrates, or executive officers. There was, nevertheless, a surprising degree of order. Men of the purest morals were among the most active opposers of Great Britain. While municipal laws ceased to operate, the laws of reason, morality, and religion, bound the people to each other as a social band, and preserved as great a degree of decorum, as had at any time prevailed. Even those who were opposed to the proceedings of the populace, when they were prudent and moderate, for the most part enjoyed safety, both at home and abroad.

Though there were no civil, there was an abundance of military officers. These were chosen by the people; but exercised more authority, than any who had been honoured with commissions, from the governor. The inhabitants in every place devoted themselves to arms. Handling the mus-

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ket, and training, were the fashionable amusements of the men; while the women, by their presence, encouraged them to proceed. The sound of drums and fifes was to be heard in all directions. The young and the old were fired with a martial spirit. On experiment, it was found, that to force on the inhabitants, a form of government, to which they were totally averse, was not within the fancied omnipotence of parliament.

During these transactions in Massachusetts, effectual measures, had been taken, by the colonies, for convening a continental congress. Though there was no one entitled to lead in this business, yet, in consequence of the general impulse on the public mind, from a sense of common danger, not only the measure itself, but the time and place of meeting were, with surprising unanimity, agreed upon. The colonies, though formerly agitated with local prejudices, jealousies, and aversions, were led to assemble together in a general diet, and to feel their weight and importance in a common union. Within four months from the day, on which the first intelligence of the Boston port bill reached America, the deputies of eleven provinces had convened in Philadelphia; and in four days more, by the arrival of delegates from North Carolina, there was a complete representation of twelve colonies, containing three millions of people, disseminated over two hundred and sixty thousand square miles of territory. Some of the delegates were appointed by the constitutional assemblies. In other provinces, where they were embarrassed by royal governors, the appointments were made in voluntary meetings of the people. Perhaps there never was a body of delegates, more faithful to the interest of their constituents, than the congress of 1774. The public voice elevated none to a seat in that august assembly, but such as, in addition to considerable abilities, possessed that ascendency over the minds of their fellow-citizens, which can neither be acquired by birth, nor purchased by wealth. The instructions given to these deputies were various; but, in general, they contained strong professions of loyalty, and of constitutional dependence on the mother country. The

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framers of them acknowledged the prerogatives of the crown, and disclaimed every wish of separation from the parent state. On the other hand, they were firm in declaring, that they were entitled to all the rights of British born subjects, and that the late acts respecting Massachusetts were unconstitutional and oppressive.

They particularly stated their grievances, and for the most part concurred, in authorizing their deputies to concert and agree to such measures, in behalf of their constituents, as, in their joint opinion, would be most likely to obtain a redress of American grievances, ascertain American rights, on constitutional principles, and establish union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. Of the various instructions, on this occasion, those which were drawn up, by a convention of delegates, from every county in the province of Pennsylvania, and presented by them, in a body, to the constitutional assembly, were the most precise and determinate. By these it appears, that the Pennsylvanians were disposed to submit to the acts of navigation, as they then stood, and, also, to settle a certain annual revenue on his majesty, his heirs, and successors, subject to the control of parliament; and to satisfy all damages, done to the East India company, provided their grievances were redressed, and an amicable compact was settled, which, by establishing American rights, in the manner of a new magna charta, would have precluded future disputes.

Of the whole number of deputies, which formed the continental congress, of 1774, one half were lawyers. Gentlemen of that profession had acquired the confidence of the inhabitants, by their exertions in the common cause. The previous measures, in the respective provinces, had been planned and carried into effect, more by lawyers than by any other order of men. Professionally taught the rights of the people, they were among the foremost, to descry every attack made on their liberties. Bred in the habits of public speaking, they made a distinguished figure in the meetings of the people, and were particularly able to explain to them the tendency of the late acts of parliament. Exerting their abilities and

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influence, in the cause of their country, they were rewarded with its confidence.

On the meeting of congress, they chose Peyton Randolph their president, and Charles Thomson their secretary. They agreed, as one of the rules of their doing business, that no entry should be made on their journals of any propositions discussed before them, to which they did not finally assent.* This august body, to which all the colonies looked up for wisdom and direction, had scarcely convened, when a dispute arose about the mode of conducting business, which alarmed the friends of union. It was contended by some, that the votes of the small provinces should not count as much as those of the larger ones. This was argued with some warmth; and invidious comparisons were made between the extensive dominion of Virginia, and the small colonies of Delaware and Rhode Island. The impossibility of fixing the comparative weight of each province, from the want of proper materials, induced congress to resolve, that each should have one equal vote. The mode of conducting business being settled, two committees were appointed: one, to state the rights of the colonies; the several instances in which these rights had been

* This rule was adopted from policy. The firmness of two or three of the delegates was doubted, by some of their more determined associates. It was apprehended, that these would bring forward some temporising scheme of accommodation, in hopes that it would operate in their favour, in case the country was conquered. The majority thought it more equal, that, in every event, all should stand or fall together, without separate subterfuges. Joseph Galloway brought forward such a scheme; which was rejected, and of course not entered on the journals; but he obtained a certificate of his having done so. After he had joined the British, in the low ebb of American affairs, which took place early in December, 1776, he produced those documents, to prove that he had always been a true and loyal subject. The outlines of Galloway's schemes were a general government, to be instituted in America, for regulating all the common concerns of the colonies, and to be administered by a president general, of royal appointment, with executive powers, and a negative on all proposed acts of legislation; together with a council, to be appointed by the provincial assemblies. This legislative body to be incorporated with the British parliament, so far that the assent of both should be requisite to the validity of all general acts and statutes, which were intended to operate over both countries.

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violated; and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them; the other, to examine and report the several statutes which affected the trade and manufactures of the colonies. The first committee were further instructed, to confine themselves to the consideration of such rights, as had been infringed since the year 1763.

Congress, soon after their meeting, agreed upon a declaration of their rights, by which it was, among other things, declared, that the inhabitants of the English colonies, in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, were entitled to life, liberty, and property; and that they had never ceded, to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either, without their consent. That their ancestors, who first settled the colonies, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects, within the realm of England, and, by their migrating to America, they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights; that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, was a right, in the people, to participate in their legislative council; and that, as the English colonists were not, and could not be properly represented in the British parliament, they were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation, in their several provincial legislatures, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign. They then ran the line, between the supremacy of parliament, and the independency of the colonial legislatures, by provisos and restrictions, expressed in the following words: "But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal and external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent."

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This was the very hinge of the controversy. The absolute unlimited supremacy of the British parliament, both in legislation and taxation, was contended for on one side; while, on the other, no further authority was conceded, than such a limited legislation, with regard to external commerce, as would combine the interest of the whole empire. In government, as well as in religion, there are mysteries, from the close investigation of which little advantage can be expected. From the unity of the empire, it was necessary that some acts should extend over the whole. From the local situation of the colonies, it was equally reasonable, that their legislatures should, at least, in some matters be independent. Where the supremacy of the first ended, and the independency of the last began, was to the best informed a puzzling question. A different state of things would exist at this day, had the discussion of this doubtful point never been attempted.

