

THE U. S. CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

A HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES
OF
AMERICA.

INTENDED FOR STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS, ACADEMIES, COLLEGES,
UNIVERSITIES AND AT HOME, AND FOR GENERAL
READERS.

BY

ROBERT REID HOWISON,

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF VIRGINIA" AND OTHER WORKS, AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF
THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

RICHMOND, VA.:
EVERETT WADDEY COMPANY, PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS.

1892.

COPYRIGHT BY
EVERETT WADDEY CO.

1891.

Electrotyped, Printed and Bound by
EVERETT WADDEY Co.,
1112 Main Street, Richmond, Va.

PREFACE.

THIS work is intended not only for studious boys and girls in schools and academies and for young people in colleges and universities, but for general readers at home and for all who desire intelligently to study the history of the United States and to profit thereby.

Its preparation has followed the careful reading and study of a large amount of historical material, printed and in manuscript, purporting to give United States history, or special parts thereof. This material embraced the school histories of Goodrich, Scott, Stephens, Holmes, McGill, McCabe, Thalheimer, Quackenbos, Ridpath, Derry, Blackburn & McDonald, Steele, Barnes & Co., Ellis, Anderson, Venable, Eggleston, Swinton, Scudder, John Pym Carter, and the ingenious "History of the United States in Words of One Syllable," by Mrs. Helen W. Pierson, and also the more elaborate works of Bancroft, Hildreth, Draper, A. H. Stephens, Alexander Johnston, Henry Adams, Edward D. Neill, Charles Deane, Thomas H. Benton, Jefferson Davis, Raphael Semmes, the "Household United States" of Edward Eggleston, the "Centennial" of C. B. Taylor, the two thoughtful works, entitled "The Lost Principle" and "The Republic as a Form of Government," by John Scott, of Fauquier, Va.; the compilation and sketches entitled "The Genesis of the United States," by Alexander Brown; the "Narrative and Critical History of America," by Justin Winsor; the "Letters and Times of the Tylers," by Lyon G. Tyler, and many encyclopædic articles and other works furnishing material for American history.

Numerous and varied as are the excellencies of these works, they all aided in producing a conviction that a space was left unfilled, and that another work was needed differing in some important respects from each and all of them; hence, came the preparation and offering to the public of this "Student's History of the United States." The elements in which it is believed to differ from one, or more, or all, of its predecessors in this field, may be briefly summed up as follows. The objects sought herein have been—

(1) To embrace in one volume a minute and comprehensive statement and view of all the really important facts of our history.

(2) To put into the *text* of the work whatever is important to the student or reader, and not to distract his attention by throwing into notes and appendices matter often the most interesting and impressive.

(3) To give full and accurate references to authorities, so as to enable the student to explore the sources of the evidence, and to expand his researches, if he be so inclined.

(4) To trace carefully the origin and progress in the "Old World" of the principles, institutions, usages and errors which most deeply affected the colonists in North America.

(5) To narrate colonial periods, not in those dry forms which ordinarily chronicle the coming of Spaniards, French, English, Dutch, and other Europeans, and which have been so heavy a tax on the patience and powers of attention of young students, but in the forms of fresh reality, which finally crystallized into thirteen separate colonies, republics and sovereign States.

(6) To give the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as far as obtainable, on all the subjects which make up the soul and body of the history of the United States. Errors, omissions, and falsehoods in history generally originate in prepossession or prejudice, rather than in ignorance or want of evidence. Truth has always been a bitter and unwelcome medicine to people diseased with partisanship or sectionalism; but it is the only medicine that will cure.

(7) To demonstrate that the civilization of the United States is based on the principles of democracy; not the democracy of party politics, but the elemental principle, existing in all ages and illumined by all experience, that monarchy and oligarchy are unsafe and oppressive modes of government; and that, when properly controlled by morality, the people of any country can govern themselves by their chosen representatives.

(8) To set forth clearly the causes which have led to the extermination of a large part of the Indian tribes of North America, and to indicate the only conditions which will preserve those remaining from a similar fate.

(9) To discriminate definitely between the Revolution itself, which was effected in North America during the eighteenth century, and the events of the War of 1775-1783, which made the Revolution successful.

(10) To prove, from established or universally admitted facts, that the doctrine of the separate sovereignty and rights of the States underlies the whole structure of the government of the United States, and that if this foundation be destroyed the structure will fall into hopeless ruin.

(11) But to prove also that although the right of each State to secede, for sufficient cause, from the Union existed, yet a compact or treaty of union also existed, and all the States had sovereign right to judge concerning the sufficiency of the cause.

(12) To recognize and give full place and power to the supernatural element in the history of the United States.

Under these twelve heads will be found the elements in which this work differs from its predecessors in the same field. Some minor points also require notice.

Except in the case of the third day's battle of Gettysburg, all detailed narratives of the battles in the "War between the States" are studiously avoided. The reason for this will commend itself to any fair mind. The works and reports on the battles and movements of that war already amount to some hundreds of thousands of pages of printed matter; and their conflicts of statement are hopelessly irreconcilable. Nevertheless, some facts are proved. The student will find in this work a record of every battle and every military movement of sufficient importance to affect the result. Enough is given to show that brilliant successes may do nothing more than prolong a war, and that the cause in which they are gained may be finally overthrown; and that a series of defeats may be the agents which finally bring triumph to the cause of the belligerent sustaining them. Every war in this world has been a war of ideas, and a Divine Power has been "shaping their ends."

This work has no maps nor parts of maps of any kind. It is a work on history and not on geography. Whenever relative localities become important in history it is best to describe them in words. Some general knowledge of geography, and of maps illustrating it, is a necessary preliminary to the intelligent study of any history, and especially of American history; but the maps ought not to be in the book of history.

Very few pictorial illustrations will be found in this work. This has been a matter into which some thought and principle have entered. Our age is emphatically the age of object lessons and pictures. They swarm around us and crowd us everywhere—in works of fiction, science, philosophy, history, geography, in magazines, periodicals, and in metropolitan and local newspapers; and probably no one source of influence has contributed more efficiently to lower the standard of thought and erudition than this. Object lessons are suited to children of infantile powers, and to the lower animals, because the ideas they convey are simple and uncombined. But *language* has a higher mission. It is a Divine endowment given to man, because man is capable of abstract thought. He is capable of forming general ideas and of expressing them by a single word, which often holds in its embrace hundreds of separate elements. Language, therefore, and not "object lessons" and "pictorial illustrations" must be relied on as the instrument for educating human beings when they pass out of childhood.

Several lovers of history have aided this work by furnishing rare books and interesting manuscripts. To Hon. Robert P. Porter, Superintendent of the last United States Census, special acknowledgments are due for promptly forwarding, for use in this work, the successive "Census Bulletins."

With this presentation of its object and nature, this work is respectfully offered to all who desire to study or review the history of the United States.

BRAEHEAD, near Fredericksburg, Va., 1892.

CONTENTS.

	PAGES.
CHAPTER I.	
AMERICA BEFORE COLONIZATION FROM EUROPE	11-16
CHAPTER II.	
THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA	17-26
CHAPTER III.	
EARLY VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES.—HOW AMERICA GAINED HER NAME	27-31
CHAPTER IV.	
SPAIN, SLAVERY AND GOLD	32-38
CHAPTER V.	
ENGLISH AND FRENCH VOYAGES TO AMERICA	39-43
CHAPTER VI.	
OLD WORLD CONDITIONS AS TO SELF-GOVERNMENT, RELIGION AND SLAVERY	44-50
CHAPTER VII.	
SLAVERY, ANCIENT AND MODERN	51-59
CHAPTER VIII.	
COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA	60-64
CHAPTER IX.	
CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH	65-70
CHAPTER X.	
THE VIRGINIA COLONY NEAR TO DEATH	71-78
CHAPTER XI.	
POCAHONTAS AND ROLFE.—SPAIN'S OPPOSITION.—INDIAN MASSACRE.—THE LONDON COMPANY DISSOLVED	79-91
CHAPTER XII.	
SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY.—CHARLES I.	92-99
CHAPTER XIII.	
THE COMING OF THE PURITANS	100-107
CHAPTER XIV.	
MASSACHUSETTS COLONY	108-114
CHAPTER XV.	
ANNE HUTCHINSON.—ROGER WILLIAMS.—QUAKERS	115-122
CHAPTER XVI.	
CONNECTICUT.—ALLEGED BLUE LAWS.—NEW YORK	123-128
CHAPTER XVII.	
DELAWARE.—NEW YORK.—PATROONS	129-135
CHAPTER XVIII.	
NEW YORK.—NEW JERSEY	136-140
CHAPTER XIX.	
PENNSYLVANIA AND HER FRIENDS	141-148
CHAPTER XX.	
KINGS AND SIR EDMUND ANDROS	149-155

	CHAPTER XXI.	
MARYLAND		156-162
	CHAPTER XXII.	
THE CAROLINAS AND JOHN LOCKE		163-178
	CHAPTER XXIII.	
GEORGIA AND GENERAL OGLETHORPE		179-188
	CHAPTER XXIV.	
EARLY INDIAN WARS		189-200
	CHAPTER XXV.	
BIGOTRY AND WITCHCRAFT		201-211
	CHAPTER XXVI.	
THE GERMS OF REVOLUTION		212-219
	CHAPTER XXVII.	
NATHANIEL BACON		220-233
	CHAPTER XXVIII.	
NEW FRANCE IN AMERICA		234-244
	CHAPTER XXIX.	
KING WILLIAM'S WAR		245-254
	CHAPTER XXX.	
QUEEN ANNE'S WAR		255-264
	CHAPTER XXXI.	
GEORGE THE SECOND'S WARS		265-270
	CHAPTER XXXII.	
WAR OF ANGLO-AMERICAN ADVANCE		271-279
	CHAPTER XXXIII.	
WASHINGTON, BRADDOCK, MONTCALM, WOLFE		280-310
	CHAPTER XXXIV.	
THE CAUSES OF THE WAR OF REVOLUTION		311-355
	CHAPTER XXXV.	
WASHINGTON.—BUNKER'S HILL.—CANADA		356-372
	CHAPTER XXXVI.	
THE WAR OF REVOLUTION CONTINUED		373-391
	CHAPTER XXXVII.	
PRINCETON.—BRANDYWINE.—GERMANTOWN.—VALLEY FORGE		392-408
	CHAPTER XXXVIII.	
GENERAL BURGOTNE'S CAMPAIGN		409-427
	CHAPTER XXXIX.	
BRITISH EFFORTS AT CONCILIATION.—A WAR OF MARAUD AND DEVASTATION		428-442
	CHAPTER XL.	
THE WAR TRANSFERRED TO THE SOUTH		443-465
	CHAPTER XLI.	
THE WAR IN THE SOUTH		466-484
	CHAPTER XLII.	
THE WAR ENDED		485-502
	CHAPTER XLIII.	
THE REVOLUTION ITSELF		503-539
	CHAPTER XLIV.	
GEORGE WASHINGTON'S PRESIDENCY		540-566

CHAPTER XLV.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF JOHN ADAMS	567-581
CHAPTER XLVI.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON	582-596
CHAPTER XLVII.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF JAMES MADISON.—SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN	597-616
CHAPTER XLVIII.	
THE WAR ON LAND	617-645
CHAPTER XLIX.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF JAMES MONROE	646-661
CHAPTER L.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS	662-665
CHAPTER LI.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF ANDREW JACKSON	666-677
CHAPTER LII.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF MARTIN VAN BUREN	678-686
CHAPTER LIII.	
THE PRESIDENCIES OF WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON AND JOHN TYLER.—BANK VETOES.—TEXAS	687-698
CHAPTER LIV.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF JAMES K. POLK.—WAR WITH MEXICO	699-724
CHAPTER LV.	
PRESIDENCIES OF ZACHARY TAYLOR AND MILLARD FILLMORE	725-734
CHAPTER LVI.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF FRANKLIN PIERCE	735-746
CHAPTER LVII.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF JAMES BUCHANAN	747-772
CHAPTER LVIII.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.—WAR	773-814
CHAPTER LIX.	
THE WAR, AND ANDREW JOHNSON'S PRESIDENCY	815-854
CHAPTER LX.	
THE PRESIDENCY OF ULYSSES S. GRANT	855-871
CHAPTER LXI.	
THE PRESIDENCIES OF HAYES, GARFIELD AND ARTHUR	872-883
CHAPTER LXII.	
THE PRESIDENCIES OF CLEVELAND AND HARRISON	884-903
CONCLUDING SUMMARY	904-919
INDEX	921-936

A HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

AMERICA BEFORE COLONIZATION FROM EUROPE.

THE United States of North America embrace at this time forty-four states and seven territories, including Alaska and the District of Columbia. They cover an area of more than three million six hundred thousand square miles—larger than any single sovereignty in the world, except the empire of Russia and that of Great Britain. They held, on the first of June, 1890, a population of about sixty-three millions of souls.¹ They have more wealth in lands, houses, factories, ships, mines, stocks, merchandise and money than any other people. They have universities and colleges numbering nearly four hundred, and academies and schools, public and private, sufficient to educate all the children of the land. They have a government based upon the principle that man, when properly controlled by morality and religion, is capable of governing himself. They have perfect freedom in religion. They have Christianity. They have all the elements of happiness and progress that can be possessed in this world.

This cannot be said of any of the nations of the Old World. Neither can it be truthfully said of any other people of the American continent. When we look at their condition, we soon discover the want of some element, without which they cannot have as full a measure of happiness, and as energetic a stimulant to progress, as a nation ought to have.

This makes it very important that we should know the history—the past life—of the people of the United States, so that we may see from what genesis they have come, what difficulties

¹ Compare census bulletin from United States Department of Interior, October 30, 1890, with Washington letter in Dispatch December 12, 1890, and statement of G. D. Tillman, M. C., Philadelphia, Penn., December 22, 1890.

they have surmounted, what obstacles to their happiness and progress they have swept away, what wrongs they have resisted, what rights they have asserted and maintained. To know all this we must inquire, *first*, what was the condition of that part of North America now occupied by the United States when European settlements began? *Second*, what were the conditions as to government, public law, usages and religion prevailing among the nations of the Old World and most strongly affecting the settlers who came to this country?

We know that the American continent was not an uninhabited desert when it was discovered by Europeans. From the polar regions of the North to the rocky islands of Cape Horn, it was occupied by a population, not numerous indeed, yet varied and active in its modes of life. And all these people were human. They belonged to the great family of man, and gave strong evidences of a common descent. All the shades of color, form and habit found among them proved nothing to contradict the revealed truth of a primitive pair—a man and a woman, united in marriage, and transmitting their blood and their traits of soul and body, original and acquired, to the millions coming from them.¹

Therefore, these aborigines of America came, primarily, from the Old World. When and how they came are questions which history has not answered. Their own traditions and legends on the subject are vague and puerile.² “One account brought their ancestors from the east, another from the west; the majority, however, concurred in asserting that the Indians were the aborigines, and sprang from the bowels of the earth.”³

There was no insurmountable physical obstacle to prevent their passage from the Old World to the New. A tradition yet existing in China says that in the year 217 B. C., a company of seamen, driven off shore by heavy and persistent winds, sailed many weeks and came to a great continent where grew the aloë and other plants, strangers to them, but which we recognize as natives of Mexico.⁴

At Behring Strait the great continent of Asia approaches within sixty miles of America. This was a passage easily made in good weather and under favoring conditions.

But, in truth, neither the Atlantic nor the Pacific Ocean was impassable by the ships of ancient days. We read in Hebrew history of a land of Ophir, known even in the days of the

¹ Pritchard and Prof. Cabell.

² Thalheimer's *Ecléc.* U. S., 9.

³ Blackburn & McDonald's *New U. S.*, 2.

⁴ Thalheimer, 10. *Times*, Va., September 12, 1890.

patriarch Job, and where gold was so abundant that the two kings, Solomon, of Judah and Israel, and Hiram, of Tyre, sent ships with the roughly trained ship-men "who had knowledge of the sea," and they came to Ophir and brought thence a treasure of gold amounting in value to more than eleven millions of dollars.¹ Gold, in that age, had a purchasing power probably thirty times greater than it has now. We have no historic light as to any land in the Old World capable of yielding such a sum in gold within a reasonable time. Peru and Mexico might possibly have done it. Columbus believed that Hispaniola was the ancient Ophir. The conjecture that Ophir was a region of Southern Africa is inconsistent with the scriptural statement that the voyage thither and back required three years.² Probably the ships of Solomon and Hiram visited both hemispheres in those long voyages.

We know, moreover, that within a century past, fifteen sailing vessels have been driven by storms, against the wishes of the navigators, across the whole expanse of the Pacific Ocean from Asia to America. How often such accidents may have occurred during the period of more than three thousand years from the flood to the discovery of America, we have no means of knowing. It is quite certain that a comparatively small number of men and women thus driven, or voluntarily coming, to this continent in ancient times would, under the ordinary laws of increase, have furnished all the population of America existing here at the end of the fifteenth century.³

Seventy-six Hebrews coming into Egypt about the year 1700 B. C. had, in a period of two hundred and thirty years, increased to more than two millions of souls.

And we know as history that the earlier races inhabiting America were not savages. The crude theory that the people of the earth were all originally savages, and that they have developed themselves into civilized beings by their own instincts and necessities, has been overthrown by experience and science. It was the theory of atheists and materialists in ancient times, and is held by few except their followers in our day.⁴ The great German historian Niebuhr denies any such theory, and holds "that all savages are the degenerate remnants of more civilized races, which had been overpowered by enemies and driven to take refuge in the woods, there to wander, seeking a precarious existence till they had forgotten most of the arts of

¹ First Kings ix. 27, 28; Job xxii. 24.

² First Kings x. 22.

³ Art. Cain: a speculation, *So. Pres. Review*, July, 1878, pp. 475-489.

⁴ Lucretius, *De Rer Natura*. Dr. Edward B. Tylor's *Prim. Culture*.

settled life and sunk into a wild state.”¹ In this view Archbishop Whately and the Duke of Argyll concur,² and all ascertained facts tend to prove its truth.

Among these facts none are stronger than those known or inferred from the evidences as to the ancient races inhabiting America. Coming as they did, either of their own accord or by irresistible casualties, from the ancient civilized people of the Old World, they brought civilization with them.

In Yucatan, within a radius of one hundred miles from the present town of Merida, are the ruins of more than sixty cities once magnificent, the grandest of which was Uxmal, which contained a lofty palace on a terrace five hundred and seventy-five feet long, and of which the stone remnants show high art and civilization.³ The Aztecs, whom Cortez, the Spanish conqueror, found in Mexico, and the Incas, who were overcome and almost annihilated by Pizarro and his successors in Peru, were populous nations, possessing splendid cities, great wealth, and a very high, though entirely unchristian, civilization.

Cortez, writing to the Emperor Charles V., from Cholula, in Mexico, says: “The inhabitants are better clothed than any we have hitherto seen. People in easy circumstances wear cloaks above their dresses. These cloaks differ from those of Africa, for they have pockets, though the cut, cloth and fringes are the same. The environs of the city are very fertile and well cultivated. Almost all the fields may be watered, and the city is much more beautiful than all those in Spain, for it is well fortified and built on level ground. I can assure your Highness that, from the top of a mosque I reckoned more than four hundred towers, all of mosques. The number of inhabitants is so great that there is not an inch of ground uncultivated.”⁴

And the civilization of the Peruvians in South America was higher than that of the Aztecs. The people were milder and gentler in their manners, and their religion did not have the savage feature of offering human sacrifices to idols, as that of the Mexicans did. Yet the very gentleness of these civilized races, their wealth and ease and comfort, had gradually worked to soften and enervate them, and to unfit them to overcome the small bands of mounted and mail-clad Spanish warriors who conquered them. The inhuman and unchristian cruelties practiced on them will forever cast a cloud over the fame of Spain.

¹ Niebuhr's *Römische Gesch.*, Part I., p. 88.

² Whately's *Orig. of Civil.* Argyll's *Prim. Man*, 34-50.

³ Narrative in *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. Dispatch, January 9, 1891.

⁴ From Prescott. A. H. Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 23.

Prior to the savage races inhabiting North America there was a civilized race known, in monumental history, as the "Mound Builders." The remains of their homes are found in Tennessee, Ohio, Mississippi and other parts of the West and South. They show distinct evidences of civilization, such as earthenware, pottery, urns, agricultural tools, knives, chisels, axes both of flint and copper, fortifications, wells and covered springs, which might avail for a besieged garrison. Some of these works are of great extent.¹

But in North America these civilized races faded away and disappeared, leaving only their few and scattered mounds and manufactures to speak for them. Evidently, war and the fierce passions which kindle war, and are kindled by war, were constantly at work.

And so, when Europeans began to settle North America, they found no human inhabitants save tribes of savages. These were found in every part of the country, existing under various names, such as the Algonquins, the Iroquois or Five Nations (to whom the Tuscaroras afterwards joined themselves, making the Six Nations), the Hurons, the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares, of whom the Mohicans were a tribe, the Cherokees and Chickasaws, the Choctaws, the Yemassee, the Seminoles, the Natchez tribe, the Sioux, the Pawnees and others, all of whom we shall meet, from time to time, in the progress of this history.

They differed in many traits from each other, and were engaged in almost constant war, tribe against tribe, and sometimes confederacy against confederacy. But they were all alike in some very important respects. They had no civilization worth the name. They cultivated, by the labor of their women, just so much open soil as would supply Indian corn and vegetables enough to supplement the fish, deer, bears and game-birds killed by the male hunters. The men despised honest labor, and considered war and hunting as the only pursuits worthy of men. They had no domestic animals or fowls—no herds, flocks, milch cows, tamed horses or swine.

It has been claimed by some historians that they had such virtues as hospitality and faithfulness to their promises, but these virtues were seldom exercised as facts. They were idle, revengeful, cruel, lying, treacherous and merciless. They delighted in torturing the weak and helpless. They were, with few exceptions, callous to the motives and appeals of the Christian faith.

¹ Blackburn & McDonald, 5, 6. Prof. Steele, Barnes' Brief U. S., 9-12.

There were not more than two hundred thousand of them in all the vast region bounded by the Atlantic, the Mississippi river, the Northern lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. That they had rights which the European settlers were bound to respect, cannot be denied. But, by the principles of international law and sound morality, they had no right to exclude agriculture and civilized settlement for the purpose of continuing the savage mode of living by hunting and war.¹ If willing to adopt Christianity, even in her lower forms, as a civilizer, they would have been preserved. But, as a fact, with few exceptions, they have resisted the claims of Christ and of humanity, and have thus, by inexorable law, brought extermination on themselves.

¹ Vattel's Law of Nations, ed. 1849, pp. 98-101

CHAPTER II.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

IT cannot be now affirmed as history that Christopher Columbus, supposed to be a native of Genoa, in Italy, was the first European who discovered America. If Ophir was in Mexico or Peru, some knowledge of the great Western Continent was possessed even by the sea-faring people of ancient Judea, Tyre and Sidon. About the year 300 B. C., Hanno, of Carthage, is said to have left the shores of Africa behind him, and sailed westward for thirty days. An undiscovered country, filled with mighty mountains and rivers, and peopled with a race of giants, was believed in by some of the deep thinkers of antiquity.¹

There is a tradition that Madoc, son of Owen Guyneth, Prince of North Wales, quarreled with his brothers concerning the division of their patrimony, and sailed west about the year A. D. 1170, "leaving the west of Ireland so far north that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things."² And it has been asserted that a dialect of the Welsh language has been detected by skilled linguists among the Indians of North Carolina;³ and Robert Southey, the English poet, has wrought this tradition into a long poem. Yet it has in it more of poetry than of truth.

But adequate historical evidence proves that Iceland, "the island of frost and flame," had been occupied for at least a hundred years by a hardy sea-race from Norway, when, in A. D. 985, Eric the Red, an Icelandic chief, discovered Greenland, and planted a colony of his countrymen on its southwestern shore. One of Eric's comrades, driven by adverse winds, descried the main-land of North America stretching far away to the southwest. The weather-beaten settlers of Greenland opened a trade with the Esquimaux, who occupied the coast and islands of America north of Labrador. The trade grew so prosperous that these Greenlanders paid a yearly tribute of two thousand six hundred pounds of walrus teeth to the Pontiff of Rome.⁴

¹ Blackburn & McDonald, 3.

² Hakluyt's *Voyages*, edit. 1600, III. 1. Belknap's *Am. Biog.*, I. 129.

³ Burk's *Hist. of Va.*, III. 84-87.

⁴ Thalheimer's *Eclec. U. S.*, 10.

In 1002 A. D., Lief, the son of Eric the Red, fitted out a ship in Norway, manned her with a crew of thirty-five bold seamen, and, after visiting his father at the Greenland settlement, sailed away southward and westward, discovered a region which he called *Helluland* (meaning Slateland), and which is now supposed to have been either Newfoundland or a part of Labrador, and advanced farther southward until he discovered the coasts of a country into which entrance seemed invited by the waters of a wide bay.¹ Here at the head of the bay his crew landed and built houses for shelter during the winter. But they landed in the autumn season, and such were the abundance and the richness of the wild grapes that hung in clusters everywhere from the vines clambering among the trees of the forests, that Lief gave the name "Vinland the Good" to the country. It was probably Rhode Island, though a careful student of all the visible land and water marks given believes it to have been a part of Nova Scotia.²

And even prior to Lief, the bold Icelandic navigators had discovered and explored the coast of North America. The Norsemen, inhabiting the region now covered by Norway, Sweden, (including Lapland), Denmark and Iceland, with her dependency Greenland, and designated in modern times by the name of "Scandinavia," were a strong, earnest, courageous and free race of mankind. The best elements of freedom, civil and religious, now possessed in some parts of Europe, in England, and in the United States, came from them. Their minds were active and inquiring. During the times known as the "dark ages," when the literature of Southern Europe consisted of nothing higher than monkish legends and fabulous lives of the saints, these Norsemen had, in their historical *sagas*, or written accounts of past events, a depository of truth, since collected and arranged, and entitled to as high credit as any of the earlier narratives of civilized nations.³

These Norsemen did not wait for ships to be furnished by their government. Between the years 985 and 1002 A. D., Bjarni Herjulf, in his own vessel and with his own brave crew, set out from Iceland, went first to Greenland, and thence entered the boisterous seas west of that great island, and explored the coasts of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Long Island, and probably coasted as far south as Florida.⁴

¹ *Antiquitates Amer.* A. H. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 17, 18.

² Prof. Gustav. Storm, Aarborger, 1887. *The Nation*, N. Y., January, 1891.

³ Prof. Ch. Christian Rafn's *Antiquitates Amer.*, Copenhagen, 1837. Humboldt's *Cosmos*. Malte Brun. Geog.

⁴ *Codex Flatoiensis*, Rafn's *Antiquitates Amer.* Icelandic Discoveries, Marie A. Brown, 1888, pp. 9, 151, 153.

After he returned to Iceland and told of his discoveries, Lief, the son of Eric the Red, went to him and bought his ship from him, and with thirty-five men set out on the voyage of 1002, which we have narrated first because it was followed by an actual building of houses and wintering in America.

Christopher Columbus is entitled to the credit of having deeply meditated on the question of the form of the earth, of having studied Plato and Aristotle, and all that was then known of the navigation of the seas and of the possibility of reaching land by sailing westward from Europe. But he is not entitled to the glory of being the discoverer of America in 1492, or at any other time. And from the false glory that has so long been ascribed to him, modern historical researches have taken away nearly all the brightest beams. We are now compelled by discovered truth to look on him as one so influenced by inherited religious beliefs, and so dominated by personal ambition and avarice, that he was willing deliberately to claim as his own the discovery of America, which, he knew, had been made nearly five hundred years before he sailed from Palos.

It is now known that the Norsemen had unwillingly accepted Christianity, in her perverted doctrines and forms, before Bjarni and Lief, son of Eric the Red, and a third navigator, Thorfinn Karlsefne, made their discoveries of the coast of North America and planted settlements there. These settlements had a life of at least three years.

During this time some of the ruder forms of Christianity had been established among the settlers in "Vinland the Good." The Roman church had learned of this discovery and settlement, and had appointed a bishop for Greenland and also one for Vinland. And Gudrid, the wife of Thorfinn Karlsefne, lived for three years in Vinland, and knew all about its discovery and settlement. She was a baptized Christian, and seems to have been a loving adherent of the Roman church. After her return from Vinland she visited Rome, and conversed with the Pontiff John XVII. and the holy fathers of the church there resident. To suppose that she did not make adequate statements as to this new land and all she had learned of it, is preposterous.¹

Moreover, in 1076 A. D. lived Adam Von Bramen, who left a written statement as to these discoveries, published with other historical narratives in 1579, in the city of Copenhagen, Denmark.² The policy of the church of Rome has ever been to pre-

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in Brown's *Icelandic Discoveries*, 69, 209.

² *Ibid.*, 69, 209.

serve in her archives all that could be used for the extension of her influence, both temporal and spiritual.

We have definite evidence that Columbus visited Iceland in the early spring of 1477. He was a navigator and had no difficulty in finding a ship wherein to make this voyage.¹ We have facts enough to justify the belief that he learned of these voyages to Vinland. In truth, a full account of them had been condensed from the historical *sagas* and committed to writing eighty years before his visit to Iceland.² To examine these records was in all human probability the definite object of his visit to Iceland. He came back with knowledge of the existence of a land which had been reached by sailing westward from Europe.

We have no certain information as to the time when Columbus returned from Iceland to his home, which was then in Portugal.³ But we know that it was not until after that momentous visit that he made his first serious application to any power for aid in ships and money to undertake his voyage of alleged discovery. No evidence has been discovered of his supposed propositions to his own native or adopted city of Genoa, or to Florence. His first application was to King John II. of Portugal, who, in his twenty-fifth year, ascended the throne in 1481, and who had imbibed the passion for discovery of his grand-uncle, Prince Henry, the navigator.

But the writings of the Rabbi Benjamin ben Jonah, of Tudela, who had visited the Jews of the East about the close of the twelfth century, and the accounts of the travels of Sir John Mandeville in the years from 1332 to 1372, and of the Venetian Marco Polo, who died about the year 1417, were all known to Columbus, and had furnished abundant food for his longings for the jewels of Cathay, and the gold and silver of Cipango, by which name he always designated the Zipangu of Marco Polo, described by him as lying fifteen hundred miles from the shores of Mangi, or China, and now generally supposed to be the group of beautiful Pacific islands called Japan.⁴ It is worthy of note that these works of Mandeville and Polo, though at one time thought by many to be mere tissues of fable and falsehood, have given an account of the regions they visited which was in substance accurate and true.

But the student of history will observe that, though Columbus, in his applications for ships and money, gave speculative and partly scientific reasons for his belief that these rich regions could

¹ Irving's *Life of Columbus*, narrative of his son, I. 59, III. 356.

² *Icelandic Discoveries*, 67-69. ³ Irving's *Columbus*, I. 41-43.

⁴ Irving's *Columbus*, I. 57-61. Appendix, III. 384-399.

be reached by a voyage westwardly from Europe, and exhibited a map drawn by the skillful geographer Paulo Toscanelli, of Florence, projected chiefly from the writings of Ptolemy and Marco Polo, yet he never at that time made mention of his voyage to Iceland in 1477, and of what he had learned there concerning the voyages of the Norsemen to Vinland and the coast of North America. He always claimed as his own the discovery of the New World.¹

We are thus compelled to review the past estimates of his character, and to ascertain whether proved facts exhibit him as a man too high in nature and honor to yield to the temptations to such concealment.

In our own times he has been lauded as "the immortal discoverer of America," and as one destined in the near future to be "solemnly enrolled on the glorious catalogue of the canonized saints."² But calm observers have discovered evidences of traits of character in Columbus not such as Holy Scripture requires in the saint.

It is certain that he was "a practiced slave-dealer," and that he made to the sovereigns of Spain the following business suggestion: "Considering what great need we have of cattle and of beasts of burthen, both for food and to assist the settlers on this and all these islands, both for peopling the land and for cultivating the soil, their Highnesses might authorize a suitable number of caravels to come here every year to bring over the said cattle and provisions and other articles; these cattle might be sold at moderate prices for account of the bearers, and the latter might be paid *with slaves* taken from among the Caribbees, who are a wild people, fit for any work, well proportioned and very intelligent, and who, when they have got rid of the evil habits to which they have become accustomed, will be better than any other kind of slaves."³

And it is certain that, in Hispaniola, Columbus sought to reduce the natives to a condition of serfdom worse than any feudal slavery.⁴ In 1494 he sent from Hispaniola to Spain five hundred unhappy Indians whom he had taken as captives, and he accompanied the shipment with the suggestion that they should be sold as slaves at Seville.⁵

He was so avaricious and money-loving that his demands as to the country he proposed to "discover" operated strongly to dis-

¹ Prescott and Irving both so testify.

² J. J. Barry, *Life of Columbus*. Brown's *Icelandic Discoveries*, 5.

³ Letter of Columbus, in Arthur Help's *Life of Columbus*. *Icelandic Discoveries*, 4.

⁴ Irving's Columbus, II. 214. ⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 40-42.

courage the King of Portugal from efforts to fit out the ships he asked for, and, with other causes, led to the discreditable attempt of the Portuguese authorities presently to be mentioned.

Fernando was the son of Columbus, born in Cordova about 1487, but not born in wedlock. His mother (Beatrice Enriquez) was never married to the great navigator, and her relations with him do not strengthen the claim of his saintship.¹ But Fernando admired his father, and has written a life of him which honestly discloses many of his governing traits.

It was written years after the death of the father, and is, for reasons not difficult to discover, almost entirely silent as to the long period of fifty-six years of the life of Columbus which passed before his voyage from Palos. It is in Fernando's narrative that we first hear of the visit of Columbus to Iceland. And that same narrative tells us that John II. of Portugal was so discouraged by the cost and trouble of attempts to explore the route by the African coast, and by the very high honors and money rewards which Columbus demanded, that he did not employ him. "Columbus, being a man of lofty and noble sentiments, demanded high and honorable titles and rewards, to the end," says Fernando, "that he might leave behind him a name and family worthy of his deeds and merits."²

When he applied to the sovereigns of Castile and Arragon, in Spain, the same difficulty long delayed his negotiation. No satisfactory explanation of these high money claims of Columbus can be given, except his own personal cupidity and his knowledge of the voyages of Eric, Bjarni and Karlsefne to the coast of the New World which he proposed to "discover." And we know from authentic history that finally his exorbitant claims were granted. They were, in substance, that he should be admiral of all the seas and countries to which he went; that he should be viceroy of all the continents and islands of those seas; that he should have a tenth part of the profits of all merchandise, be it pearls, jewels, or any other things that should be found, gained, bought, or exported from the countries he should discover; that he should be sole judge in all mercantile matters; and that he should have the right, on contributing an eighth of the expense of all ships and traffic, to receive an eighth of all their profits.³

All these facts exhibit Columbus in his true character. He was devoutly subject to the creed and influence of the Roman church. But he was cautious, secretive and money-loving. He did not

¹ Irving's Columbus, III. 310. Appendix III.

² Fernando Columbus, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 10. Irving, I. 64.

³ Summing up in Arthur Helps' Life of Columbus. Icelandic Discoveries, 110

shrink from claiming as his own a discovery made by others some centuries before he was born.

But Columbus deserves the credit of a courage and zeal far beyond the standard of his age. In the times just before he sailed in 1492, people generally believed that the undiscovered region in the Atlantic beyond the Canaries and the Azores was a discouraging waste of stormy waters, clouds and vapors, where gorgons, hydras, and frightful monsters would be encountered, and from which no navigator who entered among them could expect to return alive. The very maps drawn at that time repeated the ancient figures of demons and terrific animals guarding the undiscovered wastes, and threatening with death all who approached them.¹

Columbus did not expect to find a separate western continent, nor did he, to the day of his death, believe he had discovered such a continent. His visions were all of the East Indies, Cathay, Tartary and Cipango, to which Marco Polo and Mandeville had invited his thoughts. His repeated voyages on the high seas, and especially on those surrounding Iceland, had dissipated all fears of griffins and hydra-headed monsters. He was full of his plan and certain of a western land, and he needed only the means to carry out his voyage and to insure its results, by the protection of some powerful European sovereign.

King John II. of Portugal suffered himself to be seduced into an enterprise of dishonesty and bad faith to Columbus, which speedily recoiled on the heads of the inventors. Having heard all his statements and received a sketch of the map copied from the drawing of Toscanelli, of Florence, the court of Portugal secretly equipped and sent out a ship to sail westward from the Cape Verde Islands. This caravel stood westward from those islands many days, but the weather became stormy, and the pilots saw nothing before them but a tumbling waste of waters. They lost courage and were glad to make their way back to Portugal, where they sought to cover the shame of their failure by ridiculing the ideas of the thoughtful and patient Genoese navigator.²

Columbus next applied to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. His devout zeal and enthusiasm moved the queen deeply from the beginning; but the king was colder, and referred the matter to his advisers, most of whom were learned men and dignitaries of the church. They speedily reported that the plan was heretical,

¹ Swinton's Condensed School U. S., map, p. 23.

² Hist. del Almirante, cap. 8. Herrera, decad. I., lib. I., cap. 7. Irving, I. 68. Prof. Steele, Barnes' U. S., 21,

visionary, and physically impracticable. They thought that the theory that the earth was globular in form was contrary to Holy Scripture, which frequently spake of the four corners of the earth.¹ They urged, also, that it was absurd to believe that there were people on the other side of the earth walking with their heels upward and their heads hanging downward; and that the torrid zone through which the navigator must pass was a region of fire, where the very waves boiled. They met the theories of Columbus by opposing to them the words of Lactantius;² and they ended the argument by insisting that, even if the earth was round, yet if a ship sailed down the globular incline she never could sail back.³ Thus by unsound interpretation and false science the settlement of America was threatened with indefinite postponement.

But the intuitions of woman triumphed when the reason, religious doubts, and science of man all failed. Queen Isabella promised to pledge and sell her jewels, if needed, for the outfit and expenses of the ships of discovery. The result has been told in history in many glowing forms.

Columbus sailed from Palos, in Spain, August 3d, 1492, with three ships—the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta* and the *Nina*—all very small, and none full-decked except the first named. He triumphed over all the superstitions and mutinies of his crews. Signs of land began to encourage him. A staff, evidently carved by the hand of man, and a branch of thorn with fresh, bright berries floated near him. On the night of the 11th of October, Columbus himself, from the deck of his ship, saw a light at a distance rising and falling as if borne by some one walking; and before morning the glad cry, "Land! Land!" was heard from the look-out of the *Pinta*. The dawn disclosed the fair island of San Salvador spread out in green loveliness and tranquillity before their eyes. They had discovered one of the Bahama group—the outposts of the American continent.

They soon found it was inhabited, but the gentle islanders made no sign of hostility. On the 12th day of October, 1492, Columbus, arrayed in a splendid robe of scarlet, with sword in hand, and surrounded by the higher officers of his command, landed from his boats. He immediately prostrated himself on the beach and kissed the ground, with tears which he could not suppress, and with thanksgivings which rose from the bottom of his heart. Then, directing the royal ensign to be unfolded, he

¹ Revelation vii. 1; Jeremiah ix. 25, 26; xxv. 23; xlix. 32.

² Lactant. Div. Instit., lib. III., cap. 24.

³ Hist. del Almirante, cap. 11. Irving, I. 88, 89. Prof. Steele, Barnes' U. S., 21, 22.

took possession of the land in the name of the King and Queen of Spain. His crew, who had been plotting a few days before to cast him into the sea, now bowed to him as viceroy, and almost worshiped him as more than human.¹

Columbus believed that he had come to the Indies by a western route. He called the people Indians, and by this name the aborigines of America have been known ever since. He and his crews soon began to inquire for gold. This was their objective point: discovery first—gold next—the welfare of the Indians last of all; in truth, an entirely remote and insignificant thought, hardly held before the mind's eye at all amid the intoxicating visions of the new discovery.

The Indians were already beginning to know and dread them. They told the Spaniards, by words and signs, that gold was to be found in islands and regions to the south and west.

And so Columbus sailed on and discovered Cuba and Hayti, to the last named of which he gave the name Hispaniola—"the little Spain." Leaving on this large and fertile island four officers and thirty-five men to colonize and to look for gold, he sailed for Spain on the 14th day of January, 1493. He encountered a terrible storm, during which he sealed up in wax, secured in a water-proof cask, a brief account of his voyage and discovery, and threw it overboard. But his ships survived the storm, and when his return was known the nation took holiday; the bells were rung and cannon were fired. The king and queen were full of amazement and triumph, and when Columbus gave his narrative, and exhibited the natives and the products of the New World, the monarchs bowed their heads in adoration and thanksgiving. They looked on all these fair regions as part of their royal domain.

Columbus sailed from Cadiz on his second voyage with a formidable fleet of seventeen vessels and fifteen hundred men. On reaching Hayti, he found that the natives, provoked beyond endurance by the insolence, licentiousness and cruelty of his thirty-nine Spaniards, had put some of them to death, and the others had perished by disease or conflicts with each other.² Columbus erected a fort and tried to establish a new colony. He then sailed again, discovering Jamaica and the surrounding islands. But his sailors began to tire of a life of restraint. They had come, expecting to find gold mines and valleys of diamonds. Complaints were made to Spain, and an unfriendly emissary was

¹ Irving, I. 155, 156. Goodrich Pict. U. S., 24-25. Blackburn & McDonald's U. S., 21.

² Irving's Columbus, I. 326-329.

sent to investigate the management of Columbus; but Columbus returned to Spain, and pleaded his own cause so well that he was fully restored to royal favor.

He made his third voyage in 1498. In this he discovered the coast of South America. Touching at Trinidad, he returned to Hispaniola. Here he applied his best powers to regulating the colony. And here he experienced the heart-breaking trial of his life. One Bovadilla came from Spain with authority to supersede Columbus, and investigate his administration. The result is known. History shrinks from recording it, but must tell the truth. Columbus was sent in chains back to Spain. He refused to have them removed, and wore them into the presence of the court. He was acquitted, and the king sought to relieve his sense of injury by new honors, although he was not again intrusted with the authority of viceroy in the New World.

Columbus made his fourth voyage to America, and was shipwrecked in June 1503 on the coast of the island of Jamaica. His ships, being worm-eaten and unable to keep the seas, after a long-continued storm, were run ashore to save them from sinking.¹ He returned to Spain and to a series of soul-wearing disappointments.

He died at Valladolid on the 20th May, 1506, in his seventy-first year. His chains were buried with him. His remains are said to have been removed first to the Carthusian monastery of Seville, where King Ferdinand erected a monument bearing the gracious inscription, "To Castile and Leon, Colon gave a New World." It is believed that his body was afterwards removed to the Cathedral of Havana, in Cuba, and rests there still. But a singular historic doubt exists whether the body removed and re-interred was really his.² The life and death and final resting-place of the reputed discoverer of the New World are all shrouded in gloom.

¹ Fern. Columbus. *Hist. del Almirante*, cap. 100. Irving, II. 373-375.

² Quackenbos' *School U. S.*, 50. Prof. Steele, *Earnes' U. S.*, note 24.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES—HOW AMERICA GAINED HER NAME.

A LONG period—not less than seventy-three years—passed between the discovery of San Salvador by Columbus and the first permanent settlement made by the Spaniards on the mainland of North America. This was on a river in Florida, by Pedro Melendez, and was called Saint Augustine, in honor of the day of his landing in 1565. This is the oldest town in the United States, although Santa Fé, in New Mexico, is supposed by some to have been settled about the same time.¹ The best established date for the settlement of Santa Fé is 1582. A very old gateway and many other venerable relics of Spanish times are viewed with interest by visitors to Saint Augustine.

It was by a happy and providential disposition of causes and effects that Spain did not colonize North America. The condition of Mexico, Peru and other American States, when compared with the North American Republic, will indicate the ever-widening difference which would have resulted from Spanish occupation. We must look to the facts which led to this result.

When the discoveries of Columbus became known, all the maritime powers of Europe were moved, and the first and greatest hope of all was gold. Gold and silver had long been the established basis of money. Diamonds, pearls, jewels of all kinds, were chiefly valued because they could be readily converted, by sale, into gold and silver coin. Money was the universal solvent, as it has been ever since, and is now.

Spain led the way in her greed for gold. The planting of colonies was only a means to an end, and a means entirely secondary and subordinate. Hence, all her efforts were directed to obtaining and sending home gold and silver to the mother country; and she was, to a vast extent, successful. But her success resulted in her ruin.

All the colonies planted in Hispaniola and the other West India islands by Columbus, his comrades and successors, were

¹Thalheimer's *Eclée. U. S.*, note 13, p. 34.

planted for the purpose of seeking and working gold and silver mines, and sustaining with food the workers of those mines until the full results of their labor could be realized. Columbus entered into this plan with as much zeal and spirit as the native Spaniards, from the king and queen down to soldiers, sailors, merchants, agriculturists and laborers. The first result of this gold-worship by Spain and her great adopted discoverer was that he lost the honor of giving his name to the Western Continent.

Amerigo Vespucci was a native of Florence, born March 9th, 1451, of a noble, though not a wealthy family.¹ Whatever other foibles he may have had, an absorbing desire for wealth does not seem to have been one of them. He never imitated Columbus in seeking the highest command in order that "he should be entitled to reserve for himself one-tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and all other articles and merchandises, *in whatever manner* found, bought, bartered or gained within his admiralty, the cost being first deducted."²

Amerigo was a thoughtful, learned and scientific man. He was an accomplished navigator and explorer. He considered more the soil, fertility and adaptation for the colonizing of a new country, than the question what gold and silver mines it had, and by what cruel means its natives could be forced to work these mines for the joint emolument of king and admiral.

He was acquainted with Columbus and enjoyed his confidence.³ He never sought nor obtained the highest command in his voyages of discovery. If his own express affirmation can be trusted, he discovered and visited the South American continent before Columbus ever saw it. In his letter to René, Duke of Lorraine, who also claimed to be King of Sicily and Jerusalem, Vespucci says: "We departed from the port of Cadiz, May 20th, 1497, taking our course on the great Gulf of Ocean; in which voyage we employed eighteen months, discovering many lands and innumerable islands, chiefly inhabited, of which our ancestors make no mention."⁴

A duplicate of this letter was sent also by Vespucci to Piero Soderini, afterwards Gonfalonier of Florence. He had been tutor both to Duke René and to Soderini, and it was a natural impulse to give to each of his loved pupils his own interesting account of this voyage and of the country he alluded to, which was undoubtedly the continent of South America. Neither could he

¹ Irving's Columbus, III. 330. Appendix X.