Congress also resolved, that the colonists were entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage; that they were entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes, as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they had found to be applicable to their local circumstances, and also to the immunities and privileges, granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by provincial laws; that they had a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king; that the keeping a standing army in the colonies, without the consent of the legislature of the colony where the army was kept, was against law; that it was indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential, by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; and that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power, in several colonies, by a council, appointed during pleasure by the crown, was unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation. All of these liberties, congress, in behalf of themselves, and their constituents, claimed, demanded, and insisted upon, as their indubitable rights, which could not be

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legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any power whatever, without their consent.

Congress then resolved, that sundry acts, which had been passed in the reign of George the third, were infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them was essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. The acts complained of, were as follow: the several acts of 4 George III. ch. 15, and ch. 34—5 Geo. III. ch. 25—6 Geo. III. ch. 52—7 Geo. III. ch. 41, and ch. 46—8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which imposed duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extended the power of the admiralty courts, beyond their ancient limits, deprived the American subjects of trial by jury, and authorized the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might, otherwise, be liable to requiring oppressive security, from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he was allowed to defend his property.

Also, 12 Geo. III. ch. 24, entitled, "An act for the better securing his majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with the committing any offence, described in the said act, out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm.

Also, the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that which is entitled, "An act for the better administration of justice, &c."

Also, the act passed in the same session, for establishing the Roman Catholic religion, in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government, of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood

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and treasure the said country had been conquered from France.

Also, the act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers, in his majesty's service, in North America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, in which such army was kept, was against law.

Congress declared, that they could not submit to these grievous acts and measures. In hopes that their fellow-subjects in Great Britain would restore the colonies to that state, in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, they resolved, for the present, only to pursue the following peaceable measures:

1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association.

2. To prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America.

3. To prepare a loyal address to his majesty.

By the association they bound themselves and their constituents, "from and after the 1st day of December next, not to import into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares or merchandise, whatsoever; not to purchase any slave, imported after the said 1st day of December; not to purchase or use any tea, imported on account of the East India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and, from and after the 1st day of the next ensuing March, neither to purchase or use any East India tea whatever; that they would not, after the 10th day of the next September, if their grievances were not previously redressed, export any commodity whatsoever, to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except rice to Europe; that the merchants should, as soon as possible, write to their correspondents in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them on any pretence whatever; that if any merchant there, should ship any goods for America, in order to contravene the non-importation agreement,

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they would not afterwards have any commercial connection with such merchant; that such as were owners of vessels, should give positive orders to their captains and masters, not to receive, on board their vessels, any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement; that they would use their endeavours to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; that they would encourage frugality, economy and industry, and promote agriculture, arts, and American manufactures; that they would discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation; that, on the death of relations or friends, they would wear no other mourning than a small piece of black crape or ribbon; that such, as were venders of goods, should not take any advantage of the scarcity, so as to raise their prices; that, if any person should import goods after the 1st day of December, and before the 1st day of February, then next ensuing, the same ought to be immediately re-shipped, or delivered up to a committee to be stored or sold: that, in the last case, all the clear profits should be applied towards the relief of the inhabitants of Boston; that, if any goods should be imported after the 1st day of February, then next ensuing, they should be sent back without breaking any of the packages; that committees be chosen in every county, city, and town, to observe the conduct of all persons touching the association, and to publish, in gazettes, the names of the violaters of it, as foes to the rights of British America; that the committees of correspondence, in the respective colonies, frequently inspect the entries of their custom-houses, and inform each other, from time to time, of the true state thereof; that all manufactures of America should be sold at reasonable prices, and no advantages be taken of a future scarcity of goods; and lastly, that they would have no dealings or intercourse whatever, with any province or colony of North America, which should not accede to, or should violate the aforesaid associations." These several resolutions, they bound themselves and their constituents, by the sacred ties of virtue, honour, and love of their country, to observe till their grievances were redressed.

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In their address to the people of Great Britain, they complimented them for having, at every hazard, maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of man, and the blessings of liberty to their posterity, and requested them not to be surprised, that they, who were descended from the same common ancestors, should refuse to surrender their rights, liberties, and constitution. They proceeded to state their rights and their grievances, and to vindicate themselves from the charges of being seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. They summed up their wishes in the following words: "Place us in the same situation that we were, at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.".

In the memorial of congress to the inhabitants of the British colonies, they recapitulated the proceedings of Great Britain against them, since the year 1763, in order to impress them with a belief, that a deliberate system was formed for abridging their liberties. They then proceeded to state the measures they had adopted, to counteract this system, and gave the reasons which induced them to adopt the same. They encouraged them to submit to the inconveniencies of non-importation and non-exportation, by desiring them, "to weigh, in the opposite balance, the endless miseries, they and their descendants must endure, from an established arbitrary power." They concluded with informing them, "that the schemes, agitated against the colonies, had been so conducted as to render it prudent to extend their views to mournful events, and to be, in all respects, prepared for every contingency."

In the petition of congress to the king, they begged leave to lay their grievances before the throne. After a particular enumeration of these, they observed, that they wholly arose from a destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war. They assured his majesty, that they had made such provision for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, as had been judged just and suitable to their respective circumstances; and that, for the de-

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fence, protection, and security of the colonies, their militia would be fully sufficient in time of peace; and, in case of war, they were ready and willing, when constitutionally required, to exert their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies, and raising forces. They said, "we ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative; nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain." They then solicited for a redress of their grievances, which they had enumerated; and, appealing to that Being, who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they solemnly professed, "that their counsels had been influenced by no other motives, than a dread of impending destruction." They concluded with imploring his majesty, "for the honour of Almighty God, for his own glory, for the interests of his family, and for the safety of his kingdom and dominions, that, as the loving father of his whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, he would not suffer the transcendent relation, formed by these ties, to be further violated, by uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never could compensate for the calamities, through which they must be gained."

The congress, also, addressed the French inhabitants of Canada. To whom they stated the right they had, on becoming English subjects, to the benefits of the English constitution. They explained what these rights were; and pointed out the difference between the constitution imposed on them by act of parliament, and that to which, as British subjects, they were entitled. They introduced their countryman Montesquieu, as reprobating their parliamentary constitution, and exhorting them to join their fellow-colonists, in support of their common rights. They earnestly invited them to join, with the other colonies, in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and to

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this end, recommended, that they would choose delegates to represent them in congress.

All these addresses were written with uncommon ability. Coming from the heart, they were calculated to move it. Inspired by a love of liberty, and roused by a sense of common danger, the patriots of that day spoke, wrote, and acted, with an animation unknown in times of public tranquillity: but it was not so much, on the probable effect of these addresses, that congress founded their hopes of obtaining a redress of their grievances, as on the consequences which they expected, from the operation of their non-importation, and non-exportation agreement. The success that had followed the adoption of a measure, similar to the former, in two preceding instances, had encouraged the colonists to expect much from a repetition of it. They indulged in extravagant opinions of the importance of their trade to Great Britain. The measure of a non-exportation of their commodities was a new expedient; and, from that, even more was expected, than from the non-importation agreement. They supposed, that it would produce such extensive distress among the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, and, especially, among the inhabitants of the British West India islands, as would induce their general co-operation, in procuring a redress of American grievances. Events proved that young nations, like young people, are prone to overrate their own importance.

Congress having finished all this important business, in less than eight weeks, dissolved themselves, on the 26th of October, after giving their opinion, "that another congress should be held on the 10th of May next ensuing, at Philadelphia, unless the redress of their grievances should be previously obtained," and recommending "to all the colonies to choose deputies as soon as possible, to be ready to attend at that time and place, should events make their meeting necessary."

On the publication of the proceedings of congress, the people obtained that information which they desired. Zealous to do something for their country, they patiently waited

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for the decision of that body, to whose direction they had resigned themselves. Their determinations were no sooner known, than cheerfully obeyed. Though their power was only advisory, yet their recommendations were more generally and more effectually carried into execution, than the laws of the best-regulated states. Every individual felt his liberties endangered, and was impressed with an idea, that his safety consisted in union. A common interest in warding off a common danger, proved a powerful incentive to the most implicit submission. Provincial congresses and subordinate committees were every where instituted. The resolutions of the continental congress were sanctioned, with the universal approbation of these new representative bodies; and institutions were formed under their directions to carry them into effect.

The regular constitutional assemblies, also, gave their assent to the measures recommended. The assembly of New York was the only legislature, which withheld its approbation. Their metropolis had long been head-quarters of the British army in the colonies; and many of their best families were connected with people of influence in Great Britain. The unequal distribution of their land fostered an aristocratic spirit. From the operation of these and other causes, the party for royal government was both more numerous and respectable in New York, than in the other colonies.

The assembly of Pennsylvania, though composed of a majority of Quakers, or of those who were friendly to their interest, was the first legal body of representatives, that ratified, unanimously, the acts of the general congress. They not only voted their approbation of what that body had done, but appointed members to represent them in the new congress, proposed to be held on the 10th day of May next ensuing; and took sundry steps to put the province in a posture of defence.

To relieve the distresses of the people of Boston, liberal collections were made, throughout the colonies, and forwarded for the supply of their immediate necessities. Domestic manufactures were encouraged, that the wants of the inha-

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itants, from the non-importation agreement, might be diminished; and the greatest zeal was discovered, by a large majority of the people, to comply with the determinations of these new-made representative bodies. In this manner, while the forms of the old government subsisted, a new and independent authority was virtually established. It was so universally the sense of the people, that the public good required a compliance with the recommendations of congress, that any man, who discovered an anxiety about the continuance of trade and business, was considered as a selfish individual; preferring private interest to the good of his country. Under the influence of these principles, the intemperate zeal of the populace transported them, frequently, so far beyond the limits of moderation, as to apply singular punishments to particular persons, who contravened the general sense of the community.

One of these was forcibly subjecting the obnoxious persons to a stream of cold water, discharged on them from the spout of a pump. Another and more serious one was, after smearing their bodies with tar, to roll them in feathers, and expose them, thus covered with tar and feathers, to the ridicule of spectators. A more common mode was to treat them with contempt and scorn, arising, in particular cases, to such a height, as to abstain from all social intercourse with them. Frequently their names were stuck up in public places, with the appellation of tories, traitors, cowards, enemies to the country, &c.

The British ministry were not less disappointed than mortified, at this unexpected combination of the colonies. They had flattered themselves with a belief, that the malcontents in Boston were a small party, headed by a few factious men, and that the majority of the inhabitants would arrange themselves on the side of government, as soon as they found Great Britain determined to support her authority; and, should even Massachusetts take part with its offending capital, they could not believe that the other colonies would make a common cause, in supporting so intemperate a colony: but, should even that expectation fail, they conceived that their associa-

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tion must be founded on principles so adverse to the interests and feelings of individuals, that it could not be of long duration. They were encouraged in these ill-founded opinions, by the recollection, that the colonies were frequently quarrelling about boundaries, clashing in interest, differing in policy, manners, customs, forms of government, and religion, and under the influence of a variety of local prejudices, jealousies, and aversions. They also remembered the obstacles, which prevented the colonies from acting together, in the execution of schemes, planned for their own defence, in the late war against the French and Indians. The failure of the expected co-operation of the colonies, in one uniform system, at that time, was not only urged by the British ministry, as a reason for parliamentary control over the whole, but flattered them with a delusive hope, that they never could be brought to combine their counsels and their arms. Perhaps the colonists apprehended more danger from British encroachments, on their liberties, than from French encroachment, on Indian territories, in their neighbourhood: or more probably, the time to part being come, the Governor of the Universe, by a secret influence on their minds, disposed them to union. From whatever cause it proceeded, it is certain, that a disposition to do, to suffer, and to accommodate, spread from breast to breast, and from colony to colony, beyond the reach of human calculation. It seemed as though one mind inspired the whole. The merchants put far behind them the gains of trade, and cheerfully submitted to a total stoppage of business, in obedience to the recommendations of men, invested with no legislative powers. The cultivators of the soil, with great unanimity, assented to the determination, that the hard-earned produce of their farms should remain unshipped, although, in case of a free exportation, many would have been eager to have purchased it from them, at advanced prices. The sons and daughters of ease renounced imported conveniences; and voluntarily engaged to eat, drink, and wear, only such articles as their country afforded. These sacrifices were made, not from the pressure of present distress, but on the generous principle of sympathy, with an

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invaded sister colony, and the prudent policy of guarding against a precedent which might, in a future day, operate against their liberties.

This season of universal distress exhibited a striking proof, how practicable it is for mankind to sacrifice ease, pleasure, and interest, when the mind is strongly excited by its passions. In the midst of their sufferings, cheerfulness appeared in the face of all the people. They counted every thing cheap in comparison with liberty, and readily gave up whatever tended to endanger it. A noble strain of generosity and mutual support was generally excited. A great and powerful diffusion of public spirit took place. The animation of the times raised the actors in these scenes above themselves, and excited them to deeds of self-denial, which the interested prudence of calmer seasons can scarcely credit.

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CHAPTER VI.

Transactions in Great Britain, in consequence of the proceedings of congress, in 1774.