² Articles between Columbus and the Spanish sovereigns, Irving, I. 115.

³ Letter of Columbus to Diego, his son, Irving, Appendix III., 335.

⁴ Irving, III. 337. Appendix.

have had any motive for an attempt to wrest from Columbus the fame of discovery; for, in his first voyage, in 1492, Columbus had discovered Cuba, but had not discovered that it was only an island; and he believed, and Vespucci and all the attentive world then believed, that Cuba was the eastern part of a continent. Cuba was not circumnavigated until A. D. 1508, two years after the death of Columbus.

But even if history should establish the contention which has been already made, that this alleged voyage of Vespucci in 1497 never took place,¹ yet it is certain that he accompanied the great Spanish navigator Alonzo de Ojeda in his voyage in 1499 to the coast of South America. They visited Paria, which was the part of the American coast seen by Columbus in 1498. They then sailed along and carefully surveyed several hundred miles of the coast, and ascertained beyond question that the land was *terra firma* and part of a great continent distinct from the continents of the Eastern Hemisphere. On these points, Columbus never ascertained the truth.

Returning in June, 1500, Amerigo Vespucci wrote a narrative of the voyage and of the countries discovered, their climate, soil, productions, fertility, rivers and mountains, their advantages for colonizing, their inhabitants, and the scientific reasons for his belief that it was a new world. He afterwards wrote to Lorenzo de Medici other narratives of his voyages and discoveries; and when these were successively published—some in Germany, some in Italy—they produced such an impression on the people able to read them, and on all who heard of their contents, that, with remarkable accord, the name of “America” was given to the New World.

It has ever since retained it, nor is there any reason to believe that it will be changed. The suggestions of another origin for the name have no historic basis.² The feeling in favor of naming the land from Columbus has been poetic and fanciful rather than rational. Nevertheless, his name has been perpetuated in a large region of South America and in the District holding the capital city of the North American Republic.

But neither Columbus nor Amerigo Vespucci was the discoverer, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, of the continent of America. While the patient Genoese was seeking to obtain aid from the sovereigns of Portugal and Spain, he sent his brother Bartholomew to lay his ideas and plans before Henry VII. of

¹ Irving, III. 338-345.

² By Geographical Society of Berlin, May, 1891, in Phila. Pres., June 3d, 1891.

England. Bartholomew was captured by pirates and long detained. Had he reached the English court in time, the fleet of discovery under Columbus might have sailed from England instead of Spain. The English people were deeply moved by the news of the discovery, and their sovereign looked with favor on efforts to open and explore the New World.

John Cabot was a native of Venice, and was there known as Giovanni Gaboto. He came to England, and was for some time a merchant of Bristol. In union with others, he fitted out four small barks, and these, with one ship furnished by the king, "composed the frail fleet that prepared to buffet the waves of the northern Atlantic." On the 5th of March, 1496, Henry granted to John Cabot and his sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctius, a patent, which is "the most ancient American state paper of England."¹ It grants to the Cabot family power "to sail in all parts of east, west and north, under the royal banners and ensigns; to discover countries of the heathen unknown to Christians; to set up the king's banners; to occupy and possess, as his subjects, such places as they could subdue, giving them the rule and jurisdiction of the same, to be holden on condition of paying to the king, as often as they should arrive at Bristol (at which place only they were permitted to arrive), in wares and merchandise, one-fifth part of all their gains, with exemption from all customs and duties on such merchandise as should be brought from their discoveries."

The reason why the "south" was omitted in the designation of parts "east, west and north," was that John Cabot knew so much of true geography as enabled him to urge that, as the meridian lines neared each other at the poles, the shortest track from England to the Indies must be by the north polar seas."²

In May, 1497, John Cabot and his heroic son Sebastian sailed on their voyage of discovery. Visions of gold and gems on the soil of Cathay were floating in their brains, and they steered a northwest course. On the 24th of June they saw Newfoundland. Within a few days thereafter, steering northward, they made the American coast in the latitude of fifty-six degrees. The cliffs of Labrador were cold and forbidding. They soon resumed their voyage, coasting along America, probably to the latitude of Virginia, and possibly even to that of Florida, and returned to England, bringing back to King Henry three savages and two wild turkeys.³

¹ Hazard's State Papers, I. 9.

² Professor Steele, Barnes' U. S., 25.

³ Quackenbos, p. 52.

When he had reached the coast of Labrador, John Cabot thought he had come to the dominions of the "Great Cham," King of Tartary. Therefore, as this was "a heathen land," he set up the banner of England and took solemn possession in the name of the king.¹

In 1498 his son, Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol, under a patent from the king, made another voyage full of dangers, penetrated as far north as sixty-seven and a half degrees on the coast of America, sailed thence down the coast as far as Chesapeake Bay, which he entered and partly explored, sailed thence southwardly, certainly as far as Cape Hatteras, and probably four degrees farther south, took possession of all the country in the name of England, and then returned to Bristol.²

As far, therefore, as the mere fact of discovery availed, by the laws of nations, to give title to North America, England had that title, and she claimed it. The remark of an eminent historian, who, after recounting the voyages of the Cabots, especially of Sebastian, says: "In 1497 he coasted its shores from Labrador to Florida; yet the English have never set up any pretensions on his account," is a strange mistake, probably suggested by his great admiration for Columbus.³

The right given by discovery is, and always has been, a very imperfect right, limited by the ability of the country claiming it to colonize and settle the country, and to maintain the settlement by force of arms. Spain, however, attempted to fortify her title by the decree of a religious power. By successive bulls the Roman Pontiffs Nicholas V. and Alexander VI. divided all the heathen world, discovered or discoverable, between Portugal and Spain. The bull of Alexander VI. (who was one of the Borgia family, and natural father, though only reputed uncle, of Cæsar and Lucretia Borgia) is dated May 4th, 1493. It gives to Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile and Arragon, "all islands and continents (*terras firmas*) found or to be found west of a line from pole to pole at a hundred leagues to the west of the Azores, excepting only what might be in possession of some other Christian prince before the year 1493."⁴

Had this arrogant grant been recognized as valid by the other Christian states of the earth, the future of America would have been dark with ignorance, oppressed by superstition and religious tyranny, and permanently enfeebled by the worst forms of the old civilization. It was not to be so.

¹ Prof. Steele, Barnes' U. S., 25.

² Quackenbos, 52. Irving's Columbus, III. 345. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 27. B. & M., 24.

³ Irving, III. 345. Appendix X. ⁴ Vattel's Law of Nations, 99, 100.

CHAPTER IV.

SPAIN, SLAVERY AND GOLD.

ALTHOUGH Spain was slow in colonizing the American continent, she was keen and eager in enterprises and expeditions to seek gold and silver.

She established temporary colonies in Hispaniola, Cuba, and all the other islands discovered, which had gold either in the washings of the streams or in mines; and with persistent and unchristian cruelty she compelled the natives to work the mines and bring out the gold. Her officers, soldiers and colonists used whips, chains, knives and fire-arms to compel this labor. The unhappy Indians found no relief except in death. They sank down and died in hundreds before the eyes of their oppressors.¹ One million two hundred thousand natives are said to have been destroyed in a few years in Hispaniola alone.²

To supply their places and continue the labors of the mines and the needed agriculture, the Spaniards introduced negroes from Africa into the islands of the West Indies. Under what motives and influences they were brought in will be a subject for further inquiry. They soon proved themselves to be adapted to labor in the sun and in the hot, though often moist, climates of those islands. Instead of sinking down and dying under slavery as the Indians did, these negroes constantly increased, partly by other cargoes brought in by slave-traders from Africa, but chiefly by natural propagation. Work did not check this, and having little or no sense of humiliation, no cares for the future, and generally abundant supplies of food from the tamed swine, beef, fish, Indian corn and vegetables of those genial regions, they grew fast in numbers and became a permanent part of populations and regions in which none of them had existed prior to 1492.

Columbus actively urged on this work. He had received from the hospitality of the Chief Guacanagari and five tributary caciques a solid coronet of gold and enormous quantities of this precious metal.³ This only increased his avarice. He con-

¹ Robertson, Irving, *Las Casas*, *passim*.

² David B. Scott's *United States*, Harper's edit., 29.

³ Irving's *Columbus*, I. 221.

sidered Hispaniola as in the status of a conquered province, reduced the Indians to the condition of villeins, serfs and slaves, and exacted cruel labors from them.¹ And in 1494, when he dispatched four ships back to Spain under the command of Antonio De Torres, he sent more than five hundred Indian prisoners, all seized without crime or provocation on their part, and wrote a letter advising that they should all be sold as slaves at Seville.²

Within a century after the discovery of San Salvador ("the Holy Saviour"), the Spaniards had pushed their enterprises for obtaining gold into many parts of the American world; and everywhere they were attended by the same conditions of unprovoked, relentless, merciless inhumanity to the native Indians and to all others whom they encountered and who had not strength enough to resist them. The period which saw Spain most powerful in arms, widest in influence, and richest in gold and silver and all other possessions which constitute wealth, was the period from the success of Columbus to the year 1598 A. D., when the imbecile and fanatical Philip III. (born from the fourth marriage of his father, Philip II.) commenced his reign of twenty-three years, at the end of which he died and left Spain already weak and decaying.

That highest period was covered by the closing of the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, the reign of the Emperor Charles V., and part of that of his son, Philip II. It was the period in which was best illustrated in all the history of the world the combined result of bigotry in religion, unchecked power in the sovereign, slavery in the people, cruelty and torture in the name of the merciful Son of God, and a love of gold and the pomp and power which gold can obtain, that stopped at no measures for the accomplishment of its purposes.

The Roman church cannot be held responsible for the sins of Spain. On the contrary, she often denounced them and forbade them by all her spiritual authority. And the most expensive and ruinous wars which Charles V. carried on were either against the temporal power of the Roman church herself, or against those whom she was able to enlist as her allies.³

But the sovereigns of Spain and her people were alike excited by the discoveries of Columbus. They began to prepare ships and send out expeditions, though seldom with any higher motive than gold.

¹ Art. Slavery, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 707. Irving, II. 213.

² Irving's Life of Columbus, II. 40, 41. Chap. II, herein.

³ Art. Spain, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 812. Robertson's Charles V.

One exception to this motive was found in the case of Ponce de Leon. He was a Spanish cavalier of rank and courage. Disappointed in some of his plans and growing old, he began to dream over a fabled "fountain of youth" of which he had heard as really existing on the American continent. He sailed from Porto Rico in 1513, and on Easter Day, which the Spaniards called *Pascua Florida*, "the feast of flowers," he came in sight of the land which he called Florida.¹ But he found no youth-restoring fountain—only warlike Indians, who fought him and his crew with persistence. In a few years afterwards he renewed his attempt, and in battle with the natives he received a mortal wound. He was carried back to Cuba, where he died.²

Vasco Nunez de Balboa was a descendant from a noble, though impoverished, Spanish family, but had become an insolvent outlaw in Hispaniola, who, to escape his creditors and the law, concealed himself in a cask, which he caused to be put aboard a vessel bound for the coast of Darien. When at sea he knocked out the head of the cask and appeared before the captain and crew.³ He was a bold and powerful man, and they readily received him as a comrade.

The vessel was wrecked on the coast of Darien. Balboa and most of the crew escaped. He put himself at their head, and soon gained commanding influence over the Indians, who supplied his wants and brought him gold. They told him of a great ocean on the other side of the isthmus. He followed their guidance, and, coming to a lofty mountain ridge, he saw, for the first time, the vast ocean of the West, since known as the Pacific. He and his followers were thrilled with joy and admiration. This was in September, 1513.

Hastening down to the beach, he drew his sword, and holding in his left hand the flag of his country and in his right the brandished sword, and wading up to his knees in the surf, he solemnly claimed all this great ocean, with its islands and all continents adjoining it, in the name of his master, the King of Spain, and swore to defend them.⁴ History presents no better commentary than this on the imperfect and limited nature of all rights founded on mere discovery. Here was an outlaw, ostracized by Spain, discovering, by a series of casualties, the vast Pacific Ocean, and yet seriously claiming that, by virtue of his dis-

¹ Venable's United States, 11. Peter Martyr, cap. 10. Bancroft, I. 32, 33.

² Thalheimer's Eclectic U. S., 27.

³ Goodrich's Child's Pict. U. S., 30, 31. Irving's Comp. of Columbus, III. 115, 116.

⁴ Note in Thalheimer's Eclectic U. S., 23. Irving's Columbus, III. 169-177.

covery, more than half the world belonged to Spain! Discovery vests no right unless seasonably followed by permanent colonization and possession. Balboa was executed by decapitation in 1517, at Acla of Darien, under the cruel and jealous rule of the Spaniard Pedrarias.¹

In 1517 Cordova discovered Mexico, and explored the northern coast of Yucatan.

In 1519 Hernando Cortez, a Spanish soldier of high birth and undaunted courage, united with a deliberate tenacity of purpose which knew no relenting and hesitated at no deed of blood and cruelty, undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Mexico, over which Montezuma then reigned. Cortez had only six hundred soldiers, cavalry and infantry. But the Spanish soldiers were then, man for man, the most formidable in the world. In three campaigns of three successive years the work was done. A dynasty of centuries was dethroned. A teeming population was subjugated. Mexico, with her wealth in gold and silver and mountains and rich lands, was a province of Spain.

In 1529, Pizarro and Almagro, with forces equally small comparatively, overthrew the empire of the Incas, and added Peru and its dependencies to the dominion of Spain. We look now with wonder on these successes, in which a few hundred armed men, aided by courage, cruelty and fraud without bounds, subdued great kingdoms containing millions of people. But in their fall they turned Spain into her downward road.

From Mexico Spanish explorers passed into the region north of her on the Pacific, to which the name of California was given, probably from a fabled Amazon queen of that name, who was introduced as a character in an old romance of the times of the Crusaders, which had survived to the days of Columbus and Cortez, and which they both delighted to read.² In 1542 the Spanish navigator Cabrillo sailed up this coast as high as to latitude 44°, and in 1582 the town of Santa Fé was established, under Espejo, in New Mexico.

In August, 1519, Fernando Magellan, a native of Portugal, but in the employ of Spain, sailed from Seville on the first voyage of circumnavigation of the world. In October, 1520, he passed through the straits, since known by his name, between South America and the island of Terra del Fuego, and came out into the great ocean which, by reason of its tranquillity, he called the Pacific. He lost his life in an encounter with the Philippine

¹ Oviedo Hist. Ind., II., cap. 9, MS. Irving's Comp. of Columbus, III. 245.

² Swinton's Condensed U. S., p. 13.

islanders in April, 1521. One of his ships reached Spain in September, 1522.

Narvaez, a Spanish officer of high rank, believed that Florida was the richest of countries, and in 1528 sailed on an expedition for its conquest. He was disastrously defeated by the Indians, and perished with all his followers except four, who, wandering in the woods and across the continent, reached, in six years, the Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast.¹

But the most interesting of all these expeditions was that of Ferdinand De Soto. He was born of noble family in Estremadura, in 1496. He was distinguished in scholarship and athletic sports. In 1528, he explored the coasts of Yucatan and Guatemala for seven hundred miles, believing he could find a navigable strait from ocean to ocean. He went with Pizarro to Peru, and was prominent in the conquest. Returning with an immense fortune, he was favorably received by Charles V., who, at his request, granted him permission to conquer and occupy Florida, which De Soto believed to be a land of boundless riches.

He fitted out, at his own expense, a fleet of nine vessels, and sailed by way of Havana in 1539. Besides his six hundred followers, he had three hundred horses and a very great stock of hogs, with a number of blood-hounds, which were to be used in hunting down fugitives and Indians.

On the 30th of May, 1539, his expedition, in jubilant spirits, landed at Tampa Bay. Thence, for more than three years, he marched through the region now covered by the States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, fighting Indians, cruelly treating those who submitted, contending with forests, swamps and rivers, often beset by fevers and agues, constantly seeking for gold and as constantly finding it not. The dim visions raised by native narratives and falsehoods faded from his eyes, leaving only disappointment and gloom.

In 1541 he reached the huge Mississippi river near the present site of Memphis, and wondered at its turbid and rushing torrent. This event was memorable in history, and has been preserved for the eye in a fine painting which adorns the rotunda of the Capitol of the United States. He crossed the river, still in pursuit of the golden phantom. He wandered with his diminished band in the region now known as Arkansas. Traditions of gold mines in the White River valley, once worked by Spaniards, yet linger in that region.²

¹ Derry's United States, 20.

² Letter in St. Louis Globe-Democrat. Dispatch, Richmond, Va., July 5th, 1889.

Worn out with disappointment, exposure and disease, De Soto returned with his followers to the banks of the Mississippi near the site of the present town of Natchez. His band was no longer strong, either in numbers or equipment, and when he attempted to impose upon the Indians the idea that the whites were of Divine origin, the natives were as ready for war as for peace. Their chief answered to De Soto: "You say you are the children of the Sun. Dry up this river, and I will believe you."¹

In May, 1542, Ferdinand De Soto died. To prevent the final fading of the attempted illusion among the Indians, his body was wrapped in his mantle, and while the priests chanted in low tones a requiem, it was sunk beneath the waters of the mighty river he had discovered. After many dangers, a small number of his followers descended the Mississippi in boats hurriedly prepared, and about half the original number finally reached the Mexican coast, still alive, indeed, but broken in health and spirits, without gold and without the dreams of wealth which had brought them to Tampa Bay.²

A settlement of Huguenots from France was attempted in 1562, under the patronage of Admiral Coligny. With difficulty he obtained permission to found in America a refuge for French Protestants. John Ribault commanded the immigrants. A part of them settled first at Port Royal harbor (now in South Carolina), and in honor of King Charles IX. of France they gave the name of Carolina to their fort. Thus it was Carolus of France, and not Carolus of England, whose name has been perpetuated in these American States.³ This intended colony, after much suffering from hunger and disease, returned to France.

But another part, under Laudonnière, had settled on the St. John's river, in Florida. Here they encountered a fate which history records against Spain.

Philip II., a monarch whose reign includes all that is odious in the Inquisition—the burning of Protestants in his own country, and the butchery of Protestants, year after year, in the Netherlands—hearing of the settlement of the harmless little band on the St. John's, took measures to destroy them. He commissioned Pedro Melendez for the work, and could not have selected a more suitable instrument.

Melendez, after founding St. Augustine in 1565, as we have seen, prepared to attack the Huguenots. Ribault, then commanding them, expected his attack from the sea, and prepared accord-

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 57, 58.

² *Ibid.*, 59.

³ Derry's U. S., 21. Anderson's Gram. School U. S., 13.

ingly. But Melendez advanced by land with a force too strong to be resisted. After some fighting, the Frenchmen surrendered on the faith of an express promise that their lives should be spared. But the false and remorseless Spanish leader caused them all to be hanged, and on the trees on which they were executed he placed an inscription: "I do this, not as unto Frenchmen, but as unto Lutherans and heretics."

When this atrocious outrage became known in France it excited horror and indignation. The abject king (Charles IX.) took no steps to avenge it; but it was not to rest unavenged.

In 1568 Dominic de Gourgues, a French officer of the province of Gascony, attacked the Spaniards in Florida, and at the head of his victorious troops recaptured Fort Carolina, and captured two other forts with their surviving garrisons. He hung up all the Spaniards on trees until they were dead, and over their dead bodies he caused inscriptions to be nailed, to this effect: "I do this, not as unto Spaniards, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers."¹

And this was only the beginning, the foretaste, of the retribution which Spain was bringing on herself. In the two centuries from the birth of Columbus to a point only fourteen years beyond the death of Philip III., Spain was the most powerful and wealthy of all the sovereignties of Europe. No successful attempt has ever been made to estimate the amount or value of the gold and silver she drew from America. It is all gone from her—used for her destruction by her own monarchs and people. Spain is now the poorest and least respected of all modern European kingdoms. And of all the vast dominions and empires once claimed and ruled over by her on the American continent, not one square mile remains.

¹ Derry's United States, 22. Quackenbos, 59. De Bry in Bancroft, I, 71. Biddle MS. as to De Gourgues' family.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH VOYAGES TO AMERICA.

NO permanent colony had yet been established in North America. Discovery precedes settlement. We must now review the voyages and discoveries of other nations besides the Spaniards.

We have noted the voyages of the Cabots from England. Kings Henry VII. and Henry VIII. did nothing more to encourage expeditions to the New World. They evidently expected little from such attempts, and were too much occupied at home to give much attention to so distant a field. A feeble and unsuccessful effort was made under Henry VIII. in 1525.

But in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the English people began to look across the Atlantic. Her reign commenced in 1558, and ended with her death in 1603. Maritime enterprises became frequent and enthusiastic, though they were generally under the lead of bold seamen, who fitted out their own ships and asked very little from the sovereign.

Sir Francis Drake was one of the most adventurous of these navigators. In 1572, when twenty-seven years old, he crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and, climbing a tree, viewed the great Pacific Ocean. Then and there he resolved "to sail an English ship in those seas"; and five years later he sailed from England with five ships and two hundred men. He passed through the Straits of Magellan in his own ship, the *Golden Hind*, and sailed up the western coast of the American continent, capturing off the coast of Peru the Spanish treasure galleon for the current year, with an amount of gold and silver ingots worth millions of dollars. He went as far north as what is now Oregon, wintered near San Francisco, and explored the country, which he called "New Albion." Thence he launched out into the broad Pacific, and in two years and ten months from the time of his departure entered again the harbor of Plymouth, in England, with his immense treasure, thus completing the second voyage around the world.¹

¹ Thalheimer's *Eclec.* U. S., 35, 40, 41. Green's *Hist. of the Eng. People*, Amer. edit., 1876, p. 417.

Martin Frobisher cherished for fifteen years the idea of the "northwest" passage to the Indies. The Earl of Warwick helped him to fit out two small barks, and in the summer of 1576 he sailed from the Thames. He reached the coast of Labrador, and, on entering an inlet from Hudson's Strait, thought he had Asia on his right. He soon found out his error. Yet the next year he came again with several vessels, and returned to England with loads of glittering, but valueless, dirt and stones. But such were his courage and skill that the queen, in 1578, equipped him with fifteen ships, and many sons of well-known families went out with him. They nearly perished among the frozen snows and icebergs of the North American seas. The cold was so intense that the crews mutinied, and all were glad to return without either glory or gold. But Frobisher was afterwards knighted for heroism in helping to defeat the Spanish Armada.¹

In 1585, the English navigator John Davis discovered and entered the strait which bears his name. The next year he penetrated the polar regions as far north as latitude 72°.

In June, 1578, Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a kinsman of Walter Raleigh a liberal patent for discovery and settlement in America.²

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was not a seaman by profession, yet he sailed in 1583 and took possession of Newfoundland in the name of his royal mistress. Returning, a violent storm separated his vessels. He was in the *Squirrel*, and the *Hind* was near her. He was seen reading on his deck, and the last words heard from him were: "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." His vessel went down in the storm.³

Not discouraged, Elizabeth granted, March 25th, 1584, to Sir Walter Raleigh, maternal half-brother of Gilbert, a patent, broader even than her previous grant, for discovery, settlement and government in America. Sir Walter, though he had interesting and perilous adventures in Guiana, never visited North America in person. He sent "Sir Richard Grenville the valiant, Mr. William Sanderson, a great friend to all such noble and worthy actions, and divers other gentlemen and merchants," in two barks, well equipped, commanded by Captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow.

They left England April 29th, 1584, and sailed by way of the Canaries and West Indies, being yet afraid of the shorter pas-

¹ Prof. G. F. Holmes' U. S., 28.

² We adopt the common form of Raleigh's name, because the name appears in *slc* different forms in the original draft for the patent of the queen. (Brown's Genesis of the U. S., I. 14.)

³ Hakluyt, III. 154.

sage. July 13th they drew near to the shores of North Carolina, and were greeted by a delicious fragrance from the vines and flowers of the land. They landed on Wococon Island, near Ocracoke Inlet. They were amazed at the abundance of grapes hanging on the trees, or washed in profusion along the islands. They were hospitably received by the Chief Granganameo and his wife, on Roanoke Island. Taking with them two natives, Manteo and Wanchese, who volunteered to go back with them, they returned to England, arriving in September.

Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with their account of the charms of this land that she gladly adopted the suggestion of Raleigh and called it "Virginia," in honor of its virgin attractions and of her own unmarried state. This name was at first applied to all the region claimed by England in North America.

But the first efforts at colonizing were abortive. In 1585 Sir Richard Grenville returned to America, and in July left one hundred and eight colonists on Roanoke Island, among whom was Thomas Heriot, a man of science, whom Raleigh had persuaded to come. But the settlers were soon on bad terms with the natives, and began to suffer with hunger and exposure. Sir Francis Drake, cruising in the West Indies in search of Spanish treasure ships, touched at Roanoke Island, and at their earnest prayer carried the colonists back to England.

In 1587 Raleigh made another effort. One hundred and fifteen settlers, under Governor John White, were left on the island of Roanoke, provided with all needed supplies. Here, on the 18th of August, Eleanor, daughter of the governor, and wife of Ananias Dare, gave birth to the first child of English birth born in the New World, on whom was bestowed the sweet name of Virginia.¹

Sad was the fate of this colony. Many things being needed from the mother land, Governor White yielded to his people's entreaties and sailed for England August 27th. Nearly three years passed before he returned. On the 15th of August, 1590, he passed within the dangerous headlands of Hatteras, and sought the colonists. He never found them, nor have they ever been found, though Raleigh sent afterwards five messengers to seek them. Want, exposure and savage hostility had destroyed them.

Bartholomew Gosnold revived the almost dead spirit of English colonization. In 1602 he sailed by the shortest route westward from England, and on the 17th of May discovered Cape Cod, and coasted along the shores of what was afterwards New England,

¹ Smith's Gen. Hist. Va., I. 102.

landed on an island, whose fruits and luxuriant vines led him to bestow on it the name of "Martha's Vineyard," glanced at all the beauty and wealth of the main-land, and returned to England about the close of July.¹

In 1593, Captain George Weymouth made a voyage to the American seas to discover a northwest passage to the Pacific, but without success. In May, 1602, he sailed again to America, returning in September. In March, 1605, he sailed again, visiting the coasts of what is now New England, returning in July of the same year. This was his last voyage.²

The opening years of the seventeenth century had been reached, and no permanent settlement by English colonists had been made in the New World. Meanwhile, other nations had not been idle.

Fishing smacks from France went to the banks of Newfoundland as early as 1503.

In 1506, Denys, a French navigator, explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the adjoining coast, and made a chart representing them.

In 1524, Verrazani, an Italian in the service of Francis I., King of France, reached the American continent in the latitude of Wilmington, North Carolina. He then coasted northward as far as Nova Scotia. He called the country "New France," and laid the foundation for coming wars.

In 1534, Jacques Cartier explored the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. He claimed the country for France. In 1535 he sailed up the St. Lawrence to where Montreal now stands. He gave it the name "Royal Mountain." In 1541, Cartier, with a band of French colonists, made a third voyage to the St. Lawrence. The Indians tried to deter him from further progress by dressing some of their band up as devils; but Cartier was not to be stopped by devils, true or false. He was attracted by the lofty plateau of rock called Stadacona, and built a fort near the present site of Quebec. But the colonists became dissatisfied, and returned to France in the spring of 1542.³

De la Roque, Lord of Roberval, was made viceroy of this region, and visited it in 1542. In 1549 he made another voyage thither, but his ship never returned.⁴

In 1562, Admiral Coligny, as we have seen, sent a colony of French Protestants to South Carolina and Florida. We have

¹ Purchas' Pilgrims, IV. 1646. Belknap's Amer. Bioz., II. 211, 214.

² Alexander Brown's Genesis of the United States, Pref., iv.; II. 1049.

³ Swinton's U. S., 13-15. Horace E. Scudder's U. S., 29.

⁴ David B. Scott's U. S., 20. Eggleston's Household U. S., 116.

noted their fate, and the just revenge it drew down on the heads of the Spaniards.

In 1598, the Marquis De la Roche sent forty convicts to the sandy isle of Sable, near Nova Scotia. In a few years this ill-omened colony died out.

In 1603, De Monts, an influential Huguenot courtier, obtained from the French King, Henry IV., a grant of land between the 40th and 46th parallels of north latitude, which would have extended from the neighborhood of what is now Philadelphia to Cape Breton. He called this region Acadia, but that name was soon limited to what is now New Brunswick, Cape Breton and the adjacent islands.

Accompanied by the celebrated French navigator and explorer, Samuel De Champlain, De Monts, in 1604, came out with two ships, built a fort at the mouth of the St. Croix river, and made a settlement finally at Port Royal in September, 1605. This was the first permanent French settlement in America.¹ It was two years older than Jamestown.

In 1608, Champlain established a trading post on the St. Lawrence, which he named Quebec, from which the city of that name sprang. The name is of Indian origin, and means "the narrows." In 1609 he discovered the beautiful lake which bears his name. But he became involved in quarrels and bloody strife with the Iroquois, or Five Nations, which they never forgot, and afterwards visited formidably on the French.²

Thus we reach the point of time at which permanent colonies—afterwards to be developed into the United States of America—were about to be established in the New World. The long delay was not without a Divine direction and control.

¹D. B. Scott's U. S., 21.

²Prof. Steele, Barnes' United States, 33. Art. Champlain, Amer. Encyclop.

CHAPTER VI.

OLD WORLD CONDITIONS AS TO SELF-GOVERNMENT, RELIGION AND SLAVERY.

THAT we may have an intelligent insight into the conditions in the Old World which most deeply affected the subsequent fortunes of the colonies planted in North America, we need only view these conditions under three heads. Other important currents of force doubtless existed, such as the view taken by Europeans of the rights in the New World acquired by discovery. To this we have already alluded, and we will have occasion to present other conditions coming from the old civilization and strongly influencing the colonists, and yet not falling directly under any of the three heads now to be stated. But it will be found that these three germ-beds of influence were those which most radically affected the colonies for weal or for woe. We must seek, therefore, to obtain a clear view of them as they existed in the Old World when the colonization of North America began.

The three heads of inquiry are as follows :

1. The self-government of man.
2. The religious knowledge and rights of man.
3. Human slavery.

Under the first head it may be safely declared that, when Columbus discovered the islands of America, monarchy was the form of government so nearly universal in the Old World that the common people had abandoned all hope of self-government. As to Asia and Africa, monarchy existed in its most absolute and oppressive forms. In Europe, the cantons of Switzerland constituted the only republic of sufficient importance to be recognized as such, for San Marino was a republic only because of her weakness. The Swiss had gained the liberties of a confederated republic more by reason of their mountainous and easily-defended country than by any strong attachment of individuals to the idea of self-government. The people were lovers of home with a passionate and deathless love. They loved the very forests and snows of their Alps and the frigid depths of their valleys. Consequently, when they threw off the royal or ducal yokes of Ger-

many, France and Austria, they were able, by union and heroic fighting, to maintain their independence and republican forms. And yet when the Swiss soldiers left their own land and became the paid body-guards of kings, it has often been remarked that no soldiers ever fought to defend monarchies and monarchs as they did.¹ And during the progress of the Reformation in Europe, religious differences rent the Swiss cantons asunder. Thus Switzerland had done little for the self-government of the human race when American colonization began.

Monarchy is the form of the Divine government, but it is not suited to human government if the design of government be the welfare and happiness of the people. God, in his infinite wisdom and mercy, had warned the Hebrew nation against adopting a monarchy as their chosen form of government, and had told them, by his prophet, of the woes a king would bring upon them.² These prophecies were fulfilled in the subsequent experience of the people of Judah and Israel, and have been, in both spirit and substance, realized by all nations that have submitted themselves to the government of a king.

If a list of all the kings that have ever reigned on earth were prepared, it could be shown by faithful history that not one in a hundred had really sought to promote the prosperity and happiness of his subjects when his own selfish indulgences came in question. And of all these kings, those who have been specially designated by the title "Great" have been most eminent in cruelty, lust and gigantic selfishness.

When America was discovered, Russia in Europe was hardly known as anything more than a horde of barbarians, reigned over, though not governed, by an Asiatic despot. Turkey was a Mohammedan sultanhip. Germany was a collection of small and ill-governed monarchies, over whom the emperor barely maintained the semblance of a connecting power. France was a monarchy, but with many dukedoms so powerful that the dukes were sovereigns. Italy was not a kingdom, but a land broken up into many petty kingdoms, among whom the Pontiff of Rome was a temporal sovereign claiming earthly equality with the proudest states of Europe, and claiming over all earthly sovereigns a spiritual power infallible and irresistible. Spain had become united, and was the leading monarchy of Europe. England was a monarchy, in which *Magna Charta* had, indeed, been granted, containing many of the most precious principles of self-government by man; and the House of Commons was yearly gaining

¹ Art. Switzerland, New Amer. Encyclop., XV. 247.

² 1 Samuel viii. 4-22.

more and more power. But under Henry VII., Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the royal claim of prerogative had never been higher; and James I., who succeeded Elizabeth in 1603, was a thorough believer in "the divine right of kings," and would not tolerate any claim of the commons which looked to a limitation of his kingly power. Such were the views of the prevalent powers on the subject of the "self-government of man" at the time when colonization began in North America.

The second head of inquiry is still more important: What opinions and conduct were prevalent at that time concerning the "religious rights and knowledge of man"? History answers this question with seriousness and without satisfaction. She admits and establishes the Divine character of Christianity, by proving the miraculous facts on which the Christian faith is founded; but she is compelled to admit that human ambition, depravity and ignorance had made sad perversions and innovations before America was discovered and colonized. Yet these corruptions, deplorable as they were, had not destroyed the church in any of her visible forms. The spirit and body still existed, and needed only reformation as to what was evil and illegitimate.

Before Columbus sailed, the visible church had already undergone a wide separation, and existed in two great organisms, known then and ever since as the Greek and the Roman churches. Of these the Greek or Oriental church is the older, having existed in the original seats of Christianity in Asia Minor and having adhered to the language in which the New Testament was written.¹ But many thoughtful Christians have believed and claimed that, prior to the forms of these two venerable organisms, history has demonstrated the existence of a primitive form for the Christian church, sanctioned by inspiration and the usage of the apostles.² No definite form is essential to the *existence* of a church as part of the visible body of Christ.

The Greek church discards the monarchic form and adopts an ecclesiastical aristocracy, holding to the spiritual equality of the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. The Roman church, ever since the bishops of Rome began to claim for themselves the special honor of being called "pappoi" (*fathers*)—a name universally appropriated and applied in the Greek church to all priests—has been a monarchy.³ The name "pope" was first applied to the Bishop of Rome by the deacon

¹ Schaff-Herzog Encyclop., art. Greek Church, II. 900.

² Dean Stanley's Sermon, 1879. Art. Pope, in his Christian Instit. Bishop of Durham's Ch. Ministry and Essay on Philippians. Dr. Edwin Hatch's Works, *passim*.

³ Art. Pope, Schaff-Herzog Encyc., III. 1869. Dean Stanley's Ch. Instit., 194.

Severus in his letter to Marcellinus about the beginning of the third century, and was first formally claimed by Siricius, Bishop of Rome, about a hundred years thereafter. Since the middle of the fifth century, it has been officially used by the Roman pontiffs as their proper designation.

The imperial power of which Rome was the centre, the giant sway exercised by her over the nations of the earth, and the completeness of organization in all the departments of her government, contributed to the extension of the Roman church, both in her territory and her authority. From the time when the first Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, baptized the Emperor Constantine, and certainly from the time when that emperor adopted Christianity and made it the religion of the state, Rome was the recognized centre of Western church authority. Yet her claims were resisted by the Greek church and the secular kings until the famous decree of Valentinian III., in 445 A. D., recognized the Bishop of Rome as the primate of the Christian church, not only in judicial, but also in legislative elements, and gave authority not only to his decisions in appeals, but also to the decrees and orders which issued from him.¹

In the eleventh century, Hildebrand was elevated to the papal throne, under the title of Gregory VII. Before the close of his pontificate, his intellectual force, skill and diplomacy had so successfully seconded his ambition that the sway of the Roman church throughout all Western lands called Christian became complete. He declared that, as pontiff, he was subject to no judge on earth, that he had the right to depose the emperor, that he had the right to wear the imperial insignia, and that he alone could convene a general council for settlement of religious questions.²

From this time down through all subsequent ages, the Roman church has claimed the "*imperium in imperio*"—sovereignty in sovereignty—the right to govern all who submit to her jurisdiction, and to govern them in conscience, in word, and in deed, even in opposition to the laws and institutions of the country in which they live, and to which they owe obedience, either by nativity or by naturalization as citizens, or by residence and protection.³ This claim is the logical and inevitable outcome of the claim of the supreme pontiff to infallibility in matters of faith and morals, and to be the vicar and vicerent of God on earth.

This was the position of the Roman church at the time when

¹ Compare Gibbon, Dec. and Fall, II. 271. Schaff-Herzog, III. 2275. Hinschius, art. Papacy.

² Schaff-Herzog Rel. Encyc., III. 1737.

³ Syllabus Errorum. Pio Nono, Dec. 8th, 1864. Vatican Decree, July 18th, 1870, III. 15, 18; V. 23, 24, 27, 29, 32, 37; VI. 42, 47, 53, 55; VII. 62, 63. Blackstone's Com., IV. 57.

Columbus discovered San Salvador, and is more definitely her position now than at that time. The Greek church did not perceptibly influence the character or fortunes of the American people.

Before colonization began, a memorable uprising of the human soul against spiritual tyranny had taken place. This was the Reformation of the sixteenth century. To tell of all its important changes would require many volumes, and is not needful for the purposes of this work. But it is very needful to show how much it had accomplished, and what it had failed to accomplish, in relation to "the religious rights and knowledge of man."

Its first and most potent effect had been to break the yoke of spiritual tyranny, and to relieve millions of minds in Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, England, Scotland and Ireland from submission to the Roman church. The infallibility of the inspired Scriptures—the Word of God—when properly interpreted according to the analogy of faith, was substituted for the infallibility of man or of any assemblage of men.

But in other respects, the Reformation had failed to do what was of prime importance.

First. It had failed to overturn the principle of church establishment. This failure resulted from imperfect appreciation of the teaching, both of Holy Scripture and of developed reason, that religion is spiritual and affects the conscience, and must be left free from the control of human government. To permit any earthly government to set up a religion and to require people to conform to it, and to support it by their labor and property, is to put that earthly government in the position claimed and long held by the Roman church.

Second. It had failed to confirm the principle, so clearly laid down in Holy Scripture, that the divine and omniscient Founder of Christianity intended that his church on earth should be established and kept in progress by the voluntary submission of souls, consciences, bodies and property to his invisible government, of which the central and all-moving power is love.

Third. It had failed to eliminate from the souls of mankind certain beliefs supposed to have been derived from the teachings of Holy Scripture, but really founded on false interpretations thereof. These beliefs were the result of ages of ignorance, and could be effectually overthrown only by the discoveries and inductions of sound science. Several of these beliefs will come into our field of vision in the further progress of this work. At present, only one needs special comment.

The belief in *witchcraft*, so long and disastrously held in Christian countries, came from a false interpretation of such passages of Scripture as Exodus xxii. 18: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and of several other passages in which witchcraft, sorcery and dealing with familiar spirits are spoken of.¹ With the feeble scientific light of the ages preceding the seventeenth century, it was not easy to obtain the key to the real meaning of these passages. Yet the one from the New Testament ought to have suggested the truth, for it referred so plainly to the sin of deception and fraud, and sometimes fatal poisoning, practiced by the *venificas* and pretended sorceresses of past ages, that all the Old Testament passages ought to have received like interpretation.

But, unhappily, the key, not being patiently sought, was not found. Yet it is a comforting truth that persecutions for alleged witchcraft were hardly known in Europe prior to the close of the fifteenth century. Just about eight years before Columbus sailed from Palos, Pope Innocent VIII. issued a bull denouncing death without mercy against all who should be convicted of witchcraft or of dealings with Satan; and a form of process for trial was laid down by a fanatic persecutor named Sprenger, who was nominated by the pope as head of the commission. Alexander VI. and even Leo X. lent their aid by successive bulls.²

The result was horrible. About the year 1515, in three months, in Geneva, five hundred persons were executed for the alleged crime of witchcraft. In the diocese of Como, a thousand were put to death in one year. For some years thereafter, not less than one hundred were burned for witchcraft every year. Remigius boasts of having burned nine hundred in five years. In France, in 1520, one historian narrates that "an almost infinite number of sorcerers" were put to death.

Germany was a fruitful soil for such works. From the publication of the bull of Innocent to the time of stoppage of persecution for witchcraft, the number of victims has been estimated at one hundred thousand! In Wurtzburg alone, in two years, one hundred and fifty-seven persons were burned, including not only old women, but children of nine years.³ Instead of turning with horror from these scenes, the people learned to revel in them. They sang popular songs about them, and represented them in hideous engravings with devils dragging away "their

¹ Deuteronomy xviii. 10; First Samuel xv. 23; Second Kings ix. 22; Second Chronicles xxxiii. 6; Micah v. 12; Nahum iii. 4; Galatians v. 20.

² Published bulls of the Pontiffs. Combe on the Constitution of Man, p. 310.

³ Combe, 310.

own"; and the clergy preached solemn discourses, called "witch sermons," on these occasions.¹

The Reformation did nothing to mitigate these horrors. It seemed rather to increase them. In Protestant England, and during the Long Parliament, three thousand human victims were executed for the supposed crime of witchcraft. Sir Matthew Hale, though a Christian judge, carried on the frightful work. It continued until Chief-Justice Holt, with his strong common sense, made a firm charge to a jury, and they brought in a verdict of "not guilty." Then the tide began to turn, and in ten other trials before him, from 1694 to 1701, a similar verdict was rendered. Barrington estimates the number of persons put to death in England on the charge of witchcraft at thirty thousand.²

At last, in 1736, science and common sense triumphed over false theology. The penal statutes against witchcraft were repealed, though the real crime of pretending to exercise it was still to be punished.

Scotland must rest under her full share of this shame. After the Reformation had done much of its good work there, the evil work of persecuting alleged witches and sorcerers began, and for ninety-nine years it did not cease. Burning was the usual mode of inflicting death; and to obtain confessions, torture by thumb-screws and iron boots and pricking with sharp instruments was frequently practiced. More than sixty trials are of record in the reign of James VI., in which the charge was witchcraft, and the result was death to the accused.

It is a painful fact that the clergy were the people who in these cases displayed the most intemperate and cruel zeal.³ In all Christian ages, clergymen, unless thoroughly permeated by the spirit of Christ, have been the class most given to the practice of religious persecution, and least disposed to permit the discoveries of science and the intuitive dictates of common sense to correct false dogmas held by them upon unsound interpretations of Holy Scripture taught in human creeds and traditions. And yet Christianity has been so potent as to subdue these dangerous tendencies of her own accredited ministers.

Such were some of the ideas as to religion and religious knowledge prevalent when the colonization of North America began. We shall note their effect.

¹ Combe on the Constitution of Man, p. 310.

² *Ibid.*, p. 312.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

CHAPTER VII.

SLAVERY, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

WE have purposely reserved for a distinct chapter in this work a presentation of the facts relating to human slavery as they were known in history and experience at the time of the colonization of North America. This subject has had an influence grave and fearful enough to justify a calm effort to elucidate it.

We are called first to define slavery—to form a clear concept of its meaning.

The attempt has often been made to explain slavery as simply the right of a master to the time and services of a servant for life, in consideration of the obligation of the master to maintain him, feed him, clothe him, shelter him, instruct him in religion and duty, and provide humanely for him in infancy, infirmity, sickness and old age.¹ But this is not the relation of owner and slave as the world has known it.

Slavery is the relation in which one man *owns* another man as his chattel—his property. It arises in the same way as other property—by buying and selling or by gift. And consequently, a man intending to purchase may claim the right to examine the slave as he would a horse—to examine his mouth, his teeth, his head, his limbs, his hands, his feet, his body, and to inquire as to his habits and tendencies, and to estimate his money value accordingly. This right has been conceded and exercised in every slave-market in the world, and in all times, ancient and modern.

The conditions resulting from this relation have been that the slave has no rights as against his owner. Even if injury, premeditated or unlawful, to his life and limbs be forbidden, it is not because he has any rights, but because such crimes would hurt society. The owner may whip, beat and scourge the slave willfully, maliciously, violently, immoderately, excessively, unmercifully and cruelly, and yet not be held liable, either criminally or civilly, unless death speedily ensues.² This was a comparatively

¹ Dr. J. H. Thornwell's Col. Writings, IV., pp. 414, 420. Blackstone's Com., Amer. edition, I. 333, 334, with notes. George Fitzhugh's "Sociology for the South" and "Cannibals All." Dr. Ro. L. Dabney's article, "The Latest Infidelity," Pres. Quarterly, Jan'y, 1890, pp. 5, 6.

² Turner's Case, 5 Randolph, 678. Souther's Case, 7 Grattan, 673. Article Slavery, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 713. Exodus xxi. 20, 21.

modern decision by a Virginia court of sixteen judges, of whom only one, William Brockenbrough, dissented.

The slave can make no valid contract, cannot marry, cannot have legitimate offspring, and may be separated from wife and children by an act of sale. He is so completely a chattel that he cannot even exercise the privilege of conditional mental election by which he may be emancipated.¹ In fact, the condition of the slave is accurately defined in those statutes which declare that "slaves are chattels personal in the hands of their owners and possessors, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever."²

Such being slavery, all attempts to vindicate and uphold it as approved of God have been failures. The fixed and irrevocable truth concerning God and man taught by inspiration is, that God created man, male and female—one man and one woman—and united them as husband and wife, and blessed them, and said unto them: "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."³

Therefore, all mankind stand on the same platform as to ordinary generation. All come from the same Adam. All are brothers. All inherit the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." All may be saved by the Second Adam if they will trust to him. The differences in skin, color, conformation of head, brain, limbs or body apparent among men are the result of congenital differentiations which evade discovery, or of conditions of climate, exposure and long-continued mode of life. All such attempts as those made by false science to prove a multitude of original ancestors for the varied races of mankind have been in opposition to truth, revealed and scientific.

Nevertheless, slavery, in its most distinct and abject form, has existed in this world from a time beyond the utmost reach of history. How it originated cannot, therefore, be historically ascertained. But of this we may be certain, that, like polygamy, divorce, the law of retaliation, and other evils so widely spread as to be called *institutions* of civilized society, slavery did not originate in the command of God. It was an evil originating in the depraved and selfish tendencies of man;⁴ and though long tolerated and directed by the wisdom and good providence of God, it was an evil which the principles taught in his Word ever tended to remove.

¹ Bailey vs. Poindexter, 14 Grattan, 132. Williamson vs. Coalter, *Ibid.*, 394.

² Article Slavery, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 711. ³ Genesis i. 27, 28.

⁴ Thornwell's Col. Writings, IV. 419, 420.

It is most probable that slavery originated from *war*. War is, in itself, one of the most cruel and repulsive evils to which the native depravity of man has given birth. War is opposed to the essential nature of God, which is love. And yet war is a condition of mankind running back to unknown ages. It is, even when offensive, sometimes just; and when defensive, often the highest virtue in a people, and approved by God. And therefore the Holy Scriptures give principles to regulate war, and a large part of international law is taken up in expounding these principles. Yet war is forbidden by the law of wisdom and love; and the time will come when "men shall learn war no more."¹

In war battles occur; and in battle each of the opposing hosts seeks to *kill* those fighting against them. The right and duty to kill is recognized, even commanded. Therefore, it was not unreasonable to hold that when prisoners were taken, if their lives were spared, their rights and liberties were absolutely forfeited, and they became slaves, the property of their captors, and might be treated, bought and sold like other property taken in war or otherwise acquired. This view of the origin of slavery is confirmed by all known history.

It is not at all probable that slavery originated as a punishment for crime. It took rise in prehistoric ages—probably before the Noachic deluge—and as man had become so depraved and criminal in thought, word and deed that the destruction of all the human race (except eight persons)² was the chosen remedy for the salvation of the race in coming generations, it is highly improbable that any formal judicial sentences for crime had reduced criminals to slavery before the deluge. The world would have been full of slaves.

But after war had given rise to slavery, we have no difficulty in conceiving how the evil and selfish propensities of men multiplied slaves by the various methods through which the institution has been continued through more than three thousand years of history—that is, by kidnapping, by piracy, by warlike raids for the very purpose of obtaining slaves, by buying and selling, and by holding as slaves the children and lincal descendants of a female slave.³

Evidently, when the boy Joseph was drawn up from the pit and sold as a slave by his cruel brothers to Midianites, who were "merchantmen," nearly eighteen hundred years before the birth

¹ Numbers xxxii. 6; Deuteronomy xxiv. 5; First Chronicles v. 22; Psalm xlvii. 9; Isaiah li. 4; Micah iv. 3.

² Genesis vi. 5-13; First Peter iii. 19, 20; Second Peter ii. 5.

³ Art. Slavery, Schaff-Herzog Encyclop.

of Christ, such traffic was common; and slaves were considered as merchantable chattels and commodities.¹ The transaction was cool and deliberate. The sum paid was eleven dollars and twenty-eight cents.² Slavery had been so long established that prices were low.

Egypt had slaves in abundance, acquired in all possible ways. The Phœnicians were especially active in this trade, as appears by the poems of Homer. Slaves formed much the larger part of the population of Tyre and Sidon, on the western shores of Palestine; and slaves were numerous in Carthage and in all of Northern Africa. But they were almost universally white slaves. *Black* slaves were then and for many years afterwards looked upon as luxuries and curiosities.³

The Hebrews in Egypt were not slaves. They were in cruel bondage, it is true; but their bondage was political, and did not amount to slavery.⁴ They were compelled to work and to work servilely; but they were not held as chattels. They were persons, and could contract, buy, sell, engage in business, and make legal marriages and have legitimate children. They were, therefore, not slaves. Yet they knew what slavery was, and probably acquired by purchase or otherwise many slaves before their exodus from Egypt.

It is certain that in their forty years of wandering before they reached Canaan, and afterwards in their established residence in that land, they had many slaves. But we do not find anywhere in the Word of God any authority from him to convert a man into a slave, except for crime by him committed.

Abraham, the "father of the faithful," owned slaves—some "bought with his money," some "born in the house."⁵ He adopted ways and usages long established. But Abraham also told a disgraceful falsehood to the "princes of Pharaoh" and to Abimelech, King of Gerar; and Abraham practiced polygamy in a form most adapted to oppress one of the wives and her child.⁶ What he did was not always right in the sight of God.

Under the Mosaic institutions, no Hebrew could be a slave. He might be a bond-servant, bound to render service generally up to the next year of Jubilee, or six years from the commencement of his servitude, and sometimes, by his own consent and act, up to the end of his life;⁷ but he was never a chattel. He was always a person with the rights of a person.

¹ Genesis xxxvii. 25-36.

² Table with Oxford Bible, p. 72.

³ Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 696, 697.

⁴ Life in the Exode, Dr. A. D. Pollock, 64.

⁵ Genesis xii. 16; xvii. 12-27. Bancroft's U S., I. 159.

⁶ Genesis xii. 11-20; xvi., xx., xxi.

⁷ Schaff-Herzog, III. 2193.

It was not so as to aliens and foreigners. They were slaves by war and conquest, or by purchase from foreign slave-traders. For his own wise and benevolent reasons, God permitted them to be held in slavery; but he required them to be admitted to all religious privileges, to circumcision, to the hearing of the law, to participation in the paschal sacrifice, and all other sacred festivals, to the rest of the Sabbath, and the hopes of the everlasting rest; and in case the owner had no male issue, he could make a slave his son-in-law. And the Mosaic code greatly ameliorated the conditions of slavery in other respects. It protected the slave in life and limb, and if the owner hurt him seriously by chastisement, he was required to give him his freedom.¹

The treatment of slaves among the Hebrews was gentle, sometimes even too mild, as may be inferred from the Proverbs of Solomon.² And when the Jews returned from captivity in Babylon they had only seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven slaves—about one to six of the free population.³ We have reason to believe that all these slaves were white, and we know that two hundred of them were accomplished in vocal music.

The Greeks owned slaves in great numbers. In Athens and throughout Attica their treatment was mild and genial—the mildest ever practiced. But in Sparta the slaves were called Helots, and their treatment was the type of all that is calamitous in the lot of mankind. They were not slaves of individuals, but of the state, and assigned to masters who could neither emancipate them nor remove them from their land of bondage. As they increased rapidly in numbers, efforts were specially made to weaken their power, and statements have come down in history that the Spartan youth annually engaged in a "chase of Helots," hunting them down and massacring them by night and by day. Thucydides tells us of a mysterious disappearance of two thousand Helots after they had been selected to be made free and put in the Spartan armies.⁴ The horrible suggestions of his brief narrative need no comment.

But of all the powers of the world, the Roman, as kingdom, republic and empire, was the greatest slave-holder. Her slaves were generally the result of war, and as her chief business was war, slaves multiplied accordingly. These slaves were, with few exceptions, white, and embraced the most refined, accomplished and cultivated men, women and children of the nations she subjugated.

¹ Exodus xxi. 26, 27.

² Proverbs xxix. 19-21.

³ Ezra ii. 65. Schaff-Herzog, III. 2193

⁴ Thucydides' Hist. Art. Slavery, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 697.

When Regulus invaded the Carthaginian territory, 256 B. C., he passed, with his armies, through a region which, for richness and culture and the refinement of its inhabitants, has been correctly described as resembling the approach to Genoa,¹ or the neighborhood of Geneva, or even the most ornamental parts of the valley of the Thames above London. This delightful region was desolated by war, and twenty thousand of its people, many of them, beyond doubt, of the highest condition, and bred up in all the enjoyments of domestic peace and affluence, were carried away as slaves.

After the second Punic war, the conquests of Rome went on with great rapidity. The number of the slaves increased until the cultivation of the soil, formerly considered the most honorable of labor and fit only for Roman citizens, was done by slaves. When Carthage was captured, nearly all of her people were made slaves. The rich and luxurious Greek city of Corinth was captured by the Romans nearly at the same time, and her people met the same fate. Indeed, but for the influence of Polybius and Scipio Africanus the younger, all the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus would have been converted into slaves.²

The number of slaves grew to be so great that it was not uncommon for a wealthy Roman to own twenty thousand of them. They were employed not only in agriculture and the more laborious occupations of life, and in domestic duties, but as librarians, readers, writers, reciters, story-tellers, journal keepers, amanuenses, physicians, surgeons, architects, divines, grammarians, musicians, singers, play actors, builders, engravers, antiquaries, illuminators, painters, silversmiths, gladiators and charioteers. The money value of a slave was determined not merely by his ability and accomplishments, but by the inexorable laws of supply and demand.³

The conquests of Sylla, Lucullus and Pompey, in the east, so flooded the slave-markets that in the military camp in Pontus men sold at the low price of sixty-two cents each!⁴ Generally after a victory or a conquest the enslaved people were sold at auction. Slave-traders were very numerous and amassed immense wealth. We have no difficulty in understanding this when we remember that these traders bought in the camps at sixty-two cents and then sold in Rome at prices seldom less than one hundred dollars for a slave.⁵

¹ Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 697-700.

² Article Slavery, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 699.

³ Article Slavery, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 700.

⁴ Plutarch, in Lucull., 580. Gibbon, Dec. and Fall, I. 47, note.

⁵ Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 699-703.

The great slave-markets of the world were Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria and the island of Delos. Thither came the slave-traders in crowds. And they dealt in human beings as mere merchandise. The only use of the word "slave" in the accepted English version of the Holy Scriptures is in the description of the great merchandise mart of Babylon, ending a wide enumeration thus: "and beasts and sheep and horses and chariots *and slaves* and souls of men."

But notwithstanding his wealth, the slave-trader was regarded in Rome, as he has been regarded in all nations and in all ages, with contempt and loathing. The Romans considered the business of a dealer in slaves as so utterly unworthy of a merchant that, while they regarded a merchant as entitled to the highest social position, they turned their back on the slave-trader, and gave him habitually a name which indicated thorough distrust and abomination.

Slavery was certainly among the most potent causes of the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Gibbon estimates the number of slaves in the reign of the Emperor Claudius at sixty millions, and this is probably not far from the truth.¹ Such a mass, heaping up luxury and self-indulgence, was hastening "the beginning of the end."

During the dark and the middle ages, slavery continued chiefly by the conflicts of Christianity with Mohammedanism, and the piratical efforts of the Barbary powers in the North of Africa. Yet the slaves made were very seldom negroes. They were white people, and often of cultivation and refinement. The wars between the Germans and Slavi furnished so many of the latter race for the slave-market that the word "slave" is supposed to have been thus derived.²

But Christianity, though her light was then obscured by ignorance and superstition, began to cast that light over the nations of Europe, and its effects were always adverse to slavery. Paul, the apostle, had indeed induced a fugitive slave to return to a kind Christian owner, but he had also, by inspiration, announced a principle which proved that Christianity was against slavery. It was in these words: "Art thou called being a servant? (*δουλος*—a slave) care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather."³

The Greek and Roman churches were both opposed to slavery. They denied the right to convert Christians into slaves, but were

¹Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, I. 52, 53.

²Article *Slavery*, *Amer. Encyclop.*, XIV. 705.

³First Corinthians vii. 21.

not so definite as to the heathen. Thirty-seven church councils passed acts favorable to slaves and tending to their freedom.¹ The right of asylum in churches was offered to fugitive slaves; large sums were spent for their ransom; manumissions were frequent, and were encouraged by the church as acts "inspired by the love of God." In the sixth century the Roman Pontiff Gregory the Great declared that "slaves should be freed, because Christ became man in order to redeem us." In the twelfth century, Alexander III. had declared in published writing, that "nature having made no slaves, all men have an equal right to liberty."²

The effect of this opposition of organized Christianity to slavery was manifest. By the middle of the fifteenth century, no whites in Europe continued to be slaves. Serfdom was, indeed, continued, and often in oppressive forms; but serfdom never converted the man into a chattel. It was the result of the feudal system, which prevailed all over Europe, and it was rapidly extinguished as that system decayed.

But, unhappily for the world, a strange revival of slavery occurred in times nearly coeval with the rediscovery of America in the close of the fifteenth century, and the maritime enterprises and colonization consequent therefrom. These events gave rise to African or negro slavery and its large development in the New World.

Portugal led the way in this sinister work. In 1441, two sea-captains in the employ of Prince Henry the Navigator seized certain Moors in the North of Africa and carried them to Portugal. The next year these Moors were permitted to ransom themselves, and among the merchandise given for them were *ten black slaves*, whose appearance in Portugal excited much interest and led the van of the African slave-trade.³

In Africa slavery had long existed, nourished by the wars, kidnappings and raids carried on by the native kings and tribes. The trade in Portugal was soon regular, and a Portuguese slave-factory was established in one of the islands of Arguin about the middle of the fifteenth century. Seven or eight hundred black slaves were sent to Portugal from this factory every year.

And when the Spaniards began to colonize the West Indies for the purpose of seeking gold, this trade received a powerful impetus. We have seen that the native Indians withered away and perished under the forced labors of the mines. The Spanish priest Las Casas pitied them and did all he could to save them. Among his plans for their relief was the sending of negro slaves

¹ Gesta Christo. Brace, in Schaff-Herzog, III. 2196.

² Letter of Alexander to Lupus, King of Valencia. Bancroft's U. S., I. 163.

³ Art. Slavery, New Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 707.

from Africa to work in the mines. He was a good man; yet we wonder at the form of his philanthropy.¹

But its immediate result was so far favorable that other nations speedily embarked in the African slave-trade. One negro was found to be equal to four Indians in the amount and value of his work. England began to bring black slaves from Africa to her own soil in 1553. In 1562 English ships carried on the trade with vigor and worldly success. Sir John Hawkins fraudulently transferred a large cargo of Africans to Hispaniola, and got such rich returns in sugar, ginger and pearls that Queen Elizabeth's avarice was excited. She not only protected his next voyage, but shared in its profits.²

In one of these voyages, Hawkins himself relates that he attacked a town in Africa, set fire to the huts, which were thatched with dry palm leaves and burned furiously, and that out of eight thousand inhabitants he succeeded in seizing two hundred and fifty, whom he carried off as slaves; yet Sir John Hawkins stands high in English naval history as a brave and good man.

The Spanish laws made this negro trade by the English between Africa and Hispaniola unlawful; yet Queen Elizabeth shared its hazards, its crimes and its profits, and thus became a smuggler, a kidnaper, and a trader in slaves.³

Such was the effect on public and private morals and sentiment of the long continuance of an institution whose genesis was necessarily in human crime, and not with Divine approbation.

In 1520, De Ayllon, a Spaniard of Hispaniola, made a systematic kidnaping expedition with several vessels to the coast of what is now South Carolina. His design was to obtain native Indians and force them to work as slaves in the mines of Hayti. He enticed a considerable number aboard his ships; then suddenly closed the hatches and set sail. But his inhuman fraud was unprofitable, and finally recoiled upon him. One of his vessels sunk with all on board, and many of the captives died during the passage to Hayti. In 1525, De Ayllon went back to the same coast with a number of Spaniards, intending to colonize. Remembering his fraud, the savages lured his men into the country and, falling on them at night, slew the greater part of them. De Ayllon, with the few survivors, was glad to escape.⁴

Thus we can estimate to some extent the views as to human slavery held by the Old World when American colonization began. But no vision of man was then able to look to the end.

¹ Irving's *Columbus*, Append. III. 419.

² Hakluyt, II. 351, 352; III. 594. Keith's *Hist. of Va.*, 31.

³ Bancroft's *U. S.*, I. 173.

⁴ Barnes' *U. S.*, 27, note. Swinton's *Cond. U. S.*, 10.

CHAPTER VIII.

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA.

WITHIN a few years past it has been made clear in history that Spain would gladly have prevented any English colonies in America, and that she resorted to secret methods and diplomacy to thwart such movements.

James I., King of England, sent the Duke of Buckingham to Spain to effect, if possible, a contract of marriage between Prince Charles, who was afterwards king, and the Spanish Infanta. Had this marriage been consummated, Spain would have had a controlling influence in the policy of England, and the fate of North America would have been very different from what it has been. But the feelings of the English people were strongly against this marriage, and, happily, it failed of accomplishment. King James, while in Scotland, had written a work to prove that the Pope of Rome was Antichrist. Nevertheless, his foreign policy was basely subservient to the powers who upheld the Roman church.¹

It was under the influence of Spain that Sir Walter Raleigh, the great promoter of English colonization in America, was persecuted by King James, and finally put to death. The original charge was treason in conspiring to place Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne. The evidence was so slight and inconclusive that it required special prejudice, excited by the Attorney-General, Lord Coke, to procure a conviction. He vituperated Raleigh in a rancorous speech, in the course of which he denounced him as a "damnable atheist," a "spider of hell," and a "viperous traitor."

But even after conviction he was reprieved, because it was known that the conviction was unjust. He was deprived of his estates, and confined in the Tower. He was permitted to have his wife to live with him. And here in imprisonment he wrote his great "History of the World," which was so superior to any work of the kind produced before him that all scholars acknowledged its merit.²

In March, 1615, he was liberated, but not pardoned. He had discovered the "large, rich and beautiful empire of Guiana" in

¹ Art. James VI. (Scotland), Amer. Encyclop., IX. 708.

² New Amer. Encyclop., IX. 751.

1595, and had written an account of it so full of genial romance that King James was willing to appoint him admiral for a new expedition to this fairy land. Raleigh expended all the remnant of his own property and that of his wife in fitting out a fleet of fourteen ships, with which he sailed, reaching Guiana November 12th, 1617. Part of his force was sent up the Orinoco, and, in disobedience of his commands, attacked the Spanish settlement of St. Thomas, killed the governor, and set fire to the town. In this action Raleigh's eldest son was killed. The whole expedition was a failure; the sailors mutinied; the ships scattered, and the unfortunate Raleigh landed at Plymouth, England, in July, 1618, completely broken in fortune and reputation.

His failure to achieve success was magnified into a crime. He was arrested. The Spanish ambassador demanded his death. The old conviction in 1603 was brought up, and sentence of death was pronounced. His firmness returned, and on the scaffold he felt the edge of the ax, and said, with a smile, "This is a sharp medicine; but it is a cure for all diseases."¹ Thus, a martyr to the cause of English colonization, Sir Walter Raleigh died.

But eleven years before he died his spirit gained the victory for which he had sought. Those who had imbibed that spirit sought a patent from King James and obtained it. On the 10th of April, 1606, the king granted a broad patent to two companies, known as the London Company and the Plymouth Company. The first consisted of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt and others. To them was granted exclusive right to all the territory lying between the 34th and 38th parallels of north latitude, and running to an indefinite extent westward, even to the Pacific Ocean.² To the Plymouth Company, consisting of knights, gentlemen, merchants and others in and about the town of Plymouth, was made a similar grant of the territory between the 41st and 45th parallels. To each company were granted all the islands, fisheries and other marine treasures within one hundred miles directly eastward from their shores and within fifty miles from their most northern and southern settlements. The region between 38° and 41° was left open to both companies; but to render any collision impossible, each could claim exclusive right for fifty miles north or south of its extreme settlements, and thus neither could approach within one hundred miles of the other.³

Each colony was to be governed by a council of thirteen members given under "such laws, ordinances and instructions" as

¹ New Amer. Encyclop., IX. 751.

² Dr. Robertson's America, I. 402. Martineau's Soc'y in Amer., I. 47.

³ Hazard's State Papers, 50-58. Stith's Va., Append., 1-8.

should be given by the *king himself*, under his sign manual and the privy seal of the realm of England; and the members of the councils were to be "ordained, made and removed from time to time," as the same instructions should direct.

The preamble of the charter declared that one leading object of the enterprise was the propagation of Christianity among "such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and might in time be brought to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."¹

The adventurers of the London Company eagerly prepared for their proposed scheme of colonization. Their means at first were limited, and only three ships were owned, the largest of which was of not more than one hundred tons burden. Christopher Newport was selected for the command. He had gained some renown in a voyage against the Spaniards in 1592, but he was vain and affected, and little fitted for manly action. Besides the crews, one hundred and five persons embarked to form the settlement. They gave type to all the subsequent career of Virginia.

We find among them fifty cavaliers, who are reckoned on the shipping list as "gentlemen." Disappointed in hope and reduced in fortune, they were seeking the New World with restless desire for exciting adventure and speedy wealth. Among them was George Percy, a member of a noble family and brother to the Earl of Northumberland. They had also Rev. Robert Hunt, a minister of the gospel, and six gentlemen intended for the council. In the whole band we note only eleven professed laborers, four carpenters, one blacksmith, one bricklayer, and one mason; but we find a barber and a tailor, who would certainly be needed by so many gentlemen.²

During these preparations, Spain, by keen-eyed agents in London, was watching this plan for English colonization and seeking to defeat it. In a letter dated December 24, 1606, but probably not dispatched until January 24, 1607, Don Pedro de Zuñiga, of the Spanish embassy in London, wrote to the King of Spain, giving him an account of the movements for sending out colonies to North America under patents of the English king. This letter betrays some mistakes of the writer—especially in supposing that the grant to the Plymouth Company went as high as to latitude 55° north. Yet the letter shows substantial knowledge of what was going on, and especially of the character of King James, and his unmanly and unfavorable treatment of the appeal made by Sir Noel de Caron, the ambassador of Holland, in behalf of the

¹ Grahame's *Colon. Hist.*, I, 32.

² List in Smith's *Va.*, I, 153. Burk's *Va.*, I, 95 and note.

brave people of that land, then grievously oppressed and persecuted as "rebels" by Spain.¹

Had these machinations of Spain been successful, the United States of America would either never have existed, or would have been projections into the New World of the cruelty, ignorance, superstition and feebleness of the mother whence they came.

But a better Providence was governing the affairs of this world. On the 19th of December, 1606, Newport with his small fleet sailed from Blackwell. Instead of following Gosnold's direct course across the Atlantic, they sailed by the Canaries and West Indies. On the route dissensions among the great men raged so furiously that Captain John Smith was seized and committed to close confinement on the false charge that he intended to murder the council and make himself king of Virginia.

Arriving near the coast of America, their false reckoning kept them in doubt, and Ratcliffe, captain of one of the ships, proposed that they should return. But a furious storm drove them all night under bare poles, and on the 26th April, 1607, they saw before them the broad inlet to Chesapeake Bay. They gave to the south cape the name of Henry and to the north cape that of Charles, from the two oldest sons of the king.

A sealed box on board was now opened, and it was found that Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Maria Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin and George Kendall were members of the first Provincial Council.

Sailing leisurely up the bay, the voyagers were charmed with the prospect. The season was mild, and nature had put on the emerald robes of spring. One of them thus writes: "We landed and discovered a little way, but we could find nothing worth the speaking of but fair meadows and goodly tall trees, with such fresh water running through the woods as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof."²

At length they reached the mouth of a magnificent river—the "Powhatan" of the Indians, the "James" of subsequent times. They ascended it for about forty miles, and, after seventeen days spent in searching for a suitable spot for a settlement, they selected a peninsula, and on the 13th of May commenced the city of Jamestown.

At first a commendable industry seems to have prevailed. The council planned a fort; the settlers felled the trees, pitched their

¹ Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, I. 45, 46, 89, 90. This elaborate work was published in 1890.

² Purchas' *Pilgrims*, IV. 1686. The narrative is George Percy's. Brown's *Genesis*, I. 152-168.

tents, prepared enclosures for gardens, made nets for the fish which abounded in the river, and began to prepare clap-boards to freight the ships on their return to England.

But soon these fair promises of good were betrayed. Discord prevailed in their councils, and by a flagrant act of injustice John Smith, the leading spirit among them, was excluded from the council, and "an oration was made" to attempt to show cause for this.¹

Although questions have been raised in modern times as to the historic truth of some incidents in his life, narrated by himself, there can be no doubt that John Smith is the hero of the early history of Virginia, and, therefore, of the early colonization of the United States. He was born in Willoughby, Lincolnshire, England, in 1579, and lived to 1631. His life thus covered a period of adventure and excitement. He traveled extensively in France and in Scotland, and learned the stern duties of the soldier by practice in the Netherlands. Sailing between Marseilles and Italy, a fierce storm arose, and the superstitious seamen flung the heretic Briton into the sea. His strength and skill at swimming saved him. He landed—was carried by a vessel to Egypt; sailed in the Levant, fought a rich Venetian ship, which he captured, and was put ashore at Antibes with a treasure of a thousand sequins. He entered the army of Austria and fought against the Turks. In Transylvania the Turkish bashaw challenged any Christian of the rank of commander to single combat. Smith was chosen by lot, and prepared for the lists. He slew three Turks in succession, and laid their heads at the feet of Count Moyses of Transylvania. The highest honors were heaped on him. But in the fatal battle of Rotenton, the Turks were victorious, and Smith was wounded and made prisoner. He was long in slavery among the Tartars. Escaping by a series of wonderful adventures, he traveled through Germany, France and Spain, and arrived in England with a thousand ducats in his purse and a spirit eager for further adventures. Here Gosnold met him, and urged him to embark in the scheme for colonizing Virginia. He entered upon it with courage and enthusiasm. He became the power that sustained the spirit of the colony, and without whom it would have failed.²

¹ Dr. Wm. Simons, in *Smith's Va.*, I. 151.

² The modern attempts to discredit Smith's relations and history began with Dr. Charles Deane, of Massachusetts, in 1860, and have been continued by others (including the Virginian Alexander Brown), but without success.

CHAPTER IX.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

WHEN the council for Virginia was organized in Jamestown, Edward Maria Wingfield was elected president. This man always showed himself to be the inveterate enemy of John Smith, and speedily drew on himself the hatred even of his accomplices, by his rapacity, cowardice and selfish extravagance. Smith demanded a trial, but the council feared to trust their charge to a jury, and kept him under suspension. But his courage and talents soon made his services indispensable.

He accompanied Captain Newport up the river to the royal seat of King Powhatan, a few miles below the falls, and not far from the present site of Richmond. Here were twelve small houses, pleasantly placed on the north bank immediately in front of three green islets. Powhatan received them with hospitality, though with secret distrust and a deep purpose of enmity. He had long ruled over the most savage tribes in Virginia, and he looked on the strangers as enemies to his power.¹

When they returned to Jamestown, they found that the Indians had already made an attack on the settlement, had slain one boy and wounded seventeen men. Wingfield's cowardice had caused this disaster. Fearful of mutiny, he had refused to permit the fort to be palisaded or guns to be mounted within. The attack of the savages might have been more fatal, but happily a gun from one of the ships carried a crossbar-shot among the boughs of a tree, and, shaking them down upon their heads, caused such consternation that they fled.² The fears of Wingfield were overruled. The fort was defended with palisades and armed with cannon, the men were exercised, and every precaution taken against a renewed attack.

Smith had indignantly rejected an insidious offer of pardon by the council. This would have been a confession of guilt. He again demanded a trial, and it could no longer be refused. He was fully acquitted, and so evident was the injustice of Wingfield that he was adjudged to pay to the accused two hundred pounds, which sum the generous Smith immediately devoted to the good of

¹ Stith's Va., 46.

² Dr. Simons, in Smith's Va., I. 151, 152.

the colony.¹ Thus restored to his place in the council, he devised and entered upon active schemes for the welfare of the settlers.

On the 15th of June, 1607, Newport set forth on his voyage of return to England, leaving, however, a pinnace and large open boat for the use of the colonists.

Left to their own resources, they soon became depressed, and began to look on their prospects with gloomy apprehension. While the ships remained they enjoyed many sea-stores, but now they had little to eat except a mixture of worm-eaten wheat and barley boiled in water. Crabs and oysters were obtained from the river with small labor, but the season rendered them unwholesome. The rank vegetation around Jamestown bred fevers and agues. To such maladies, all of Tidewater Virginia has been subject in the sickly seasons. The colonists had been reckless and imprudent in their habits. The *Peruvian* or *Jesuits' bark*, obtained from the cinchona tree of South America, had, indeed, been introduced into Spain, and had proved itself a wonderful safeguard and remedy in such diseases; but the English colonists seem to have known nothing of it.

Within ten days, hardly ten settlers were able to stand on their feet. Before the middle of September fifty were buried—among them the hardy navigator Bartholomew Gosnold. But during all these scenes of appalling mortality, President Wingfield lived in sumptuous indifference, feasting on the best provisions the colony could afford: "oatmeal, sacke, oyle, aqua vitæ, beefe, egges or whatnot."² Seeing the forlorn condition of the settlement, he attempted to seize the pinnace, and make his escape to England. These outrages so moved the council that they instantly deposed Wingfield, expelled his accomplice, Kendall, and elected Ratcliffe to the presidency. Thus the number, originally seven, was reduced to three. Newport had sailed, Gosnold was dead, Wingfield and Kendall were in disgraced retirement. Ratcliffe was nominally the head, but Smith was the governing genius.³

Ample historical authority assures us that at this dark crisis, when, without some change for the better, the colony would have become extinct, the savages around them voluntarily brought them such quantities of venison, corn and wholesome fruits, that health and cheerfulness were soon restored.⁴

Ratcliffe and Martin were incompetent, and John Smith was almost forced to assume the leadership. Their provisions being again nearly exhausted, he went with a party down the river to

¹ Stith's Va., 47. Simons, in Smith's Va., I. 152.

² Smith's Va., I. 154. Belknap's Amer. Biog., II. 228.

³ Burk's Va., I. 103.

⁴ Smith's Va., I. 155. Stith, 48. Keith, 60. Baneroff's U. S., I. 144.

Kecoughtan to seek supplies from the natives. They were at first contemptuous, offering a handful of coin and a piece of bread in exchange for swords and muskets. They then became hostile, coming against the colonists in numbers, frightfully dressed, and bearing their monstrous idol, *Okee*, stuffed with moss and hung with chains and copper. They were received with a volley of pistol-shot. The *Okee* fell to the ground, and with him several of his worshipers. The rest fled to the woods, and, finding resistance vain, they brought in quantities of corn, venison, turkeys and wild fowl, and received in exchange beads, copper, hatchets, and their *Okee*.

During this expedition, Wingfield and Kendall made another attempt to carry off the bark to England. Smith returned just in time to arrest this effort, and in the skirmish Kendall lost his life. Another effort to desert the settlement was made by Capt. Gabriel Archer and the worthless President Ratcliffe, but Smith arrested them and forced them to their duty.

Winter now came on, and with it came immense numbers of swans, geese and ducks, which covered the rivers and furnished delightful food. The settlers feasted daily on them, and enjoyed in abundance the peas, pumpkins, persimmons, and other vegetable treasures which the season afforded. Captain Smith thus describes the "persimmon," a well-known Virginia fruit: "The other, which they call *patchamins*, grow as high as a palm-tree; the fruit is like a medlar; it is first green, then yellow, and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe, it will draw a man's mouth awry with much torment; but when ripe, it is as delicious as an apricot."¹ With this change of season and nourishing food health and good spirits came back to the colonists.

But John Smith could not be inactive. He prepared his boat for a voyage, and in a season of uncommon rigor he set out on an expedition to explore the Chickahominy river, which was afterwards to be so famous in American history. The council had ungratefully charged him with negligence in not seeking the head of this river, and he determined to go up it as far as possible.

The Chickahominy falls into the James not many miles above Jamestown. It flows through a fertile region, and on its banks were many well-supplied Indian settlements. King Powhatan then reigned over about thirty tribes, from the bay to the falls of each river as far north as the Potomac.

But the space between the falls and the mountains was occupied by two Indian confederacies—the Monacans near the head

¹Smith's Va., I. 122.

of James and York rivers, and the Mannahoacs on the upper part of the Rappahannock and the Potomac. These were in amity with each other, but waged incessant war upon the Powhatans; and all the prowess of the great king could not reduce them to subjection. At the head of the bay lived the Susquehannocs, who were represented as men of gigantic stature, yet perfect symmetry, clad in skins of bears or wolves, with the grinning heads still attached, and hanging down on the breast or shoulders of the wearer. Their voices were said to be deep and solemn, like the hollow tones from a vault.¹ Beyond the mountains lived the Massawomecs, whom the eastern Indians represented as numerous and powerful, living upon a great salt water, inveterate in their enmities and terrible in war.² They were probably a branch of the celebrated Five Nations, so well known afterwards in the history of New York.³

Up the Chickahominy Captain Smith urged his boat, frequently cutting away trunks of trees or matted undergrowth which opposed his progress. Finding the passage up more and more difficult, he left the boat in a broad bay, where Indian arrows could not reach her; and, strictly forbidding the crew to leave her, he pressed on in a canoe with two Englishmen and two Indians. Hardly was he gone when the disobedient crew left the boat and sought amusement on shore. Opecancanough, an Indian chief of great subtlety and courage, was near with a lurking band of savages. He made prisoner George Cassen, one of the party who had landed, and obtained from him full information as to Smith's movements. Cassen's cowardice did not save him. The savages put him to death by tortures, and then pursued their more dreaded foe.

Smith had penetrated twenty miles into the marshes. He left the two Englishmen in the canoe, and went forward with one Indian as guide. The pursuing savages found the two men fast asleep near the canoe, and shot them to death with arrows. They then hastened after Smith. But in him they found a superior being. Binding the Indian guide firmly to his arm, he used him as a shield, and with his musket he brought down two of the pursuers. They fell back appalled. He would, perhaps, have reached the canoe and escaped; but, while in retreat, he sank to the middle in a half-frozen swamp. Finding himself deprived of strength, he made signals of submission. The savages drew him out, and, chafing his benumbed body, restored him to strength.

¹ Purchas' Pilgrims, IV. 1693. Smith, I. 119. Stith, 67, 68.

³ Jefferson's Notes, 99.

² Smith's Va., I. 120-135.

He then addressed the chief, and showed him and his band a small magnetic dial. They observed the play of the needle beneath the glass plate with simple wonder; and when the savages bound him to a tree, and prepared to pierce him through with arrows, Opecancanough held up the dial, and every arm fell.

They now conducted him in triumph to Orapaques, a favorite Indian hunting town, north of the Chickahominy marshes. Here the whole band performed a dance around the captive, yelling and shrieking like demons, and decorated with all manner of hideous ornaments. They now conceived that in the absence of the "great captain" they might successfully attack Jamestown. They offered Smith as many Indian beauties as he might select as wives, and as much land as he would have as dower, if he would aid in their schemes.

He dissuaded them from the attack, giving them a strong statement of the power of the colonists, and especially of their cannon and gunpowder. Some being still incredulous, he offered to prove his veracity if they would receive from him a scrap of paper and send it by their own messengers to the town. He wrote his directions; the Indian messengers carried them to Jamestown. There they soon witnessed a display of cannon-fire and rockets which almost deprived them of their senses. Afterwards, going to the spot designated, they found precisely the articles which their captive had stated he would obtain. Returning with a report of these wonders, the savages no longer doubted that Smith had supernatural power, and their awe grew greater from day to day.

They then conducted him to native settlements on the Pamunkey, the Mattaponi, the Piankatank, the Rappahannock, and the Potomac. Everywhere he was gazed at as more than man. In the words of one of the historians of this march, "they entertained him with most strange and fearfull conjurations,

"As if near led to hell,
Amongst the devils to dwell."¹

But nothing disturbed his courage and self-possession.

Finally, the captive was conducted to Werowocomoco, the imperial seat of Powhatan, in the county known as Gloucester, and not far from Yorktown, where the last scene of the war of revolution was enacted.

Here he appeared before Powhatan, who received him with a display of all the savage splendor that his court could furnish.

¹ Smith's Va., I. 160.

Two hundred grim attendants surrounded him, and behind them were the numerous ladies of the court, decked with the white down of birds, and with chains of glittering beads. The Queen of Appomattox brought him water to wash his hands, and another damsel offered him a bunch of feathers to dry them.

But among all who gazed on him, none regarded him with more interest, dawning into affection, than Pocahontas, or Matoaka, the young daughter of the king. She was then in early womanhood. She entreated her stern father to spare the noble captive's life.

But the king and his counselors decided that a life so important to the colonists could not be spared. Sentence of death was pronounced. Two large stones were brought and laid near the feet of the king, and the captive was seized and forced down with his head upon them. The clubs of several strong savages were upraised. Another moment would have ended the life most important to Virginia. But in that moment, Pocahontas, with a cry which thrilled every heart, threw herself upon the prostrate captive and clasped his neck with her arms. Her own head shielded his from the threatened blow, and raising her eyes to her father's face, she silently pleaded for mercy. The king relented. John Smith was spared. In two days, after a captivity of seven weeks, he returned in safety to Jamestown.

The historic truth of this incident, the most romantic of a romantic life, has been denied.¹ But its authenticity has been vindicated upon grounds so solid, and by reasoning so logical, that it must retain its place in any sound history of the early colonization of America.²

¹ By Thomas Fuller, in his "Worthies." Swinton, Cond. U. S., note, p. 32. Anderson's Gram. School U. S., note, p. 19. Palfrey. Thalheimer's Eccl. U. S., note, 47. Charles Deane, 1860. Alexander Brown, Genesis, I. 170.

² Prof. G. F. Holmes' U. S., 33, note. A. H. Stephens' U. S. (School), 21. W. W. Henry, address before Va. Hist. Society, 1882. Bancroft, I. 147. Eggleston, Quackenbos, Ellis, Goodrich, Barnes, D. B. Scott, Derry, Blackburn & McDonald. Henry Stephens and Prof. Edward Arber, in the Athenæum. Ch. Observer, Louisville, Sept. 25th, 1889.

CHAPTER X.

THE VIRGINIA COLONY NEAR TO DEATH.

AS usual, on his return Smith found disorder and insubordination running riot among the colonists. The pinnace had again been seized, and he was obliged to direct the guns of the fort against the mutineers and compel submission.

Early in the winter, Newport arrived again with two ships from England. He projected a trading scheme up the York river, in which Smith accompanied him. Powhatan was too keen for Newport, and so managed the trade with him that the English received only four bushels of corn for what they had expected to bring them twenty hogsheads.¹ But Smith's adroitness and skill more than restored the balance. He passed before the eyes of the king and his people beads of the deepest blue color, which he assured them were only worn by the mightiest kings in the "far country." Thus for a few pounds of blue beads he obtained several hundred bushels of corn. Yet, they parted in perfect amity. But such transactions cannot be vindicated: and their repetition through all the early colonial times tended strongly to alienate and embitter the Indians.

In December a fire, kindled by accident, destroyed many houses and much clothing and provision in Jamestown.

But early in 1608, a bright phantom rose for a time to deceive them. In the neck of land in the rear of Jamestown, a stream of water swept out shining dust from a sand bank. Believing that this was gold, Newport's ship was loaded with it; and when the *Phoenix*, under Captain Nelson, arrived from the West Indies, Martin was madly intent on loading her also with this glittering sand. But the remonstrances of Smith prevailed, and she took in a cargo of cedar wood. These ships carried back Wingfield and Archer, and thus relieved the colony of two pests. We need hardly say that the sand, on arrival, was found worthless.

John Smith made a number of minor trips and two full voyages of exploration in Virginia. In an open boat of three tons burden, with a crew of thirteen, and carrying with him Walter Russel, a physician of high character and courage, who has left

¹Smith's Va., I. 167. Stith, 88.

accounts of these voyages, Smith penetrated each of the larger rivers of Virginia to the falls, encountered the natives everywhere, fought the brave Rappahannocs near the site of Fredericksburg, awed the more warlike Indians by his courage, conciliated the peaceful, discovered the exhaustless resources of the country, and made surveys, from which he afterwards prepared a map of astonishing accuracy and extent.¹

In one part of the Potomac they found the fish so abundant that they were packed together with their mouths above water; and having no nets the voyagers captured some with a *frying-pan*. Near the mouth of the Rappahannock, Smith plunged the point of his sword into a singular fish, "like a thornback," with a long tail and from it a poisoned sting. In taking it off it drove the sting into his wrist, producing torturing pain, and in a few hours the whole hand, arm and shoulder had swollen so fearfully that death seemed inevitable. He pointed out a place for his grave, and his men, with heavy hearts, prepared it. But Dr. Russel applied the probe and used an oil with such success that Smith was soon well, and ate part of the same fish for his supper.² This locality has borne the name of Stingray Point ever since.

Returning from the first voyage the 21st of July, they found sickness, want, depression and turmoil. Martin had sailed in the *Phenix*. Ratcliffe was president; and while all around him were suffering and want, he was causing an elegant mansion to be erected in the woods for his own special comfort. The popular discontent might have had fatal results but for Smith's arrival. Ratcliffe was deposed, and, at last, the only man fit for the office was made president; but, as he was about to set out on another voyage, he left Matthew Scrivener as his deputy, and sailed with twelve men on the 24th of July. This voyage was the most adventurous and varied that he had made. In the neighborhood of what is now Norfolk he encountered the Chesapeakes and Nansemonds, three hundred in number, and boldly meeting their incessant flights of arrows, replied with volleys of musket-balls, which so subdued the natives that they sued for peace, and bought it with their chief's bow and arrows, a chain of pearl, and four hundred baskets of corn.³

Returning in triumph, he reached Jamestown September 7th, 1608, after an absence of nearly two months.

Scrivener had governed well. Ratcliffe was a prisoner for mutiny. The first harvest of corn had been gathered in, though

¹ It is in Purchas, IV. 1691, and Smith's Va., I. 149.

³ Hillard's Smith, II. 277.

² Dr. Russel, in Smith, I. 179.

somewhat injured by rain. Smith could no longer decline the presidency, and was formally elected on the 10th of September.

His administration was vigorous and wise. The church was rebuilt, the storehouse repaired, a new building erected for supplies, the fort put in order, and a regular watch established. The men were drilled every Saturday. Habits of industry were required.

Capt. Newport arrived with a ship from England containing another supply of settlers and provisions. We find in the shipping list the usual superabundance of indolent gentlemen and dissipated cavaliers, with few laborers and fewer mechanics. But in this ship came eight Poles and Germans skilled in making tar, pitch, glass, mills and soap-ashes; also Mrs. Forrest and her maid, Anne Burras, the first European women who had come to Jamestown. The London Council enjoined on Newport three objects, viz., a lump of gold, a discovery of the South Sea, or one of the lost colony of Sir Walter Raleigh.¹

But the great ceremony first to be performed was the coronation of King Powhatan by authority of King James. Smith accompanied Newport to Werowocomoco for the purpose. Pocahontas had aided in getting up a masquerade for the special entertainment of the English, in which Indian maidens very nearly nude were the performers. The narrator of this scene could not have thought very highly of these damsels, as he calls them "fiends," speaks of their "hellish shouts and cries," and bitterly complains of their tormenting him by "crowding, pressing and hanging about him, most tediously crying, 'Love you not me? Love you not me?'"²

But old Powhatan bore himself like a king. He was willing to wear the scarlet cloak and other royal apparel offered, but absolutely refused to kneel when the crown was placed on his head. Several attendants pressed on his shoulders, and while thus bent by force, three others placed the crown on his brow. Immediately a pistol-shot was fired, followed by a volley from the boat. Powhatan sprang up and seized his arms. But finding this was part of the ceremony, he grew calm, and presented to Captain Newport his worn mantle and his old shoes!³

After taking part in this high pageant, Newport set forth with one hundred and twenty chosen men to explore the country above the falls and discover the South Sea. They accomplished nothing except to exhaust their own strength, provoke the natives, and

¹ Smith, I. 192. Bancroft, I. 150.

² Smith's Va., I. 194, 195. Hillard, II. 285.

³ Stith, 78, 79. Smith, I. 196.

delude themselves with the phantom of a silver mine. They then returned to Jamestown "disappointed, half sick, and all complaining, being sadly harassed with toil, famine and discontent."

Smith had foretold these results. He thought it now time to exercise his authority as president, and direct their labor to more profitable ends.

He set the cavaliers and gentlemen to work in the forest with axes, to fell the trees and prepare boards for building. They soon began to relish their work, and took delight in hearing the thunder of the falling trees. But their hands were tender, and often tremendous oaths fell from their lips. Smith corrected this evil habit by having the oaths counted, and for each one, at the close of the day, a can of cold water was poured down the sleeve of the offender.¹

His firm and wise administration for more than a year produced manifest improvement. The colonists became secure in their persons and property; the arts were encouraged; glass, tar and soap-ashes were tried; a well of excellent water was opened; twenty houses were built; nets and weirs were prepared for fishing; fowls were domesticated, and increased with great rapidity; Hog Island abounded in swine.

He was equally successful with the natives, who all regarded him with respect and awe. He had several personal encounters, one with Opecancanough, whom he seized by the scalping lock, and, turning a pistol against his breast, subdued him and his followers. Pocahontas continued to regard him with affection.

On one dark and stormy night a plot was arranged by the Indians to destroy him. Pocahontas hastened through the darkness and the wintry rain to the cottage where the president was reposing and revealed the plot, which was met and defeated by his prompt and vigorous precautions.

In the autumn of 1609 Smith met with a serious accident. On his return from the seat of Powhatan, on James river, while asleep in his boat, his powder-bag took fire, and the explosion tore the flesh from his body and inflicted a terrible wound. Unable to procure the needed surgical aid in the colony, he sailed for England. He never returned to Jamestown, though he made a successful voyage to the region which was afterwards New England. He died in London in 1631, at the age of fifty-two.

Meanwhile the adventurers in the London Company had been deeply disappointed at the meagre results in money and gold

¹ Smith, I. 197. Stith, 80.

coming from the colony. They applied to King James for a new charter, and on the 23d of May, 1609, he granted them a patent, from which they promised themselves success.

He erected a gigantic corporation, under the style of the Treasurer and Company for Virginia. It consisted of more than twenty peers of the realm, nearly one hundred knights, and a great crowd of mercers, drapers, fishmongers, grocers, goldsmiths, skinners, salters, ironmongers, wax-chandlers, butchers, saddlers, and barber-chirurgeons.