SOME time before the proceedings of congress reached England, it was justly apprehended, that a non-importation agreement would be one of the measures they would adopt. The ministry, apprehending that this event, by distressing the trading and manufacturing towns, might influence votes against the court, in the election of a new parliament, which was of course to come on in the succeeding year, suddenly dissolved the parliament, and immediately ordered a new one to be chosen. It was their design to have the whole business of elections over, before the inconveniences of a non-importation agreement could be felt. The nation was thus surprised into an election, without knowing that the late American acts had driven the colonies into a firm combination, to support, and make a common cause with, the people of Massachusetts. A new parliament was returned; which met in thirty-four days after the proceedings of congress were first published in Philadelphia, and before they were known in Great Britain. This, for the most part, consisted, either of the former members, or of those who held similar sentiments.

On the 30th of November, the king, in his speech to his new parliament, informed them, "that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws, unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts, and had broken forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; that these proceedings had been countenanced and encouraged in his other colonies; that unwarrantable attempts had been made to obstruct the commerce of his kingdoms, by unlawful combinations; and that he had taken such measures, and given such orders, as he judged most proper and effectual, for carrying into execution the laws, which were passed in the last

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session of the late parliament, relative to the province of Massachusetts."

An address, proposed in the house of commons, in answer to this speech, produced a warm debate. The minister was reminded of the great effects, he had predicted from the late American acts. "They were to humble that whole continent, without further trouble; and the punishment of Boston was to strike so universal a panic on all the colonies, that it would be totally abandoned, and, instead of obtaining relief, a dread of the same fate would awe the other provinces, to a most respectful submission." An address re-echoing the royal speech was, nevertheless, carried by a great majority. A similar address was carried, after a spirited debate, in the upper house: but the lords Richmond, Portland, Rockingham, Stamford, Stanhope, Torrington, Ponsonby, Wycombe, and Camden entered a protest against it, which concluded with these remarkable words: "Whatever may be the mischievous designs, or the inconsiderate temerity which leads others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons, who have disapproved of measures so injurious in their past effects, and future tendency, and who are not in haste, without inquiry or information, to commit ourselves in declarations, which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

Soon after the meeting of the new parliament, the proceedings of the congress reached Great Britain. The first impression, made by them, was in favour of America. Administration seemed to be staggered; and their opposers triumphed, in the eventual truth of their prediction, that an universal confederacy, to resist Great Britain, would be the consequence of the late American acts. The secretary of state, after a day's perusal, during which a council was held, said that the petition of congress, to the king, was a decent and proper one. He also cheerfully undertook to present it; and afterwards reported, that his majesty was pleased very graciously to receive it, and to promise to lay it before his two houses of parliament. From these favourable circumstances, the sanguine friends of America concluded, that it

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was intended to make the petition a foundation of a change of measures: but these hopes were of short duration.

The partisans of administration placed so much confidence in the efficacy of the measures, they had lately taken, to bring the Americans to obedience, that they regarded the boldest resolutions of congress, as the idle clamours of an unruly multitude, which proper exertions on the part of Great Britain would speedily silence. So much had been asserted and contradicted by both parties, that the bulk of the people could form no certain opinion on the subject.

The parliament adjourned for the Christmas holidays, without coming to any decision on American affairs. As soon as they met, in January, 1775, a number of papers, containing information, were laid before them. These were mostly letters from governors, and other servants of his majesty, which detailed the opposition of the colonists, in language calculated to give a bad impression of their past conduct, and an alarming one of their future intentions.

It was a circumstance unfavourable to the lovers of peace, that the rulers of Great Britain received almost the whole of their American intelligence from those, who had an interest in deceiving them. Governors, judges, revenue officers, and other royal servants, being both appointed and paid by Great Britain, fancied that zeal, for the interest of that country, would be the most likely way to ensure their further promotion. They were therefore, in their official dispatches to government, often tempted to abuse the colonists, with a view of magnifying their own watchfulness, and recommending themselves to Great Britain. The plain, simple language of truth was not acceptable to courtly ears. Ministers received and caressed those, and those only, whose representations coincided with their own views and wishes. They, who contended that, by the spirit of the English constitution, British subjects, residing on one side of the Atlantic, were entitled to equal privileges, with those who resided on the other, were unnoticed; while the abettors of ministerial measures were heard with attention.

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In this hour of national infatuation, lord Chatham, after a long retirement, resumed his seat in the house of lords, and exerted his unrivalled eloquence, in sundry attempts to dissuade his countrymen from attempting to subdue the Americans, by force of arms. The native dignity of his superior genius, and the recollection of his important services, entitled him to distinguished notice. His language, voice, and gesture, were calculated to force conviction on his hearers. Though venerable for his age, he spoke with the fire of youth. He introduced himself with some general observations on the importance of the American quarrel. He enlarged on the dangerous events that were coming on the nation, in consequence of the present dispute. He arraigned the conduct of ministers, with great severity; reprobated their whole system of American politics; and moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech him, to dispatch orders to general Gage, to remove his majesty's forces from the town of Boston. His lordship supported this motion in a pathetic animated speech; but it was rejected by a great majority. From this and other circumstances, it soon became evident, that the Americans could expect no more favour from the new parliament, than they had experienced from the late one. A majority in both houses were against them, and resolved to compel them to obedience: but a respectable minority in their favour was strongly seconded by petitions, from the merchants and manufacturers, throughout the kingdom, and particularly by those of London and Bristol. As these were well apprised of the consequences, that must follow from a prosecution of coercive measures, and deeply interested in the event, they made uncommon exertions to prevent their adoption. They pointed out the various evils, that would result from them, and warned their countrymen of the danger, to which their commercial interests were exposed.

When the petition from the merchants of London was read in the house of commons, it was moved to refer it to the committee appointed to take into consideration the American papers; but it was moved by way of amendment, on the

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ministerial side, that it should be referred to a separate committee, to meet on the 27th, the day succeeding that appointed for the consideration of American papers. This, though a dishonourable evasion, was carried by a majority of more than two to one.

A similar fate attended the petitions from Bristol, Glasgow, Norwich, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Woolverhampton, Dudley, and some other places. These, on their being presented, were in like manner consigned to, what the opposition humourously termed, the committee of oblivion.

About the same time, a petition was offered from Mr. Bollan, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, stating that they were authorized by congress to present their petition to the king, which his majesty had referred to that house; that they were enabled to throw great light on the subject; and praying to be heard, at the bar, in support of the said petition. The friends of the ministry alleged, that as congress was not a legal body, nothing could be received from them. It was in vain replied, that the congress, however illegal as to other purposes, was sufficiently legal for presenting a petition; that, as it was signed by the individual members of congress, it might be received as a petition from individuals; that the signers of it were persons of great influence in America; and it was the right of all subjects to have their petitions heard.