Sir Thomas Smith was appointed treasurer. He had amassed a large fortune as a merchant in London. The company organized under its charter, and elected Thomas West—Lord Delaware—governor and captain-general of the colony. He was a man noble in birth, generous in disposition, of commanding talents, and of peculiar fitness for nursing and encouraging an infant settlement.¹

Emigrants now offered themselves from every quarter and of every class. Nine vessels were equipped—the *Sea Adventure*, the *Diamond*, the *Falcon*, the *Blessing*, the *Unity*, the *Swallow*, the *Lion*—with a ketch and a pinnace. Nearly five hundred settlers were aboard, besides their crews, and the auspices seemed so flattering that this was styled the Virginia voyage.²

Lord Delaware was to follow in a few months. Sir George Somers was admiral, Sir Thomas Gates lieutenant-general, and Christopher Newport commander. But the question of priority not being determined among them, they all embarked on the same vessel—the *Sea Adventure*.

They set sail from Plymouth the 2d of June, 1609, and, notwithstanding their express orders to proceed directly westward, they went as far south as the 26th degree of latitude, and soon had disease and death among their crews. On the 24th July a fearful tropical storm came on them, with lightning, thunder and wind, which threatened their destruction. The ships were all separated. The ketch, unable to endure the tempest, foundered, and all her crew were lost.

Seven vessels rode out the storm, and in a shattered condition arrived in Virginia in the month of August. So large a fleet excited alarm. Believing them to be Spaniards, John Smith, who was yet in Virginia and president, prepared to give them a rude welcome; but when the mistake was discovered they were gladly received.

¹ New Life of Va. Force's Hist. Tracts, Vol. I. Belknap's Am. Biog., II. 115.

² New Life of Va., 9, 10.

It was soon found that they added little to the real strength of the colony. The provisions they brought, with those on hand, were not sufficient. Had the new colonists been men of perseverance and industry, they would soon have drawn enough from land and water to feed them; but they were the worst material that had yet come. Gentlemen reduced to poverty by gaming and extravagance, too proud to beg, too lazy to dig; broken tradesmen tainted with fraud; footmen with all honest reputation expended; rakes consumed by disease and impurity; libertines whose race of sin was yet to run, and "unruly sparks packed off by their friends to escape worse destinies at home"—of such were these last colonists; and, for climax of evil, the three men, Ratcliffe, Archer and Martin, who had been sent away with the hope that they were gone forever, now returned to plague Virginia by their insubordinate folly.¹

During the few weeks he remained, Smith strove with courage and decision to arrest the evils of such an influx. But after his wound compelled his withdrawal, the disorder, idleness and vices of the colonists speedily brought on results which were appalling.

He left in Virginia at least four hundred and ninety persons (of whom one hundred were well-trained soldiers), twenty-four pieces of ordnance, a large quantity of muskets, fire-locks, shot, powder, pikes, and swords; nets for fishing, tools for labor, clothes enough for all wants; horses, swine, poultry, sheep, and goats in abundance; a harvest newly gathered; three ships, seven boats—in short, all that was needed for prosperity if it had been properly used.² In a few months this profusion was squandered, those resources were turned to the worst purposes, and those fair numbers were brought down low by idleness and vice.

George Percy, the nominal president, was sick and feeble. Riot and sedition everywhere prevailed. Emboldened by their discords, the Indians assailed them on every side, drove in the feeble settlements at Nansemond and Powhatan planted by West and Martin, and threatened Jamestown with destruction. King Powhatan threw off his apathy, and actively plotted against the wretched colonists. He tempted Ratcliffe and about forty men within his reach for the alleged purpose of trade, and then, with his warriors, suddenly fell on them; and none escaped except one boy, whom the ever-generous Pocahontas rescued from the hands of the murderers.³

¹ *New Life of Va.*, 10. Stith, 103. Keith, 116, 117. Bancroft, I. 154. Beverley, 21, 22.

² Smith, I. 240, 241. Marshall. *Grahame's Colon. Hist.*, I. 44.

³ Stith, 116. Burk, I. 157.

To these horrors was soon added the greater horror of famine. For centuries afterwards this fatal season was spoken of as "the starving time." As regular food disappeared they resorted to the most revolting means of sustenance. The bodies and skins of horses were cooked. It is said that the body of an Indian who had been slain was disinterred and eagerly devoured. Some historians relate that one miserable wretch slew his wife from hatred, and fed upon her body several days before the deed was discovered.¹

Of all that Smith left in Virginia, only sixty persons now survived. These maintained a feeble life upon roots, herbs, berries, and a few fish from the river. Ten days more would probably have closed the scene, when an arrival took place which rekindled, for a brief time, their expiring hopes.

In the storm already mentioned, the *Sea Adventure*, on which were the three high officers, Somers, Gates and Newport, was wrecked, and cast ashore on one of the small group of islands, now known as the Bermudas, lying in the Atlantic five hundred and eighty miles eastwardly from the coast of North Carolina. They are supposed to have been discovered by Juan Bermudez, a Spanish navigator, in 1522. Lying near the angle where the trade-winds meet, they are subject to terrible storms and hurricanes.²

The Spaniards believed them to be haunted by ghosts and demons; but when the wrecked colonists of the *Sea Adventure* landed, they found no hostile spirits. The air was pure, the heavens were serene, the waters abounded with excellent fish, the beach was covered with turtle, birds enlivened the forests, and the whole island swarmed with hogs, which were easily captured.

Amid this profusion they remained nine months; but Somers longed to carry out his colonizing scheme. Two vessels were constructed from the cedar of the island and the remains of the *Sea Adventure*. They had some provisions saved from their vessel, and a large store of pork from the wild hogs of the island, cured with salt obtained by crystallizing the sea-water on the rocks around them.

Their vessels were named the *Patience* and the *Deliverance*. On the 10th of May, 1610, they set sail and steered for Virginia. They reached Jamestown on the 24th, and met a group of wretched beings, weak, pallid, emaciated, starving. Deep gloom filled all their souls.

¹ Smith, II. 2. Stith, 116. Keith, 121. Burk, I. 157.

² Art. Bermudas, New Amer. Encyclop., III. 175.

There was no reaction. Sir George Somers did, indeed, seek to inspire them with hope; and, to procure a supply of hogs, returned to the Bermudas, where he died.¹

Capt. Samuel Argall commanded one of the two pinnaces, but was driven off from Bermuda towards Sagadahoc and Cape Cod by a violent tempest, in which his fine seamanship saved his vessel. He returned to the waters of Virginia.²

With difficulty the new-comers gathered from the feeble and almost imbecile survivors in Jamestown some idea of their sufferings and condition. It was determined that the colony should be abandoned. Some even proposed to burn all their buildings and sweep away every vestige of the attempted settlement; but Sir Thomas Gates steadily resisted this barbarous design.

On the 7th of June, 1610, the drum beat a melancholy measure, and the colonists embarked on four pinnaces, and turned their backs on the deserted settlement.

On the morning of the 8th they had been wafted by the ebb tide to Mulberry Island Point. While waiting the turn of the tide they saw a boat approaching. In one hour they learned that Lord Delaware had arrived from England with three ships and an ample supply of provisions. Hearing at Point Comfort of the proposed abandonment, he had sent the boat before him to encourage them and prevent their departure.

Instantly the cloud of gloom rolled away. Hope returned. Spreading their sails to a fair easterly wind, the whole fleet sailed up the river, and on Sunday, the 10th day of June, 1610, came to anchor at the very spot which three days before they had left with stern resolve never to return.³

¹ Bermudas, Amer. Encyclop., III. 175.

² Argall's Voyage, Brown's Genesis, I. 428-439.

³ Simmons' Narrative, in Smith, II. 3. Stith, 117. Marshall, 46. Burk, I. 160, 161.

CHAPTER XI.

POCAHONTAS AND ROLFE.—SPAIN'S OPPOSITION.—INDIAN MASSACRE.—THE LONDON COMPANY DISSOLVED.

THUS was the Virginia colony saved when it seemed to be lost. It has been necessary to dwell at some length on its origin and early life, because it was the first settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race in North America, and because its elements were in many respects peculiar, and in several unpromising; and yet they contained a germ of *perseverance*, which was to be the type of the highest New World civilization.

Henceforth, in this work, a narrative more condensed and less minute and expanded will best subserve our purposes, except in those events of history which specially demand elaborate presentation.

Lord Delaware proved himself a wise and faithful governor, and by his devout and earnest example did much to correct the worst errors of the colonists. The Indians ceased to molest; disorder was firmly checked; industry was encouraged; prosperity began to appear.

But in a short time Lord Delaware's own health failed, and he was compelled to return to England. Sir Thomas Dale succeeded him as president and high marshal of Virginia. In 1611, Dale was succeeded by Sir Thomas Gates, who came over with six ships, three hundred emigrants, and large stores of provisions and domestic animals. The population had increased to seven hundred, and settlements were successfully renewed at Henrico and Nansemond, and made in other places along the rivers.

A historian states that the cows, goats and swine brought over by Gates were the first introduced into the New World.¹ But this is a mistake. Hogs in considerable numbers were in Virginia during Smith's administration. They swarmed in the Bermuda Islands; and it is quite certain that horses, cows and goats had been brought over by the Spaniards.

While high marshal, Sir Thomas Dale had found the colonists so disorderly and insubordinate that he had put into active movement the code of "martial law," which Sir Thomas Smith, the

¹ A. H. Stephens' Comp. Hist. of U. S., p. 34.

treasurer of the council, had sent over. It was very summary and severe, and yet needful under existing circumstances. Dale has been harshly criticised in history concerning it, but unjustly.¹ He used it with care and discrimination. Industry revived, tumults ceased, and plenty began again to appear. Gradually "martial law" became obsolete; and when an attempt was afterwards made to revive it, the colonists complained, and secured from the council in England its final repeal.

Sir Thomas Dale is entitled to the credit of having changed the damaging rule of community in lands to the salutary and stimulating principle of allotting three acres as the private property of each man. The quantity was afterwards increased to fifty acres. This change soon began to yield the happiest results. The amendment has been attributed to Gates, but Dale was its real author. He was a soldier, and stern in the requirement of good behavior, but just, wise and successful in building up the colony. Gates ruled only one year. Dale was the ruler, in substance, for nearly five years.

In the year 1609, Captain Samuel Argall, a kinsman of Sir Thomas Smith, had come to Virginia with a single ship, drawn by the desire of the London Company to find a shorter route, and by the hope of gain from the fishery of sturgeon and traffic with the colony. He sailed from Portsmouth May 5th, 1609.² He was bold and enterprising, but unscrupulous, tyrannical and cruel.

He soon gave evidences of his character. Early in 1612, two ships arrived from England, bringing more men, but a scanty store of food. King Powhatan had discouraged his people from helping the colonists with corn or other provisions. Wishing to obtain a valuable hostage and thus secure the king's favor, Argall resorted to a bold, but shameful measure.

Since Smith's departure the princess Pocahontas had withdrawn from Werowocomoco, and was living in retirement among her friends on the Potomac. Argall, learning of this from Japazaws, the king of this region, gained him over to his purposes and sailed up the river in one of his barks. A copper kettle was the price paid by the English for the perfidy of the Indians. By false pretences, Pocahontas was enticed into the gun-room of Argall's ship; then, immediately weighing anchor, he carried the innocent and helpless girl a prisoner to Jamestown.³ Yet, a Scottish historian, in his history of America, makes no allusion to this perfidy,

¹ Eggleston's Household U. S., 29.

² Alexander Brown's Genesis, I. 307.

³ David B. Scott, School Hist. U. S., p. 33. Brown's Genesis, II. 640-644.

and intimates that the conduct of the English towards her was unexceptionable!¹

Fortunately, Divine alchemy can bring gold out of dross—good out of evil. Pocahontas was treated by Governor Dale with all the respect and tenderness she deserved. She became deeply impressed by the refining influences of Christian civilization. At Bermuda Hundreds, the governor's seat, on the James, in what is now Chesterfield county, she spent part of her time, and was instructed in religion by Rev. Alexander Whitaker, a minister of the Anglican church, who had shown much zeal for the welfare of the Indians. She accepted Christ and was baptized.²

Among the settlers now in Jamestown was John Rolfe, a young English gentleman of good abilities and a spotless character. He fell in love with the young Indian princess, and his feelings were reciprocated. He proposed marriage, and when his offer was made known to King Powhatan, his majesty gave a gracious answer, and sent his brother Opachisco and two of his sons to attend the nuptials.

Early in April, 1613, this union was solemnized by Rev. Mr. Whitaker in the small church of the colony. The Indian princess became the wife of an English gentleman. The happiest results followed. Powhatan no longer treated the colonists as enemies. During the rest of his life he and his people maintained with them the most amicable relations.³

In 1616, Dale sailed for England, carrying with him John Rolfe and his young wife Pocahontas. Capt. John Smith was in London. He wrote to the queen and enlisted her sympathies for his preserver. Pocahontas was visited by courtiers and nobles. Lady Delaware presented her at court. Her genuine modesty, good sense and dignity impressed all who met her. Masks, balls and theatrical exhibitions were daily presented for her amusement. But the noise and smoke of the city were so offensive that she soon retired to the pleasant village of Brentford. Here she met John Smith. She had been told that he was dead, and now when she met him, conflicting emotions so overcame her that she turned from him and covered her face with her hands. But there is no sufficient basis for the idea that she had loved him with a deeper love than friendship. She soon recovered her composure, and asked the privilege of calling him her father.⁴

¹ Dr. Robertson's America, I. 410.

² Bishop Wm. Meade's Old Families and Churches of Va., 76-78. Rev. Dr. W. H. Foote's Sketches, 25-27.

³ Stith, 130, 131. Smith, II. 16.

⁴ Smith's Narrative, II. 32, 33. Stith, 143.

Early in 1617, John Rolfe and Pocahontas, with their infant son, Thomas Rolfe, arrived at Gravesend, intending to embark for Virginia. Here she was stricken by a dangerous malady, and in a few days died, in the twenty-third year of her age. Her son, after spending his childhood and youth in England, came to Virginia, and by his fortune and talents exercised a happy influence upon her destinies. He died, leaving an only daughter, who intermarried with Col. Robert Bolling and had a son, John Bolling, who was the father of John Bolling and of five daughters, who were severally married to Richard Randolph, John Flemming, Dr. William Gay, Thomas Eldridge and James Murray. From these, many descendants yet live in the United States.¹

Returning now to Governor Dale and Captain Argall, we find them engaged in an expedition very little above piracy. As early as 1605 the French had settled Acadia (now Nova Scotia), and planted a colony at Port Royal. King James' first patent expressly excluded any land then actually possessed by a Christian prince or people. But Dale, moved by military instincts, conceived that as the French settlements were between 34° and 45° north latitude, they were part of the territory of Virginia. He sent Argall to attack them.

Early in 1614 this bold and unscrupulous leader sailed north, attacked Port Royal, shot many of the garrison, and killed a gallant Jesuit, Gilbert Du Thet, who resisted him, drove the settlers into the woods, seized all the provisions, furniture and clothing he could find, and then turned his bow to the southward, carrying with him the Jesuit Biard and other prisoners. But, by way of completing the work of reform, after his second hostile expedition to Port Royal, he entered the sound at the mouth of the Hudson river, and summoned the Dutch settlements on Manhattan Island to surrender, on the absurd pretence that Capt. Hendrik Hudson, who, in the service of the Dutch, had discovered this country in 1609, was an Englishman, and could not deprive his native land of the benefit of his discovery. Unable to resist, the fort surrendered; but soon afterwards, a reinforcement having arrived, the phlegmatic Dutchmen rehoisted their colors, and all things were as before Argall's raid.² By Sir Thomas Dale's orders, Argall returned to Acadia, and destroyed the French fortifications at Mount Desert, St. Croix and Port Royal, arriving again at Jamestown about December 1st, 1614.

¹ Burk's Va., I. 190.

² Stith, 132. Grahame's Colon. Hist., I. 65. Bancroft and Belknap say in 1613, but are wrong. Father Biard's Narrative, Brown's Genesis, II. 709-718.

We have no reason to believe that the English government approved these proceedings of Dale and Argall; but they curiously illustrate the crude views then held as to rights derived from discovery.

In 1615, tobacco became a staple product of Virginia, profitable to her agriculturists, though very injurious to her lands and of doubtful benefit to the world. It is thought to have been found first on the small island of Tobago, and to have hence obtained its name. Walter Raleigh first made it fashionable in England, and smoked so vigorously on one occasion that his servant, fearing he was on fire, poured a tankard of ale over his head.¹

Revolting to an uninitiated taste, abhorred by the brute creation, fatal even to the insects which men profess most to dislike, this weed has yet gained its way to the pouch of the beggar and the household stores of the monarch on his throne.* It is estimated now to be smoked, chewed, snuffed or dipped by about eight hundred millions of people—more than half the whole population of the earth. So long as this condition exists, the weed will continue to be planted and raised.

Finding that tobacco paid them better than the search for gold and silver, the sawing of plank, the raising of silk-worms, or the manufacture of tar, pitch, turpentine, pot and pearl ashes, the Virginia people began to appropriate to it her rich and sunny soils. So violent was the tobacco mania that Dale restrained it by law, and yet, two years afterwards, when Argall came from England as governor to Virginia, he found the church in decay, and the church-yard, the market square and some of the streets of Jamestown full of growing tobacco plants.²

The period of colonization between 1605 and 1616, to the end of which we have now brought the Virginia colony, was marked by opposition from Spain, the history of which has been fully disclosed only within a few years past.³ Fortunately, it was never made formidable or effectual by actual naval or military movements from Spain.

She had reached the climax of her power and influence, and had also commenced her period of decadence and ruin under Philip II. He was succeeded in 1598 by the son of his fourth marriage, Philip III., who was nearly imbecile, and was wanting in the capacity for business, which had made his father respectable, notwithstanding his bigotry and cruelty. Philip III. reigned till 1621. Spain continued to decay in power under him.

¹ Oldys' Raleigh, 32. Stith, 21. Burk's Va., I. 61.

² Holmes' Annals, I. 153. Grahame's Colon. Hist., I. 67.

³ In Alexander Brown's Genesis of the United States, 1890.

The Spanish ambassadors to England, Don Pedro de Zuñiga and Don Alonzo de Velasco, wrote to Philip III. not less than forty-three letters, from 1606 to 1613, giving him information—sometimes vague, sometimes minute and accurate—concerning the English movements to colonize Virginia, and urging him to send an armed force and annihilate the infant settlement.¹

But Philip's answers prove that he knew very little about Virginia. He wrote of her three times as an "island." And the memory of the destruction of the "grand armada" in 1588 by British ships and cannon, seconded by storms and tempests from heaven, had wrought a permanent terror in the souls of Spain and her rulers. No armed attack on the Virginia colony was attempted.

One English ship, *The Richard of Plymouth* (Captain Henry Challons), of about fifty-five tons burden, was captured by a Spanish naval force in the West India waters in November, 1606.² But the capture was never recognized as made by authority of the Spanish government, and the captain and crew, after being carried to Spain, were in due time released.

The only attempt actually made by Philip III. against the Virginia colony was in the summer of 1611, when a Spanish caravel, sailing from a port of Portugal and "fitted with a shallop necessarie and prepper to discover freshetts, Rivers and Creekes," came into Chesapeake Bay to the neighborhood of Point Comfort.³ She had aboard of her two Spaniards, Molina and Perez, and an Englishman, Lymbry, who had entered the service of Spain. They were all spies specially employed by Philip III. to report the condition of Virginia and her colony. The three came ashore, and, having excited suspicion, were detained by the Virginia authorities. But, by a curious *contretemps*, a pilot, Captain Clark, was sent aboard the caravel from the shore, and, taking the alarm, the vessel sailed to Spain, carrying off the pilot and leaving the three spies.

This subject was made the occasion of several letters between the two governments. The diplomatic controversy ran through five years. The result was that Captain Clark died in Spain. Perez died in Virginia. Sir Thomas Dale caused Lymbry to be brought to trial. He was convicted and executed.⁴ Only Molina survived. He was of good birth and pretensions. Dale carried

¹ They are all given in the "Genesis," copied from the Simancas archives.

² Narrative of John Stoneman, pilot, Purchas' Pilgrims, IV. 1832-'37, and Brown's Genesis, I. 127-139.

³ Sir Thomas Dale's Report, August 17, 1611. Brown's Genesis of the United States, I. 507, 508.

⁴ Brown's Genesis, II. 782.

him with him to England in May, 1616. He was permitted to return to Spain.

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, better known as the celebrated Count de Gondomar, became the ambassador of Spain to England in August, 1613. He was too sagacious and able ever to advise an armed attack on the English colonies in North America. In truth, he had formed the opinion, from the continuous disasters which came so near to a final catastrophe in 1610, that the colony of Virginia would be virtually abandoned or would be transferred to the more promising field of Bermuda. A rumor of preparations for a Spanish armed fleet to invade Virginia gradually faded away.¹

When Dale left Virginia in 1616, he placed the reins of government in the hands of George Yeardley, whose name will always be connected with the origin of constitutional freedom in the United States. But he was mild and amiable in character, and governed with a weak hand, very different from that of Dale. By the influence of Lord Rich and Sir Thomas Smith in the London Council, Capt. Samuel Argall was appointed deputy governor.

He arrived in May, 1617, and immediately entered upon a course of high-handed power. He revived the martial code and breathed new force into its worst elements, which Dale had kept in abeyance. He bound private commerce in chains, forbade hunting under penalty of *slavery*, and prohibited the use of fire-arms except by his special license. Any person neglecting to go to church on Sundays and holidays was to "lye neck and heels that night," and be a slave for a week; for the second offence he was to be outlawed for a month, and for the third, for a year and a day.² It was Argall, not Dale, who made the martial code so odious that the people never rested until it was abolished.

Lord Delaware was preparing to resume in person his duties as governor. In 1618 he sailed with a large ship and two hundred settlers. But adverse winds and storms delayed his progress. His delicate health could not bear up under this pressure. He died at sea, having reached a point not far from the mouth of the bay now bearing his name.

In the same year two other great men, closely connected with the fortunes of Virginia, descended to the grave. They were Sir Walter Raleigh and King Powhatan.

Argall kept on his rapacious course, and Lady Delaware herself has left on record complaints of her losses by this reckless speculator.³

¹ Brown's Genesis. Digby's Dispatches, II. 606, 607, 656, 658.

² Marshall's Amer. Colon., 53. Stith, 147, 148.

³ Stith, 149, 151. Belknap, II. 156, 157.

The clamor against him soon became so loud that even Sir Thomas Smith could no longer countenance him. The company in London appointed Sir George Yeardley to supersede him. Then the Earl of Warwick, formerly Lord Rich, who was like him in character and shared his dishonest profits, sent a small vessel to Virginia, which arrived just in time to bear away Argall and his ill-gotten treasures before the arrival of his successor.¹

The arrival of Sir George Yeardley in the spring of 1619 was the opening of a new era in the life of North America. The London Company has been much traduced and censured; but it is certain that among its members were many souls who knew what self-government meant for man, and longed for its coming. Yeardley brought with him several charters and plenary powers, and under them he was authorized to call together the first "General Assembly" that ever sat upon the soil of the New World.

The change made in the working of the London Company in 1612 had been all in favor of freedom, though the king did not contemplate it. The council in London no longer had supreme power. A vote was given to each stockholder, and at the quarterly meetings of the representatives thus chosen free counsels and free policy prevailed. Thus was brought about the grand movement under which Sir George Yeardley acted in 1619.

"Little did King James and his obsequious servants imagine that he had imparted being to a parent who was now to give birth to a child destined by his own innate vigor to shake the dominion of Britain to its centre, and finally to change the aspect of the most powerful nations of earth!"

About the close of June, 1619, the first "General Assembly" met at Jamestown. Counties were yet unknown, but each borough or township sent a representative, and from this the legislators acquired the name of "Burgesses," which they long retained.

The representatives sat and voted in the same room with the council, and the governor retained a negative upon all laws or other action. Not one of the acts of this first assembly has been preserved. Neither have we the original charter granted by the London Company; but we may presume that it did not differ materially from the constitution afterwards established under Sir Francis Wyatt.²

Virginia now entered on a period of prosperity and progress. The people devoted themselves to agriculture and the needed

¹ Stith, 154-157. Belknap, II. 158. Beverley and Keith are unreliable about Argall.

² Henning's Stat., I. 76, note.

manufactures. New settlers came, and of a far better character than those of the early colonial years. During the year 1620, twelve hundred emigrants came to Virginia, and her population at its close numbered thirty-five hundred.¹

Happy in the highest sense would it have been for Virginia and North America if she could have escaped the form of importation of human beings that came in this same year. The raising of corn, tobacco, cotton, rice and sugar-cane might not have been pushed forward with as much energy as the money-loving instincts of the planters and their families demanded; but a slower development of these productions would have been attended by contentment and industry, without the presence of an institution which originated in crime, shocked the moral sense of advanced civilization, and finally brought on a war of bitterness and extent seldom known in the world. Yet this importation was made so quietly, and was so entirely accordant with the state of thought then prevalent in Europe, that it caused no tremor in the hands that first recorded it.

In August, 1620, a Dutch ship of war sailed up the James, landed twenty negroes lately taken from the African coast, and quickly obtained a sale for them from the planters, who wanted them to work their fields for corn and tobacco, and who bought them with as little doubt or compunction as they would have felt in buying as many horses or mules if brought and offered for sale. The contemporary record is: "A Dutch man of warre that sold us twenty *negars*."² Man cannot see the future.

Another importation of a radically different kind was made this same year. Matrimonial unions had not been numerous. Many entire families had come out, it is true; but so many single men had also come that they composed the larger element in society. There were no young unmarried women. The maid Anne Burras, who came over in 1608, did not wait long for a husband. She was united to John Laydon, one of the first settlers, and their marriage was the first ever solemnized between Europeans on the soil of Virginia.

To provide suitable wives for the many single colonists, the London Company sent out on two occasions ship-loads of marriageable young women to the colony. Great care was taken to exclude all as to whose reputation for chastity any serious doubt was raised; and by order of the council, two women were sent back to England who were shown to be unworthy in this respect,

¹ Swinton's Cond. School Hist. U. S., p. 33.

² Smith, II. 39. Beverley, 35. Stith, 182. Grahame, I. 71.

As the company incurred some expense in seeking and sending the young female colonists, on arrival they were offered for sale under proper restrictions. The price required at first was one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco, but it was afterwards advanced to one hundred and fifty. At three shillings per pound, this would be about eighty dollars, but allowing for the then greater value of money, each of these young women brought about one hundred and fifty dollars. They were sold in brief time, and duly united in wedlock to their respective purchasers.¹

Family ties were formed; mutual content prevailed; life began to grow brighter; cares lost their depressing power. These women made good wives. No unfortunate result has ever been recorded as to this experiment.

And yet another importation occurred during this year, which, unlike the one just mentioned, was disgraceful to King James and his government. In 1619 he expressly commanded the London Company to transport to the colony one hundred convicts, guilty of every species of felony, or else adjudged to be too bad to remain in England. The company objected, entreated, remonstrated, appealed, in vain. After some delay, they brought them over. One historian of the colonial times denounced this act of the king, which "hath laid one of the finest countries in British America under the unjust scandal of being a mere hell upon earth."² Strange, indeed, that another, of even higher fame, should have approved and defended it.³

Amid all these events Virginia continued to prosper. But a dark cloud was hanging over her, caused by savage malice and treachery.

After the death of the Emperor Powhatan, the able and wily chief Opecancanough succeeded him. He is spoken of as a brother of Powhatan, but it is doubtful whether he was related to him at all. The Indians and many whites believed he came from a tribe far in the southwest—perhaps from the interior of Mexico.⁴

Secretly, and with consummate fraud and skill, this chief brought nearly all the savages of Tidewater Virginia to unite in a plot for the extermination of the whites. He availed himself of every pretext that would help his purpose, and especially of the death of a noted young Indian warrior named "Jack of the Feather," who, after having murdered, by treachery, a colonist named Morgan and rifled his body, was himself shot down by

¹ Purchas' Pilgrims, IV. 1788.

Grahame, I. 72.

² Stith, 167, 168.

³ Marshall's Amer. Colon., 56.

⁴ Keith's Va., 144, 145.

two strong young men who attempted to arrest him and whom he resisted.¹ But the great means of organizing the plot was Opecancanough's own conviction, shared by the savages, that they were destined to certain destruction unless they either exterminated the whites or adopted the habits of civilized life.

On Friday, the 22d of March, 1622, the tragedy began. So perfect was the confidence of the settlers that they lent the savages their boats, and many came in to take the morning meal with the whites, and brought deer, turkeys, fish and fruits, which they offered for sale as usual. But at mid-day the scene of blood was opened. Neither age nor sex was spared. In less than four hours, three hundred and forty-nine settlers were slain. Among them were George Thorpe, who had been the special benefactor of the Indians, and six members of the council. In many cases, after killing their victims, the savages mutilated the dead bodies with frightful barbarity.²

Very few whites would have escaped but for an incident showing the power of Christianity. A young Indian convert named Chanco lived with Richard Pace. His savage brother urged him to murder his master, telling him he intended that fate for his own; but the young Christian recoiled with horror from the deed, and informed Mr. Pace of the plot. An express was instantly dispatched to Jamestown. Thus the chief settlement was alarmed; guns and swords were made ready, and the natives did not venture an attack.

It is remarkable that wherever resistance was bravely made it was successful. An old soldier, trained under Smith, although surrounded by Indians, and severely wounded, clove the skull of an assailant with an ax, and the rest instantly fled. A Mr. Baldwin, whose wife was lying before his eyes bleeding from many wounds, fired one well-directed load of bullets and drove a crowd of savages from his house. Some small parties of settlers obtained a few muskets from a ship lying in the stream near their plantations, and with these completely routed the Indians and dispersed them in great alarm.³ Murderers are generally cowards.

The immediate effects of the massacre were disastrous. Horror and consternation prevailed for a time. The settlers were drawn in around Jamestown. Distant plantations were abandoned, and eighty settlements were reduced to six.

But soon a terrible reaction came on. They had trusted the Indians and had been betrayed; had given them arms to be

¹ Burk, I. 237. Keith, 137. ² Stith, 211. Belknap, II. 181.

³ Purchas' Pilgrims, IV. 1788-9.

turned on themselves; had labored for their good, only to see their wives and children butchered before their eyes. Their purpose now was not revenge, but extermination. They hunted the savages like wild beasts, and shot them down wherever they could find them. They resorted to stratagems, and slew without mercy all thus brought within their reach. The Indians from this time rapidly declined in numbers—some killed, some dying with disease and exposure, some flying to distant tribes.¹

The London Company manifested deep sympathy for the colonists, and a determined purpose to uphold and strengthen them. But the time was now near at hand when this company was to fall and perish under the hostility of King James.

Sir George Yeardley was mild and sensitive in spirit, and was so deeply wounded by the ungenerous attacks made on him by the court party in the company, led by Warwick and Argall, that he fell into a decline. Sir Francis Wyatt was appointed to succeed him. Early in August, 1621, he set out for the colony, bringing with him the written constitution, which confirmed the privileges granted under Yeardley.

This constitution bears date July 24th, 1621.² It erects two councils—one to consist of the governor and his advisers, to be known as the Council of State; the other to consist of the first body, together with two burgesses from each town, hundred or plantation, to be freely elected by the people and called together by the governor once a year, and oftener for special reason. This united body, forming one "General Assembly," had power to make laws, subject, however, to an absolute negative in the governor, and to the approval of the council. But with admirable equity it was further provided that no action of the company should bind the colonists unless ratified by the General Assembly.

King James hated the semblance of liberty which already appeared in the debates of the London Company at its quarterly meetings. Already the English people were awaking to a sense of their own freedom. So openly were the principles of liberty and self-government declared in the counsels of the company that the Spanish ambassador Gondomar warned the king against their influence, and declared that "the Virginia courts are but a seminary to a seditious Parliament."³

The king took the alarm, and on the 8th of October, 1622, sent them an order of his privy council, coolly informing them that he intended to take the government of the colony into his own

¹ Grahame, I. 79. Marshall, 60.

² Hazard's State Papers, I. 131-133. Hening, I. 110-113.

³ Mass. Hist. Collec., IX. 113. Bancroft's U. S., I. 200.

hands, and that the company might choose whether they would surrender their charter or be dissolved by government proceedings.

They declined to surrender. The king appointed commissioners to visit Virginia and get up evidence against the company. The result was not long in doubt. An unfavorable report was obtained. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the company, and the king, on the 15th of July, 1624, issued a proclamation suppressing the quarterly sessions. At the next term of the court of King's Bench the *quo warranto* came on for trial, and a judgment of dissolution was pronounced against the London Company.

King James suffered the colonial government to remain undisturbed, but employed his leisure hours in preparing a new code of laws for the people of Virginia. Happily for the New World, his labors were ended by death on the 27th of March, 1625.

CHAPTER XII.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY.—CHARLES I.

KING CHARLES I., who succeeded his father James, did not immediately interfere with the liberties of the colonists. It is true he issued several proclamations, declaring that he had adopted the views of his father about them, and that they were to be governed by a council consisting of men appointed by and responsible to His Majesty alone. And though he confirmed the monopoly of tobacco granted under the advice of Parliament to the Virginia and Somers Island companies, yet he sought to draw large revenues from the weed by assuming that he was substituted to the rights of the dissolved London Company, and demanding that every pound of tobacco imported should be delivered to his agents, who gave a certain price to the owners and secured a heavy profit to the Crown.¹

The Virginia "General Assembly" continued to exist, though we have no authentic record of its proceedings from 1624 to 1629. It had planted its roots deeply in the hearts of the people, and would not have been yielded without a struggle.

In 1625 another conflict with the savages came on. Sir Francis Wyatt, the governor, led the whites in person. A battle took place on the Pamunkey with nearly a thousand bowmen of several tribes. The Indians were defeated with heavy loss, and the colonists were only prevented from marching on the Mattaponi by want of ammunition.² No permanent peace followed, but the natives grew weaker and weaker year after year.

In 1626 Wyatt was called to Ireland by the death of his father. Sir George Yeardley again became governor, and, after a wise and faithful administration of little more than a year, died in November, 1627. The people of the colony sent an eulogy upon his virtues to the privy council in England.

Francis West succeeded him for a short time. John Potts became governor early in 1628, but his duties were brief. He was, while in private life in 1630, prosecuted upon a charge of stealing cattle and convicted, and he was only saved from ignominious punishment by a reprieve.³

¹ Hazard's State Papers, I. 203-205. Bancroft, I. 210.

² Campbell's Va., 58. Burk, II. 12, 13.

³ Hening, I. 145, 146.

Early in 1629 came Sir John Hervey from England as Governor of Virginia, bringing a broad commission and ample powers from the king. Concerning his character and conduct, disputes have arisen which have not been decided. He was naturally not popular in the colony, as he had been one of the commission sent by King James to devise a report for the ruin of the London Company. He was fond of money, and full of bigotry in religion. Nevertheless, he exhibited qualities which made him useful and respectable in his station. He carefully supervised the military plans of the colony; caused a fort to be erected at Point Comfort; encouraged the manufacture of saltpetre and potash; revived the salt-works at Accomack, and established semi-monthly courts at Jamestown. He fostered maritime enterprises; sent out an expedition to trade between the 34th and 45th degrees of latitude; and very cordially invited the people who had settled in New England to leave their cold and barren soil and take refuge in the more genial climes of Virginia and Delaware.¹

The most serious causes of the odium into which Hervey finally fell were his culpable coalition with the king and his sharing the profits resulting from the immense encroachments on the domain of Virginia under her original charter, made by successive grants from King Charles—one in 1630 to Sir Robert Heath, beginning at the 36th parallel and running so far south as to embrace a large part of the present Southern States; the other to the Calvert family, covering the magnificent country on both sides of Chesapeake Bay and running up to the 40th parallel of latitude. Much of this territory was clearly within the limits of Virginia.

All these causes led to dissatisfaction so great that in 1635 Sir John Hervey was "thrust out of his government, and Captain John West was to act as governor till the king's pleasure be known."²

King Charles was already entering upon his dismal and fatal struggle with the spirit of freedom in the English Parliament and people. He gave no favor to the charges against Hervey, and refused to admit to his presence the commissioners sent by the colony to urge their complaints. He reinstated his favorite in office and sent him back to Virginia. But Hervey seems to have learned wisdom by experience, and no further complaints were made. In 1639 he was quietly superseded by Sir Francis Wyatt, who had previously been governor, and whose administration for

¹ Burk, II. 32. Bancroft, I. 213.

² Henning's Stat. at Large, I. 223.

little more than a year was so tranquil that several chroniclers omit it entirely.¹

In August, 1641, Charles appointed to the governorship of Virginia Sir William Berkeley. His name and deeds fill a large space in the colonial history of the New World. "His loyalty was excessive. He loved the monarchical constitution of England with simple fervor; he venerated her customs, her church, her bishops, her liturgy—everything peculiar to her as a kingdom; and, believing them to be worthy of all acceptance, he enforced conformity with uncompromising sternness." In the first part of his official career "he was valued by his friends for his warm affections, and respected by his foes for his upright demeanor." But he lived long enough to prove that loyalty, when misguided, will make a tyrant; that religious zeal, when devoted to an established church, will beget the most revolting bigotry; and that a warm disposition, when seeking revenge, will give birth to the worst forms of cruelty and malice.

He entered upon his duties in February, 1642, and with exception of the time of his retirement during the ascendancy of the commonwealth in England, he continued in office until April, 1677—a period of thirty-five years.

During his administration the people of the colony grew rapidly in numbers and prosperity. He was popular, and the people were contented, even with his bigoted and monarchical views, so long as they were permitted to make their own laws and raise their own tobacco. The struggle going on between the king and the Parliament in England tended rather to promote the peace and welfare of the colony than to involve her in distress.

Notwithstanding their respect for the governor, the laws enacted by the General Assembly at that time show a watchful care for freedom. At the session of 1642-'43, we find a statute enacted forbidding the governor and council to lay any taxes or imposts upon either persons or property, except by authority of the assembly.²

But in one department the laws of this period were black with the worst hues of the connection between church and state coming from the Old World. Strict conformity to the Church of England was required; tithes were inexorably imposed; ministers' persons were invested with a sanctity savoring powerfully of superstition; popish recusants were forbidden to hold office; their priests were banished from the country; the oath of supre-

¹They are Keith, Burk, Chalmers, Beverley, Robertson and Marshall. But see Hening, I. 225; Bancroft, I. 218; Campbell, 61; Grahame, I. 95.

²Act III., Laws 1642-'43. Hening's Stat., I. 244.

macy to the king as head of the church was in all cases to be tendered ; dissenting preachers were strictly forbidden to exercise their office ; and the governor and council were empowered to compel " non-conformists to depart the colony with all convenience."¹

But it must be borne in mind that such laws were the fault of the age rather than expressions of popular feeling. Toleration was an unknown virtue. Men had not learned that the human conscience is a thing too sacred to be touched by human laws. It is consoling to reflect that when, eighteen years after this period, four Quakers (three men and one woman) were executed in Boston under similar or worse laws, the elder colony was unstained by blood shed under enactments so unholy and vindictive.²

The Indians continued in a state of inveterate enmity to the whites. Peace was never thought of. Successive enactments of the assembly made it a solemn duty to attack the natives at stated seasons of the year, and heavy penalties were visited on all who traded with them, or in any mode provided them with arms and ammunition. The whites were steadily increasing, both in numbers and in moral and material strength. The Indians were as steadily diminishing ; but they were yet strong enough to give trouble. The illegal grants favored by Hervey had provoked them to renewed hostility, as they saw their hunting-grounds swept from their control.³

Sir William Berkeley did what he could to mitigate these causes of provocation, but in vain. Opecancanough still lived, though now beyond the one hundredth year of his age. He was gaunt and feeble in body ; his eyes had lost their fire ; his eyelids drooped from weakness, so that often he needed an attendant to lift them up that he might see. But in this wasted body burned a soul of unquenchable energy. He roused the savages to another effort at general massacre.

This fatal irruption was made at the close of the year 1643. Five hundred whites sank beneath the assault of the Indians, which was most violent, on the upper waters of the Pamunkey and York, where the settlers were few and imperfectly armed ; but wherever resistance was possible the savages were routed with heavy loss.

Berkeley placed himself at the head of a chosen body, consisting of every twentieth man able to bear arms, and marched to the seat of war. Finding the savages dispersed, he followed them

¹ Laws in Hening, I. 240-277. Burk, II. 66, 67. Bancroft, I. 222, 223.

² Grahame, I. 309. Bancroft, I. 488-496.

³ Beverley, 49. Burk, II. 51. Keith, 144.

with a troop of cavalry. Many Indians were slain. Opecanough was overtaken, captured, and carried, in triumph, back to Jamestown.

The governor had determined to send him to England as a royal captive, to be detained in honorable custody until his death. The venerable chieftain lost not his dignity and self-possession for a moment, and looked around him with contempt and indifference. A brutal white crept behind him and shot him in the back. The wound was fatal, yet his courage did not give way. A crowd collected around him to sate their unfeeling curiosity. The eyelids of the dying Indian were lifted up, and a flash of just indignation revived his strength. He sent for the governor, and addressed him thus: "Had I taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not have exposed him as a show to my people."¹ Soon afterwards he expired. His words were dignified and pathetic; but it is very probable that if he had taken the governor prisoner he would have tortured and burned him at the stake. His death caused the renowned confederacy of Powhatan to fall to pieces. The Indians grew weaker and weaker. We shall meet them again. But their fate in the Virginia colony was sealed.

Berkeley paid a brief visit to England, leaving Richard Kemp to perform his duties until his return in November, 1645.²

The colony grew more and more prosperous. Their commerce was not yet injuriously restricted, and the monopoly they enjoyed for tobacco in the English market gave them lucrative advantages. About the close of the year 1648, we find a notice that ten ships traded to them regularly from London; two from Bristol; twelve from Holland, and seven from New England.³ The population had reached twenty thousand. Gradual climatization had made the air friendly.

General content prevailed. The increasing troubles in England did not reach them. Attached to a religion of forms and despising Puritanism, they had no desire to identify themselves with a rebellion conducted almost exclusively by men who were dissenters from the church establishment of the mother country.

But a grave error is encouraged by those chroniclers who represent *religion* as the chief cause of the attachment of the Virginia colonists to the interests of King Charles and his government.⁴ A majority of the people cared very little for religion in any form, provided their civil rights, their right of self-govern-

¹ Beverley, 51. Burk, II. 59. Grahame's Colon. Hist., I. 96.

² Bancroft, I. 224. Hening, I., *in loco*.

³ Mass. Hist. Collec., IX. 118.

⁴ Such as Burk, II. 75. Quackenbos' U. S., 101.

ment, and their private inclinations were not disturbed. These they clung to and enjoyed with signal tenacity.

It is certain that Virginia remained true to Charles I. and the monarchy during the civil war which resulted in their overthrow and in the capital execution of the king on the 30th of January, 1649.

She remained also true to Charles II. while he was an outlaw and fugitive flying from his enemies of the English Parliament and commonwealth. He had too few real friends to forget *at that time* Sir William Berkeley and the faithful colony. From his slender court at Breda, in the Netherlands, he sent to Berkeley a new commission confirming the powers granted by his father, and expressing a sense of his gratitude for the loyalty shown by Virginia. It has even been intimated that the queen mother—Henrietta Maria—had formed a project to transport, with the aid of France, a large body of her retainers to Virginia, and to continue in the New World the monarchy so fatally arrested in England.¹

It was at this time (and not after his restoration, when he gave few favorable thoughts to Virginia) that Charles devised the addition, "*En dat Virginia quintam*," to the motto of the English coat of arms. The five elements of his monarchy alluded to were England, France, Scotland, Ireland and Virginia.²

A large number of loyal families left England during the civil war and the commonwealth, and came to Virginia. Sir William Berkeley's house was always open to such, and the hospitable owners of lands on the rivers gladly furnished them homes. All these causes contributed to give to this colony the title of "The Old Dominion." The origin generally assigned for this title involves a grave historical error, as we shall see.

Meanwhile a commonwealth had been established in England, and Oliver Cromwell was at its head as protector. He made his country formidable to her enemies and respectable to all the world. He had no policy of harshness or revenge towards the Virginia colony; yet he could not be expected to connive at her position. In 1651 he sent a powerful fleet carrying, besides its proper crews, a large land force, all under command of Sir George Ayscue, with directions to subdue the islands of the West Indies, and to reduce all refractory colonies to subjection. The orders of Parliament were stern and decided.³

Ayscue reduced Antigua and the Barbadoes to subjection, and sent Captain Dennis with what he deemed an adequate force to

¹ Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, I. 113. Grahame, I. 98.

² Holmes' *U. S.*, 41.

³ Hazard, I. 556-558. Grahame, I. 99.

Virginia. Governor Berkeley prepared for vigorous resistance. His military force was small, but efficient. Jamestown was armed and guarded at all points. Muskets were distributed; cannon mounted. A number of Dutch ships were lying in the river, and as their captains and crews had nothing to expect from the commonwealth's forces except captivity and confiscation, they willingly united with Berkeley's forces. Their cargoes were carried ashore; a select crew was assigned each ship; their guns were heavily charged, and they were moored in a circular line, so as to cover by their fire every point of approach.¹

Dennis was brought to a stand. He seems at once to have abandoned all thought of a violent attack, the result of which would have been doubtful. He resorted to negotiations for peace, and was aided by a fact which appealed to the pocket-nerve of two members of the Provincial Council. Dennis found means to inform them that aboard his ships a large quantity of goods, wares and merchandise belonging to them had been brought to Virginia.

But whatever may have been the mixture of motives, the result was, in the highest degree, creditable to the colony. The treaty agreed upon was in every important respect favorable to her, and secured her cherished freedom. Even in the matter of religion it was agreed that the Book of Common Prayer should be continued for a year in those parishes which desired it, provided only that the parts recognizing the king and the royal government should not be publicly used.²

If the colony was conquered, never did a conquered province obtain terms more favorable to her privileges, her liberties and her honor. Virginia went on her way growing and prospering. Sir William Berkeley retired to his estate, where he remained unmolested. The General Assemblies continued, and elected in succession three provincial governors—viz.: Richard Bennett, in 1653; Edward Digges, in 1656, and Samuel Matthews, in 1658.