In the course of the debate on lord Chatham's motion, for addressing his majesty, to withdraw his troops from Boston, it had been observed, by some lords in administration, that it was common and easy to censure their measures; but those who did so proposed nothing better. Lord Chatham answered, that he should not be one of those idle censurers; that he had thought long and closely upon the subject; and purposed soon to lay before their lordships the result of his meditations, in a plan for healing the differences between Great Britain and the colonies, and for restoring peace to the empire. When he had matured his plan, he introduced it into the house, in the form of a bill, for settling the troubles in America. In this he proposed, that the colonists should make a full acknowledgment of the supremacy of the

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legislature, and the superintending power of the British parliament. The bill did not absolutely decide on the right of taxation; but, partly as a matter of grace, and partly as a compromise, declared and enacted, "that no tax, or other charge, should be levied in America, except by common consent in their provincial assemblies." It asserted the right of the king, to send a legal army to any part of his dominions at all times; but declared, "that no military force could ever be lawfully employed, to violate or destroy the just rights of the people." It also legalized the holding a congress, in the ensuing May, for the double purpose, "of recognizing the supreme legislative authority, and superintending power of parliament over the colonies; and for making a free grant to the king, his heirs, and successors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt." On these conditions the bill proposed, "to restrain the powers of the admiralty courts to their ancient limits, and suspended, for a limited time, those acts, which had been complained of by congress." It proposed to place the judges, in America, on the same footing, as to the holding of their salaries and offices, with those in England; and secured to the colonies all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, granted by their several charters and constitutions. His lordship introduced this plan with a speech, in which he explained, and supported every part of it. When he sat down, lord Dartmouth rose, and said, "it contained matter of such magnitude as to require consideration; and therefore hoped, that the noble earl did not expect their lordships to decide upon it, by an immediate vote; but would be willing it should lie on the table for consideration." Lord Chatham answered, "that he expected no more:" but lord Sandwich rose, and, in a petulant speech, opposed its being received at all, and gave his opinion, "that it ought immediately to be rejected, with the contempt it deserved; that he could not believe it to be the production of any British peer; that it appeared to him rather the work of some American;" and, turning his face towards Dr. Franklin, who was leaning on the bar,

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said, "he fancied he had in his eye the person, who drew it up; one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known." This turned the eyes of many lords on the insulted American, who, with that self-command, which is peculiar to great minds, kept his countenance unmoved. Several other lords of the administration gave their sentiments, also, for rejecting lord Chatham's conciliatory bill; urging that it not only gave a sanction to the traitorous proceedings of the congress already held, but legalized their future meeting. They enlarged on the rebellious temper, and hostile disposition of the Americans; and said, "that, though the duty on tea was the pretence, the restrictions on their commerce, and the hopes of throwing them off, were the real motives of their disobedience; and that to concede now, would be, to give up the point forever."

The dukes of Richmond and Manchester, lord Camden, lord Lyttleton, and others, were for receiving lord Chatham's conciliatory bill; some from approbation of its principles; but others only from a regard to the character and dignity of the house.

Lord Dartmouth, who, from indecision, rarely had any will or judgment of his own, and who, with dispositions for the best measures, could be easily prevailed upon to join in support of the worst, finding the opposition from his coadjutors in administration unexpectedly strong, turned round, and gave his voice with them for immediately rejecting the plan. Lord Chatham, in reply to lord Sandwich, declared, "the bill proposed by him to be entirely his own; but he made no scruple to declare, that, if he were the first minister of the country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person, so perfectly acquainted with the whole of the American affairs, as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected upon (Dr. Franklin): one whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with the Boyles and Newtons; who was an honour, not only to the English nation, but to human nature."

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The plan proposed by lord Chatham was rejected, by a majority of sixty-four to thirty-two; and without being admitted to lie on the table. That a bill on so important a subject, offered by one of the first men of the age, and who, as prime minister of the nation, had, but a few years before, taken up Great Britain, when in a low despondency, and conducted her to victory and glory, through a war with two of the most powerful kingdoms of Europe, should be rejected without any consideration, or even a second reading, was not only a breach of decency, but a departure from that propriety of conduct, which should mark the proceedings of a branch of the national legislature. It could not but strike every thinking American, that such legislators, influenced by passion, prejudice, and party spirit, many of whom were totally ignorant of the subject, and who would not give themselves an opportunity, by a second reading, or further consideration, to inform themselves better, were very unfit to exercise unlimited supremacy over three millions of virtuous, sensible people, inhabiting the other side of the globe.

On the day after the rejection of lord Chatham's bill, a petition was presented to the house of commons, from the planters of the sugar colonies, residing in Great Britain, and the merchants of London, trading to the colonies. In this they stated, that the British property in the West India islands amounted to upwards of thirty millions; that a further property of many millions was employed in the commerce, created by the said islands; and that the profits and produce of these immense capitals, which ultimately centered in Great Britain, would be deranged and endangered, by the continuance of the American troubles. The petitioners were admitted to a hearing; when Mr. Glover, as their agent, ably demonstrated the folly and danger of persevering in the contest; but without any effect. The immediate coercion of the colonies was resolved upon: and the ministry would not suffer themselves to be diverted from its execution. They were confident of success, if they could once bring the controversy to the decision of arms. They expected more from conquest, than they could promise themselves by

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negociation or compromise. The free constitutions of the colonies, and their rapid progress in population, were beheld with a jealous eye, as the natural means of independence. They conceived the most effectual method, of retaining them long, would be to reduce them soon. They hoped to be able to extinguish remonstrance and debate, by such a speedy and decisive conquest, as would give them an opportunity to new-model the colonial constitutions, on such principles as would prevent future altercations, on the subject of their chartered rights. Every representation, that tended to retard or obstruct the coercion of the colonies, was therefore considered as tending only to prolong the controversy. Confident of victory, and believing that nothing short of it would restore the peace of the empire, the ministry turned a deaf ear to all petitions and representations. They even presumed, that the petitioners, when they found Great Britain determined on war, would assist in carrying it on with vigour, in order to expedite the settlement of the dispute. They took it for granted, that, when the petitioning towns were convinced, that a renewal of the commercial intercourse, between the two countries, would be sooner obtained by going on, than turning back, the same interest, which led them at first to petition, would lead them afterwards to support coercive measures, as the most effectual and shortest way of securing commerce from all future interruptions.

The determination of ministers, to persevere, was also forwarded by hopes of the defection of New York from her sister colonies. They flattered themselves, that, when one link of the continental chain gave way, it would be easy to make an impression on the disjointed extremities.

Every attempt to close the breach, which had been opened by the former parliament, having failed, and the ministry having made up their minds, on the mode of proceeding with the colonists, their proposed plan was briefly unfolded. This was to send a greater force to America, and to bring in a temporary act, to put a stop to all the foreign trade of the New England colonies, till they should make proper submissions and acknowledgments. An address to his majesty was,

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at the same time, moved to "beseech him to take the most effectual measures, to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature."

Truly critical was the moment to the union of the empire. A new parliament might, without the charge of inconsistency, have repealed acts, passed by a former one, which had been found inconvenient on experiment; but pride and passion, under the specious names of national dignity, and zeal for the supremacy of parliament, induced the adoption of measures, for immediately compelling the submission of the colonies.

The repeal of a few acts of parliament would, at this time, have satisfied America. Though she had been extending her claims, yet she was still willing that Great Britain should monopolize her trade, and that the parliament should regulate it for the common benefit of the empire. Nor was she disposed to abridge his majesty of any of his usual prerogatives. This authority was sufficient for the mother country, to retain the colonists, in a profitable state of subordination, and yet not so much as to be inconsistent with their claims, or the security of their most important interests. Britain viewed the matter in a different light. To recede, at this time, would be to acknowledge, that the ministry had hitherto been in the wrong; a concession rarely made by private persons, and more rarely by men in public stations. The leading members in parliament, not distinguishing the opposition of freemen to unconstitutional innovation, from the turbulence of licentious mobs breaking over the bounds of law and constitution, supposed that to redress grievances was to renounce sovereignty. This inference, in some degree, resulted from the broad basis, which they had assigned to the claims of the mother country. If, as was contended, on the part of Great Britain, they had a right to bind the colonies, in all cases whatsoever, and the power of parliament over them were absolute and unlimited, they were precluded from rescinding any act of theirs, however oppressive, when demanded as a matter of right. They were too highly impressed with ideas of their unlimited authority, to repeal any

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of their laws, on the principle, that they had not a constitutional power to enact them, and too unwise to adopt the same measure on the ground of political expediency. Unfortunately for both countries, two opinions were generally held, neither of which was, perhaps, true in its utmost extent, and one of which was most assuredly false. The ministry and parliament of England proceeded on the idea, that the claims of the colonists amounted to absolute independence, and that a fixed resolution to renounce the sovereignty of Great Britain was concealed, under the specious pretext of a redress of grievances. The Americans, on the other hand, were equally confident, that the mother country not only harboured designs unfriendly to their interests, but seriously intended to introduce arbitrary government. Jealousies of each other were reciprocally indulged, to the destruction of all confidence, and to the final dismemberment of the empire.

In discussing the measures proposed by the minister, for the coercion of the colonies, the whole ground of the American controversy was traversed. The comparative merits of concession and coercion were placed in every point of view. Some of the minority, in both houses of parliament, pointed out the dangers that would attend a war with America; the likelihood of the interference of other powers; and the probability of losing, and the impossibility of gaining any thing more than was already possessed. On the other hand, the friends of the ministry asserted, that the Americans had been long aiming at independence; that they were magnifying pretended grievances, to cover a premeditated revolt; that it was the business and duty of Englishmen, at every hazard, to prevent its completion, and to bring them back to a remembrance that their present greatness was owing to the mother country; and that even their existence had been purchased at an immense expense of British blood and treasure. They acknowledged the danger to be great; but said "it must be encountered; that every day's delay increased the evil; and that it would be base and cowardly to shift off, for the present, an unavoidable contest, which must fall with accumulated weight on the heads of their posterity." The

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danger of foreign interference was denied. It was contended, that an appearance of vigorous measures, with a further reinforcement of troops at Boston, would be sufficient to quell the disturbances. It was also urged, that the friends of government were both strong and numerous, and only waited for proper support, and favourable circumstances, to declare themselves.

After long and warm debates, and one or two protests, the ministerial plans were carried by great majorities. In consequence thereof, on the 9th of February, 1775, a joint address, from both lords and commons, was presented to his majesty, in which, "they returned thanks for the communication of the papers, relative to the state of the British colonies in America; gave it as their opinion, that a rebellion actually existed in the province of Massachusetts; besought his majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures, to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature, and begged, in the most solemn manner, to assure his majesty, that it was their fixed resolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to stand by his majesty against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of the just rights of his majesty, and of the two houses of parliament."

The lords, Richmond, Craven, Archer, Abergavenny, Rockingham, Wycombe, Courtenay, Torrington, Ponsonby, Cholmondely, Abingdon, Rutland, Camden, Effingham, Stanhope, Scarborough, Fitzwilliam, and Tankerville, protested against this address, "as founded on no proper parliamentary information, being introduced by refusing to suffer the presentation of petitions against it; as following the rejection of every mode of conciliation; as holding out no substantial offer of redress of grievances; and as promising support to those ministers, who had inflamed America, and grossly misconducted the affairs of Great Britain."

By the address, against which this protest was entered, the parliament of Great Britain passed the Rubicon. In former periods, it might be alleged, that the claims of the colonies were undefined, and that their unanimous re-

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solution to defend them, was unknown: but after a free representation from twelve provinces had stated their rights, and pledged themselves to each other to support them, and their determinations were known, a resolution that a rebellion actually existed, and that, at the hazard of their lives and properties, they would stand by his majesty, against all rebellious attempts, was a virtual declaration of war. Both parties were now bound, in consequence of their own acts, to submit their controversy to a decision of arms. Issue was joined, by the approbation congress had given to the Suffolk resolves, and by this subsequent joint address of both houses of parliament to his majesty. It is probable, that neither party, in the beginning, intended to go thus far; but by the inscrutable operations of Providence, each was permitted to adopt such measures as not only rent the empire, but involved them both, with their own consent, in all the calamities of a long and bloody war. The answer from the throne, to the joint address of parliament, contained assurances of taking the most speedy and effectual measures, for enforcing due obedience to the laws, and authority of the supreme legislature. This answer was accompanied with a message to the commons, in which they were informed, that some augmentation to the forces by sea and land would be necessary. An augmentation of four thousand three hundred and eighy-three men to the land forces, and of two thousand seamen, to be employed for the ensuing year, was accordingly asked for, and carried without difficulty. With the first, it was stated, that the force at Boston would be ten thousand men, a number supposed to be sufficient for enforcing the laws. Other schemes, in addition to a military force, were thought advisable for promoting the projected coercion of the colonies. With this view a punishment was proposed, so universal in its operation, that it was expected the inhabitants of the New England colonies, to obtain a riddance of its heavy pressure, would interest themselves in procuring a general submission to parliament. Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill "to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, the colonies of

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Connecticut and Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West Indies, and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time." The motion for this bill was supported, by declaring, that, as the Americans had refused to trade with the mother country, they ought not to be permitted to trade with any other. It was known that the New England colonies carried on a circuitous trade and fishery, on the banks of Newfoundland, to a great extent. To cut them off from this resource, they were legislatively forbidden to fish, or to carry on foreign trade. It was presumed, that the wants of a large body of people, deprived of employment, would create a clamour in favour of reconciliation.