A mountain horde of savages who came down on the upper waters of the James were defeated with heavy loss. Among their slain was the gallant chief Totopotomoi, who had once been friendly to the whites.

So complete was the political and personal freedom enjoyed that the House of Burgesses, in a slight contest of powers with the aged Governor Matthews, voted that it was the right of the House to discuss, *first and alone*, any measure proposed for enactment.³

¹ Burk, II. 82. Beverley, 52. Grahame, I. 99. Keith, 147. Marshall, I. 67. Strange that Bancroft has nothing to say of these Dutch ships!

² Hening, I. 363-368. Hazard, I. 560-564. Jefferson's Notes, 118.

³ Hening, I. 499. Bancroft, I. 243.

It has been common for compilers of history to state that Charles II. was proclaimed king by the Virginia colony before he was restored to the throne of England, and that thus originated for Virginia the title of "The Old Dominion."¹ This is not true. When Samuel Matthews died, in 1660, the question simply was who should be his successor. No tumult was raised; no excited feeling prevailed; no royal standard was unfurled to announce Charles as king. The assembly elected Sir William Berkeley governor by a decisive vote on the 13th day of March, 1660. He accepted the office without condition or compromise. He required no oath of allegiance to the king; and it was not until the 29th of April, 1660, that Charles II. ascended the throne, left vacant for eleven years by the death of his father.

¹ Beverley, Keith, Robertson, Marshall, and a shoal of modern "school histories."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COMING OF THE PURITANS.

WE come now to a settlement in North America which, unlike that in Virginia, was the result of purely religious motives. It did not take place under the broad patent from King James granted in 1606 to the London and Plymouth companies.

It is true that some temporary and unsuccessful efforts were made by individuals of the Plymouth Company. In 1606, Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, and Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth, equipped a vessel intended for America ; but she was hardly out of port before she was seized and confiscated by the Spaniards, under the claim that Spain alone had a right to send ships to the new hemisphere.¹ A second and almost simultaneous expedition from Bristol was more fortunate, and on returning gave such accounts of the fishing and resources of water and land that public confidence was increased.

In 1607 two ships were dispatched, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, and bearing emigrants under George Popham. They landed near the mouth of Kennebec river, at a spot called Saga da Hok by the natives ; offered public thanks to God, and began a settlement by erecting a number of rude cabins, a store-house, and some well-planned fortifications. The name given was St. George. The ships sailed, leaving forty-five settlers.² But the winter was intensely cold ; the natives, at first friendly, became hostile ; the store-house caught fire and was burned with part of the provisions ; the emigrants grew weary of the solitude ; George Popham died—"the only one of the company that died there ;" and Raleigh Gilbert, in command at St. George, wished to go back to take possession of an estate inherited from his brother. So they all abandoned the settlement and returned to England, and there "did coyne many excuses," consisting chiefly of exaggerated accounts of the rugged poverty of the soil and the wintry severity of the climate. A stronger motive than fishing and material gain was needed to plant a permanent colony in that region.

¹ Purchas, IV. 1827, 1832. Bancroft, I. 267.

² Gorges, 7, 8, 9. Smith, II. 173, 175. Bancroft, I. 268. Narrative and map, Brown's Genesis, I. 140-142, 190-194.

The fisheries and fur-trade were not relinquished, and continued to yield profit, but led to no settlement. In 1614, under a private adventure of four London merchants and himself, Captain John Smith came to this northern region, examined the shores from Penobscot to Cape Cod, prepared a map of the coast, and gave to the country the name "New England," which was confirmed by Prince Charles.

After Smith had left in one of the ships for England, Thomas Hunt, the master of the other ship, kidnaped a large party of Indians, and, sailing for Spain, sold "the poor innocents" into slavery! One of them afterwards escaped, came to London, and in 1619 was restored to his own land, where he became an interpreter for English emigrants.¹

The settlement of New England was effected by a band of men, women and children, who came without the authority of any patent, or the protection of any earthly government. A higher Power shielded and established them.

The Reformation in Europe was the protest of the human soul against the errors and abuses that encumbered Christianity. It was a separation from Rome and a throwing off of the yoke of the Roman Pontiff. It was not a separation from the visible church of Christ, nor a throwing off of the binding authority of his doctrines as set forth in his Word, and in the early and really œcumenical councils of his church. The inspired Scriptures, made known throughout all civilized Europe by the art of printing, were the instrument by which the Reformation was effected. No single minds contributed more powerfully to distribute universal knowledge of the Scriptures than those of Martin Luther, John Calvin and Desiderius Erasmus; yet the latter never renounced the communion of the Roman church. What that church needed was reformation, not destruction.

In England, under Henry VIII., the Reformation was far from complete. The most idolatrous and dangerous doctrines and practices of Rome were upheld by law, although the authority of her pontiff was rejected. Under Edward VI. much greater progress was made; the Reformation was sincerely upheld and urged on by many able minds, and its principles took deeper root. Under Mary—well-named the "bloody"—a reaction was forced forward by persecutions which have left a permanent impress upon the minds of the English people.

Elizabeth upheld the Reformation; yet her love of forms and splendor, and her critical condition as a sovereign, induced her to

¹Smith's Description of New England, 47. Hist. Va., II. 176. Bancroft, I. 270.

enforce many practices which, in the judgment of all the seriously pious people of her realm, tended strongly towards a reaction favorable to the Roman claims.¹

It was in her reign, in 1564, that the name "Puritan" began to be applied to all such persons as desired to purge the visible church of all doctrines, forms, vestments and practices which, in their judgment, were not authorized by the Holy Scriptures, and tended to lead back to the Roman usurpation.² It is entirely possible that many of these reformers went too far, and by their rigor and austerity, discouraged rather than helped on the Reformation. But, deep down in their souls was the principle of spiritual truth engendered by the inspired Word of God. Their motto might have been: "*Obsta principiis.*" They resisted priestly vestments and forms because they were the symbolism of doctrines destructive to souls.³

Elizabeth hated Puritanism and the Puritans, and persecuted them without mercy. Their strength is shown by the fact that in the convocation of 1562, which met to review the doctrine and discipline of the church, Bishop Sandys introduced a petition for reformation which went very far towards satisfying the Puritans, and which was only rejected by the proxies of *absentees*, and then only by a majority of one vote!⁴

But Elizabeth and her government resolved to suppress them. The court of High Commission put in movement against them its vague, but oppressive powers, "to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences and enormities whatsoever." All licenses to preach bearing date prior to 1st March, 1564, were declared null and void. Thus nearly all the Puritan preachers were silenced.

In 1583, her special instrument, Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, issued the famous series of articles under which Puritanism was proscribed and a stigma of crime attached to all who declined to conform to the liturgy and practices of the Church of England as then administered. And in April, 1593, through the influence of Whitgift, who was a stern Calvinist, two Puritan ministers, Barrow and Greenwood, of unimpeached character and loyalty, were selected as examples, and were convicted and hanged at Tyburn, for no offence save persistent adherence to their religious opinions.⁵

The Puritans as a body had shown no disposition to separate from the visible church as it existed in England. But under such

¹ Art. Puritanism, Schaff-Herzog Encyc., III. 1980.

² Art. Puritan, New Amer. Enc., XIII. 666.

³ Art. Puritanism, Schaff-Herzog, III. 1980.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Strype's Whitgift, 414. Neal's Puritans, I. 526, 527.

persecutions we cannot wonder that many should have left the church and become *Separatists*, as they were called, and that many others should have turned their thoughts to the New World with the hope of finding there the religious freedom denied them in England. Their special fault and misfortune were that they had not yet learned what true religious freedom meant.

When James I. ascended the throne, in 1603, the Puritans hoped something favorable, because of his education under the learned and liberal Buchanan, and because of his own professions. But the king soon fell under the influence of religious persecutors. He required obedience to the decrees of the previous reign, and, sending for four influential Puritans, he told them he expected from their body obedience and humility, and said: "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."¹ It was time for the Puritans to move towards the New World, and their movement soon began.

Many of the Separatists went first to Holland. Among these were a little congregation in Scrooby, in the north of England, whose pastor's name was Richard Clifton. Under him were trained John Robinson, William Bradford and William Brewster. In 1607, the year in which Jamestown was settled, these persecuted people left England and settled in Holland, where they lived about thirteen years, most of the time in the city of Leyden.²

But for many reasons they were not satisfied. They were English, and loved their English homes, English habits and English tongue. If they continued in Holland, their children would grow up, marry there, and soon lose all that distinguished them as from England. This they did not desire. They determined to migrate to America. From these facts the name of "Pilgrims" has come to them.

They came back to England, and after making some efforts to obtain a grant from the London and Plymouth companies, moved without one. One ship, the *Speedwell*, was left as unseaworthy. About one-half of them, one hundred and one in number, sailed in the *Mayflower*. Both in Holland and England their friends came with them to the shore, and they knelt and prayed together.³

They sailed on the 6th of September, 1620. During the long and boisterous voyage of sixty-three days, one person died. On the 9th of November they saw land, and two days afterwards

¹ Art. Puritanism, Schaff-Herzog, III, 1983.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 37. Frank Leslie's Pop. Monthly, August, 1889.

³ Eggleston's Household U. S., 39. Bancroft, I, 306-308.

were safely moored in the harbor of Cape Cod. They had intended to seek the Hudson river, the best part of the American coast; but, either by want of skill or by design, the captain of the *Mayflower* brought them to the "most barren and inhospitable part of Massachusetts."¹

But before they landed, it was felt to be needful that some adequate form of government should be adopted, as they had no charter, and some were thought "not well affected to unity and concord." They, therefore, on the 11th of November, 1620, joined themselves into a body politic, under a solemn voluntary compact as follows:

"In the name of God, amen: We whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together, into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

This instrument was signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* by the whole body of the men, forty-one in number, who, with their families, constituted the one hundred of the colony. John Carver was unanimously chosen governor for a year.²

The place for the settlement was yet to be chosen. The shallop, brought on the deck of the *Mayflower*, was set up, but needed days of repair before she was fit for use. The shallow water tempted some of the men to wade, but in these trying expeditions, exposed to freezing water, snow and wind, the seeds of pulmonary diseases were introduced, and in the near future several died of consumption. Once they heard the war-whoop and encountered a flight of arrows from the Nausites, a tribe of Indians, who had heard of the kidnaping by Thomas Hunt; but no life was lost, and no further annoyance from these savages was experienced.

At last, amid storm, darkness and chilling rain, they found a small island within the entrance of a harbor. A rocky promontory promised a firm place of landing. But the next day was

¹ Bancroft, I. 309. Derry's U. S., 35.

² Bancroft, I. 309, 310.

Sunday, the Christian Sabbath. True to their principles, and to the teachings of Nicholas Bownd, an eminent clergyman of the Anglican church, to whose sound doctrine King James had in vain opposed his "Book of Sports" for Sunday, the colonists remained quietly on Clark's Island all day, and engaged in prayer and worship.¹

The next day, Monday, the 11th of December, 1620 (old style), they landed on Plymouth Rock. Captain John Smith had already given the name to this locality and made it permanent in his map. The settlers gladly adopted it, because it recalled kindness they had received at Plymouth in England. They knelt in gratitude and adoration, although the heavens were yet black with the storms of winter. One of the most gifted of England's poets has described the scene in well-known words, from which we extract a single stanza :

"Amidst the storm they sang,
And the stars heard and the sea ;
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
With the anthem of the free."

They began to build as soon as possible ; but the work went on slowly, for many were sick and feeble, and some were near to death. But death had no terrors for them ; it was but the entrance to the heavenly rest. Duty was their watchword, and with short intervals of sunshine between showers of sleet and snow, they continued to build.

On the 3d of March, 1621, a south wind brought warm and fair weather. "The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly." But the mortality went on until the spring was far advanced ; then it ceased. Forty-four out of the hundred who landed had died, and among them the governor, John Carver, his wife and son. It was afterwards a subject of devout gratitude that of the survivors very many lived to extreme old age.² Wishing to conceal their weakened condition from the Indians, the colonists leveled all the graves, and planted Indian corn over the places where their dead were buried.

Even with the return of health, hardships and privation continued. The same unfortunate policy of community as to land, which had afflicted the Virginia colony, was tried at Plymouth, and with the same result. The historian Winslow says : "I have seen men stagger by reason of faintness for want of food." They were once saved from famine by the kindness of fishermen off the

¹ Sabbath Essays, Oct. 1879, pp. 5, 176, 177.

² Bancroft, I. 314. Eggleston's Household U. S., 39.

coast. Sometimes they were oppressed by exorbitant charges for food made by the ships that visited them. In the autumn of 1621, a ship came in with more Puritan emigrants, and so unprovided with stores that the whole colony subsisted for six months on half allowance. For several months they had no corn. When visited by friends, all a family could offer was a lobster or a piece of fish with a cup of spring water.¹ Yet they bore all their hardships with patience and cheerfulness. In the spring of 1623, it was agreed that each family should have its own land, and plant for itself. After the harvest of that year there was no general scarcity of food. Under the influence of industry and good morals, the colony grew slowly, but surely, in numbers and wealth.

During their darkest and most trying seasons these pilgrims bore themselves with unyielding courage and resignation. John Robinson, the minister of Scrooby, had remained with the part of his flock in Holland, and he died there. The presbyter Brewster was the religious teacher of the Plymouth settlers. It is related of him that when he had nothing for the dinner of himself and his family except a few clams and some cold water, he would cheerfully give thanks that they were "permitted to suck of the abundance of the seas and of the treasures hid in the sand."²

Whatever may have been the errors and shortcomings of such a people, they were worthy, by their virtues, to take part in the moulding of a great nation. Two monuments have been raised to them which will endure: one is the poem of Felicia Hemans; the other is a material structure of New England granite, eighty feet in height, erected in Plymouth.³ The corner-stone was laid August 2d, 1859, and the monument was completed and dedicated August 1st, 1889, amid general rejoicings and in the presence of a multitude gathered from all parts of the United States. On the sides of the pedestal are carved the names of the passengers in the *Mayflower*, and also scenes in *alto rilievo* representing Rev. John Robinson's prayer at their departure from Delft Haven, the signing of the compact in the cabin of the ship, the landing on Plymouth Rock, and the treaty made between the pilgrims and the Indian chief Massasoit. On four projecting bases are seated allegorical figures, each nine feet high, representing Morality, Education, Law and Freedom. But towering above these, rises from the pedestal a noble figure, representing Christian Faith, carved in solid granite and thirty-six feet in height, with one hand uplifted and the other holding a copy of the Holy Scrip-

¹ Bancroft, I. 315. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 55.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 41.

³ Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly, Aug. 1889. Phila. Pres., Aug. 10, 1889.

tures. On the front panel of the monument is this inscription : "National Monument to Forefathers, erected by a grateful people, in remembrance of their labors, sacrifices and sufferings for the cause of civil and religious liberty."

This claim is, in a large measure, founded in truth ; but it would have been better for the country and the world if these forefathers had learned all that civil and religious liberty demanded before they reached the rock of Plymouth. That lesson the world had not yet learned.

CHAPTER XIV.

MASSACHUSETTS COLONY.

IT was fortunate that, for some years, the feeble colony at Plymouth were not attacked by Indians. A pestilence among the savages of that region had been so fatal some years before that it had been deserted, and was regarded by them with superstitious dread.¹

In March, 1621, while many of the colonists were yet sick, and among them Governor Carver and his family, they were surprised by a loud salutation from an Indian, Samoset, who shouted, "Welcome, Englishmen! Welcome, Englishmen!" He had learned a little English from fishermen and traders on the coast. He wore little clothing, except a leathern belt and a skirt. But he was tall and well-shaped, with coal-black hair and piercing eyes. He was of the strong tribe of Wampanoags, and bade the settlers welcome, because, as he told them, the pestilence had killed or driven away all the Indians.

It was now that the Indian who had been kidnaped by Hunt, and who had returned somewhat christianized from Spain and England, acted as interpreter.² The settlers were informed that Massasoit, the chieftain of the whole tribe, was coming to visit them.

Feeble as he was, Governor Carver met them with as much of display, with flags, drums and trumpets, as he could muster. Food was furnished, and the Indian chief drank so freely of the "strong water" offered by the whites that it made him "sweat all the while."³

Nevertheless, a fair treaty of amity and peace was concluded, which was faithfully kept for fifty years, and which did much to save the Plymouth colony. This treaty was as good for the Indians as for the whites. The Narragansetts, a strong tribe inhabiting a part of what is now Rhode Island, made war on Massasoit, and some hard fighting took place. The white settlers interfered and so influenced the Narragansetts that they made peace and agreed to be friendly.

¹ Barnes' U. S., 54. Derry's U. S., 36.

² Bancroft, I. 317.

³ Goodrich's U. S., 65.

But they did not remain quiet long. Carver died about the last of March, and William Bradford, who afterwards wrote the early history of the colony, became governor, and continued in office for about forty years. He was a firm, yet prudent, man.

All the colonists were not peaceful spirits. The first duel in North America occurred at this time, the two duellists being servants in the Plymouth settlement. Each was armed with sword and dagger; but neither was killed. They were tried for their offence by the whole colony sitting as a democratic court of justice. They were found guilty, and sentenced to be publicly tied together, neck and heels, for twenty-four hours, without food or drink.¹ Had punishment like this continued to be steadily inflicted in cases of duelling in America, it is probable that the practice would have been suppressed, and the lives of Alexander Hamilton and Stephen Decatur would not have been sacrificed to a false god of pseudo-honor.

Miles Standish, "the best linguist" and the best soldier among the colonists, was appointed commander of their military forces, and proved himself brave and able.² He never joined the church, but he loved it and fought for it.

In September, 1622, Canonicus, a sachem of the Narragansetts, sent to Plymouth, as a preliminary declaration of war, a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake. Governor Bradford, knowing that the savages had then no fire-arms, caused the skin to be filled with powder and bullets, and returned it to Canonicus. The wary chieftain took the hint, and was glad to make a treaty of peace.³

Yet the pilgrims needed ceaseless watchfulness and preparation to fight. They went armed to church, and stationed a guard. They knew what human nature uninfluenced by Divine grace was capable of. Had they been more distrustful of their own knowledge of what God had revealed, it would have been well. Their sermons were not approved unless hours in length. They continued the habit of the English Puritans, and gave to their children, male and female, names taken from the Old Testament, or else names made up of several words expressive of their beliefs, such as "Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith *White*," and "Faint-not *Hewitt*."

In 1622, incited by desires for profitable fur-trade, a company of adventurers obtained a patent from the Plymouth Company in England, and under this sixty men went over in 1623 and settled

¹ Goodrich's U. S., 65, 66.

² Bancroft, I. 306.

³ Barnes' U. S., 55. Derry, 37. Holmes, 43.

near Weymouth the first plantation in Boston harbor. They were all single men, and boasted of their superiority over the weak colony at Plymouth, which contained women and children. But they were soon dependent on the older settlement for the necessities of life, and finally for protection against savage attacks. Their want of thrift brought want of food, and Plymouth fed them. Their insolence and injustice provoked the Indians. A plot was formed for their destruction; but Massasoit revealed it to the pilgrims. Miles Standish marched with eight armed men, and fell upon the hostile Indians with such suddenness and skill that they were instantly routed with severe loss.¹ Some of the Weymouth settlers joined the pilgrims; others went back to England. The settlement was abandoned.

Thus the colony that had women and children proved itself to be brave and strong. It will always be so. Yet the Plymouth colony, in ten years, had barely a population of three hundred souls.² Massasoit and the friendly Indians had taught them how to plant and fertilize, at the same time, Indian corn by putting one or two decayed fish into the corn hills. They got cows and milk in 1623, and raised vegetables; but their fisheries were their chief source of supply. This settlement, though weak, was industrious and virtuous: they were free from the worst vices of intolerance and persecution, which soon appeared among their Puritan brethren of the Massachusetts Bay colony, to whose life we must now attend.

The hopes of the Puritans in England were still turned towards the New World. After some preliminary voyages and settlements for fishing and trade, a charter was obtained from King Charles I. on the 4th March, 1629, under which a governor, deputy and eighteen assistants were to be annually elected by the stockholders, and four times a year, or oftener if desired, a general assembly of the freemen was to be held, invested with powers of legislation, inquest and superintendence.³

There was no express guaranty of religious liberty. No laws nor ordinances repugnant to the laws and statutes of England were to be passed, and there was an express concession of the power to administer the "oath of supremacy." Yet the charter was granted to Puritans, and was so certainly intended to favor their wishes as to colonization that, in 1662, Charles II. declared officially, probably with the assent of Clarendon, that "the principle and foundation of the charter of Massachusetts were the freedom of liberty of conscience."⁴

¹ Derry's U. S., 37. Goodrich's U. S., 70, 71.

² Bancroft, I. 342.

³ Swinton's Cond. U. S., 40.

⁴ Hutch. Collec., 373. Bancroft, I. 344.

Under these auspices large numbers of Puritans of all classes embarked for America, and settled at Salem and Boston, on Massachusetts Bay. Boston was described as then "having sweet and pleasant springs and good lands affording rich corn fields and fruitful gardens." Many of the families had been accustomed to plenty and ease, the refinements of cultivated life and the conveniences of luxury. Yet now they encountered all the hardships of a New England settlement. Before December, 1639, at least two hundred had died. Yet the survivors bore their lot with courage; "the general distress did but augment the piety and confirm the fortitude of the colonists."

John Winthrop was governor, and showed himself to be possessor of those high qualities of head and heart which have since adorned many bearing his name in New England. About a thousand colonists had come out with him; yet such was the scarcity of food sometimes that, when Winthrop's last bread was in the oven, he divided all the flour he had among the needy. That very day a ship load of provisions arrived. Winthrop dressed plainly, drank little except water, and worked among his servants with his own hands. He was truly magnanimous. When one of the leading men in the colony wrote him an angry letter he sent it back, saying that he "was not willing to keep by him such a provocation to ill feeling." The writer of the letter was gained, and answered, "Your overcoming yourself has overcome me."¹ This great and good man was almost continuously governor till he died in 1649. His son of the same name inherited his virtues, and was afterwards the first Governor of Connecticut.

Between the years 1630 and 1640 not less than twenty thousand persons are supposed to have come to New England.² They were nearly all Puritans, fleeing from the continued oppression of the mother country, and hoping to find religious freedom in the New World. It seems strange that it should not have occurred to them that the true teachings of Holy Scripture, according to the analogy of faith, required them to grant the same freedom of conscience and conduct to others that they claimed for themselves. But this had not then been learned. Already the slavery of written and printed articles and creeds of religion had been established. Believing themselves and their interpretation of Holy Scripture to be infallibly right, they believed those who differed from them to be wrong, and they held it to be their solemn duty to refuse toleration and permission to live among them to those who differed from them in religious belief and prac-

¹ Eggleston's Household U. S., 44.

² *Ibid.*, 44, 45.

tice. Thus they repeated the exact sin of the Roman church, which most needed reform, and against which the Reformation and its adherents had most earnestly and conscientiously protested.

Some of the settlers in Massachusetts thought they could find better lands. In 1635-'36, under the leadership of a great divine named Thomas Hooker, they passed through the unbroken woods to the Connecticut river, and settled the towns of Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford. There were already trading posts on this fine river; but the emigration of Hooker and his friends was the true beginning of the colony of Connecticut. In 1638 a colony was planted near New Haven by Puritans under the lead of John Davenport. In 1665 it was united with Connecticut.¹

We have seen that as early as 1607 a feeble attempt at settlement on the Atlantic coast of Maine had been made by George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert. Much confusion as to titles in New Hampshire and Maine has arisen from the various and apparently conflicting grants made by the Plymouth Company in England; but the skill and industry of a modern historian have, to a great extent, reconciled them and removed obscurity.

On the 10th of August, 1622, the Plymouth Company (of which the Duke of Lenox was then the head) granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason all their title and rights (under the royal charter of November 3d, 1620) in a district of country certainly embracing a large part of New Hampshire, but not designated in the grant as Laconia. The title given is "The Province of Maine." On the 27th of November, 1629, the company made to them another grant of a district designated as Laconia. But under the first grant two settlements were made which became permanent, and which are certainly within the present limits of New Hampshire. They were, one near the mouth of Piscataqua river, and near the present town of Portsmouth; the other higher up the same river. The first was called "Strawberry Bank" or "Mason Hall," from the principal house in it, which was erected by Captain Mason; the other was called "Dover," and still bears that name. Both of these settlements were made in 1623.

On the 7th of November, 1629, (after these settlements were made.) John Mason obtained from the Plymouth Company a grant for a district including these settlements; and the name of New Hampshire was given to the whole district thus granted.²

The two settlements grew gradually, but no new settlements were attempted for several years. In the winter of 1635-'36,

¹ Household U. S., 45.

² A. H. Stephens' Comp. Hist. of U. S., 69, 70.

John Mason died. He was the founder of New Hampshire. For many years no one claimed his proprietary rights; the colony was neglected and made little progress.

In 1638, Exeter was settled by John Wheelwright and his followers, compelled to leave Massachusetts on account of religious differences. Under like circumstances Hampton was settled in 1640 by Stephen Batcheler and a few adherents.¹

Dover, Exeter, Hampton and Portsmouth (Strawberry Bank) were each governed by its own laws and recognized no other authority; but about 1641 Massachusetts began to claim jurisdiction over these communities in New Hampshire. This dispute, between the government of Massachusetts Bay and the proprietary claiming under John Mason, was brought to final adjudication in England in 1679, and was justly decided against the claims of Massachusetts.

But during all this time the colony of New Hampshire remained almost stationary. It grew very slowly both in numbers and wealth. In 1653 the whole population did not exceed one thousand. Yet, though small in quantity, they were high in quality. They were known for sterling virtue and warm love of liberty. The very air from their White Mountains seemed to inspire them with patriotism. They were to take their part in heroic scenes.

We return now to the Puritan government and to the cases of Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams and others—cases which are the beacon lights of the history of Massachusetts.

But it is important in advance to state that Roger Williams was not the father of religious liberty in America. Several years before he began his teachings in favor of freedom of conscience in Salem, George Calvert (Lord Baltimore) and his sons, Cecil and Leonard Calvert, had obtained from Charles I. the patent under which the colony of Maryland was settled. And in this colony, as early as 1634, the fundamental oath of the governor was in these words: "I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion."² This was going as far as any Christian could go for religious liberty; for heathen religious rites and practices were constantly so horrible and destructive to morality that Christian governments were obliged by duty to forbid them. The Maryland constitutions gave entire religious freedom to all who came in good faith to settle there; yet these con-

¹ A. H. Stephens' *Comp. Hist. of U. S.*, 71.

² Chalmers' *Amer. Colon.*, 235. McMahon, 226. Bancroft, I. 248.

stitutions were given by men who conscientiously adhered to the Roman church. They knew all the history of that church, and how grossly she had, in many instances, in past ages violated the principles of religious freedom; but they regarded such violations as departures from the true principles of their church, which they held to be founded on the inspired teachings of prophets and apostles; and they had seen and felt the bitterness of suffering coming from the religious intolerance of the established church in England and in the Virginia colony. Thus they had learned wisdom, and profited by her lessons. The same lessons might have been learned by Puritans in Massachusetts and by bigots and religious persecutors in Virginia, had they been as apt and docile scholars. Therein lay the difference.

CHAPTER XV.

ANNE HUTCHINSON.—ROGER WILLIAMS.—QUAKERS.

THE colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth continued to prosper, and to spread their influence and power within their territorial limits. The Plymouth colony never succeeded in obtaining a charter from the king; but their two charters from the Plymouth Company in England—one granted in 1621 by the influence of Gorges, and the other in 1623 by negotiation of their skillful agent, Allerton—gave them all they desired in territory and right.¹

In a few years flourishing settlements existed not only at Boston, Charlestown, Salem and Plymouth, but in and around the sites of Dorchester, Roxbury, Cambridge, Lynn and Watertown. Settlers had also passed into the province of Maine. These were not religious refugees, but men of rugged and vigorous enterprise, who went to engage in the fisheries, the trade with the Indians, and the cutting of timber. This "District of Maine," as it was called, suffered some disorders of government until it was, by charter, annexed to the colony of Massachusetts in 1692. It remained a part of Massachusetts until it was admitted as one of the United States in 1820.²

The growth of the Puritan colonies alarmed Charles I. and his ministers. Archbishop Laud was placed at the head of a commission for the government of New England. Restrictive measures to check emigration were adopted. It is believed that, under these, Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden were prevented from coming out to Massachusetts.³ Was there a "divinity shaping these ends" and driving Charles to his fate and England into freedom?

From 1630 the Massachusetts Bay colony enjoyed self-government in consequence of the transfer of the charter and powers of government from England to the colony. But state and church were closely united. Freemen only could vote, and all freemen were required to be members of the church.⁴

¹ Bancroft, I. 320.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 46.

³ Holmes' U. S., 45.

⁴ Swinton's Cond. U. S., 43. Bancroft, I. 360.

In 1692, after retaining its independent government for seventy-two years, and attaining a population of eight thousand, the Plymouth colony was, by order of the English crown, united with the Massachusetts Bay colony; but meantime important events had occurred affecting the lives of both.

On the 18th of September, 1634, one Anne Hutchinson, with her husband, came to Boston from England. She greatly admired John Cotton and her brother-in-law, John Wheelwright, as preachers. She had already excited attention by her vivacity, her knowledge of Scripture, and the peculiar and disorganizing doctrines she professed to draw therefrom. These doctrines were of the kind known as *antinomian*. She taught that the Holy Spirit in miraculous personahy dwelt in every true believer, and that the inward revelations of this Spirit, inciting the conscious judgments of the mind, gave infallibly the rule of conduct. Thus she dispensed with the written law as the rule of action.¹

She organized meetings of women, and soon had many followers in the colony. Among them were the young governor, Sir Harry Vane, the ministers Cotton and Wheelwright, and all the Boston members except five. But the stanch John Endicott, the assistant pastor Wilson, and the country clergymen generally were opposed to her and her teachings.

Two factions were formed, and their contests affected the colony very seriously, extending even to the levy of troops for war with the Indians, the distribution of town lots, and the assessment of taxes.² At length "the continued existence of the two opposing parties was considered inconsistent with the public peace." An ecclesiastical synod at Newtown, August 30, 1637, condemned eighty-two tenets, and among them all those held by Anne Hutchinson.

She was summoned before the general court, and, after a trial of two days, she and some of her co-religionists were sentenced to banishment from the territory of Massachusetts; but she was permitted to remain during the winter at a private residence in Roxbury.

Joining many of her friends, she went first with them, under the lead of John Clarke and William Coddington, to the island of Aquetneck, subsequently known as Rhode Island. It had been obtained from the Narragansett Indians by the influence of Roger Williams; and there a body politic was formed on democratic principles, in which no one was to be "accounted a delinquent

¹ Art. Anne Hutchinson, Amer. Encyclop., IX. 396.

² Bancroft, in Art. Anne Hutchinson, Am. Encyclop., IX. 396.

for doctrine." Her husband died in 1642. She then removed with her surviving family to the neighborhood of Hell Gate, in Westchester county, New York. This was under Dutch power, and she evidently thought herself safer than within a region which Massachusetts might possibly claim. But war was then raging between the Dutch and the Indians; and the savages attacked her residence, set fire to her house, and she and all her family perished, except one child, who was carried into captivity.¹

Even if Anne Hutchinson's doctrines were heretical and injurious, it would have been best to leave them to the correction of counter scriptural truth, rather than resort to persecution and banishment. Her history and fate leave a dark stain on Massachusetts.

The treatment of Roger Williams was worse still. He was a well-born and well-educated minister of the Anglican church, born in Wales in 1606. His instincts were deeply religious and Christian. When sixty years old he said: "From my childhood the Father of lights touched my soul with a love to himself, to his only begotten the true Lord Jesus, and to his Holy Scriptures." In his youth his readiness at short-hand reports of sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber attracted the favorable regard of Sir Edward Coke, who helped him in his education. He studied law, though he never came to the bar. He was at Oxford University, and logic and the classics, paramount in the studies there, left their traces deeply on his mind. He had a good acquaintance with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and Dutch languages. John Milton, secretary of the council, was his friend. He took orders in the church prior to 1630, but soon found that the creed, liturgy and vestments did not suit him. At the close of 1630 he embarked for America, arriving in Boston February 5, 1631, accompanied by his wife.²

He was admired for his zeal and directness in preaching, but soon incurred the hostility of the authorities by his religious opinions, and especially by denying that the civil magistrates had any power or authority except in purely civil matters. This tenet, which has since become the foundation rock of liberty in the United States, was highly repulsive to the Puritans of New England. He went to Salem, and soon became assistant pastor of Skelton, well known there. The Boston authorities followed him up with opposition on the ground above stated, and also that he "had refused to join the congregation at Boston because they

¹ Art. Anne Hutchinson, New Amer. Encyclop., IX. 396.

² Art. Roger Williams, New Amer. Encyclop., XVI. 445.

would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communed with the churches in England.”¹

If this was a true charge, it was a departure from the liberality of sentiment distinguishing Roger Williams. His objections to the Anglican church were, that it was composed indiscriminately of pious and worldly men, and that it assumed authority over the conscience and was a persecutor. These objections were only too well founded; but they were not sufficient to make it sinful to commune with that church.

Persecution soon commenced in Salem, and Williams sadly retired to Plymouth. Here he was kindly received, and for two years was assistant of the pastor, Ralph Smith. He then, by invitation, resumed his ministry in Salem, succeeding Skelton as pastor. He preached what he believed, and his beliefs, although in accord with the highest teachings of Scripture and reason, did not suit the authorities of Massachusetts. He had called in question the right of either the king or the colony or the people of the colony to take and appropriate the lands of the Indians without paying adequate compensation for them; and also the right of the civil power to impose faith and worship on any man.

For these opinions, openly taught by him, the general court of the colony, late in the autumn of 1635, pronounced sentence of banishment against him. The order was that “the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing, which if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without license from the court.”²

The time for his departure was extended to the coming spring. But his doctrines were taking root and spreading in many candid minds. It was determined, therefore, to send him back to England. A small vessel was dispatched to Salem for the purpose. But Williams got notice in some way, and when the vessel arrived was beyond their reach. In midwinter, abandoning friends and family, “sorely tossed for fourteen weeks, not knowing what bread or bed did mean,” he plunged into the wilderness and literally “steered his course” for the shores of the Narragansett. Purchasing of the Indian Ousamequin lands on the eastern shore of Seekonk river, he had planted his corn for the season, when, ascertaining that he was still within the bounds of the Plymouth grants, he felt impelled to move again. Accompanied by five companions, he embarked in a canoe, proceeded down the stream,

¹ Art. Roger Williams, *Amer. Encyclop.*, XVI. 445, 446.

² *Ibid.*, p. 446.

turned the extremity of the peninsula, and ascended the Connecticut river to a spot which tradition has consecrated as his landing. His own words describe his acts: "I, having made covenant of peaceable neighborhood with all the sachems and nations round about us, and having, of a sense of God's merciful providence unto me in my distress, called the place Providence, I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."¹ This was in 1636.

Here was the genesis of the State of Rhode Island. Here was the second colony planted in America, in which religious liberty was the primitive condition of settlement.

Roger Williams was the fast friend of the Indians. He traveled and visited so much among them that he acquired a knowledge of their languages, which enabled him afterwards to write a valuable work, entitled a "Key into the Languages of America," including, also, accounts of the manners, habits, laws and religion of the Indian tribes. Such was his influence with them that when, in 1637, the Pequot Indians began a war with the whites, and sought the strong alliance of the Narragansetts, Williams, to save the lives of some of the very men who had persecuted him, set out in a storm and paddled many weary miles to the Narragansett settlements to urge them not to join in the war against the colonists. Here he met the Pequot emissaries, and his life was in danger. But by his earnest arguments the Narragansetts were convinced, and refused to go to war.²

During all this time Williams had not taken the name of "Baptist" upon him. It is probable that he admired and sympathized with the life and teachings of John Smyth, the leader of the "General Baptists" in England, who, finding the laws and policy of the reign of James I. ungenial, retired to Holland and became the influential pastor of "the Second English Church" at Amsterdam. Smyth was baptized by immersion; by whom is not known—some say, by himself.³ At Amsterdam he, with Thomas Helwys, published a "Confession of Faith" in twenty-six articles, one of which contained a definite claim of religious freedom. He was a graduate and fellow of Cambridge, and a fine scholar, as well as a man of incorruptible integrity, beautiful humility, and glowing charity.⁴ He died in 1612.

In 1639, Roger Williams was immersed by Ezekiel Holliman, a layman without sacred orders of any kind. Then Williams was baptized by immersion Holliman and ten other persons. Thus

¹ Gammell, 1846; Elton, 1852. Amer. Encyclop., XVI. 446.

² Art. John Smyth, Schaaff-Herzog Encyclop., III. 2202.

³ Schaaff-Herzog Encyclop., III. 2202.

⁴ Quackenbos' U. S., 89.

the Baptist churches took their origin in the United States. In 1643, Williams obtained a charter for Rhode Island from the English Parliament. He died in his colony in 1683, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.¹ The island itself had been named by the Dutch *Rood Eylandt* from its reddish appearance. Hence the name of the colony and the State.

Continuity of impression demands that this subject shall be carried further. The "Quakers" (or "Friends," as they more appropriately style themselves) began their career in England in 1647. Their tenets have been fully made known, and were never a just ground for persecution. Among them the belief in the indwelling and enlightening power of the Holy Spirit, and in perfect freedom of conscience and religious life, were prominent. If some of their private members indulged themselves in extravagances and vagaries, persecution of the sect and all its adherents was not the proper remedy.

In 1656, the Quakers first appeared in Boston, New England. They began immediately to preach against a paid clergy, civil oaths, war and military service, the visible sacraments of the church, the right of magistrates to govern in religious matters, and other beliefs held by the colonists. Provoking as all this was, it might not have led to active persecution had it not been attended by indecorums and indecencies of private "Friends," which called for correction, and which seemed to indicate that the system of faith leading to such practices was unsound at its core.

In 1658, a furious fanatic of this sect, named Fanlord, was preparing to shed the blood of his own son, when the cries of the unhappy boy attracted neighbors, who seized the arm of this man. Another, enacting his idea of Jeremiah and his symbols, burst in upon an assembled congregation, and striking violently together two bottles held in his hands, shattered them in fragments, crying out: "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." A Quaker woman, having spread coal dust over her face, exhibited herself to amazed spectators as a sign of some hideous disease that was soon to beset them. Another woman came into a church in a state of perfect nudity, and exhorted the people to look upon her as a sign of the unhappy condition of their own naked souls. A similar exhibition occurred in Salem; and in a southern colony it is related that a Quaker walked naked through the streets of a town for several days as a *sign of the times*.²

¹ Amer. Encyclop., XVI. 445-447.

² Thalheimer's Eclectic U. S., 59, 60. Grahame's Amer. Colon. Hist., I. 306, 307, note IX., I. 461.

We need not wonder that the Puritan spirit was moved to stern measures.

There was no special statute against Quakers; but, under the general law against heresy, in July, 1656, when Mary Fisher and Anne Austin appeared in the road before Boston and began to testify, their trunks were searched, and their books were burned by the hangman; their bodies were examined in search of signs of witchcraft, and after five weeks of close imprisonment they were thrust out of the jurisdiction. Eight others, during the same year, were sent back to England.

The next year a statute was enacted for their punishment, and a Quaker woman who "came all the way from London to warn the magistrates against persecution" was whipped with twenty stripes. Some who had been banished came again. They were imprisoned, whipped, and sent away, under penalty of more severe punishment if they returned. A fine was imposed on any person for entertaining or receiving into his house any "of the accursed sect." A Quaker after the first conviction was to lose one ear; after the second, the other; after a third, his tongue was to be bored with a red-hot iron. Finally the death penalty was denounced in case of repeated return, and under this law, in September and October, 1659, four persons—three men and one woman—were hanged.¹

The cruelty of the persecutors was only equalled by the persistency of the persecuted. It has ever been so with persecution on account of religion. Conscience, whether good or evil, is felt to be too precious and sacred to submit to repression by violence. Had the Quakers who came to Massachusetts been left to themselves, their false fires would speedily have burned themselves out, and their true fires would have remained to bless that part of America, as they have blessed other parts, with religious freedom and a pure morality.

And when we compare the results of persecution in America with those in Europe under the doctrines of the Roman church, and the secular governments upholding them, we will have no difficulty in discovering that already the passage across the Atlantic had cleansed the colonists of the sin of persecution. Under Charles V. the number of persons who were hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burned for religious opinion and profession, in the Netherlands alone, amounted to fifty thousand according to Fra Paolo, and Grotius estimates those thus put to

¹ Bancroft, I. 452-457.

death in that country under Philip II. at one hundred thousand.¹

The government of Massachusetts was ashamed of the laws for mutilation, and they were not printed.² Soon they were repealed, and persecution gradually ceased. Happy has it been for America that this lesson has been learned at so small a cost of human life and suffering.

¹ Sarpi, *Istoria del Concil.*, Trid. L. v. Grotius, *Aunales*. Bancroft, I. 455.

² Bancroft, I. 453.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONNECTICUT.—ALLEGED BLUE LAWS.—NEW YORK.

CONNECTICUT was settled almost entirely from Massachusetts. In 1635 the movement began. About sixty men, women and children set out with their faces westward. They were guided by the compass and the sun and stars. They drove their cattle before them. After fourteen days of toilsome journeying, through almost unbroken forests, they reached the Connecticut (*long river*), and settled the town of Windsor.

In 1636 came other pioneers, under Thomas Hooker, of whom we have spoken. Some of them joined the settlers at Windsor; others settled Hartford and Wethersfield.

But the Dutch claimed Connecticut, and were there before the settlers from Massachusetts. The Dutch claim had no sound basis, for the territory was included in the original grants to the Plymouth Company.¹

In 1633 some Dutch traders from New Netherlands (now New York) came to the mouth of the Connecticut, and established a fortified trading-post on the river, near where Hartford now stands. It was commanded by a brave Hollander, Van Curler, and was called "Good Hope."

But in the same year came a party of bold traders from the Plymouth colony. They entered the river, and disregarding peremptory commands to stop, seconded by several badly-aimed shots, they sailed by and went up as far as Windsor, where they built a trading-house. The Dutch soon found their post as untenable as their claims. Nevertheless, contests—sometimes of words, sometimes of blows—went on for years between the Dutch and the pilgrims of Connecticut, which have been genially if not truthfully presented in Diedrich Knickerbocker's *History of New York*.

In 1630 the Plymouth Company granted the soil of Connecticut to the Earl of Warwick. In 1632 the Earl ceded his rights to Lord Say-and-Sele and Lord Brooke and others as a corporation.

¹ Swinton's Cond. U. S., 48. A. H. Stephens' U. S., 74.

They did not disturb the Puritan settlers, but sent out John Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, with directions to build a fort at the mouth of the river. This was called Saybrook. In 1644 they united with the Connecticut colony.

In 1637, John Davenport, a London clergyman, and his friend Theophilus Eaton, a rich merchant, with some associates, arrived in Boston. They were liberal non-conformists, and finding the religious atmosphere of Boston ungenial, they moved farther west. In the spring of 1638 they landed on the shores of a beautiful bay, and founded New Haven. Eaton was annually elected governor for more than twenty years.¹

Here, in 1700, originally as "the Collegiate School of the Colony of Connecticut," was founded Yale College, which has sent forth many brilliant graduates in science and literature. In 1639 the settlements on the river held a convention at Hartford, and adopted a very liberal constitution and form of government. In 1662, Charles II., moved by John Winthrop, Jr., granted to Connecticut a free and advantageous charter; and in 1665 the three distinct centres of settlement, known as the Connecticut, Saybrook and New Haven, were united in one colony, which was afterwards a State.²

Connecticut was disturbed early in her life by a war with the Pequot Indians, already alluded to, and of which a farther account will be given when we give the history of the early Indian wars.

But her course was onward and upward. The influence of such men as Hooker, Davenport, Eaton and Winthrop was felt for centuries; in fact, it has never ceased. Education, in all its forms, and especially the higher literary and scientific forms, has been sedulously sought by her.

To this favorable view an exception has long been taken in some minds by reason of a code of conduct known as the "Blue Laws," attributed to the settlement in and around New Haven while it enjoyed separate powers.

But as a historical fact, no such code of public laws ever existed. The idea which gave birth to this title, as a name of ridicule or reproach, has been traced to the times of the Charles Kings and Oliver Cromwell, of England, when all who disapproved the licentiousness of the court and cavaliers were called "blue." In *Hudibras* this epithet is explained thus:

"For his religion, it was fit
To match his learning and his wit;
'Twas Presbyterian true *blue*."

¹ A. H. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 75.

² Swinton's Cond. U. S., 49.

The notion of the code of "Blue Laws" attributed to Connecticut originated in a false and maligning work, written and published in England in 1781 by one Samuel Peters, born in Connecticut in 1735. He graduated at Yale College in 1757, became a clergyman of the Church of England, and in 1762 took charge of the Episcopal churches in Hartford and Hebron. Being a Tory of the most odious type, he was forced to fly to England in 1774; and there, in order to wreak his revenge, he wrote and published his work under the title, "A General History of Connecticut." This work has long been recognized as unhistorical, and has been in modern times, with apparent justice, spoken of as "the most unscrupulous and malicious of lying narratives."¹

The falsehoods of Samuel Peters as to the alleged "Blue Laws" were all the more indicative of malice prepense, because the truth on the subject had been made public fifteen years before he wrote his work. Judge Smith, of New York, had made a special search in New Haven for these laws, or any trace of them, or any evidence that they had ever existed. This was in 1767. He found nothing to indicate that they ever had been. The notion about them arose from the strictness of observance of what they understood to be scriptural teachings, or inferences from them, held by the more rigid Puritans of New Haven, and applied by them in their families. Some of these private rules of conduct were doubtless exaggerated and perverted views of the inspired teachings. But while they may have been acquiesced in, even to the extent of submitting to private and voluntary fines and other slight penalties for non-observance, they never had any force as public or municipal laws.²

We come now to the New York colony. Henry Hudson, a native Englishman, but in the service of the Dutch East India Company in Holland, had, in 1609, in a ship called the *Half Moon*, of ninety tons, entered the broad mouth of the Hudson river, and landed on the island of Manhattan. This word, in Indian parlance, means "the place of drunkenness," and had justly gained its name.