The British ministry expected to excite the same temper in the unemployed New England men, that congress meant to raise by the non-importation agreement, among the British merchants and manufacturers. The motion, for this bill, brought into view the whole of the American controversy. The opposers of it said, that its cruelty exceeded the examples of hostile rigour with avowed enemies; for that, in the most dangerous wars, the fishing craft was universally spared. They desired the proposer of the bill to recollect, that he had often spoken of the multitude of friends he had in those provinces, and that now he confounded the innocent with the guilty; friends with enemies; and involved his own partizans in one common ruin with his opposers. They alleged further, that the bill would operate against the people of Great Britain; as the people of New England were in debt to them, and had no other means of paying that debt, but through the fishery, and the circuitous trade dependent on it. It was observed, that the fishermen, being cut off from employment, must turn soldiers; and that, therefore, while they were provoking the Americans to resistance, by one set of acts, they were furnishing them with the means of recruiting an army by another.

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The favourers of the bill denied the charge of severity, alleging that the colonists could not complain of any distress the bill might bring on them, as they not only deserved it, but had set the example; and that they had entered into unlawful combinations to ruin the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. It was said, that, if any foreign power had offered a similar insult or injury, the whole nation would have demanded satisfaction. They contended that it was a bill of humanity and mercy; for, said they, the colonists have incurred all the penalties of rebellion, and are liable to the severest military execution. Instead of inflicting the extent of what they deserved, the bill only proposes to bring them to their senses, by restricting their trade. They urged further, that the measure was necessary; for, said they, "the Americans have frequently imposed on us, by threatening to withdraw their trade, hoping through mercantile influence to bend the legislature to their demands; that this was the third time, they had thrown the commerce of Great Britain into a state of confusion; and that both colonies and commerce were better lost, than preserved on such terms. They added further, that they must either relinquish their connection with America, or fix it on such a basis, as would prevent a return of these evils. They admitted the bill to be coercive; but said, "that the coercion, which put the speediest end to the dispute, was eventually the most merciful."

In the progress of the bill, a petition from the merchants and traders of London, who were interested in the American commerce, was presented against it. They were heard by their agent, Mr. David Barclay; and a variety of witnesses were examined before the house. In the course of their evidence it appeared, that, in the year 1764, the four provinces of New England employed, in their several fisheries, no less than forty-five thousand eight hundred and eighty ton of shipping, and six thousand and two men; and that the produce of their fisheries that year, in foreign markets, amounted to 322,220*l.* 16*s.* sterling. It also appeared, that the fisheries had very much increased since that time; that all the materials used in them, except salt, and the timber of

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which the vessels were built, were purchased from Great Britain; and that the net proceeds of the whole were remitted thither. All this information was disregarded. After much opposition in both houses, and a protest in the house of lords, the bill was, by a great majority, finally ratified. So intent were the ministry and parliament on the coercion of the colonists, that every other interest was sacrificed to its accomplishment. They conceived the question between the two countries to be, simply, whether they should abandon their claims, and at once give up all the advantages arising from sovereignty and commerce, or resort to violent measures for their security.

Since the year 1769, when a secretary of state officially disclaimed all views of an American revenue, little mention had been made of that subject; but the decided majority, who voted with the ministry on this occasion, emboldened lord North once more to present it to the view of his countrymen. He, therefore, brought into parliament a scheme, which had the double recommendation of holding forth the semblance of conciliation, and the prospect of an easement of British taxes, by a productive revenue from the colonies. This resolution passed on the 20th of February, and was as follow:

"Resolved, that, when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court, of any of his majesty's provinces or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision according to the condition, circumstances, and situations of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion for the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament, and shall engage to make provision, also, for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty, and the two houses of parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may

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be expedient to continue to levy or to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively."

This was introduced by the minister, in a long speech, in which he asserted, that it would be an infallible touch-stone to try the Americans. "If," said he, "their opposition be only founded on the principles which they pretend, they must agree with this proposition; but if they have designs in contemplation, different from those they avow, their refusal will convict them of duplicity." The opposition to the minister's motion originated among those who had supported him in previous questions. They objected to the proposal, that, in effect, it was an acknowledgment of something grievous in the idea of taxing America by parliament; and that it was, therefore, a departure from their own principles. They contended, that it was improper to make concessions to rebels, with arms in their hands; or to enter into any measures for a settlement with the Americans, in which they did not, as a preliminary, acknowledge the supremacy of parliament. The minister was likely to be deserted by some of his partizans, till others explained the consistency of the scheme with their former declarations. It was said, "what shall parliament lose by acceding to this resolution? Not the right of taxing America; for this is most expressly reserved. Not the profitable exercise of this right; for it proposed to enforce the only essential part of taxation, by compelling the Americans to raise not only what they, but what we, think reasonable. We are not going to war for trifles, and a vain point of honour; but for substantial revenue." The minister further declared, that he did not expect his proposition to be generally relished by the Americans. But, said he, if it do no good in the colonies, it will do good here. It will unite the people of England, by holding out to them a distinct object of revenue. He added further, as it tends to unite England, it is likely to disunite America: for if only one province accept the offer, their confederacy, which only makes them formidable, will be broken.

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The opposers of ministry attacked the proposition, with the combined force of wit and argument. They animadverted on the inconsistency of holding forth the same resolution as a measure of concession, and as an assertion of authority. They remarked, that, hitherto, it had been constantly denied, that they had any contest about an American revenue; and that the whole had been a dispute about obedience to trade-laws, and the general legislative authority of parliament: but now ministers suddenly changed their language, and proposed to interest the nation; and console the manufacturers, and animate the soldiery, by persuading them, that it is not a contest for empty honour, but for the acquisition of a substantial revenue. It was said, that the Americans would be as effectually taxed, without their consent, by being compelled to pay a gross sum, as by an aggregate of small duties to the same amount; and that this scheme of taxation exceeded, in oppression, any that the rapacity of mankind had hitherto devised. In other cases, a specific sum was demanded; and the people might reasonably presume that the remainder was their own: but here they were wholly in the dark, as to the extent of the demand.

This proposition, however, for conciliation, though disrelished by many of the friends of ministry, was carried, on a division of two hundred and seventy-four to eighty-eight. On its transmission to the colonies, it did not produce the effects of disunion expected from it. It was unanimously rejected. For the resolutions of congress, see Appendix, No. II.