When Hudson's ship drew near, the Indians were lost in amazement at this floating monster. But when Hudson, dressed in scarlet, landed, they took him to be the great "Manitou" himself, and received him and his crew with unbounded respect. Hudson ordered a calabash of rum to be brought. After drinking some himself he offered it to the chiefs. Each smelled it,

¹ Art. Samuel Peters, Appleton's Amer. Encyclop., XIII. 195.

² New York Hist. Collec., Vol. IV. Amer. Encyclop., XIII. 393, 394.

and then passed it to the next. But when it came to the last chief he was unwilling to offend the Manitou; so he drank freely. He was soon in a hilarious state, and after divers antics he fell to the ground. But he recovered, and gave to his comrade chiefs such an account of his agreeable sensations and visions that they all desired to drink the "fire water." They all became intoxicated, and in this state Hudson left them.¹

In the great stretch of water known as the Tappan Sea, above Yonkers, Hudson and his mate, Robert Juet, practiced another peculiar experiment on the natives. Juet thus narrates it:

"Our master and his mate determined to try some of the cheefe men of the country whether they had any treacherie in them. So they took them down into the cabin and gave them so much wine and aqua vitæ that they were all very merrie; one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly as any of our country women would do in a strange place. In the end, one of them was drunke; and that was strange to them, for they could not tell how to take it."²

Such were the scenes with which the discovery and settlement of New York began. But the Dutch settlers gave it a phase of more gravity. Hudson sailed up the river as far as he could safely go, discovering, not indeed the East Indies as he had hoped to do, but a country of great beauty and a soil of boundless fertility. He then returned to Holland, and by his own accounts and those of his mate, Juet, excited much interest in this land thus explored.

In the next year, 1610, a trading expedition, sent out by Amsterdam merchants, came from Holland. They entered Long Island Sound, traded with the natives along the shores and on Mahattan Island, sailed up the Hudson, and established a trading fort near the present site of Albany, which they called Fort Aurania or Orange.³

They gave the name New Amsterdam to the trading post on the island, and the name New Netherlands to the whole region.

But the Dutch were slow in actual settlement. It was several years before they made their first permanent lodgment in the New World. This is supposed to have been on the Jersey shore, in the region afterwards known as Payonia. It bore the mixed name of Communipaw. Hither came the ship *Goede Vrouw*, said to have been named in honor of the wife of the West India Company's president;⁴ and here the Dutch families built their houses, laid

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 78.

² Juet's Journal, in Purchas' Pilgrims. Irving's Wolferts Roost, Works, XVI. 12.

³ Irving's Knickerbocker, Works, I. 94. Horace E. Scudder's U. S., 56, 57.

⁴ Irving, I. 95-97.

out their gardens, and lived in quiet until they removed to the more attractive settlement on Manhattan. Then began the peaceful and somewhat lazy town, afterwards to expand into the busiest, richest and most populous city of the Western world.

Their settlements spread slowly. The four Dutch governors, whose names have become historic, were Peter Minuits, who, in 1626, bought from the Indians the whole island of Manhattan for about twenty-four dollars in barter; Wouter Van Twiller, who was appointed governor in 1629 by the States-General of the United Netherlands, with the concurrence of the West India Company; Wilhelmus Kieft (sometimes known as William the Testy, from his irritable temper), who took the gubernatorial chair in 1634; and, finally, Peter Stuyvesant, often called Peter the Headstrong, who commenced his administration on the 29th of May, 1647, soon after the demise of Kieft, who, in 1647, embarked on the ship *Princess* for Holland, taking with him specimens of what was thought to be gold ore found in the Kaatskill Mountains, and was never heard of afterwards.¹ Stuyvesant governed until the Dutch rule was overthrown by the English in 1664, and died in the New York colony in 1682.

We have seen that, early in 1614, Captain Samuel Argall, under orders from Governor Thomas Dale of the Virginia colony, sailed north, and after overcoming the French settlement at Port Royal, in Acadia, came down the coast and paid his respects to the Dutch on Manhattan Island. Too weak to resist and too wise to fight, they quietly submitted. The English flag was hoisted, and Argall sailed away; but hardly was he gone before the Dutch, having received some reinforcements and having recovered from the alarm, rehoisted the flag of the New Netherlands, and all things were soon *in statu quo*.

The savages gave them more trouble, and with more bloody results. Rum, furnished by the Dutch traders, was the moving cause. Excited to mad intoxication, the Indians committed various trespasses, and the colonists punished them severely. Roused to vengeance, the natives, in 1640, attacked a settlement on Staten Island. The next year a Dutchman was killed on Manhattan by an Indian, who had vowed indiscriminate revenge for the murder of his uncle ten years before. In 1642 two more colonists were slain by a Hackensack warrior, who had been first made drunk and then robbed by the whites.² Satisfaction was demanded; but the Indians, though willing to pay two hundred

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 95. Irving's Knickerbocker, I. 146, 207, 263 (note).

² Quackenbos' U. S., 96.

fathoms of wampum, justifiably refused to deliver up their warrior, on the ground that the Dutch had provoked the act.

Just then a band of river Indians, driven by the Mohawks, took refuge on the banks of the Hudson opposite Manhattan, and prayed the help of the Dutch. Instead of granting it, Kieft, the governor, sent an armed force across the river in the dead of night. They fell upon the almost helpless Indians and put to death men, women and children. Such as escaped the sword were driven from the cliffs and perished in the freezing water.¹

A bloody war was the result of this inhumanity. The red men assembled for vengeance from the Jersey shore to the Connecticut river. The whites were slain in numbers wherever they were found. As no mercy had been shown to their women, children, and their aged and helpless ones, the Indians showed no mercy. It was at this time that Anne Hutchinson and her family perished.

Roger Williams, always for peace, persuaded the Indians for a time to bury the tomahawk; but the war was soon renewed, and as the Indian tribes of New York were numerous and warlike, the Dutch might have been exterminated had they not appointed John Underhill, a brave New Englander, commander of their forces. He knew how to fight the savages, and by his courage and skill, brought the war to a close.²

Peter Stuyvesant had distinguished himself in the Dutch wars in the West Indies, and had lost a leg in the attack on the Portuguese island of St. Martin. When he became Governor of New Netherlands, he established a different policy from that of Kieft. He conciliated the Indians by gifts and kindness. He restored order to every department of the government. He met the New England commissioners at Hartford in 1650, and fixed by definite agreement a line of partition between the Dutch and New England colonies, thus ending many disputes and contests.³

But he was, with many good qualities, somewhat arbitrary and despotic. Thus was he urged on to claims and deeds which led to the complete overthrow of the Dutch power in North America.

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 96.

² Bancroft, II. 292.

³ Art. Stuyvesant, Amer. Encyclop., XV. 148.

CHAPTER XVII.

DELAWARE.—NEW YORK.—PATROONS.

THE colony of Delaware, afterwards to become a state, took its name from Lord Delaware, who entered, in 1610, the broad bay into which the river, of the same name also, empties its waters.

But Hendrik Hudson, in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, had entered this same bay in 1609, and had to some extent explored the river and the contiguous country.¹ Hence the Dutch government in New Netherlands claimed it; and the Dutch made the first attempt to settle it. Under the auspices of Van Rensselaer, Godyn, Bloemart and De Laet, men of high character and distinction in Holland, an expedition was sent out from Texel, an island of the Zuyder Zee, and came in May, 1632, to a region of territory of about thirty miles square from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of the Delaware, which Godyn had previously purchased from the Indians.²

De Vries, who commanded the expedition, was a skillful navigator, a good scholar and a devoted Protestant. He planted a little colony of about thirty persons on the soil of Delaware, near Lewiston, on the bay. He furnished them with seed, cattle and agricultural implements. Leaving them to their labors, he ascended the Delaware as far as the site of Philadelphia. Fort Nassau had been previously established, but was abandoned. Lewiston was the first settlement of Delaware, and came to a sad end.

After spending nearly a year in America, De Vries returned to Holland, leaving Osset in command. He had not the rare qualities needed to deal with the Indians, and was soon involved in bloody contests. At the close of a year De Vries revisited his colony and found nothing but the bones of his countrymen.³

Gustavus Adolphus, the most liberal and enlightened of all the Swedish kings, had formed, before his death, a plan for planting Swedes and Finns in America. But he fell, a martyr to religious liberty, at the battle of Lutzen in October, 1632, before he could carry out his plans.

¹ Art. Delaware, Amer. Encyclop., VI. 347.

² A. H. Stephens' U. S., 71, 72.

³ De Vries' Narrative, in Bancroft, II. 282.

His minister, Oxenstiern, became his executor in this great scheme. The first permanent settlement of Delaware is due to this serene and large-hearted chancellor. Peter Minuits, the first Governor of New Netherlands, entered into the Swedish plans, and offered his services. Early in 1638, two vessels, the *Key of Calmar* and the *Griffin*, arrived in Delaware Bay, and brought a small body of Swedes and Finns, who purchased lands from the Indians near the mouth of Christiana creek, and established a stronghold, which they called Christiana, in honor of the young girl who was then Queen of Sweden.

William Kieft, the third Governor of New Netherlands, failed not to enter against the Swedish occupation a protest, which is still preserved in the records at Albany.¹ But Sweden was then too formidable to make an attack safe. The country was attractive and fertile. Swedish families came in numbers, and pushed their settlements even to the borders of what is now Philadelphia. The country was called New Sweden. It has never lost traces of its origin.

But Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, was a soldier, and was not a man to permit what he regarded as an encroachment on the territorial rights of Holland. New Netherlands was tenfold more populous than New Sweden. In 1651, the Dutch built a fort called Casimir, on the present site of New Castle, within five miles of Christiana, near the mouth of the Brandywine.² Quite naturally, the Swedish governor, Rising, regarded this as a menace. By a union of stratagem and force, he overpowered the garrison and took possession of Casimir. But his triumph was brief. Sweden had ceased to be a controlling power, and the Dutch Company fearlessly ordered Governor Stuyvesant to "revenge the wrong, and drive the Swedes from the river, or compel their submission." In 1655, at the head of a force of six hundred well-armed soldiers, Stuyvesant invaded New Sweden, compelled fort after fort to surrender, and obtained the complete submission of Rising, on the honorable terms that the colonists should retain full and undisturbed title and possession of their settlements, provided the jurisdiction of New Netherlands was acknowledged.³ Thus New Sweden ended her existence. The Swedes remained, but the Scandinavian government was overthrown.

Notwithstanding his military triumph over the Swedes, Governor Stuyvesant did not find his path a smooth one. The very

¹ Albany Records, II. 7, 8. Bancroft, II. 287.

² Bancroft, II. 296. A. H. Stephens' U. S., 72.

³ Swedish Records, IV. and V. of Hazard's Hist. Register.

qualities which made him a good soldier made him a stern and imperious ruler. He yielded reluctantly to every concession in favor of free government claimed by the people, who were growing fast in numbers and intelligence. In 1653, the persevering and restless exertions of the people had led to the formation of a "General Assembly," composed of two deputies from each settlement. Such a body was unknown in the fatherland, and Stuyvesant looked on it with bitter opposition, though he took no steps to prevent its assembling.¹

This free assembly claimed the right of deliberating on the civil condition of the country. George Baxter, a member, drafted a remonstrance and petition, which was adopted and sent to the governor. It contained in substance the following language: "The States-General of the United Provinces are our liege lords; we submit to their laws; and our rights and privileges ought to be in harmony with those of the fatherland, for we are a member of the state, and not a subjugated people. We, who have come together from various parts of the world, and are a blended community of various lineage; we, who have, at our own expense, exchanged our native lands for the protection of the United Provinces; we, who have transformed the wilderness into fruitful farms, demand that no new laws shall be enacted but with consent of the people; that none shall be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people, and that obscure and obsolete laws shall never be revived."²

Stuyvesant was amazed at this free tone. He did not believe in self-government by man. He replied: "Will you set your names to the visionary notions of an Englishman? Is there none of the Netherland's nation able to draft your petition?" He commented in caustic terms on the claim that the people should elect their own officers. "The thief will vote for a thief; the smuggler for a smuggler; and fraud and vice will become privileged."

But the assembly persisted in their claims, and Stuyvesant, having exhausted his arguments, resorted to an act of arbitrary power. He dissolved the assembly, commanding the members to separate on pain of imprisonment, and writing as to his own powers: "We derive our authority from God and the West India Company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects."³

The West India Company approved the course of the governor. They wrote to him: "We approve the taxes you propose; have

¹ Landtag, Dutch Records, 2. Stephens, 44. Bancroft, II. 306.

² Albany Records, IX. 28-33. Bancroft, II. 306. Stephens, 44, 45.

³ Albany Rec., IX. 38-46. Stephens, 45. Bancroft, II. 307.

no regard to the consent of the people; let them indulge no longer the visionary dream that taxes can be imposed only with their consent."

Thus "Peter the Headstrong" and the Dutch West India Company hastened the downfall of the New Netherlands. The assembly was dispersed, but the people did not forget.

England always claimed this land and water occupied by the Dutch settlements. Oliver Cromwell had planned the conquest of the New Netherlands, and in the days of his son Richard the plan was revived. When Charles II. was restored, this became one of his cherished objects.

This king was the meanest, most unscrupulous and debauched in character and life, that ever sat on the English throne. With equal indifference to the chartered rights of Connecticut and the peaceful claims and possession of the Netherlands, he granted to the secret papist, his brother James, Duke of York, the country from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, and the whole territory from the Connecticut river to the shores of the Delaware.¹

Richard Nichols, groom of the bed-chamber to the Duke of York, was commander of the naval and military expedition which in August, 1664, approached the Narrows and quietly cast anchor in Gravesend Bay. Long Island was immediately lost to the Dutch, and occupied by the invaders.²

England and the Netherlands were at peace; but rumors of the invasion had reached Stuyvesant, and he had made such preparation to resist as he could. But his arm was paralyzed by the state of popular feeling in the colony and New Amsterdam. Many of the settlements were of English people. The governor had expressed his fears to his company. "To ask aid of the English villages would be inviting the Trojan horse within our walls. I have not time to tell how the company is cursed and scolded; the inhabitants declare that the Dutch have never had a right to the country."³

Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, and Pynchon, as commissioner from that State, had come with the fleet. They had the confidence of the Dutch inhabitants. Nichols demanded a surrender, but offered the most liberal terms. Stuyvesant would gladly have resisted, but the people were against him, and were organized in opposition.

On the 8th September, 1664, the articles of surrender were agreed on. Security was promised to the customs, the religion,

¹ Bancroft, II. 313. Swinton's Cond. U. S., 59.

² Stephens, 47. Bancroft, II. 313.

³ Bancroft, II. 312.

the municipal institutions, and the possessions of all the people. The colonists were satisfied. It seemed as if English liberties were to be added to their home happiness.

In a few days Fort Orange, now named Albany, from the Scottish title of the Duke of York, quietly surrendered. The league with the Five Nations was renewed. Early in October the Dutch and Swedes of Delaware capitulated. Then, for the first time, all the coast from Canada to Florida was united under English rule.¹

The name of the colony and the city was changed to New York.

But there was one system which had originated under the Dutch rule and survived it, and which in comparatively modern times has been a source of much debate, and of conflict sometimes threatening life. This was the system of land-hold known as that of the "Patroons."

It commenced in the time of Governor Van Twiller. In 1630, the Dutch East India Company, with the desire to promote rapid settlements in the colony, granted to Killian Van Rensselaer, the original patroon, a patent or charter, under which he was empowered to acquire title to an immense tract of land on condition of introducing, within a limited time, fifty settlers for each square mile of land. The proprietor was invested with the title and privileges of a lord patroon, or protector, and his colony or manor was to be governed by the same customs and laws as were the feudal manors of the United Provinces. Thus, the feudal system, in all its essential and its worst features, was sought to be established in North America. Every objectionable incident of the tenures in socage and villeinage was imposed upon the tenants of these manors under the patroons. Purveyances, pre-emption, fines for alienation, banalities, ban-services and other similar feudal burdens, were exacted from the tenants.² To deny that this was feudalism was to deny the light of the sun.

Nevertheless, men had not then learned enough of the right of self-government to reject this system. In 1630, Killian Van Rensselaer appeared in his ship in the harbor of New Amsterdam. A great historian of New York has given us a description of his person which is, at least, the most reliable we have. "A stranger stepped on shore, a lofty, lordly kind of man, tall and dry, with a meagre face furnished with huge moustaches. He was clad in Flemish doublet and hose, and an insufferably tall hat with a cocktail feather." "Killian Van Rensselaer was a

¹ Bancroft, II. 315.

² Art. Anti-rentism, New Amer. Encyclop., I. 668.

nine days' wonder in New Amsterdam; for he carried a high head, looked down upon the portly, short-legged burgomasters, and owned no allegiance to the governor himself, boasting that he held his patroonship directly from the Lords States-General."¹

After obtaining a few recruits in the town, he sailed up the Hudson to the neighborhood of Fort Orange, now Albany. Within a few years he had purchased a tract of land, twenty-four miles in breadth by forty-eight in length, extending from the neighborhood of the fort over the greater part of that region of New York now covered by the counties of Albany, Rensselaer and Columbia.²

He lorded it over his manor, known afterwards as Rensselaerwyck, and showed a disposition to exceed the bounds even of his immense domain, by taking possession of a rocky isle in the Hudson called "Bearn" or Bears' Island. Here he built a stronghold called Rensselaerstein, and is said to have placed there his henchman, Nicholas Koorn, who compelled all passing vessels to lower their flags in token of submission to the patroon's jurisdiction; and when Governor Van Twiller sent to Killian Van Rensselaer a letter demanding by what right he had seized this island, the patroon is said to have answered: "*By wapen recht*"—that is, by right of arms, or club law.³

Even if some of these traditions be legendary rather than historical, they prove the character of the claims of this patroon. But when the English power displaced the Dutch in 1664, his claims seem not only to have been undisturbed, but expressly recognized. Others had obtained similar grants, and the result was that huge bodies of land, sufficient to make a state rather than a farm, and covering a large part of many of the finest counties in New York were held in patroonship at the end of the Revolutionary war.

It is a striking proof of the conservatism of North America that no serious efforts were made to contest and destroy these land-tenures until after the year 1839. It is true that in 1779, and afterwards in 1785, laws abolishing all feudal tenures were enacted by the Legislature of New York. These ought to have destroyed these patroonships at once, and would have done so but for the ingenuity and acquisitiveness of these claimants, who devised leases by which the grantees covenanted to pay rents and perform services precisely similar to the feudal incidents abolished.⁴

¹ Irving's Knickerbocker's N. Y., Works, I. 179.

² Art. Van Rensselaer, New Amer. Encyclop., XVI. 25.

³ Irving's Knickerbocker's N. Y., Works, I. 180, 181.

⁴ Art. Anti-rentism, New Amer. Encyclop., I. 668.

But in 1839 the evils of this system had become intolerable. The people of the counties of Albany, Rensselaer, Columbia, Greene, Ulster, Delaware, Schoharie, Montgomery, Herkimer, Otsego, Oneida and other counties began to join together in secret societies and bands, who disguised themselves in calico dresses like Indians, and appeared at the critical time with pistols, tomahawks, guns and cutlasses to resist all enforcement of these feudal leases. Bloodshed frequently occurred. For more than eight years these contests continued. Anti-rentism became a political question. The American novelist, Fenimore Cooper, warmly espoused the side of the patroons or landlords, and in several of his fictions, which are as weak and dismal as others are powerful and genial, sought to uphold these tenures,¹ but in vain. All the principles of enlightened freedom were against them. Governor Wright, who upheld them, was defeated in 1846 by a majority of ten thousand votes by John Young, the anti-rent candidate for governor. In the same year, a clause was inserted in the new constitution of New York abolishing all feudal tenures *and incidents*, and forbidding the leasing of agricultural lands for a term exceeding twenty years. The legislation of the State bore heavily against these tenures. Some suits continue arising from them. But, substantially, patroonism has ended in New York.

¹ Cooper's Crater, Redskins, etc.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NEW YORK.—NEW JERSEY.

AFTER the conquest of New York, Nichols was made governor, and was popular and successful, continuing in office for several years. In 1667 he resigned, and was succeeded by Colonel Francis Lovelace, who governed prosperously for six years.¹

Towards the close of his rule, war commenced between the English and the Dutch. The latter fitted out a small squadron to prey on English commerce in America. This force made a descent on New York during the governor's absence, and captured the town. But in less than a year it was restored to England under the treaty of Westminster in 1674.

Sir Edmund Andros, a special creature of the Duke of York, succeeded Lovelace, and was governor until 1682, when Colonel Thomas Dongan, a member of the Roman church, was appointed. It was during his term that a representative government was established in New York.

"All freeholders were granted the right of suffrage; trial by jury was established; taxes should no more be levied except by consent of the assembly; soldiers should not be quartered on the people; martial law should not exist; no person accepting the general doctrines of religion should be in anywise distressed or persecuted."²

The administration of Dongan was distinguished by his attention to Indian affairs. Of this we shall see more when we come to narrate more fully the colonial wars with the natives.

After James II. ascended the throne, his narrow and arbitrary character was soon exhibited, and the colonies felt it. He sent Sir Edmund Andros as captain-general and vice-admiral over New York, the Jerseys, including Delaware, and the four New England colonies. His hard rule was brief.

In 1688, James was compelled to abdicate the throne and fly from England. Colonel Francis Nicholson, the deputy of Andros, as soon as he heard of this, fled from New York. One Jacob Leisler, a native of Frankfort-on-the-Main, in Germany, a trader

¹ A. H. Stephens' U. S., 110.

² Ridpath, 175. Stephens, 110, 111.

with Indians and a captain of militia, without any definite authority, seized the fort of the town, avowing that he held it for the Prince of Orange under an old charter. But Courtlandt, the mayor, Colonel Bayard, Major Schuyler, and other gentlemen, known adherents of Andros and Nicholson, refused to recognize Leisler, and retired to the fort at Albany, declaring, however, that they held it for King William.¹

Leisler sent Milbourne, his son-in-law, with troops against them. They gave up the fort and retired to the neighboring colonies. Leisler confiscated their estates.

A committee of safety, with Leisler at its head, ruled the province. In a short time came a letter from the ministry in England directed to "Francis Nicholson, Esq., or such as for the time being take care of administering the laws of the province."²

Leisler, with ready egotism, assumed that this letter was addressed to himself. He exercised the authority conferred by it, issued commissions, and appointed his executive council. A convention was called, to consist of deputies from all the towns and districts.

Meanwhile war existed between France and England. An invasion of Canada was planned. New York troops, under General Winthrop, were to take part in it; but by the incompetency of Milbourne, who was commissary-general, supplies were not furnished, and the New York forces were obliged to retreat.

Leisler, who pretended to military prowess, ordered the arrest of General Winthrop; but this so aroused the indignation of all parties that he was compelled to release him.³

Having been involved, together with Milbourne, in certain church controversies at Albany in 1676, in which heavy costs had been visited on them, Leisler had claimed special zeal for the Reformation: and when he seized the fort, May 31, 1689, had declared that he was acting "for the preservation of the Protestant religion."⁴ He had now arrayed against him the bitter animosity of many of the higher social classes.

A few months afterwards Major Ingoldsby arrived from England with news of the appointment of Henry Sloughter as governor, and demanded possession of the fort, which Leisler refused. In March, 1691, Sloughter himself arrived with full credentials. But Leisler, puffed up with brief authority, refused to recognize the new governor until proofs of his identity were furnished. Leisler and Milbourne were arrested, imprisoned and

¹ Stephens' U. S., 112.

² *Ibid.*, 112.

Art. Leisler, Amer. Encyclop., X. 446.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., pp. 112, 113.

⁴ Art. Leisler, New Amer. Encyclop., X. 446.

tried on charges of treason and murder. They were convicted and sentenced to death. But the governor's warrant was necessary for their execution.

Sloughter was evidently not satisfied as to their guilt. They had always claimed to act for William and Mary, and no proof adverse to this claim had been furnished. He delayed to sign the warrant of death. But the enemies of Leisler were powerful and vindictive. They contrived a dinner party, to which Sloughter was invited, and while he was near to intoxication they induced him to sign the death warrants. The two victims were hurried to the gibbet and hanged before the governor recovered from his debauch.¹

Impartial history has affixed a black mark to this transaction. These men were weak and ignorant, and hurried into excesses by unexpected success and power; but they were neither traitors nor murderers. The aristocratic element in the province pursued them with deliberate malice.

We must now review the settlement of New Jersey. In 1622 some Danes made settlements on the Delaware and at Bergen.² Before the overthrow of the Dutch dynasty many persons, generally Presbyterians, and retiring from persecution in the Old World, had settled in this region on both sides of the Delaware river. The country was held as part of New Netherlands, and was surrendered to the English in 1664.

The Duke of York conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret the territory which now constitutes the State of New Jersey. Sir George had been governor of the island of Jersey during the civil wars of England, and had defended it skillfully and bravely against the parliamentary forces. In compliment to him this region was now called Jersey. It was afterwards frequently described as East and West Jersey.

Liberal inducements to settlers were held out by the proprietaries. No rent was to be collected for five years; no taxes were to be imposed except by the General Assembly of the colony, and liberty of conscience was allowed in religious matters.³

Before he knew of the grant to Berkeley and Carteret, Nichols, the Governor of New York, had granted one or more licenses, under which settlements had been made at Elizabethtown (which took its name from the wife of Sir George Carteret) and other places. Disputes arose as to priority of title by reason of those licenses.

¹Stephens' Comp. U. S., 114. Art. Leisler, Amer. Encyclop., X. 446.

²Derry's U. S., 47.

³Stephens' Comp. U. S., 65. Eggleston's Household U. S., 58.

In 1665, Philip Carteret, brother of Sir George, arrived with thirty emigrants. He carried a hoe on his shoulder as a sign and emblem that industry and agriculture were to be their dependence.¹

Under both Charles II. and his brother James II. the people of Scotland were cruelly persecuted for the purpose of forcing them to accept a prelatic form of government for their church. Thousands migrated to America, and generally settled in the region covered by the Jersey patents, or else in the region over which William Penn had power. "Thus the mixed character of New Jersey springs from the different sources of its people. Puritans, Covenanters and Quakers met on her soil; and their faith, institutions and preferences, having life in the common mind, survive the Stuarts."²

The government of Philip Carteret was wise, but not popular. The claimants under the Nichols licenses refused to pay rent, and when the governor resorted to coercive measures the people revolted, and in 1670 displaced Philip and chose James Carteret, an illegitimate son of Sir George, as their governor. But Philip persevered in his prudent course, obtained concessions, and induced the great body of the settlers to submit again to his authority. Under his proclamation the first legislative assembly convened in May, 1668. It is remarkable only for having passed a bill of pains and penalties of extreme severity—the death penalty being assigned for no less than twelve offences.³

The colony had many advantages of soil, health and sites for manufactures. It prospered considerably, and would have advanced more rapidly but for the ceaseless disputes under conflicting titles to lands.

Wearied by these, in 1673 Berkeley sold his rights to John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, Quakers. They conveyed an interest to William Penn, Garvin Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas; and Fenwick, in 1675, established a Quaker settlement at Salem, near the Delaware.

For some years the province continued to be divided into East Jersey, subject to Sir George Carteret and his heirs, and West Jersey, under Fenwick and his associates. In February, 1682, the whole territory was purchased by William Penn and eleven other Friends. The first governor under this new *régime* was Robert Barclay, a Scotchman, who made it an asylum for the oppressed of his country and of all creeds.⁴ Prosperity prevailed.

¹Swinton's Cond. U. S., 64.

²Bancroft, II. 413.

³Art. New Jersey, Amer. Encyclop., XII. 233.

⁴New Amer. Encyclop., XII. 234.

But as the difficulties as to titles continued, in 1702 the proprietors surrendered the right of government to the Crown. The two Jerseys were united.

Queen Anne made her unworthy, narrow-minded and unprincipled relative, Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York and New Jersey. But fortunately his influence was hardly felt in the smaller colony, which continued to have its own legislature. In 1708, on petition for a separate governor, Lewis Morris was appointed. The population was then about forty thousand. The last royal governor was William Franklin, a son of Benjamin Franklin, but not born in wedlock.¹

In 1776 a State constitution was adopted. During the Revolutionary war New Jersey was overrun by both armies, and was the theatre of important battles.

Her people have been true patriots, and have shown special interest in education. In 1746 the college of Princeton was founded, which has since expanded to the proportions and style of a university, and has sent out scholars of high culture in civil and religious life.²

¹ Art. New Jersey, *New Amer. Encyclop.*, XII 234.

² Derry's U. S., p. 48. Swinton's Cond. U. S., 64, 65.

CHAPTER XIX.

PENNSYLVANIA AND HER FRIENDS.

WE come now to one of the most genial and instructive passages in the colonial life of North America—the settlement of Pennsylvania. It is the single bright spot in the dark and dreary reigns of Charles II. and James II. of England, so far as their policy in the New World was concerned.

The world has learned to respect the genesis of the society known as Quakers or Friends. They came from the common people of England; but their prevalent inspiration was the same that has moved great minds in all ages of the world. They builded their system on the divine principle which demands freedom of mind, purity of morals and universal enfranchisement.

“The sect had its birth in a period of intense public activity—when the heart of England was swelling with passions and the public mind turbulent with factious leaders; when zeal for reform was invading the church, subverting the throne and repealing the privileges of feudalism; when Presbyterians in every village were quarreling with Anabaptists and Independents, and all with the Roman Catholics and the English church.”¹

George Fox, son of “righteous Christopher,” a Leicestershire weaver, by his mother descended from martyrs, was the prime mover of the English Quakers. He was a shepherd boy, and passed his early years in solitude—in reading Holy Scripture, in frequent fasts, and in the reveries of contemplative devotion. He was not content with the phases of religion which he saw, and gradually reached the consciousness that the “inner light” given by the Holy Spirit, and not the mere letter of the Scriptures, must guide the soul. This light he believed to be free to all men. He adopted all the noblest principles of civil and religious liberty. “His soul enjoyed the sweetness of repose, and he came up in spirit from the agony of doubt into the paradise of contemplation.”²

Gradually his opinions spread, and were embraced everywhere by enthusiastic minds. They held that a paid ministry was with-

¹ Bancroft, II. 330.

² *Ibid.*, II. 333.

out Divine sanction, and that all men and women who were moved by the Holy Spirit might preach. They called for universal repentance and reform in life.

They met opposition from all other sects and parties in church and state. As they proclaimed their tenets they were everywhere resisted with angry vehemence, and priests and professors, magistrates and people, raged like the angry seas. "At the Lancaster sessions forty priests appeared against Fox at once. To the ambitious Presbyterians, it seemed as if hell were broke loose."¹

When the state was against them, the church against them, the Independents against them, the Presbyterians against them, and the world of dissolute men against them, the result could not be long in doubt. They were persecuted with a bitterness and virulence hardly known even by Rome in her worst days. But the more they were persecuted by fines, imprisonments, scourgings, burnings, hangings, death, the more they grew in numbers and grew in triumph, in declaiming against civil despotism, religious intolerance, superstitious creeds, war, and conformity to worldly and depraving usages.

William Penn, from deep conviction, became a member of this society, and preached its doctrines. He was born in London in 1644, a son of Admiral William Penn of the British navy, who had gained high distinction in the wars with the Dutch. Being grieved by what he regarded as fanaticism in his son, the admiral sent him to France for education and society, and brought him into contact with every form of the world that would be most apt to influence him against the "Friends." But all in vain. The son became, indeed, an accomplished courtier and diplomatist, but was not thereby less a Friend. He traveled through Wales, Ireland, Holland, Germany and the Jerseys, preaching his cherished doctrines. The admiral turned him out of his house, but before his death was reconciled to the son and learned to respect his convictions.²

Charles I. was indebted to Admiral Penn not only for support and loyalty in his troubles, but in the sum of sixteen thousand pounds sterling.³ Massachusetts had purchased Maine for a little more than one thousand pounds. It was not strange, therefore, that Charles II. should regard with favor the proposition of William Penn, in June, 1680, to purchase with this claim a territory in North America, which, however large, was looked on as wild, unbroken and of little value; and, moreover, both he and his

¹ Fox, 73, 145. Bancroft, II. 335.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 60.

³ Penn, in Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc'y, II. 214. Bancroft, II. 362.

brother James regarded William Penn with more real affection than courtiers generally enjoy.

Charles granted to Penn the territory in America, which the grantee named Sylvania; but Charles insisted on appending the name of the admiral also, and thus the name was given, Pennsylvania—"the woodland of Penn."¹

Already the persecuted Quakers had turned their eyes to America; and West Jersey and some of the frontiers of the granted territory had received many of them as settlers.

James, Duke of York, claimed the settlements known as Delaware, or "the three lower counties." He appointed William Penn governor thereof. When he came to New Castle, the government of the province was transferred to him with ceremonious symbolism. The key of the fort was delivered to him; with this he first locked himself in and then let himself out and locked the door behind him. A fragment of sod with a twig planted in it, and a porringer of water from the river, were successively delivered to him, to indicate that he ruled over the land and the water.²

Penn's first settlers, under William Markham, came to the neighborhood of Philadelphia in 1681. All was yet virgin forest or uncultivated soil. The people dug caverns in the river banks to live in during the winter. In the first year nearly thirty vessels came to the new colony.

William Penn instructed his colonists to lay the foundation of a new city with broad streets and gardens intervening, so as to form "a Greene country town." He also wrote a letter to the Indians in a friendly and loving spirit, assuring them of his peaceful intentions, and entreating them, as children of the same Great Spirit, to have the same feelings of kindness towards the settlers.³

Accompanied by one hundred immigrants, he arrived at New Castle on the 24th October, 1682. Swedes, Dutch and English united in giving him a hearty welcome. Men began to feel as if the healthful atmosphere of freedom had come at last. It is true that in Maryland religious liberty had been proclaimed by the Calverts, adherents of the Roman church; but that church had during so many centuries been a persecuting power that people found it difficult to believe in her change of principle or policy. But William Penn and his colony of Friends formed a new *régime* entirely, without any past record of blood, and announcing, as their rock foundation, civil and religious liberty, release from all

¹ Eggleston, 61. Swinton's Cond. U. S., 67.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 61. Bancroft, II. 380.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 84.

worldly traditions, and the absolute right of the individual conscience to Divine guidance, and to human respect and protection.

The happy effects of such beginnings soon appeared. The grant of Charles II. to William Penn and his heirs made them absolute proprietors of the soil, with powers of law-making, and reserving only allegiance to the crown of England.¹

Penn did not abuse his great powers. He had hardly arrived before he promulgated a form of government for the colony, providing for a governor, a council of three, and a house of delegates, to be chosen by the freemen; and all were recognized as freemen and voters who believed in Christ and sustained a good moral character.²

In the autumn season of 1682, by invitation widely given, the Indians of all the tribes of the Lenni Lenape met William Penn and some of his chosen friends, for the purpose of entering into a sacred treaty of peace and love. The spot was under an elm tree at Shakamaxon, on the northern edge of what is now the great city of Philadelphia. Already his words of love had made a lasting impression on these children of the forest. They surrounded him and listened as he repeated to them the heavenly principles on which his dealings with them would be founded. He said to them:

"We meet on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain; for that the rains might rust or a falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body was to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood."³

The Indians were profoundly moved by his sincerity and his words. They received his presents with simple gratitude and gave back a belt of wampum in token of peace and friendship. This belt was presented, in 1857, by Granville Jones Penn, a descendant from William Penn, to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. And their promise has been preserved. "We will live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and the moon shall endure."⁴

This treaty was made under the open sky, on the banks of the Delaware, with the sun and the river and the forest and the Indians and the white Friends for witnesses. There was no parch-

¹ Stephens, 82. Bancroft, II. 362, 363. Eggleston's Household U. S., 60-62.

² Stephens, 84.

³ Heckewelder, Hist. Trans. Am. Phil. Soc'y, 176. Bancroft, II. 381, 382.

⁴ Holmes' U. S., 67, note. Bancroft, II. 382.

ment, no paper, no seal, no oath, no written record; but it was recorded in the court of heaven, and it was kept as no other treaty on earth ever has been kept. Voltaire has said: "It is the only treaty that never was sworn to, and never was broken." No Quaker ever was knowingly and maliciously slain by an Indian. "The simple sons of the wilderness, returning to their wigwams, kept the history of the covenant by strings of wampum, and long afterwards, in their cabins, would count over the shells on a clean piece of bark, and recall to their own memory, and repeat to their children or to the stranger, the words of William Penn."¹

The Delawares, a tribe of the Lenni Lenape, had been grievously warred on and opposed by the Iroquois, or the Five Nations. This only caused the words of peace and love from William Penn to sink more deeply into the memories of both tribes. The Delawares afterwards spoke of him as the just *Miquon* and the Iroquois gave him the title *Onas*, which attributes the highest equity and honor.²

Pennsylvania was the last colony, except one, of the original thirteen that was settled; and yet such was the stimulating effect of the liberal and humane principles and policy which were declared to be the rock foundation of its existence, that this colony grew with unexampled rapidity.

The city between the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers, laid out by direction of Penn, was called by him "Philadelphia"—*brotherly love*. In August, 1683, "Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages." "The conies were yet undisturbed in their burrows; the deer fearlessly bounded past blazed trees, unconscious of foreboded streets; the stranger that wandered from the river bank was lost in the thickets of the interminable forest."³ Yet in two years the city contained six hundred houses, and the school-master and printing press had begun their work. In three years Philadelphia had gained more than New York had done in half a century.

In 1683 a body of Germans from the fatherland came over and settled near Germantown. They put under cultivation broad fields of corn and wheat, and, being peaceable, industrious and skillful, they prospered greatly.

On the 4th of December, 1683, the first legislative assembly convened. The second assembly was held in Philadelphia in March, 1684. The form of government was somewhat modified.

¹ Heckewelder, in Bancroft, II. 382. Quackenbos' U. S., 124.

² Swinton's Cond. U. S., 67. Swinton's Primary U. S., 61. Art. Penn, New Amer. Encyc., XIII. 108.

³ Pastorius, in Watson, 61. Bancroft's U. S., II. 392.

Laws were made to restrain vice. Labor on the Sabbath was forbidden; and to discourage law suits, three "peace-makers" were appointed for each county.¹

Three causes operated efficiently to expand the Pennsylvania colony. *First*, the enlightened and just policy towards the Indians. Their lands were bought from them definitely and in good faith, and they remained peaceable and friendly. *Second*, the perfect freedom in civil and religious life promised and enjoyed. *Third*, the low price of land, and the full ownership acquired. Penn offered for sale lots and tracts of one thousand acres at one penny per acre. Thus a man who could raise four pounds four shillings, or about twenty-five dollars, could become fee-simple owner of a large tract. And as sales were freely made by the purchasers, a very poor man could become the owner of a farm.²

In 1684 imperative business called William Penn back to England. He had come to a wilderness; he left a flourishing city, and a colony already organized into fifty townships, holding nearly ten thousand prosperous people, and making steady progress.³ He did not return for fifteen years, but his work in the New World went on.

The grants made to him by Charles II. were for full value received, and were therefore recognized as vesting in him and his heirs all rights of proprietorship. Yet they impinged, both on the north and the south, upon claims set up under the vague patents to the London and Plymouth companies and their successors. The boundaries of Pennsylvania on the north were, however, soon settled on just and amicable principles.⁴

But on the south, Lord Baltimore and his successors in authority in Maryland continued the controversy. It was projected into the next century, and was never finally settled until, under negotiations and agreement, two celebrated English surveyors and engineers, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, commenced running the provisional line in 1763, and completed it in 1768.⁵ This line became historic and ominous in the subsequent contests concerning slavery. It runs on the parallel of $39^{\circ} 43' 26.3''$ of north latitude.

After Penn's return to England he exerted himself actively in favor of the oppressed and frequently imprisoned Friends. In 1686 twelve hundred were set free. In 1687 liberty of conscience and person was declared to all of them.⁶ Most of them came to

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 84.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 61, 62. Stephens, 83, 84.

³ Stephens, 84. Horace E. Scudder's U. S., 114.

⁴ Art. Pennsylvania, New Amer. Encyclop., XIII. 116.

⁵ New Amer. Encyclop., XI. 259-261; XIII. 116.

⁶ Art. Penn, Amer. Encyclop., XIII. 108.

Pennsylvania, adding to her population and prosperity, for they were habitually peaceful and industrious.

After the revolution of 1688, and the flight of James II., friendly relations continued between him and William Penn, and a letter written to him by the dethroned king caused the arrest of Penn and his examination before the privy council. He was acquitted of all treasonable purpose or act, the council being satisfied that his relations with James were strictly and only those of a friend, and that he could not prevent the former king from writing him a letter.

Between 1690 and 1692, Pennsylvania was disturbed by civil and religious quarrels; and injurious complaints were made, which, in October, 1692, induced William and Mary to deprive Penn of his authority as governor. But upon full examination he was honorably acquitted in November, 1693, and his authority was restored in 1694.

In 1699 he returned to Pennsylvania with his second wife and his daughter. The troubles having subsided, he was warmly received. He became involved in many difficulties, chiefly through his son, who had led a vicious and riotous life; but he continued his liberal and generous policy.

In 1703 the "three lower counties," known as Delaware, being dissatisfied with their connection with Pennsylvania, prayed for a separation. Penn granted their prayer, and allowed them to establish a separate legislature. Though under the same governor for a time, Delaware and Pennsylvania were never afterwards united. Penn highly praised the morals, behavior and patriotism of the people of the smaller colony.¹

In 1701 William Penn returned to England. Harassed by law suits, he suffered himself to be committed to the Fleet prison in 1708, and remained there a long time rather than surrender his colonial investments. But he did not die in the prison, as some historians have inaccurately stated.² He was relieved by warm friends, who compounded with his creditors. Wearied by these litigations, he was negotiating for a transfer of his rights to the Crown for twelve thousand pounds, when he was stricken down by paralysis, depriving him almost entirely of the power of memory and motion. He never recovered, and, after lingering in this state for six years, he died July 30, 1718.

Since his death the historian Macaulay, of England, sought to darken his reputation by charges or insinuations against his integrity and honor; but these charges have been carefully investi-

¹ Swinton's Cond. U. S., 70, 71, 87.

² Ex.: Holmes' U. S., 68.

gated and found to be without adequate historic basis.¹ So long as the Keystone State of Pennsylvania exists, and so long as civil and religious freedom are prized in North America, the name of William Penn will be revered. To say he was human is to say he was not without faults. That is all that can be said against him.

The proprietary rights of Penn and his heirs were never extinguished by the English government. They continued down to the Revolutionary war, during which, in 1779, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania bought out the claims of the heirs for the sum of five hundred and eighty thousand dollars.²

Six years after the death of William Penn a young man named Benjamin Franklin came from Boston to Philadelphia, and entered upon his duties as a journeyman printer. He became identified with Pennsylvania and her chief city; but in reputation he belongs to the world. We shall meet him again.

¹ Art. William Penn, in *New Amer. Encyclop.*, XIII, 109, 110.

² Derry's U. S., 51. Swinton, 69. David B. Scott's *Smaller U. S.*, 50.

CHAPTER XX.

KINGS AND SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

BEFORE we reach the history of the settlement of the remaining colonies of the primitive "thirteen," which afterwards became the United States, it will be instructive to note the progress of tyranny under Kings Charles II. and James II. of England. These events very slightly affected the southern colonies, and are all connected with the career of Sir Edmund Andros, whose name has ever since been the symbol of oppression and hate in New England, New York and New Jersey, and yet represents in the colony of Virginia one of her happiest and most prosperous periods. Thus history points her finger against kings. They have in all ages been the worst rulers of the world; and they have never failed to find instruments to carry out their many cruelties and oppressions, or to give effect to their few virtues.

After the very brief Dutch triumph of 1673, and the restoration, in less than a year, of the English rule in New York, the two colonies, New York and New Jersey, with the "three lower counties," were united under one governor.

After a mild and prosperous administration of six years, Sir Francis Lovelace retired, and the Duke of York, in 1674, appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor of these settlements. The question as to the general moral character of Andros has not been decided adversely to him. One authority says: "The private character of Governor Andros was not bad, and his despotic acts were simply the fulfillment of the policy of the king."¹

He was a far better man morally than either Charles or James. His defect appears to have been that he was ready to hold authority and exercise delegated power under any monarch, good or bad. He reflected faithfully and vividly the vices of the two kings of the decaying Stuart dynasty, and was equally faithful in representing the better rule of William and Mary.

The government of Andros in New York was so arbitrary and despotic that it excited the indignation of the people, and it was under the influence of their complaints that Col. Thomas Dongan

¹ Note in *Thalheimer's Eclectic Hist. U. S.*, p. 81.

was appointed governor in 1682.¹ He was, as we have seen, a member of the Roman church communion. He was, therefore, the more acceptable to both the king and the duke; but neither of them forgot how earnestly and steadily Andros had carried out their arbitrary policy.

In 1684, King Charles directed the institution of proceedings in the English courts under which, without adequate cause, the charter of the Massachusetts colony was abrogated.² It was easy to follow up this policy with instruments so subservient; and in a short time all the other New England charters were declared null and void. Thus, the New England confederacy, which had existed from 1643, and which was founded on chartered rights, fell to the ground. They had excluded Rhode Island on grounds of religious intolerance. They were now to reap bitter fruits.

But Charles II. did not live to gather those fruits himself. He died in 1685, and his brother James ascended the throne. He proceeded immediately to unite the New England colonies with those of New York, New Jersey and Delaware. It was felt to be at least a temporary relief when Joseph Dudley was appointed governor of the territory from Narragansett to Nova Scotia.³ He was a native of Massachusetts, but marked as "a degenerate son of the colony." He did not openly oppress. But the general court, in session at his arrival and unprepared for open resistance, dissolved their assembly, and returned in sadness to their homes.