Other plans for conciliation with the colonies, founded on principles very different from those which were the basis of lord North's conciliatory motion, were brought forward, in the house of commons; but without receiving its approbation. The most remarkable of these was proposed by Mr. Edmund Burke, in a speech which, for strength of argument, extent of information, and sublimity of language, would bear a comparison with the most finished performance that ancient or modern times have produced. In his introduction to this admirable speech, he examined and explained the natural

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and accidental circumstances of the colonies, with respect to situation, resources, number, population, commerce, fisheries, and agriculture; and from these considerations showed their importance. He then inquired into their unconquerable spirit of freedom; which he traced to its original sources. From these circumstances, he inferred the line of policy which should be pursued with regard to America. He showed that all proper plans of government must be adapted to the feelings, established habits, and received opinions of the people. On these principles, he reprobated all plans of governing the colonies by force; and proposed, as the ground-work of his plan, that the colonists should be admitted to an interest in the constitution. He then went into an historical detail of the manner, in which British privileges had been extended to Ireland, Wales, and the counties palatine of Chester and Durham; the state of confusion before that event; and the happy consequences which followed it. He contended, that a communication, to the members, of an interest in the constitution, was the great ruling principle of British government. He, therefore, proposed to go back to the old policy for governing the colonies. He was for a parliamentary acknowledgment of the legal competency of the colonial assemblies, for the support of their government in peace, and for public aids in time of war. He maintained the futility of parliamentary taxation, as a method of supply. He stated, that much had been given in the old way of colonial grant; that, from the year 1748 to 1763, the journals of the house of commons repeatedly acknowledged, that the colonies not only gave, but gave to satiety; and that, from the time, in which parliamentary imposition had superseded the free gifts of the provinces, there was much discontent, and little revenue. He, therefore, moved six resolutions, affirmatory of these facts; and grounded on them resolutions, for repealing the acts complained of by the Americans, trusting to the liberality of their future voluntary contributions. This plan of conciliation, which promised immediate peace to the whole empire, and a lasting obedience of the colonies, though recommended by the charms of the most persuasive eloquence,

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and supported by the most convincing arguments, was by a great majority rejected.

Mr. D. Hartley, not discouraged by the negative, which had been given to Mr. Burke's scheme, came forward with another for the same purpose. This proposed, that a letter of requisition should be sent to the colonies, by the secretary of state, on a motion from the house, for a contribution to the expenses of the whole empire. He meant to leave, to the provincial assemblies, the right to judge of the expedience, amount, and application of the grant. In confidence that the colonies would give freely, when called on, in this constitutional way, he moved, to suspend the acts complained of by the Americans. This was also rejected.

Another plan, inserted, at length, in the Appendix, No. III. was digested in private, by Dr. Franklin, on the part of the Americans, and Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay, on behalf of the British ministry. There appeared a disposition to concede something considerable on both sides; but the whole came to nothing, in consequence of an inflexible determination to refuse a repeal of the act of parliament for altering the chartered government of Massachusetts. Dr. Franklin agreed, that the tea destroyed should be paid for; the British ministers, that the Boston port act should be repealed: but the latter contended, "that the late Massachusetts acts, being real amendments of their constitution, must, for that reason, be continued, as well as to be a standing example of the power of parliament." On the other hand, it was declared by Dr. Franklin, "that, while the parliament claimed and exercised a power of internal legislation for the colonies, and of altering American constitutions at pleasure, there could be no agreement; as that would render the Americans unsafe in every privilege they enjoyed, and would leave them nothing in which they could be secure."

This obstinate adherence to support parliament, in a power of altering the laws and charters of the provinces, particularly to enforce their late laws for new-modelling the chartered constitution of Massachusetts, was the fatal rock, by dashing on which the empire broke in twain; for every other point,

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in dispute between the two countries, seemed in a fair way for an amicable compromise.

The fishery bill was speedily followed by another, for restraining the trade and commerce of the colonies and provinces of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. The reasons assigned for this were the same with those offered for the other. These provinces had adopted the continental association. The British minister thought it proper, that, as they had voluntarily interdicted themselves from trade with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, they should be restrained from it with all other parts of the world. He contended, that the inhabitants of the colonies might render this act a dead letter, by relinquishing their own resolutions, as then they would meet with no restraint in carrying on trade in its ancient legal channel. It is remarkable, that three of the associated colonies, viz. New York, Delaware, and North Carolina, were omitted in this restraining bill. Whatever might be the view of the British ministry for this discrimination, it was considered in the colonies as calculated to promote disunion among them. It is certain, that the colonies, exempted from its operation, might have reaped a golden harvest from the exemption in their favour, had they been disposed to avail themselves of it: but such was the temper of the times, that a renunciation of immediate advantage in favour of the public was fashionable. The selfish passions, which, in seasons of peace, are too often the cause of quarrels, were hushed by the pressure of common danger.

The exempted colonies spurned the proffered favour, and submitted to the restraints imposed on their less favoured neighbours, so as to be equal sharers of their fate. The indulgence granted to New York, in being kept out of this restraining bill, was considered by some as a premium for her superior loyalty. Her assembly had refused to approve the proceedings of the congress, and had, in some other instances, discovered less warmth than the neighbouring legislatures. Much was expected from her moderation. At the

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very time the British parliament was framing the restraining acts just mentioned, the constitutional assembly of New York petitioned for a redress of their grievances. Great stress had been laid on the circumstance, that congress was not a legal assembly; and the want of constitutional sanction had been assigned as a reason for the neglect, with which their petition had been treated. Much praise had been lavished on the colony of New York, for its moderation; and occasion had been taken, from their refusing to approve the proceedings of the congress, to represent the resolutions and claims of that body to be more the ebullitions of incendiaries, than the sober sentiments of the temperate citizens. It was both unexpected and confounding to those who supported these opinions, that the representation and remonstrance of the very loyal assembly of New York stated, "that an exemption from internal taxation, and the exclusive right of providing for their own civil government, and the administration of justice in the colony, were esteemed by them as their undoubted and unalienable rights."

A motion being made, in the house of commons, for bringing up this representation and remonstrance of the assembly of New York, it was amended, on the suggestion of lord North, by adding, "in which the assembly claim to themselves rights derogatory to, and inconsistent with, the legislative authority of parliament, as declared by the declaratory act." The question, so amended, being put, passed in the negative. The fate of this representation extinguished the hopes of those moderate persons, both in the parent state and the colonies, who flattered themselves, that the disputes, subsisting between the two countries, might be accommodated by the mediation of the constitutional assemblies. Two conclusions were drawn from this transaction; both of which were unfriendly to a reconciliation. The decided language, with which the loyal assembly of New York claimed exemption from parliamentary taxation, proved to the people of Great Britain, that the colonists, however they might differ in modes of opposition, or in degrees of warmth, were, never-

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theless, united in that fundamental principle. The rejection of their representation proved, that nothing more was to be expected from proceeding in the constitutional channel of the legal assemblies, than from the new system of a continental congress. Solid revenue and unlimited supremacy were the objects of Great Britain; and exemption from parliamentary taxation, that of the most moderate of the colonies. So wide were the claims of the two countries from each other, that to reconcile them on any middle ground seemed to be impossible.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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