King James did not leave the northern colonies long in doubt as to his policy. In December, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros, "glittering in scarlet and lace," arrived at Boston. He held a commission from the king as captain-general and vice-admiral over the four New England colonies and their dependencies and over New York, the Jerseys and Delaware.⁴

He had authority to appoint and remove members of his own council, and, *with their consent*, to make laws, lay taxes, and control the militia of the country. A more perfect absolutism could not have existed in theory. All power was in one hand, and he was responsible only to a king who was an adherent of the Roman church and a despot. A more complete overthrow of every purpose for which the New England colonies had been established and had contended could not have been effected.

Andros was expressly instructed "to tolerate no printing press, to encourage episcopacy, and to sustain authority by force."⁵ One West came from New York as secretary of the governor. Only

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 110.

² *Ibid.*, 134.

³ Bancroft, II. 425.

⁴ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 112. Bancroft, II. 425.

⁵ Bancroft, II. 425.

one New England man was in the council. Nearly all were quietly subservient; some members did, indeed, occasionally murmur and protest, thus giving occasion to a complaint to the Crown that "his excellency has to do with a perverse people."¹

Andros did not leave his powers to rust in desuetude. A series of measures followed, the most vexatious and tyrannical to which men of English descent were ever exposed. "The wicked walked on every side, and the vilest men were exalted."

The schools of learning, formerly so carefully nurtured and cherished, were left to decay. The religious institutions were impaired by abolishing the methods of their support. Personal liberty and the customs of the country were disregarded. None could leave without a special permit. Probate fees were increased some twenty fold. The scrupulous Puritans were outraged by being forbidden to swear with the uplifted hand, and required to lay the hand on and kiss the Bible, which practice they regarded as idolatrous. Thus, wide disfranchisement was wrought.²

Prelatic forms and services were forced upon the churches. Taxes were arbitrarily laid, and when some of the towns resisted, one of the governor's council said to their selectmen: "You have no privileges left you but not to be sold as slaves." And Andros himself, with haughty sarcasm, asked them: "Do you believe Joe and Tom may tell the king what money he may have?"

The writ of *habeas corpus* was withheld. When some were imprisoned, and appealed to Magna Charta, and also to the memorable statute passed by the Parliament in the reign of Charles II. and signed by him, their oppressors laughed, and derisively asked: "Do you think the laws of England follow you to the ends of the earth?" Fines and imprisonment followed. Oppression threatened the country with ruin, and when the suffering people pointed this out, their oppressors answered without disguise: "It is not for his majesty's interest that you should thrive."³ It is not wonderful that the great body of the people of North America have learned to hate kings and all kingly authority.

Proceedings having been instituted to abrogate the charter of Rhode Island, Andros demanded its surrender. The people of this colony, many of whom were Quakers, did not resist, by law, the proceedings, but appealed to the *conscience of the king* for the "privileges and liberties granted by Charles II. of blessed memory."⁴ They might as well have appealed to the conscience of Belial.

¹ Randolph, in Bancroft, II. 425.

² Bancroft, II. 426.
⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 429.

³ Bancroft, II. 428.

Walter Clarke, the governor, delayed the surrender and insisted on "waiting for a fitter season." But Andros promptly marched, in January, 1687, to Rhode Island, dissolved its government, broke its colonial seal, and set up a commission to rule the land wholly irresponsible to the people.¹

But the progress of absolutism was not to be unresisted. Andros now turned his attention to the Connecticut colony. He had already received a check in that region which he probably did not forget. The Dutch had claimed Connecticut. The Duke of York considered himself as the possessor, by conquest, of all the claims of the Dutch; so, when Andros was appointed Governor of New York in 1674, he conceived himself to be entitled to rule Connecticut also.

Rumors of his claims and of his purpose to carry them out by force having reached Saybrook, preparations were made to meet him. Detachments of troops were moved. Capt. Thomas Bull commanded the armed garrison in the fort at Saybrook.

On the 9th of July, 1675, Andros, with an armed force in a ship on the sound, made directly for the fort. He hoisted the king's flag and demanded a surrender; but Bull was not daunted; he also hoisted the English flag, and refused surrender. Here were two flags of the same government threatening bloody conflict. Andros was discouraged; he demanded a parley, and met Bull face to face. Admiring his courage, he asked his name, and on hearing it, he repeated it several times, saying: "Bull! it is a pity your horns are not tipped with silver." Finding he could not obtain a surrender, he returned to New York.²

But now, in 1687, holding the high commission of the king, Andros felt himself to be strong enough to cope with Connecticut, and overthrow her liberties. In October, attended by some of his council and by a considerable armed force, he marched upon Hartford. He found the colonial assembly in session, and demanded the surrender of the charter. This patent of their freedom was peculiarly dear to them. It had been granted in 1662 by Charles II. and united the two colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, and had been purchased by sacrifices and martyrdoms, and was the most favorable to liberty of any of the charters.³

Governor Treat pleaded strongly, warmly, for its retention. Evening came, and darkness began to settle down on the room of the assembly. Lights were brought. An anxious crowd of farmers and other earnest men were listening to the debate. The

¹ Thalheimer's *Eclac.* U. S., 79. Bancroft, II. 429.

² Centennial U. S., 1876, by C. B. Taylor, pp. 78, 79.

³ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 63. Bancroft, II. 430.

charter was lying on the table. Suddenly the lights were all put out. In the darkness, Joseph Wadsworth, of Hartford, crept noiselessly through the crowd, seized the precious parchment, and bore it swiftly away to an oak tree known to him, in which was a hollow crypt almost concealed by the gnarled and rough edges of the bark. Here he deposited the charter.¹

When the lights were restored in the assembly's room, the charter was gone! But Andros announced that the powers and privileges granted by it to the colony were also gone. He compelled the production of the public records of the colony, and made this entry :

"At a general court at Hartford, October 31st, 1687, his excellency Sir Edmund Andros, knight and captain-general, and governor of his majesty's territories and dominions in New England, by order from his majesty James II., King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, 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."²

To this closing record, Andros added the word "Finis." But it was not "the end"; it was in no sense the finality. The charter was safely hidden for a time, and was safely withdrawn from the crypt when James was driven from the English throne. The oak tree was preserved with sacred reverence and care. It stood on the grounds of Samuel Wallis, of Hartford, up to the year 1856, when it was blown down in a violent storm. Like almost every scene in history which is picturesque more than prosaic, this incident has been sought to be discredited.³ But although, very naturally, no immediate record of it was made, it is attested by evidence adequate to induce belief.⁴

On the 4th day of April, 1689, the great news of the flight of James II., and the invasion of England by the Prince of Orange and his declaration, reached Boston. Andros and his creatures immediately seized and imprisoned the messengers; but the *message* was already known. It could not be imprisoned. An excited crowd assembled; but their counsels were guided by strong minds, for the events that followed were "not a violent passion of the rabble," but what Andros and his sympathizers designated as "a long-contrived piece of wickedness."⁵ The well-known minister Increase Mather had already secretly sailed to England with a written remonstrance against the rule of Andros.

¹ Sewall's MSS. Hinman, 172. Trumbull. Bancroft, II. 430.

² Centennial Hist. U. S., C. B. Taylor, p. 86.

³ See Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 64.

⁴ Thalheimer's Eclec. U. S., 80, 81.

⁵ Lambeth MSS., 1825, in Bancroft, II. 445.

The captain of the English frigate *Rose* was first seized and made a prisoner. Thus no orders could go to her. The multitude were organized. They hastened to the major of the local regiment and demanded colors and drums. Old patriotic leaders appeared, among them Nelson, Foster, Waterhouse, and the former governor, Simon Bradstreet. At ten o'clock they seized the obnoxious officers Bullivant, Foxcroft and Ravenscroft. On the Charlestown side a thousand colony soldiers were assembled. Andros and his adherents attempted in vain to make their escape to the frigate. They saw there was no safety for them except in submission. They surrendered: were marched first to the town-house and thence to prison. Thus was overthrown the despotism of Charles and James.

One other attempt at infringement of chartered rights was made. Governor Fletcher, of New York, in the time of William and Mary, renewed the claim to control Connecticut. The colonists were at war with the Indians. Fletcher sent orders that the Connecticut soldiers should march to the Canada frontier. They refused to obey. The incensed governor hastened with a small retinue to Hartford to compel obedience.

When he rode up, a military company was assembled for exercise and review, under command of Captain Wadsworth. The governor ordered his secretary to read aloud a paper, in the nature of a commission from the king, which he construed as giving him authority to command all the military forces of the northern colonies for the war. "Beat the drums!" commanded Wadsworth, and a ceaseless roll of the drums drowned the voice of the reader. The governor commanded silence, and ordered the secretary to read. "Music! music!" shouted Wadsworth, and again the reverberating roll of bass and kettle drums was heard. "Silence! silence!" commanded the governor; but when a momentary silence was established, Captain Wadsworth renewed his order, and, looking fiercely at the governor, said in a stern voice: "If I am interrupted again, I will make daylight shine through you!"¹

Governor Fletcher, though not wanting in firmness, thought it wisest to desist. He returned to New York, where his authority was legitimate.

Nevertheless, the government under William and Mary did not convict or punish Sir Edmund Andros. He was fully prepared to prove that his whole career in New England was according to the spirit and letter of orders from King James.

¹ Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 124, 125. C. B. Taylor, Centen. U. S., 92, 93.

His knowledge of colonial affairs was so intimate, and his experience so salutary, that in 1692 he was appointed by the Crown to succeed Francis Nicholson in the Virginia colony, with the full title and authority of governor-in-chief. He ruled for six years.

“Whether experience had taught him wisdom, or advancing years had calmed the heat of youth, or he found no pretext for the exercise of arbitrary power, we know not; but all authorities agree in declaring that his administration was a season of unwon'ted prosperity in Virginia.”

He introduced order into the business and papers of the public departments, promoted schemes of useful labor, encouraged manufactures, incited the planters to the cultivation of cotton, and assented to the act establishing the first fulling mills ever known in the colony. Laws were respected, education was fostered, the people were quiet and contented.¹

These facts suggest the truth that the English kings were more culpable and more responsible for the abuses and oppressions which drove the colonies to independence than any of their officers and favorites, bad as some of these were.

¹ Grahame's Colon. Hist., III. 9, 10. Keith, 169, 170. Beverley, 90, 91. Holmes' Annals, I. 468. Bancroft, III. 25.

CHAPTER XXI.

MARYLAND.

MARYLAND was not first colonized by Lord Baltimore and his followers of the Roman church, as some historians represent.¹ On this subject the duty of history is to present the simple truth.

No one can deny that the original patents of James I. to the London Company embraced not only what is now Virginia, but what is now Maryland. And although the London Company was dissolved by a judicial decision confirming the king's proclamation in 1624, yet the rights of the Virginia colony remained. Valid grants within her boundaries could only be obtained by patents approved by herself.

Captain John Smith, in 1608, had explored the Chesapeake Bay in its upper parts, coasting along the shore from the mouth of the Patuxent to the Patapsco river. His map of all this region was published, and has been often reproduced.² During the next quarter of a century several settlements had been made by Virginia colonists in this region.

In 1627, William Clayborne, who had come early to Virginia from the mother country, and who had been sufficiently esteemed to become a member of the council and Secretary of State, obtained from Sir Francis Wyatt, governor of the colony, a deed of authority to discover the head of Chesapeake Bay, or any part of Virginia from 34° to 41° north latitude. This deed was afterwards confirmed in substance by King Charles I., who in 1631 granted to William Clayborne a license to make further discoveries, and to establish settlements for trade in that region of Virginia. Under these definite sources of authority Clayborne, after much hardship and expenditure, established a trading settlement on Kent Island, in the bay (not far from what is now the city of Annapolis), which grew and prospered and promised to wax into a permanent town.³

¹ Ex.: Swinton's Cond. U. S., 71-73. Scudder's U. S., 120-123. Thalheimer's Eclectic U. S., 45-47. Goodrich's Piet. U. S., 76, 77. Holmes, 39, 51-53.

² Smith, I. 149. Purchas, IV. 1691.

³ Art. Clayborne, New Amer. Encyclop., V. 324. Belknap's Am. Biog., III., 216. Bancroft, I. 264-266.

George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore of American fame, did not come to Virginia until 1628, one year after Sir Francis Wyatt's grant to Clayborne. In 1624 he had declared himself a Roman Catholic upon serious conviction, and immediately resigned his lucrative office under the English government.

King James I. conferred the title so long retained by this excellent nobleman and his descendants, and, by his request, granted him the southeastern peninsula of Newfoundland.¹ He came to it with colonists; but the hostility of the French and the rigor of the climate so discouraged him that he abandoned this region, after having expended much money and care. He came to Virginia in 1628, hoping to find in her genial air and fertile soil an asylum for the persecuted adherents of his church.²

But here he was met by the old spirit long cherished by his own communion and not yet exorcised by Protestants. The Church of England was established by law, and the advent of a wealthy and influential nobleman professing the creed of Rome was enough to arouse the vigilance of the authorities. The test act was brought forward, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to him in the comprehensive form prescribed by the law then in force. He refused to take it, but tendered for himself and his followers a modified form, in which he promised all obedience consistent with his rights of conscience. This the council declined to accept, and referred the whole matter to the privy council in England.

Lord Baltimore sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, and was charmed with the advantages and attractions of the country on its upper parts, and lying immediately north of the Potomac. He returned to England, and easily obtained from Charles I. the promise of a charter granting a territory which was called *Terra Maria*—"Mary's Land"—in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria. Lord Baltimore preferred "*Crescentia*," but the king gave the name of his queen. It embraced the fine tract of country lying on both sides of the bay of Chesapeake and north of the Potomac, running up to the fortieth parallel of latitude from the point where it strikes the first fountain of the river to the Atlantic Ocean.³ The king disregarded alike the previous patents of his father and his own deed of license to Clayborne.

The first Lord Baltimore died in April, 1632. But the charter was made out to his son, Cecelius Calvert, who inherited the virtues and the religious preferences of his father. Under this grant,

¹ Belknap, III. 208. Burk, II. 25. Grahame, II. 2.

² Grahame's Colon. Hist., II. 2.

³ Belknap, III. 213. Grahame, II. 3, 4. Bancroft, I. 259. Ogilby, in Belknap, 183.

early in 1634, Leonard Calvert, brother of Cecil, with about two hundred colonists, many of whom were gentlemen of fortune and respectability, and nearly all of whom were of the Roman church, came to Jamestown on their way to Maryland. Two devout Jesuit priests, Fathers Andrew White and John Altham, accompanied them. The governor and council received them all courteously, but distinctly announced to them that their grant was considered an encroachment on the rights of Virginia.¹

They sailed up the Chesapeake in their two vessels—*The Ark* and *The Dove*—and landed on St. Clements' Island, March 25th, 1634. Two days afterwards, having purchased the land from the Indians, they commenced a settlement on the main-land at a place named St. Mary's. Hence, in the early traditions of the colony and afterwards of the State, they were called the "Pilgrims of St. Mary's."²

Thus, in the New World, two bands of colonists, both professing the religion of the meek and lowly Redeemer of mankind, had drawn to themselves the name of "Pilgrims." They differed widely in their views of Christian polity and doctrine; but they were alike in one point: both had fled from persecution in the mother country. Both had the strongest reasons for adopting the principle and the practice of complete religious freedom. But only one band had learned it; and that was not the band that landed on Plymouth Rock. It was the band belonging to the church organization that had for ages been held as the most exclusive and intolerant.

Leonard Calvert was the first Governor of Maryland. He lost no time in putting in motion the machinery of government mapped out in the patent from King Charles. That patent was probably drawn by the hand of the first Lord Baltimore, and is an enduring proof of his wisdom, liberality and political sagacity.³ We can only wonder that such a king should have granted it.

It went far beyond any colonial patent theretofore issued. It is true, the powers and authority of the proprietary were very ample, and he held only by the tenure of fealty, paying a yearly rent of two Indian arrows and a fifth of all gold and silver ore which might be found. But the charter secured to the colonists themselves an independent share in the legislation of the province, as the statutes were to be established with the advice and approbation of the majority of the freemen or their deputies. It was expressly provided that the authority of the proprietary

¹ Grahame, II. 3, 4. Bancroft, III. 259, 260. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 62.

² Art. Maryland, New Amer. Encyclop., XI. 249.

³ Bancroft, I. 241. Hazard, I. 327-337.

should not extend to the life, freehold or estate of any emigrant. Christianity was made the law of the land, but no preference was given to any sect or denomination, and equality in religious rights, no less than in civil freedom, was secured. All monopoly of the fisheries in the deep waters of the bay or the ocean on the coast was expressly renounced by the proprietary.¹

Leonard Calvert took the oath of office in words which deserve to be repeated: "I will not by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ for or in respect of religion."²

Under such auspices of peace and liberty the colony grew fast in numbers and prosperity. In less than twelve months the assembly was convened for legislation. All freemen were represented. Within six months Maryland advanced more than Virginia had in six years.³ But there was a root of bitterness amid this harmony, and the root sprang from the inconsiderate and unscrupulous acts of the king.

As the colonists under Calvert had ascended the bay, they had met with William Clayborne, who had made known his claims and their ground, had asserted the jurisdiction of Virginia, and had sought to deter them from advancing by representing in strong colors the hostile character of the Indians. It is to be regretted that Leonard Calvert made no serious effort to conciliate him and to reach terms of agreement. They would have saved much subsequent turmoil and bloodshed. But it does not appear that Calvert made such effort, or was disposed to give any recognition to his claims.

Within less than two years these conflicting claims led to disaster. The Virginia authorities upheld the rights of Clayborne. The privy council of Charles left the disputants to the law. Clayborne continued to claim Kent Island and repudiate the jurisdiction of Maryland, and his influence with the Indians was exerted unfavorably to peace.⁴ Lord Baltimore gave orders for his arrest.

This precipitated the conflict. On the 23d of April, 1635, an engagement took place between a small armed vessel cruising under Clayborne's orders and two vessels sent out by Calvert. One of the Marylanders was killed, and several of the Kent Island party also fell.

The attempt to arrest Clayborne failed. He took refuge in the more settled part of Virginia. The Maryland authorities, in his

¹ Bancroft, I, 242, 243. Chalmers' Amer. Colon., 205. McMahon, 133-183.

² Chalmers, 235. McMahon, 226. ³ Bancroft, I, 247.

⁴ Art. William Clayborne, New Amer. Encyclop., V. 324.

absence, proceeded harshly against him. He was indicted for murder, piracy and sedition, and without serving process on him, these charges were tried and he was convicted. The assembly also passed a bill of attainder against him. His estate on Kent Island was seized and confiscated.¹ The effect of such proceedings on a temper excitable, stern and unyielding may be conceived. He bided his time for revenge.

Governor Calvert demanded his surrender from Virginia, but Sir John Hervey positively refused. This enabled Clayborne to go to England, accompanied by witnesses and documents, and lay his case before the king. Charles I., in 1638, severely reprimanded Lord Baltimore for violating the royal license, and dispossessing Clayborne of his estate and personal property in Kent Island, and also for the measures which had caused the loss of several lives.² Nevertheless, in the next year, the whole matter was reopened and brought before the Lords Commissioners of Plantations. Archbishop Laud was the head of this body, and was already so deeply in sympathy with the Roman church and with the worst form of hierarchic claims in England that Lord Baltimore's title would receive from him the utmost favor. The decision, therefore, was adverse to William Clayborne; but he was not content.

The Maryland colony continued to prosper. The Indians taught them the best modes of planting maize and tobacco. The native women taught them how to make corn-bread and hoe-cakes. The priests—White and Altham—were indefatigable in giving religious instruction and sympathy to the natives. Four regular missions were established. The chief Chitomachen, of Piscatoway, and his wife received baptism, and were soon followed by one hundred and thirty other natives who professed Christianity.³

But as the white colonists increased the Indians grew jealous, and were easily estranged by intriguers among them. Unfortunately, too, for Governor Calvert, the very intolerance of the Virginia religious laws under Sir William Berkeley worked adversely to Maryland's peace. In 1642 a considerable number of non-conformists left Virginia and settled in the upper colony, chiefly around the site of Annapolis, which was then called Providence.⁴ They soon grew strong enough to claim power in government.

Meanwhile the civil war was hastening on, and was drawing away the attention of England from the colonies. Clayborne,

¹ Baneroft, I. 249. Chalmers, 210. Art. Clayborne, Amer. Encyclop., V. 324.

² Art. Clayborne, Amer. Encyclop., V. 324.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 63.

⁴ Art. Maryland, New Amer. Encyclop., XI. 249.

with skill and energy, availed himself of this favorable crisis. In 1644 he returned to Kent Island, regained possession, organized all discontented elements, armed his followers, and advanced upon the unprepared Marylanders under Calvert so suddenly and boldly that all opposition was dispersed, and the governor, to save his life or liberty, was obliged to fly into Virginia and take refuge at Jamestown.¹ During the disorder and violence of this period many of the public records were lost.

But Lord Baltimore exerted himself manfully for reinstatement. In 1646 Leonard Calvert was enabled to return at the head of a considerable armed force, and Clayborne's rule was overthrown.

Desiring to conciliate the Protestants and have peace, Lord Baltimore, on the death of Leonard Calvert in 1647, exerted his influence to have William Stone appointed governor. He was a Protestant and a worthy ruler. Under his auspices the legislature passed, in 1649, the memorable act in favor of religious freedom and the rights of conscience, which has ever since rendered the name of Maryland dear to all Americans.²

In 1649, after the execution of Charles I., the authorities of Maryland proclaimed Charles II. king. But the commonwealth under Cromwell did not leave her free to pursue her own course.

In 1651 an expedition was sent, with commissioners and with instructions, to reduce to submission "all the plantations within the bay of the Chesapeake."³ And one of the commissioners was the irrepressible Clayborne! But they did not act with haste or harshness. Governor Stone was thought to be favorable to the commonwealth. A compromise was effected by which he, with three of his council, was permitted to retain the executive power. The laws remained unchanged.⁴

Happy would it have been had this fair arrangement been left undisturbed; but, upon the dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653, Stone and his friends declared Lord Baltimore reinstated, and that the province, under the rule agreed on with Clayborne and his co-commissioner Bennett, had been in rebellion!⁵

This was rash and ill-advised. Clayborne and Bennett returned, overthrew the Lord Baltimore government, and appointed a board of ten commissioners with full powers to rule. Intolerance followed. A new assembly was convened at Patuxent. It passed an act concerning religion, confirming, in words, free-

¹ Bancroft, I. 255. Stephens' U. S., 63.

² Art. Maryland, Amer. Encyclop., XI. 249. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 63.

³ Thurloe, I. 198. Hazard, I. 557.

⁴ Strong, 2, 3. Langford, 7, 8. Bancroft, I. 260.

⁵ Bancroft, I. 260.

dom of conscience, but declaring also that liberty was not extended to "popery, prelacy or licentiousness of opinion."¹

Lord Baltimore made firm efforts to vindicate his supremacy. Civil war ensued. Governor Stone raised an armed force and marched from Patuxent to capture Providence, the chief seat of the republicans. But the party under Clayborne was ready. A battle on a small scale took place March 25th, 1655. Stone and his forces were defeated and utterly routed with considerable loss. He was captured, and would have been put to death but for the surviving affection felt for him by some of the captors. He was kept a prisoner during most of the protectorship of Cromwell. A council of war sentenced four of the chief movers for the attempted government to death; and they were executed accordingly.²

William Clayborne retained his island and his power. In 1660, when Sir William Berkeley was elected Governor of Virginia *ad interim*, Clayborne concurred in the appointment. He was respected because of his indomitable faithfulness to what he believed to be the chartered rights of Virginia. He sat as a member of the court-martial that tried the alleged rebels after Bacon's death. He is thought to have died at an advanced age in the county of New Kent, which probably derived its name from his island in the bay. His son fell mortally wounded in a battle with the Indians near West Point, in King William county, and lies buried there. The family name was changed to Claiborne, and some of its descendants, reputable and esteemed, are still living.³

These disturbances projected a long shadow over the fortunes of Maryland; but she continued to prosper and to contend for her principles of freedom. In 1729 the city of Baltimore was laid out. In 1745 the *Maryland Gazette*, the first newspaper, was established at Annapolis, and continued to be issued by Thomas Green and his descendants until 1839.

In the Revolution no State was more faithful to freedom than Maryland. The "Maryland line" was distinguished under Washington; and troops from Maryland took brave part in every campaign of the war, except that against Burgoyne. None of them were there because they were retained by the commander-in-chief.

¹ Bacon's Maryland Laws, 1654. Bancroft, I, 261.

² Hammond, 22, 23.

³ Art. Clayborne, New Amer. Encyclop., V. 325.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CAROLINAS AND JOHN LOCKE.

WE have seen that the earliest attempts at settlement by English colonists in North America were on or near Roanoke Island, in the sounds opening from the Atlantic. This was in the waters of what is now North Carolina. But it was embraced within the parallels designated by the earliest patent of Virginia, which granted down to the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude. North Carolina lies between $33^{\circ} 53'$ and $36^{\circ} 33'$.

These earliest attempts were disastrous and abortive. The settlements at Jamestown and along the rivers of Virginia soon followed, and many years passed before the permanent colonization of the Carolinas.

Charles I. succeeded his father in 1625, and began soon to exhibit that tendency to have favorites, and to violate, in their behalf, the principles of justice and honesty, which contributed very potently to the final downfall of the Stuart dynasty in England.

In 1630 he issued a patent to Sir Robert Heath for an immense territory covering a large part of what is now North Carolina, and what was then Virginia. This domain was designated as Carolina.¹ In 1639, Heath's assignee, Lord Maltravers, seems to have planned and attempted settlements under his grant. One William Hawley appeared in Virginia as "Governor of Carolina," and leave was granted by the Virginia Legislature that this region might be colonized by one hundred persons from Virginia, "being freemen, single, and disengaged of debt."² But these efforts were unsuccessful, and the patent to Sir Robert Heath was declared void, because its purposes had never been fulfilled.³

Between the years 1630 and 1663, numerous bands of settlers made their way into the region "south of the Chesapeake," bought lands from the Indians, and began the forms of civilized life. One of these parties was from Massachusetts, and settled at Oldtown creek, near the south side of the river Cape Fear. This region was neither fertile nor healthful, and some of the settlers, return-

¹ Records, No. 1, 1639, 1642, p. 70, Gen. Court, Richmond, Va. Bancroft, II. 130. Art. Carolina, Amer. Encyclop., IV. 461.

² Gen. Court Records, Richmond, Va., 70. Bancroft. II. 130.

³ Williamson's N. C., I. 84, 85. Martin, I. 94, 125. Chalmers, 515.

ing, "spread a reproach on the harbor and the soil." But the effort was not abandoned. Aid was given from Massachusetts until the infant colony could support itself. Other settlers came from Virginia, driven out by the religious persecutions, legal and social, already prevailing there. These occupied the beautiful "summer lands" of North Carolina about the river Chowan, and what is now the county of Albemarle. None of these colonists claimed under any special patent; but they satisfied the natives, and by their industry and well-directed labor they soon began to prosper.

Among these settlers from Virginia came Roger Green, a Presbyterian, who, with a choice band of associates, settled in 1653 on the banks of the Chowan. A few years afterwards came George Durant, a devoted Quaker, with a considerable number of Friends. He purchased lands from the Yeopim Indians in Perquimans county, and this region still bears his name.¹ Large bodies of settlers similar to these in professions and character soon followed. They governed themselves by their own chosen officers.

It was not to be expected that such a man as Sir William Berkeley would remain long indifferent to a movement which to his eyes looked like the establishment of dissent. He made no attempt to disturb them by direct interference; but he informed Charles II. and his courtiers in England, and the result was soon apparent.

King Charles, in 1663, issued a broad patent for the whole territory from the thirtieth to the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude. This, of course, impinged deeply on the domain of Virginia; but it was only an added proof of the ingratitude of this selfish and licentious monarch. Of his unscrupulous grants a discriminating historian has spoken thus: "During the first four years of his power, Charles II. gave away a large part of a continent. Could he have continued as lavish in the course of his reign, he would have given away the world."²

The grantees or proprietaries under this new and extravagant patent were as follows: Lord Clarendon, a great lawyer and statesman, and once lord chancellor; he left two grand-daughters, who became queens of England; but he was grasping and ambitious, and in his old age lost the king's favor. *Next*, Lord Ashley, afterwards lord chancellor and Earl of Shaftesbury. He deserves lasting fame as the statesman who made the writ of *habeas corpus* a permanent right of every man under English rule.

¹ A. H. Stephens, 99.

² Bancroft, II. 70.

His talents were great, but he was intriguing and profligate, and the boldest demagogue of his day. The poet Dryden has sketched his character with a master's hand.¹ *Next*, Gen. George Monk, a morose, dull officer of Cromwell, who had been created Duke of Albemarle for the part he took in bringing about the king's restoration. *Next*, William, Earl of Craven, a brave old cavalier and soldier of the German discipline, who was *suspected* of being husband of the Queen of Bohemia.² *Next*, Sir John Colleton, a royalist of small notoriety. *Next*, Sir George Carteret, passionate, ignorant, and not too honest. *Next*, Lord John Berkeley; and *last*, his younger brother, Sir William Berkeley, the Governor of Virginia, who had manifested some good traits, but was yet to manifest some of the worst known among the rulers of North America.³

It seemed needful that proprietaries so eminent should not undertake to set up an empire in the New World without seeking a form of government constructed by the highest learning, thought and skill. For this purpose the English philosopher John Locke was selected. He had aided Shaftesbury in a critical surgical operation, and was beloved by him. He afterwards wrote a celebrated essay on "The Human Understanding" and some other works. But he was as little fitted to prepare a suitable government for people in the pine forests, alluvial fields and fertile river bottoms of the Carolinas as would have been any of the dreamers of Egypt or Greece.

Nevertheless, he went to work, and, aided by sagacious hints and suggestions from some of the patentees, he prepared in 1672 a draft of a form of government containing more than a hundred articles, entitled the "Grand Model," which was afterwards pressed upon the planters and laborers of the colony with a pertinacity only equaled by the sturdy good sense shown by them in rejecting it as utterly unsuited to their condition.⁴

What they needed in government was simplicity, directness, and close contact and responsibility between themselves and their law-makers and rulers. John Locke's "Grand Model" was complicated and abstruse. It adopted monarchy as the best form, and, if submitted to, would have perpetuated the rule of the English sovereigns in America. But beneath the king it made the eight proprietaries practically sovereigns, with a number never to be increased or diminished, with hereditary rights, and, in default of heir, with power in the survivors to elect. "Thus was

¹ Moore's N. C., I. 15. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 99.

² Bancroft, II. 129.

³ Pepys, I. 140, 235, 356. Grahame, II. 317.

⁴ Moore's N. C., I. 18-20. Bancroft, II. 144-147.

formed an upper house"—a diet of starosts—"self-elected and immortal."¹

For purposes of settlement the immense territory of the Carolinas was to be divided into counties, each of four hundred and eighty thousand acres. Two permanent orders of nobility were to exist—one landgrave, or earl, and two caciques, or barons, for each county. The lands were to be divided into five equal parts, of which one part was to be inalienably held by the proprietaries, one in like manner by the nobles, and the remaining three might be acquired and cultivated by the common people, but with provision for manorial estates, in which the lords of manors were to have judicial powers in baronial courts. Tenants holding ten acres of land were to be "leet-men." They were to have no political privileges, but to be "adscripts" of the soil, "under the jurisdiction of their lord, without appeal"; and the provision was added that "all the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations." The fundamental principles of this scheme were openly declared to be "the interests of the proprietors," the desire for "a government most agreeable to monarchy," and the dread of "a numerous democracy." The welfare and happiness of the people are nowhere looked to.

The Earl of Shaftesbury had influence enough to induce Locke (contrary to his own judgment) to provide for a church establishment in all important respects conformed to the Anglican church, which had already fallen under the influence of Archbishop Laud and his successors. But Locke steadily insisted on a clause of universal toleration. This was in itself an insult to freedom. It provided not equal rights, but only contingent toleration to "Jews, heathens, and other dissenters," and "to men of any religion."²

The prominent features of this "Grand Model" have thus been given for the purpose of showing how North America was threatened by the already waning and rotten ideas of English oligarchists, and how blessed have been the impulses and opportunities which have enabled her to escape them.

The name given in the patent of King Charles was "Carolina," in honor of his own name and that of his father. But this was only a repetition and confirmation of the name which had been given just one hundred years previously by the French explorers, who sought to honor the name of Charles IX. (*Carolus*) of France.³

¹ Gillies' *Arist.*, II. 248. Bancroft, II. 147.

² Preamble in *Charters*, 33. Martin, I., *Append.* 71.

³ Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 99. Derry's *U. S.*, 52.

By the influence of Sir William Berkeley, William Drummond, a Scottish settler in Virginia, was appointed the first governor of the Albemarle colony. He was a prudent and intelligent man, and soon reached a clear understanding with Durant and other settlers as to tenures of land and the relations of the government to them. In 1665 the first legislative session, known as the "General Assembly of Albemarle," was held in a private house. The colony continued to prosper, because the proprietary hand was not yet on them.

In February, 1664, Sir John Yeamans, a man of family, culture and wealth, came from the Barbadoes islands to search for a new settlement in Carolina under the jurisdiction of the proprietors. He ascended Cape Fear river to the neighborhood of Oldtown creek, and found a site that suited him. He purchased a large tract of land from the Indians, and obtained license for a colony. On the 29th of May, 1665, he came back from Barbadoes with eight hundred followers, two hundred of whom were his slaves. He called his settlement Charlestown, and was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the county which was called Clarendon. This colony had a prosperous and interesting life up to 1670, when it was united to Albemarle on the east, and the two were thenceforth designated as North Carolina.¹

In 1667, Governor Drummond resigned and returned to Virginia, to meet, in a few years, a sad fate there, under the revengeful passions of Berkeley.

He was succeeded by Samuel Stephens, who was an able and beneficent governor. During his rule the great Quaker George Fox came to Maryland, and dispatched his co-preacher William Edmondson to hold Friends' meetings in Albemarle. The Indians attended these meetings, which were held near the narrows of Perquimans river, where Hertford was afterwards built. During the long silence the natives comforted themselves by smoking their pipes, which somewhat shocked the devout Friends.² Yet their religious assemblages (said to be the first ever held in North Carolina) were not without permanently good effects on the strangely mingled congregations who attended them.

Governor Stephens lived long enough to promulgate the "Grand Model" of Locke for the government of the colony. His good sense soon enabled him to see its folly. He showed no enthusiasm for it. He died in 1673.

He was succeeded by Sir George Carteret, one of the proprietaries. He pressed the obnoxious plan upon the people by all the

¹ Stephens, 100. Moore, I. 16. Bancroft, I. 142.

² Moore's N. C., I. 20. Stephens, 101.

means in his power; but the opposition to it was dogged and unyielding. Finding he could not succeed, Carteret resigned in disgust, and returned to England, leaving the administration, in his own words, "in ill order and worse hands."¹

A season of disorder near to anarchy followed. One Miller had been arrested by Carteret for sedition and sent to Virginia, but being acquitted by Governor Berkeley, he had gone to England and made favor with the proprietaries, who sent him back with a commission as secretary, and with power to act as governor in the absence of one regularly appointed. His first attempt was to enforce the oppressive "navigation laws" passed by Charles' Parliament. He was resisted by George Durant, who was the oldest settler, and a man of great wealth and influence. A conflict ensued on a New England vessel named the *Gillam*. Durant was aboard. Miller attempted to seize him. John Culpepper, a firm and prompt man, made by the pressure of the times, collected a band of adherents and defended Durant. In December, 1677, Miller and seven deputies appointed by the proprietors were all seized and imprisoned. Culpepper and his followers also took possession of the public funds and administered the government. A paper was prepared setting forth all the outrages of Miller and grievances of the colonists.

Just at this time the regularly appointed governor, Eastchurch, arrived. He sought aid from Virginia, but was very feebly seconded. The people had real and just cause of complaint. John Culpepper remained in office as governor for two years, and performed his duties to the satisfaction of the people. He then went to England, and by the machinations of Miller was arrested and tried for treason in 1680 in the court of King's Bench; but the Earl of Shaftesbury defended him, and obtained his acquittal on the ground that "there never had been any regular government at Albemarle, and that its disorders were only feuds between the planters, which could only amount to a riot."²

After Culpepper went to England, John Harvey was governor; then John Jennings; then Henry Wilkinson. These all tried to carry on the government upon the "Grand Model" plan; but they all failed as signally as had Sir George Carteret. "The clumsy arrangements of the proprietors all failed when they tried to apply them. Their degrees of nobility and the officers with titles were of no use in the woods of America. The people did not care to rent land when so much lay vacant, and the ma-

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 102.

² *Ibid.*, 103.

chinery of their constitution was ridiculed when their agents tried to put it in motion."¹

And soon from the fogs of this unhealthy misrule there rose one of the meanest of all the men ever appointed in England to govern the colonies of America. Upon the death of the Earl of Clarendon, one Seth Sothel found the means of purchasing the interest of his heirs in the Carolina charter. He is so obscure in his birth and early life that the ordinary sources of history are searched in vain for traces of him. We know, however, that the surviving proprietors elected him in 1680 to succeed Wilkinson, and that, by reason of delays and some mishaps at sea, he did not reach the North Carolina colony until 1683. He entered upon his governorship, and afflicted the unhappy people for nearly six years.

We need only give the words of an accepted historian for his career and character. Moore says: "It would have been better for the colony if he had never come. By common consent he is remembered as the most beastly and detestable man ever permitted to rule in America. He broke up all trade between the colonists and the Indians, that he might monopolize the profits. He seized and confiscated, without the shadow of cause, merchant ships and their cargoes. He imprisoned Thomas Pollock for attempting to appeal against his rapacity; and George Durant, having expressed disapprobation of his course, received like treatment and further injury. He stole negroes, cattle, plantations; and even pewter dishes were not exempt from his filthy and rapacious hands. All his sympathies were with villains like himself, and no man could be prosecuted to punishment who had money to bribe the governor. For five years was this monster endured, when in 1688 the people seized his person with the purpose of sending him to England for trial. He added cowardice to his other enormities, and, fearing judgment if he were tried in Westminster, he begged that the General Assembly would take jurisdiction and punish him as he deserved. He was found guilty of all the charges, and compelled to leave the country for twelve months and the office of governor for all time."²

In 1689, Philip Ludwell, of Virginia, was appointed Governor of Albemarle. He ruled four years, and was succeeded by Major Lillington, who governed wisely, and founded a family long revered in the colony and State. During his term, in April, 1693, the cumbrous and unsuccessful plan of the "Grand Model"

¹ Eggleston's *Household U. S.*, 56, 57.

² Moore's *Hist. of N. C.*, I. 26. Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 103.

was abrogated, and finally laid aside. The people were relieved, and prosperity began to return. This experiment and the disorders attending its trial had undoubtedly wrought evil to the colony and prevented the inflow of settlers.

Thomas Harvey, John Archdale and Henderson Walker governed successively to 1704. The population of Albemarle had now reached nearly six thousand. Robert Daniel succeeded Walker. Under him there was disturbance arising from an attempt by act of assembly to establish the Church of England in the colony. The great body of the people steadily resisted this movement; and upon appeal to the English House of Lords the act of assembly was decided to be null and void.¹ John Archdale was a Quaker, and the influence of this society in the counsels of the colony was felt for her good.

Subsequent governors were Thomas Carey, John Porter, and Edward Hyde, who was a relative of the reigning queen. Immigration became active. In 1707 a large company of French Protestants settled on the river Trent. In 1710 came a considerable number of persecuted German Lutherans.² Soon a tide of Scottish, French, German and North Ireland people began to pour into the desirable parts of North Carolina. But with increase of population came the almost inevitable evil of an Indian war.

Meanwhile the lower colony, which was afterwards South Carolina, was yearly advancing in numbers and prosperity.

The first permanent settlement was near Port Royal, in 1670, by a few emigrants from England under William Sayle, the first governor of the province.³ These emigrants had purchased from the Clarendon proprietors.

In 1671, Governor Sayle left Port Royal and selected a site for a city on the Ashley river; but finding that it could not be approached by vessels of large burden and deep draught, he again removed his colonists to Oyster Point, at the junction of Ashley and Cooper rivers. Here, in 1680, were laid the foundations of the famed city of Charleston. In one year thirty houses were completed.

William Sayle died within a few months after this removal, and was succeeded in 1671 by Sir John Yeamans, whose name has already become known to us in the history of the northern Carolina. He had not been entirely satisfied with his lands on Cape Fear river; and when approached by the proprietors with

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 104.

² Swinton's Cond. U. S., 76, 77.

³ Ramsay's Hist. S. C., in Stephens, 118.

an offer to appoint him governor of the southern colony he promptly accepted it. He carried with him nearly all of the followers who had come with him from Barbadoes to Clarendon.¹

He carried also at least two hundred slaves. They were the first imported into South Carolina. But in subsequent years the character of her soil, the heat of her seasons, and the cultivation of rice, indigo and cotton caused the labor of African slaves to be very profitable within her bounds. Consequently they increased so fast that they became far more numerous than the white population. In 1734, the negroes outnumbered the whites as five to one.² And although this proportion was not maintained up to the time of the Revolutionary war, when the total population of the State was about one hundred and eighty thousand, yet, from the year 1830 onward, the slaves greatly outnumbered the whites, and in 1850 had reached the proportion of three hundred and ninety-five thousand to two hundred and seventy-five thousand.³

This ominous fact, uniting with interests almost exclusively agricultural, and with a large class of the whites privileged, by wealth, culture and leisure, to speculate upon problems of society and government, afterwards gave to South Carolina a leadership in thought and action productive of results grave and momentous beyond expression.

During the administration of Governor Yeamans the Spaniards of Florida, finding Protestant populations coming nearer and increasing all the time, began to give serious trouble by sending emissaries to Charleston and stirring up the people, white and black, to revolt. But their schemes finally recoiled upon them.

In 1673, large numbers of Dutch people from New York came southward in search of more congenial homes. Most of them settled in South Carolina.⁴

Disputes arose between the English proprietaries and Sir John Yeamans because the profits from the colony were not considered proportionate to the heavy expenses incurred. The governor, being free from any ground of censure, and independent in mind and fortune, resigned his office, and returned to Barbadoes, where he soon afterwards died. Joseph West succeeded him in 1674, and governed the colony for eight years.

Then came a season of four years prolific of governors; for no less than five—viz., Joseph Morton, Joseph West again, Richard

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 119.

² Swinton's Cond. U. S., 80.

³ Art. So. Car., New Amer. Encyclop., IV. 433.

⁴ Swinton's Cond. U. S., 78. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 119.

Kyrle, Robert Quarry, and James Colleton—were in the office from 1682 to 1686.¹

These twelve years were embittered by almost ceaseless contests. The proprietors were still pressing Locke's "Grand Model" on the people, and the people were strenuously resisting. A small class, indulging aristocratic pretensions, favored the proprietary scheme, which embraced the establishment of the Anglican church with parishes, inductions, tithes and ritual forms, and embraced also the collection of rents from the "leet-men," who were to be forever without votes or political franchises. A vast majority of the people opposed all these things. A governor who sought to uphold the proprietor's policy was sure to meet so much of popular outcry, and even insult, that he speedily resigned.

In 1686 came a tide of immigration which ought to have been welcomed with the deepest sympathy and favor; but it was not to be so. This immigration was that of thousands of *Huguenots* from France, driven away from their native homes by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. That wise edict had been granted in 1598 by the chivalrous King Henri Quatre, to secure liberty of conscience and regulated worship to his Protestant subjects. But Louis XIV., in 1685, under the influence of his bigoted and licentious concubines, revoked this edict. The disastrous results are affecting France to this day. The previous *dragonnades* and the revocation operated to cause not less than three hundred and fifty thousand of the people of France, of the most virtuous, enterprising and industrious classes, skilled in agriculture and manufactures, to quit her soil and seek refuge in foreign countries.²

Some of these came to the northern colonies of America, some to Virginia, some to North Carolina; but the greater number came to South Carolina, moved, perhaps, by memories of Coligny and Ribault. Coming as refugees from religious persecution and with high credentials as to morality and industry, they ought to have been warmly welcomed.

The proprietaries looked on them with favor; but this fact did not help them with the common English settlers. These were of that sturdy and obstinate race who had been born and trained under traditions causing them to hate France and everything French. They knew but little of the Huguenot history. They looked on these immigrants with dislike, and sought to shut them out from the rights and franchises enjoyed by themselves.³

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 120.

² Art. Huguenots, Schaff-Herzog Encyclop., II. 1034.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 120-122. Horace E. Scudder's U. S., 126.

Another form of trouble beset the Huguenots. The John Locke "model" gave the men no rights in their lands except for their own lives, and subject to a tenure humiliating and oppressive. They naturally feared that their children would be left landless and destitute amid unfriendly surroundings.¹ It was not until 1696 after earnest exertions in their behalf by the eminent Quaker John Archdale (who had been transferred as governor to South Carolina from the Albemarle colony by the proprietors), that the prejudices against the Huguenots were removed, and laws were passed giving them full equality with other citizens. From them descended some of the noblest and brightest names that have adorned the annals of South Carolina.

Governor Colleton tried to collect quit-rents for the proprietaries, but he was met with opposition so stern and demonstrative that he was driven, in an hour of desperation, to proclaim martial law and call out the militia. The General Assembly met, and, nothing daunted, passed a resolution that the governor's act was a usurpation of power and an encroachment on their liberties. The governor sought in vain to awe them. In 1690 they passed a bill impeaching Colleton, declaring him disqualified for holding any office, and giving him notice to leave the colony.²

And now, out of these turbid and troubled waters, rose a bad man, only too well known already in the northern colony. Seth Sothel appeared in Charleston, and, by the pretence that he held by assignment the rights of a proprietary, stepped into the governorship. He ruled, for a time, with a high hand; seized lawful traders from Bermuda and Barbadoes as pirates, and imprisoned them until he had exacted as much money as he could as their ransom, took bribes from felons and traitors, and compelled honest planters to pay large sums for permission to retain their property.³

The people discovered him to be a fraud, and rose upon him to send him to England for trial. He begged to be tried by the colonial assembly, and was tried and convicted on thirteen charges. A peremptory order, November 8th, 1691, suspended him from all power in Carolina. He slunk back to the Albemarle region, and never came to the public eye again. He died in 1694.⁴

Philip Ludwell, from Virginia, was governor of both North and South Carolina for some time after 1692. In 1693 he proposed a new form of deed, which the proprietaries considered an

¹ Stephens, 122. D. B. Scott's U. S., 115.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 120, 121.

³ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁴ Bryant's U. S., II. 367. Stephens, 121.

encroachment on their rights of tenure; and so they removed him.

In 1702, while James Moore was governor, war broke out between England and Spain. The Spaniards in Florida were so near and so hostile that Governor Moore determined to attack them. He sailed from Charleston with a small fleet, carrying twelve hundred armed colonists and friendly Indians. He laid siege to the fort at St. Augustine, but failed to take it. The expedition was expensive and unsuccessful.¹

But Governor Moore speedily recovered his reputation as a prompt warrior. The Appalachee Indians had become troublesome and actively hostile. Moore invaded their country in 1705 with a small army, defeated them in several encounters, killed numbers, burned their towns and villages, and compelled them to sue for peace, and to submit to the English authority. The proprietors thanked and the people applauded the vigorous governor.²

In 1706 a fleet of French and Spanish armed vessels appeared before Charleston and made an attack; but they were easily repulsed, and retired. Both of the Carolina colonies had now become so flourishing and so full of people that Indian jealousy reached a crisis.

In 1711, the Tuscarora and Coree Indians formed a conspiracy to destroy the whites. Sixteen hundred warriors entered into the plot, which, as was the usage of North American savages, was one of profound treachery, secrecy and malignity. Small parties were sent out, who, by different roads, entered the white settlements as friends. The massacre was to begin everywhere the same night. On that night the savages entered the houses of planters, and asked for provisions. Then, pretending to be dissatisfied with the food, they began the work of murder. Men, women and children were slain without discrimination and without mercy. The savages rushed from house to house and slaughtered the scattered families. In one night one hundred and thirty-seven settlers were murdered in and near Roanoke. Baron Christopher De Graffenreid, a Swiss nobleman, was seized at his settlement on Trent river, together with Lawson, surveyor-general of the colony, and a negro assistant. Lawson and the negro were put to death with cruel tortures; but De Graffenreid escaped and was released. He ingeniously made the Indians believe that he was king of the Swiss, and that his people should occupy no lands without the consent of the Indians.³

¹ Scott's U. S., 115, 116. Derry's U. S., 56.

² Derry's U. S., 56. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 123.

³ Moore's Hist. of N. C., I. 33, 36. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 105, 107.

The condition of the Albemarle colony was deplorable. Their counsels were distracted by internal disorders and dissensions, and an Indian war, commencing with an appalling massacre, was on them. But Governor Hyde realized the danger, and sought to meet it by the best means in his power. He appealed to Virginia and South Carolina. From Virginia he got no important aid; but Governor Moore sent prompt and decisive help.

Col. John Barnwell came from South Carolina with a regiment of militia and several hundred friendly Yemassee Indians. Hyde raised all the forces he could in North Carolina, and sent them to meet Barnwell when he emerged from the forests through which his long march had been made.

On the 28th January, 1712, a stern battle was fought. The Indians, under their chief, Hancock, had erected strong fortifications on the river Neuse; but on the approach of Barnwell's forces they came out and gave battle in the open field.

A conflict, desperate and bloody, hand to hand, with sword and tomahawk, scalping-knife and clubbed musket, ensued. The savages were defeated and fled to their works, leaving three hundred dead on the field, and one hundred prisoners in the hands of the whites. Hancock capitulated, and surrendered his fort, promising peace; but in a short time the treacherous murders were renewed.¹

To add to the distress of the Albemarle colony, yellow fever made its appearance. Many died, among whom was the governor himself, who died September 8th, 1712. He was succeeded by Thomas Pollock, a man of ability and firmness, but unpopular by reason of his high church notions and his strict enforcement of the navigation laws.² But the danger was too imminent for delay.

Again South Carolina came to the help of her sister colony. Col. James Moore, with fifty brave whites and a thousand friendly Indians, joined the Albemarle troops and advanced to attack Hancock, who, with his Indian warriors, held a fort called Nahuc, in the county of Greene.

Colonel Moore stormed the fort at the head of his troops, and inflicted on the savages so heavy a loss that in a few days they surrendered, eight hundred strong, as prisoners. The Tuscarora and Coree spirit was broken. Hopeless of success, they took up their march for the north, and rejoined their ancient kinsmen, the Iroquois of New York. Thus the Five Nations became the Six Nations.³

¹ Stephens, 107.

² *Ibid.*, 107, 108.

³ Derry's U. S., 57. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 108.

In 1715, South Carolina was again involved in a formidable Indian war. It was with the Yemassee tribes, who were very strong and warlike, and occupied fastnesses in the southwestern border of the colony on the Savannah river.

The immediate cause of ill blood was supposed to be some offence given and taken in reference to the Yemassees who, as friendly forces, took part with Colonel Barnwell in the defeat of the Tuscaroras in January, 1712.¹

Whatever the cause, the savages were the aggressors, and, as usual, with treachery and massacre. On the morning of April 15, 1715, they attacked Pocotaligo, and murdered one hundred whites without warning.

The war commenced and was fiercely waged on both sides. Charles Craven was acting governor, and promptly ordered out all white men able to bear arms, and even enrolled some of the most faithful of the slaves.

Colonel Mackey, with two hundred and forty-two men came up with the Yemassees, five hundred strong, sixteen miles from the Combahee river. After a sharp fight, in which the great superiority of the white soldier was manifest, the Indians were routed with heavy loss, while Mackey lost only one killed and a few wounded.

But the war continued. The country people fled in towards Charleston. On one plantation seventy whites and forty negroes had thrown up a breastwork, and for some time defended themselves against several hundred savages; but, becoming discouraged, they listened to lying proposals of peace, and were taken by surprise and nearly all slain.² But retribution was at hand. Captain Chicken, with a well-armed and brave band of the Goose Creek militia, encountered the savages, and gave them a defeat so disastrous and bloody that they wholly retired, and the northern part of the province was made secure. The gallant captain maintained his right to take the name of the "game cock" long before it was given by Colonel Tarleton to Sumter in the Revolution.³

But the Yemassees were still very strong in the southwest. Their force was estimated at nine thousand warriors, while the muster-roll of South Carolina did not exceed twelve hundred men. Yet Governor Craven determined to meet the enemy. His message to the assembly was urgent. He said: "Expedition is the life of action; bring the women and children into our town, and

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 123.

² Derry's U. S., 65. Stephens, 124, 125.

³ Derry's U. S., 65. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 125.

all provisions from all exposed plantations. Virginia and New England must be solicited for aid."¹

Arms were obtained from New England. Virginia sent a hundred gallant soldiers, thus proving that her previous failure to respond to appeals for aid was unavoidable. North Carolina sent a regiment from Cape Fear, under Col. Maurice Moore.

The war was pushed so vigorously that the Yemasseees were defeated and speedily driven beyond the Savannah. They took refuge in Florida, and continued in small parties to infest the English colonies; but there was no longer serious risk of danger. In 1716 the war was considered to be ended.

And nearly at the same time the proprietary government expired by failure of all vital power. Robert Johnson, son of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, was appointed governor in 1717, and was the last governor under the proprietors. General Francis Nicholson was sent to South Carolina as a sort of peace-maker, and was kindly received. But the end had come. The proprietors gave up the contest. In 1729, the English Parliament declared the charter to be forfeited. Except Carteret, the lords proprietary sold out their rights and claims under their patent to the English crown, then held by George II. The sum paid was about forty-five thousand Spanish milled dollars for North Carolina and the same for South Carolina.² Henceforth they were separate colonies, under the control of king, lords and commons, but with their vested rights preserved.

In 1694, the captain of a ship from Madagascar gave to John Archdale, the Governor of South Carolina, a bag of rice seed. He had seen it growing in oriental lands and thought it would make excellent food. The governor divided his little supply among his friends. They planted it in the moist lands near the coast, and a fine crop was the result. From that time rice has been a prime staple of South Carolina.³

King Charles desired to introduce the culture of grapes, almonds, olives and the silk-worm in South Carolina, and sent over fifty families for the purpose. This well-meant effort had not full success, but it added desirable elements to the population.⁴

Cotton had been cultivated in and near Jamestown, Virginia, in 1621, but it was found that the soil and seasons of the more southern colonies suited it better. It was not, however, until the invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney in 1793 that this pro-

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 125.

² Swinton's Cond. U. S., 78.

³ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁴ Quackenbos' U. S., 120.

duct started on that career in the Southern States of America which led to the delusion expressed in the formula: "Cotton is king."

North and South Carolina both continued to prosper. The interior of the northern colony was found to be more fertile and attractive than the coast. In the period just before the war of the Revolution, North Carolina had a population of two hundred and sixty thousand and South Carolina of one hundred and eighty thousand. Few colonies had grown faster than these.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GEORGIA AND GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

WE come now to the last in time and the most southern in place of the primitive thirteen colonies, which afterwards became the "United States of America," and each one of which was acknowledged to be a sovereign and independent State by the treaty of peace which terminated the Revolutionary war.

Pennsylvania was settled seventy-four years after Jamestown, in Virginia, was begun, and fifty-one years passed between the settlement of Pennsylvania and that of Georgia. Thus it appears that the actual period covered by the settlements of the thirteen original colonies was not less than one hundred and twenty-five years. Yet the last colony had the advantage of a century and a quarter of growth in Europe in ideas, civilization and religion. Her relative growth for the forty-three years from her birth to the Revolution was greater than that of any other of the "thirteen."¹

The moral purposes underlying the colonization of Georgia were higher than those on which any other colony was founded. Her historian, with a love not inexcusable, has said of her: "It was the first colony ever founded by charity. New England had been settled by Puritans, who fled thither for conscience sake; New York by a company of merchants and adventurers in search of gain; Maryland by Papists retiring from Protestant intolerance; Virginia by ambitious cavaliers; Carolina by the scheming and visionary Shaftesbury and others for private aims and individual aggrandizement; but Georgia was planted by the hand of benevolence, and reared into being by the adventurous nurturings of a disinterested charity."²

To this it is only fair to add that Pennsylvania is pretermitted by Bishop Stevens. And as she was the next to the last, so was she next to the highest in the motives of her origin. But even William Penn fell below the broad, philanthropic and thoroughly Christian purposes of the founder of Georgia—General James Edward Oglethorpe.

¹ Eggleston's *Household U. S.*, 63. A. H. Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 166-169.

² Bishop Stevens' *Hist. of Georgia*, I. 68.

He was born December 21, 1688, at Westbrooke Place, near London, the country-seat of his father, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe. After his education at Oxford University he became, at the age of twenty-two, an ensign in the British army. He was a fine soldier and apt for command. At the age of twenty-six he was adjutant-general of the queen's forces. As *aide* to Prince Eugene he won high distinction in the campaigns against the Turks, and received the plaudits of his commander-in-chief. When peace returned in 1718, he was elected a member of the English House of Commons for Haslemere: and such was the confidence felt in him that he was continuously returned for thirty-two years.¹

He possessed, in strange equilibrium, the highest virtues both of the masculine and feminine character. "He was just and generous; and, while slow to forgive an injury, he never forsook a friend or forgot a favor. His charities and private benefactions were circumscribed only by a prudent regard for his means. Honor was his polar star, and he dreaded a stain more than a wound. No temptation, no lust of power, place, favor or fortune, could allure him from what he deemed to be the path of duty and of rectitude."²

The lavish grant of Charles II. to the Earl of Clarendon and others was wide enough to include what is now the State of Georgia. But the country below the neighborhood of Beaufort and to the Spanish province of Florida had not been occupied by permanent settlers. And so, after the purchase of the proprietaries' rights, the English crown was at liberty to carve out a new colony.

On the 9th of June, 1732, King George II. issued to General James Oglethorpe, Lord Percival, and twenty other noblemen and gentlemen of England a royal patent, constituting them trustees, with powers of law-making and government, and conveying to them the territory "from the head-waters of the Savannah river to its mouth, thence along the coast to the Altamaha, and up that river to its head-waters, and thence westerly in direct lines from the head-waters of said rivers, respectively, to the south seas."³ A part of this region lying between the Savannah and Altamaha had been conveyed in 1717 by the South Carolina proprietaries to Sir Robert Montgomery, under the title of the "Margravate of Azilia," and with intent to keep alive something of the "Grand Model." But as no settlements had been made in it, and as the patent of the proprietaries had been annulled in 1729, it was included in the king's grant of 1732.

¹ A. H. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 151.

² *Ibid.*, 151.

³ *Ibid.*, 152.

To the territory thus granted the name of "Georgia" was given in honor of the king. The trustees adopted a common seal bearing the device of a group of silk-worms at their patient toils, and having the motto, *Non sibi sed aliis*—"not for themselves, but for others." Thus Oglethorpe's character and policy were impressed as a seal on his undertaking.¹

He desired to provide a place for comfortable homes for the poorer people of Great Britain who might wish to improve their condition, and to open an asylum on a large scale for imprisoned debtors, on whom the laws of England bore harshly, as he knew from his experience in Parliament, and to open a land of refuge for the persecuted and oppressed of all nations, and especially of Europe, where the wars of more than thirty years had left the people of the Palatinate in Germany destitute and wretched, and where the humble and pious people of the broad valley of Salza, between the Noric and Rhetian Alps, had been persecuted with whippings, burnings, murders and confiscations by the inhuman Duke Leopold of Austria from 1729 to 1732. These Salzburghers were descendants from the primitive Vallenses, or Waldenses, of the Piedmont valleys, and their only crime was their unconquerable adherence to the doctrines, forms and life of a purely scriptural Christianity.²

In November, 1732, Oglethorpe sailed from Gravesend in the ship *Anne*, with about one hundred and thirty emigrants. They landed, in January, 1733, first at Charleston, where they were cordially received by the governor and his people.

At the head of his emigrants, one hundred and sixteen in number, and attended by a body of South Carolina troops sent by the governor to protect them while they were building, Oglethorpe went from Charleston to Beaufort, where he permitted some rest and recreation.³

With a small party, Oglethorpe ascended the Savannah river, and chose for the site of his settlement the bluff on which the city of Savannah now stands. Half a mile off were the Yamacraws, a branch of the Muskogee tribe of Indians. Tomochichi was the chief. He promptly accepted the overtures of cordial amity and alliance tendered by Oglethorpe. Mary Musgrove, the half-breed wife of an Indian trader, acted as interpreter. She has been called the "Pocahontas of the Georgia colony," but she fell far below the Indian princess both in lineage and in friendship for the whites.

¹ Eggleston's Household U. S., 65. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 152.

² Art. Salzburg, Schaff-Herzog Encyclop., IV, 2100, 2101. Stephens, 153.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 152. Derry's U. S., 67.

The Yamacraw chief presented to Oglethorpe a buffalo robe painted on the inside, with the head and feathers of an eagle, saying: "The feathers are soft and signify love; the buffalo skin is warm and means protection. Therefore, love and protect our little families."¹

Oglethorpe laid out the town of Savannah in streets and squares on the plan which still exists, and commenced building.

His fame as a just and humane leader soon penetrated the wilderness, and enabled him to make advantageous treaties with the lower Muskogeans, the Creeks, the Cherokees and the Choctaws, on the borders of the Gulf of Mexico. He bought from the natives at fair prices the lands he needed for his settlements. The red men all had great confidence in him, and respected him as a second William Penn.

But the classes of colonists he first brought to Georgia were not adapted to success. Broken-down tradesmen and insolvents, and people who had become poor because they had not firmness and energy enough to struggle with adverse fortunes in the old country, were not changed in character by coming to the New World. The progress of the colony was at first very slow.

To this the policy of the trustees is supposed to have contributed as much as the indifferent character of the settlers. The laws originally promulgated as to the acquisition of lands were somewhat narrow. All lands bought or held by the settlers reverted to the grantors if the purchasers died without issue.² This cut the sinews of exertion, for it took away the healthy stimulus of blood relation. The law was changed, and immediately improvement began.

Another law forbade indiscriminate trade with the natives. Such trade had, it is true, in the more northern colonies, led to great abuses; but to forbid it, or even fetter it, discouraged many forms of legitimate barter and merchandise. Other laws forbade any importation of slaves and any importation or manufacture of rum.

The colonists complained of these last two laws, because they deemed slave labor indispensable to the cultivation of rice, cotton and indigo in their warm climate, and because the inhibition as to rum cut them off from trade with the West India islands.³

These complaints finally prevailed, and the restraints were removed; and Georgia grew in population and material wealth. But it would be of doubtful verity to say that she has been really

¹ Derry's U. S., 68. Quackenbos' U. S., 149.

² Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 137.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 154-155.

benefited by the withdrawal of these restrictions. The question is too complicated in morals and facts to admit of a definite solution.

Among the settlers who came early to Georgia were fifty families of the persecuted Salzburghers, who, by invitation of the trustees, came over in 1734. Baron Von Reck was their leader, with forty-one men, the rest women and children, making a total of about eighty souls. General Oglethorpe went down to meet them, and invited them to make their own selection of a place of residence. They chose a tract of land thirty miles from the sea, on "the banks of a river of clear water, the sides high, the country of the neighborhood hilly, the valleys of rich cane land, intermixed with little brooks and springs of water."¹

Here they settled, naming their home *Ebenezer*—"the stone of help." And here they grew into a peaceful and prosperous colony, chiefly under the leadership of their spiritual guides, Grenau and Rev. John Martin Bolsius.

Other settlers came. Six hundred arrived in various bands—generally unused to labor and very helpless and complaining.² In 1734 Oglethorpe went to England and returned, bringing, at the expense of the trustees, some two hundred and twenty settlers. A body of sturdy Scotch Highlanders also came. All these immigrants enabled the governor to expand his settlements, and to form them around the region at the mouth of the Altamaha and St. Mary's rivers, and at Darien, Frederica and Augusta.³

When Oglethorpe returned to Georgia from England, in February, 1736, two men accompanied him, afterwards eminent in the religious history of the world. They were the brothers John and Charles Wesley. They came to preach the gospel to the natives, and to aid in the moral and religious improvement of the colony. They soon met the Lutheran settlement of Salzburghers on Ebenezer; and to the impressions made on his heart and conscience by their unobtrusive piety, and their patience under previous persecution and sorrow, John Wesley ever thereafter attributed his own true conversion to God. Two years afterwards, on his return to England, he thus wrote in his journal: "It is now two years and nearly four months since I went to America to teach the Georgia Indians the nature of Christianity; but what have I learned of myself in the meantime? Why, (what of all I least expected) that I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself, before that time, converted to God."⁴

¹ A. H. Stephens' U. S., 153, 154.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 154.

³ D. B. Scott's U. S., 117.

⁴ Wesley's Journal, in Stephens' Comp. U. S., 156

In a few years after their first settlement the products of the Salzburghers in raw silk alone brought a return of fifty thousand dollars a year. Indigo also became profitable. Orphan schools were established immediately after their arrival. All contributed to benevolent purposes, and the settlement grew steadily in prosperity.¹

In 1738, George Whitefield, the most eloquent and effective preacher of his day, came to Georgia. He visited Ebenezer, and was so deeply impressed by the orphan school that he determined, if practicable, to establish others in the colony. He obtained funds, by private contributions and otherwise in England, and founded an orphanage near Savannah, which, with some modifications in its powers and management, still exists.² Nor can there be a doubt that his zeal and success in this form of Christian effort have been the moving power of many similar enterprises in North America, by which millions of helpless orphans have been maintained.

The Wesleys and Bolsius remained steady in their opposition to the introduction of slaves into the colony. But George Whitefield, although he agreed with them when he first came over, changed his views, on the ground of his conviction that God had some wise end to accomplish in reference to African slavery, and that he believed it would terminate to the advantage of the Africans.³ For this the pious Bolsius rebuked him sharply, doubtless by the true Protestant principle that neither a state nor an individual has a right "to do evil that good may come." The inspired apostle has settled that question in the negative by a teaching from heaven.⁴

Nevertheless, the side espoused by Whitefield prevailed, and the material results of the introduction of the labor of African slaves were too plainly enriching to permit the Georgians to rise above the moral level of all their sister colonies.

But, while they grew and prospered, a dark cloud was rising south of them. The Spaniards of Florida regarded the settlements of the Carolinas and of Georgia as unlawful occupations of territory belonging to them. They manifested active opposition in many forms.

They sought to stir up dissensions and revolt among the colonists themselves; they sent emissaries for the purpose; they sought to excite the Indians to make murderous attacks upon the whites; they enticed away slaves from their owners in Georgia, harbored them when they fled to Florida, refused to re-

¹ Stephens, 156.² *Ibid.*, 157.³ *Ibid.*, 157.⁴ Romans iii. 8.

deliver them, and encouraged them by giving them lands in the Spanish province.¹

These repeated provocations could have only one tendency—viz., to open war. Oglethorpe saw that war was inevitable, and prepared for it. He was a soldier, and marked with a soldier's eye the causes which were sure to bring on a war between England and Spain. In 1737 he went over to England and raised, equipped and disciplined a regiment of six hundred men, with which he returned to Georgia. He was appointed commander-in-chief of all the military forces of Georgia and South Carolina, and thenceforth always bore the title of general.

But before the war was actually declared, General Oglethorpe, with far-reaching prudence and courage, undertook and accomplished a semi-peaceful—semi-military journey among all the various tribes of Indians in the wilderness of the vast territory lying west and south of the present limits of Georgia. He was perfectly successful in establishing treaties and relations of peace with the Creeks, the Muskogees, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Tallapoosas, and other tribes, whose chiefs met him in council and smoked with him the calumet of peace.²

The difficulty, danger and importance of this journey, and its results, can hardly be overestimated.

In 1739, war was declared by England against Spain. Orders came to Oglethorpe to invade Florida, and, if practicable, to capture St. Augustine. He received troops from South Carolina, and, in 1740, at the head of a force of two thousand men, embracing some friendly Indians, he invested St. Augustine. But after a few weeks of close blockade, some Spanish galleys succeeded in running the gauntlet and carrying fresh supplies to the beleaguered garrison. The besieging army became enfeebled by disease. General Oglethorpe was compelled very reluctantly to raise the siege and return with his forces to Savannah.³

In 1742, this attack was retaliated by a very formidable land and naval force of fifty-six vessels and about seven thousand troops, under the Spanish General Don Manuel De Montiano. Instead of sailing directly to Savannah, Montiano proceeded to the mouth of the Altamaha. Here General Oglethorpe had only about eight hundred men on Cumberland Island. He promptly abandoned that point and concentrated his forces at St. Simons, on which was the town of Frederica.

¹ Derry's U. S., 69. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 157.

² Georgia Hist. Collec., I. 263. Mr. Spalding's narrative, Stephens' Comp. U. S., 158, 159.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 159. D. B. Scott's U. S., 117.

On the 22d of June, 1742, the Spanish forces appeared off St. Simons. Oglethorpe hastened from Frederica to meet them. The disparity of strength was great, and the peril proportionate. But his spirit rose with the danger. He wrote to the home government: "We are resolved not to suffer defeat; we will rather die like Leonidas and his Spartans, if we can but protect Georgia and Carolina and the rest of the Americans from desolation."¹

After a brave resistance, in which the Spaniards lost a number in killed and wounded, and the colonials not a man, the fleet succeeded in passing up the river. Oglethorpe fell back to Frederica, but met the foe near the place and defeated a part of his forces by a fierce attack of the Highlanders under Sutherland and Mackay. The Spanish leader, Barba, fell mortally wounded and was captured.

The enemy retreated to their camp near Fort Simon. Learning of dissensions among their commanders, Oglethorpe determined to surprise them by a night attack. On the night of the 12th July, he moved forward with five hundred men, and was reconnoitering their position with a small party, when a French soldier in his party treacherously fired his musket and ran into the lines of the enemy.

General Oglethorpe's position was now critical, for he knew that the deserter would make known his weakness. He devised a stratagem, and it was attended with singular success.

Returning to Frederica, he wrote a letter to the deserter, asking him to urge the Spaniards to an immediate attack, but if he could not bring on such attack, then to persuade them to remain where they were three days longer, as within that time he expected six British war ships and two thousand troops from Carolina. He intrusted this letter to a Spanish prisoner, who was released on his promise to deliver it to the deserter. But instead of this, he delivered it to the Spanish commander-in-chief, as Oglethorpe fully expected that he would do. This letter greatly perplexed Montiano; he caused the deserter to be seized and put in irons, and while he was deliberating what further course to pursue, three ships with troops on board, sent by the Governor of South Carolina, did actually appear off the harbor. In a season of consternation, the Spaniards burned their fort and fled with precipitation, leaving their cannon and military stores. This bold and successful stratagem saved Georgia and the Carolinas, and added much to the military fame of Oglethorpe.²

¹Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 160.

²*Ibid.*, 160, 161. Derry's *U. S.*, 76.

His memory has been reflected on by a modern historian as soiled by this incident.¹ But it was a justifiable stratagem of war. It involved no falsehood, but presented a series of facts from which the enemy drew a false inference.

Complaints were publicly made against General Oglethorpe in reference to his military conduct of the siege of St. Augustine. In 1743 he returned to England, and after the fullest inquiry was honorably acquitted of all ground of censure in that matter. He never returned to Georgia, but continued to manifest the warmest interest in her progress, as well as in all of the North American colonies.²

In 1744 he was united in marriage to the only daughter of Sir Nathan Wright, of Cranham Hall, Essex county. Her father had been lord chancellor under William III. and Queen Anne. She was the only daughter, and a lady of wealth, beauty and high accomplishments. In the war of 1745, caused by Charles Edward the young pretender, General Oglethorpe was actively engaged as major-general under Marshal Wade. In compliment to him one of the cavalry companies assigned to his command was called the "Georgia Rangers," and rendered brave service.

On the 22d February, 1765, he was made general of all his majesty's forces; and from that time his name was on the army-list as the first and oldest officer in the British military service. When the Revolutionary war broke out, in 1775, he was offered the supreme command of the English forces in America. His answer was: "I know the Americans well; they can never be subdued by arms, but their obedience can be secured by doing them justice."³

He was willing to take the command offered on condition that he should have complete control over the questions of grievances and reconciliation. This did not suit the English ministry with Lord North at its head. Sir William Howe was appointed instead of Oglethorpe. God was directing for the good of America and the world. Had this popular and enlightened British officer been appointed, it is probable that in the early stages of the struggle a reconciliation would have taken place, and thus American independence would have been indefinitely postponed.

Oglethorpe had done his work faithfully in Georgia, and the germs of success planted under his care sprang up and produced an abundant harvest. The subdivisions, first called districts, were

¹ Goodrich's *Pict. U. S.*, 137, 138.

² *Art. Oglethorpe, Am. Encyclop.*, XII. 496, 497.

³ *McCall's Georgia. Ramsay's Am. Rev.*, Stephens, 162.

ruled by good and wise men. The Indian tribes had been so permanently improved by the humanity and good-will shown to them, that they for a long time remained peaceable.

By the treaty of Paris of 1763, to which England, France and Spain were all parties, all the territory westward of the Altamaha river, and along the coast to the mouth of the St. Mary's, and up that river to the head-waters of its southernmost branch, thence westward to the Mississippi, became the undisputed territory of Georgia. A grand council was held, and treaty made from the 5th to the 10th of November, 1763, at Augusta, Georgia, between the governors of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia on the one side, and the highest representative chiefs of the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, and Catawbas on the other side, by which, for an agreed consideration, these tribes surrendered their rights of occupancy to a very large territory lying on the coast between the Altamaha and the Savannah rivers, and agreed to terms of peace.¹

The policy of land tenures, early adopted in Georgia, contributed much to her welfare. The trustees were prohibited from holding themselves any interest in the lands of the colony, and also prohibited from ever granting more than five hundred acres to one person. Head rights, or land in moderate quantities, were granted to all who would occupy and cultivate them, at no cost to the owners save the actual expenses of surveying, fixing limits and ascertaining boundaries.²

This enlightened policy, with peace with the natives, and other happy auspices, operated so favorably that Georgia grew fast in every element of prosperity. Her colonial governors acted up to this idea of "head rights." By a treaty with the Cherokees in 1774, a very large territory was acquired for cultivation; and when Governor Wright caused the land courts to be opened in Augusta and Petersburg, more than three thousand applicants for land grants appeared in one day! This liberal land scheme "put the crown of industrial glory on her head and the rock of conscious independence beneath her feet."³

In 1752 the trustees had surrendered the charter to the Crown, and Georgia became a royal province; but her land policy was continued. In July, 1776, the population of Georgia was at least fifty thousand; and as only forty-three years had passed since her first colonization, it follows that she had grown faster than any other colony.

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 165.

² *Ibid.*, 167.

³ Quoted by A. H. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 169.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EARLY INDIAN WARS.

IT now becomes necessary that we shall give special attention to the early wars waged between the aborigines and the white settlers in North America. These wars were peculiar in this, that they seldom resulted in conquest, peace, and the subjection or absorption of the conquered nation by the conqueror, as former wars between superior and inferior races had done. These American wars tended always to *extermination* of the savages; and this work is going on still, whenever war is resumed.

Has this result been the fault of the Christian settlers who came to America, and of the communities which they established? To a limited extent it has; but these limits are small. We do not claim that the colonists were always blameless.

But those wars have in nearly all cases been the result of the unwillingness of the Indians (arising from native depravity, fostered and strengthened by long continuance in the special sins of malice, revenge, falsehood, fraud, cruelty, implacability, malignity, pride and selfishness) to adopt the spirit and habits of the civilized and Christian life.

No serious believer in revealed Christianity can doubt that the Divine plan for the salvation of the world is that the gospel of Christ "beginning at Jerusalem" shall be proclaimed, and shall spread from people to people and from nation to nation, until all shall be evangelized.

If, in this grand work, any people shall refuse to accept the teachings of Christianity in spirit and matter, and shall pertinaciously and finally oppose themselves to it, their extermination is certain. Christians are never authorized to act merely under the spirit of revenge or retaliation. But Christians are solemnly bound to defend their liberties, their homes, their wives and children; and if, in order to do this, it becomes necessary to destroy savages who, after full opportunity to accept Christianity and live Christian lives, have refused to do so, and have waged cruel, murderous, relentless war against women and children, this destruction becomes as lawful and necessary as the extermination of wild beasts, such as tigers, wolves and venomous serpents.

It is not the will nor the plan of Divine power, wisdom and goodness that the fairest, richest, grandest and most healthful parts of the earth shall be held by a few savages, to the exclusion of millions of the human race bringing with them the best institutions of Christianity, science, art, culture and industry.

In the exact measure and extent in which the Indians of North America have accepted the religion of Christ, freely offered to and urged on them from the beginning of discovery and colonization, in that measure and extent have they been preserved and made happy and prosperous.

As standing witnesses of this truth, we have the Cherokees, Choctaws, and other Christianized Indians of Western America. Samson Occum was a native Indian of the Mohican tribe, born at the Indian settlement on the river Thames between Norwich and New London, in the year 1723. He became a Christian minister, and though not perfectly sanctified, yet he so lived and repented and believed and preached as to bring many others to Christ. He wrote a hymn on the necessity of the new life from heaven, which has been the means of stimulating thousands of souls to seek it.¹ Therefore, Christ is as perfectly adapted to the salvation of Indians as of others, and as freely offered to them as to others.

Nor can it be said with truth that the devout men who composed a part of every band of colonists that came early to North America felt no interest in the spiritual life of the natives, or neglected any means in their power for promoting it. Wildly constituted as were the chief elements of the early Virginia settlers, yet they had among them such men as Rev. Alexander Whitaker, of the Anglican church, and others like him, who worked earnestly for the salvation of the Indians.

The hardy and self-denying labors of the Jesuit fathers who came with the early French colonists have passed into history. By day and night, in winter and summer, amid storm and calm, in forest and field, on the land, the lakes, the rivers, undeterred by hardships, persecutions and savage cruelties, they patiently preached to the red men the love of Christ and the virtue of his atonement, and they esteemed it a sufficient reward that many of these sons of the forest, with their wives and children, received into their hearts and exhibited in their lives the immortal power of the life and death of the incarnate Son of God.

¹ Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, III. 192-195. The hymn closes with these words:

"The sinner, by his justice slain,
Now, by his grace, is born again,
And sings redeeming love."

Systematic efforts were also made by the more earnest Christians of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies to evangelize the Indians. The family of the Mayhews worked among the red men of Martha's Vineyard for many years, and Experience Mayhew had six congregations of natives, translated suitable portions of the Holy Scriptures into their language, wrote the lives of thirty Indians, all of whom were preachers, and spent sixty-three years of his ministry chiefly among them.¹

But of all the New England apostles to the Indians, John Eliot was most eminent. He was born in England in 1604, and had been an usher in a grammar school under Rev. Thomas Hooker, the founder of Connecticut, from whom he imbibed much of the evangelistic spirit. He came to Boston in 1631, and settled the next year in Roxbury, where he lived nearly sixty years, the rest of his life.

He became deeply interested in the salvation of the Indians, whom he believed to be descendants from the ten lost tribes of Israel.²

His first work was to learn their language, to which he devoted many years. He then gave all his leisure time to a translation of the Bible into the Algonquin tongue. This work still exists, but is supposed never to have been very useful as a spiritual message to the red men because of their almost numberless dialects. It is believed, that no living man now could read this translation with intelligent apprehension of the meaning of the words. The longest word in the work is here reproduced: *Watappesittukgusson-nookwehtunkquoh*, which, rendered into English, means "kneeling down to him."³

After mastering their language, Mr. Eliot was indefatigable in his labors for the welfare of the Indians, praying with them, telling them of Christ and his life and death for sinners, discouraging the use of intoxicating drinks among them, instructing them in the devout and happy observance of the holy Sabbath day, and teaching them the Christian virtues. He furnished the men with spades, shovels, plows and crow-bars, and the women with spinning-wheels, and urged them to peaceful industry. These good words and works wrought their effect, and soon considerable numbers of "praying Indians" were gathered in his neighborhood.⁴

But the numbers hopefully renewed were very small. The savages in general were strongly averse to the doctrines and pre-

¹Art. Mayhew, Schaff-Herzog Encyclop. of Rel., II. Goodrich's Pict. Hist. U. S., 99.

²Goodrich's U. S., 99. ³Prof. George F. Holmes' School Hist. U. S., 46.

⁴Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 99, 100. Eggleston's Household U. S., 82.

cepts of Christianity, which forbade the dispositions and practices regarded by them as highest and most praiseworthy. Very soon the "praying Indians" were looked on with dislike and distrust by both red men and whites.¹

As the white settlements increased and their numbers grew, savage jealousy and hatred became more manifest. In 1637 came the first open war. It was with the Pequot Indians of Connecticut.

They were the most powerful and warlike of the New England tribes. They, as usual, first manifested their hatred by secret murders and outrages. Finding that the whites sternly avenged these wrongs, they sent messengers to enlist the Narragansetts into an alliance for war. We have seen how Roger Williams successfully exerted himself to prevent this league.

Thus the Pequots were left to maintain the war without the assistance of other tribes; but they were numerous and fierce. Their chiefs were Sassacus and Mononotto. They had their fortified village on the Mystic river, and continued daily their murders and depredations. In April they waylaid the people at Wethersfield as they were going to the fields to labor, killed six men, three women and twenty cows, and carried two young women into captivity.²

The General Court at Hartford, May 1, 1637, resolved to prosecute the war, and voted to raise ninety men—forty-two from Hartford, thirty from Windsor and eighteen from Wethersfield. Massachusetts resolved to send two hundred and Plymouth forty men to aid Connecticut in what was felt to be a common danger. But in the approaching battle, only the troops from Connecticut, aided by nearly five hundred friendly Indians—Mohicans, under Uncas, and Narragansetts, under Mian-tonionoh—took part.³

Captain John Mason commanded—a brave and good soldier, trained in European wars. He had learned Indian warfare, and knew its methods. Even before the march, an incident occurred, showing that, whether friendly or hostile to whites, Indians were savages. Uncas and his Mohicans, in scouting, fell in with forty Pequots, routed them, killed seven, and took one prisoner. He had been a perfidious miscreant, a spy, who, professing friendship, had been present at several murders of whites, and kept Sassacus informed of every avenue and means of attack. The Mohicans executed him according to their ancestral forms. They kindled a large fire, then tore the victim limb from limb, barba-

¹ *Thalheimer's Eclectic U. S.*, 60, 61.

² *C. B. Taylor's Centen. U. S.*, 44

³ *Taylor's Centen. U. S.*, 44-50.

rously cutting the yet quivering flesh to pieces, handing the limbs and fragments, half cooked, around, so that each might eat a part, singing and dancing all the time with furious gestures and tumult. The bones and such parts of the captive as were not eaten were thrown into the flames and burned to ashes.¹

These were the usages of what were called "friendly Indians," and especially of the tribe afterwards immortalized in fiction by the genius of an American author!²

When the small force under Captain Mason drew near to the Pequot fortifications the Indians fell to the rear, and evidently shrank from the fierce struggle that was at hand. Their savage leaders openly declared that they were afraid to encounter the formidable Pequots.³ But Mason and his resolute men pressed on. Rev. Mr. Stone, of Hartford, had accompanied them as chaplain, and by his prayers and encouraging words stimulated them to fight for wives and children, firesides and altars.

They rested at night after their wearying march to reach the swamp between two hills, where the Pequots were in their intrenched village and camp.

Before the dawn of the next day the assault commenced. Captain Mason pressed to the northeastern entrance; Captain Underhill to the western. When they came near, a dog barked; an Indian, in a loud voice, cried out, "*Owanux! Owanux!*"—"Englishmen! Englishmen!" The Pequots rallied, but the whites poured upon them, firing their muskets, and, entering their lines sword in hand, routed them with such slaughter that they broke and fled to their wigwams and other places of shelter. But they were not yet conquered, and continued the contest with so much obstinacy that the result was doubtful. Then Mason reached a stern, but unavoidable, resolve. He cried out: "We must burn them."⁴

He rushed into a wigwam, where a Pequot brave saw him and was drawing his bow to its utmost tension to send an arrow through Mason's heart, when Sergeant Davis, by a timely stroke of his sword, severed the bow-string and struck down the archer.⁵ Seizing a burning brand, Captain Mason set fire to the dry matting of the wigwam. The flames leaped up instantly, and, spreading from hut to hut, could not be checked. The battle continued, but the Pequots were dismayed, and were killed in hundreds. This scene in the wilds of the American forests was a reproduction in miniature of what war had done in the Old World. A

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 45.

² J. Fenimore Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans."

³ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 47-49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 51. Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 83.

⁵ Taylor's Cent. U. S., 54.

well-known New England historian says: "Deep volumes of smoke rolled up to heaven mingled with the dying shrieks of mothers and infants, while the aged and infirm were consuming in the flames."¹

The result was no longer doubtful. The Mohicans and Narragansetts now rushed in with savage outcries and took part in the frightful work so well suited to their modes of warfare.

The Pequot power was annihilated in this one campaign. They lost seventy wigwams and not less than six hundred warriors, besides the many women, children, aged and helpless, who perished in the flames. The Massachusetts forces arrived and pressed on the fierce work. Some of the men and women were taken as captives and sold into slavery among the New England colonies.² Massachusetts sent some as slaves to the West India islands. The result need hardly be told. The Indian can stand torture, but he cannot live in slavery. All who were enslaved perished.

A sad remnant of sixty or seventy, under Sassacus and Mononotto, took up their dismal pilgrimage towards the Hudson river. Already they were yielding to the inexorable destiny of their race, so pathetically depicted by a gifted American jurist: "Everywhere at the approach of the white man they fade away. We hear the rustling of their footsteps, like that of the withered leaves of autumn, and they are gone forever; they pass mournfully by us, and they return no more."³

Sassacus and most of his followers were slain by the Mohawks, who sent his scalp to Connecticut. The wife and children of Mononotto had been captured by the New England troops. She had been very kind to female captives taken from the whites. She behaved with modesty and dignity. Governor Winthrop gave orders for her protection, and the family were at last reunited.

This stern and terrible blow struck by the colonists awed the savages; and peace was, in substance, preserved for forty years. But it could not be permanent while Indians remained and their nature was unchanged.

The good chief Massasoit, of the Wampanoags, had kept up his friendly relations with the Plymouth colonists. But after his death his son and successor in authority, Philip of Pokanoket, who became chief sachem on the death of his older brother, Alexander, and who is generally known as King Philip, assumed

¹ Goodrich's U. S., early edition.

² Taylor's Cent. U. S., 59. Goodrich's Piet. U. S., 85.

³ Story's Diminution of the Indian Tribes.

hostile relations to the whites, and secretly conspired for their destruction.

He was specially unfriendly to the "praying Indians," whom he regarded as traitors to their savage traditions and unworthy of trust.¹ He has been represented as a man without eloquence or courage;² but it is certain that he exercised a prevalent influence over all the tribes whom he governed or visited, and that he planned his war in the form best adapted to ruin the whites.

The outbreak was in 1675. Sassamon, a converted Indian, informed the Massachusetts and Plymouth authorities of Philip's preparations for war. In a short time thereafter this "praying Indian" was murdered. His murderers were discovered, seized, tried, convicted and executed. This was soon followed by the murder of nine white men by the Indians. Philip is said to have wept when he heard that this white blood had been shed.³ If he did, it was probably because he dreaded the premature explosion thus brought on.

The war that followed was the true type of Indian warfare. Philip never ventured to meet the whites in open battle unless he was surprised. His policy was secret movements upon unprotected towns or houses; the night approach and assault; the appalling war-whoop; the surrounding of a few men and helpless women and children by an overwhelming force of savages in war-paint and with bows, arrows, clubs, tomahawks and such fire-arms as they had been able to buy or steal; the setting of fire to the houses, and the indiscriminate murder of all the hapless inmates. Such was King Philip's war, and it was carried on with a stern persistence and ferocity which carried consternation and horror into the bravest hearts of New England.

The first attack was on Swanzev, in the Plymouth colony, on the 24th of June, 1675. The people were going home from church on a day of fasting and prayer, when the savages fell on them and killed ten of their number. Plymouth colonists prepared for war, and Massachusetts sent forces to help them. They attacked Philip, killed six of his warriors, and compelled him to flee to a swamp near the present site of Tiverton. Here he defended himself, and by sudden sallies and ambuscades gained some advantages.

Philip, fearing that he would be surrounded and starved, escaped to the Nipmucks, a tribe in Worcester county. The colonists sent ambassadors and troops to make a treaty with these

¹ Eggleston's *Household U. S.*, 82.

² A. S. Barnes & Co.'s *U. S.* (note), 58.

³ Art. King Philip, *New Am. Encyclop.*, XIII. 245. McCabe's *U. S.*, in Stephens, 127, 128.

Nipmucks, but they were led into ambush, and sixteen of their number killed and wounded. The rest fled to Brookfield. The Indians pursued, and burned all the houses except that which the whites occupied. They surrounded that, and poured through every aperture a discharge of arrows and musket-balls for two days. They then prepared to burn it by shooting arrows on fire, and by thrusting against it a cart loaded with flaming tow; but a heavy shower of rain put out the flames, and the approach of white troops put the savages to flight.¹

The habitual scenes of those days have been thus described: "The laborer in the field, the reapers as they went forth to harvest, men as they went to milk, the shepherd boy among the sheep, were shot down by skulking foes, whose approach was invisible. Who can tell the heavy hours of the woman of that day? The mother, if left alone in the house, feared the tomahawk for herself and children. On the sudden attack, the husband would fly with one child, the wife with another, and perhaps only one escape. The village cavalcade making its way to meeting on Sundays, in files, on horseback—the farmer holding the bridle in one hand and a child in the other, his wife seated on a pillow behind him—it may be with a child in her lap, as was the custom in those days—could not proceed safely; but, at the moment when least expected, bullets would whiz amongst them, discharged with fatal aim from an ambuscade by the wayside." "The Indians hung upon the skirts of the English villages like the lightning upon the edge of the clouds."²

King Philip was plotting everywhere, and succeeded in drawing to his support nearly all the tribes of New England. Unexpected and desolating attacks were made on nearly all the towns and isolated families. Deerfield, in Massachusetts, was stealthily approached, and in the confusion and bloodshed fire was applied, and nearly all of the buildings were destroyed. Sunday, the Christian Sabbath, was the day generally preferred by the savages for these assaults.³

Hadley, in Connecticut, was approached by a strong force of Indians while the whites were at worship in their church. The men hastily rallied, and, putting their women and children in sheltered places, advanced upon the foe. The Indians resorted to their usual strategy of fighting behind trees, fences, and in ambuscades, and, as they were more numerous than the whites, the

¹ Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 110. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 80. McCabe, in Stephens' U. S., 129, 130.

² Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 110, 111. Bancroft's U. S., II. 103.

³ McCabe's U. S. Stephens, 130.

battle was doubtful. At this moment a mysterious leader—a stranger to nearly all who saw him—a man of noble presence and flowing white beard—took command of the colonists, rallied them, threw them into commanding positions, and by his voice and his example so inspired them that they drove the savages from their hiding-places, slew many of them, wounded and captured more, and put the whole to flight. The leader then vanished as mysteriously as he had come. This was Colonel Goffe, one of the regicide members of the English Parliament, who had voted the death of Charles I., and upon whose head a price had been fixed. In this age of skepticism attempts have been made to discredit this incident of history;¹ but it is authenticated by an array of evidence sufficient to induce belief.²

In October, 1675, Philip returned to Mount Hope, but found his home in ruins. He then took refuge among the Narragansetts, who sheltered him and aided his schemes of war, notwithstanding their treaty with the whites. The colonists, justly apprehending that this strong tribe in their midst would soon be won over by Philip to active and murderous war, determined to commence hostilities.

A military force, under Colonel Josiah Winslow, was collected, and moved upon the Narragansetts in December, 1675. They were three thousand strong, and had built a fort of palisades in a swamp near the present site of Kingston, Rhode Island. It was almost inaccessible, having but one narrow entrance by a line of fallen trees.³ An Indian guided the colonists. A desperate fight of two hours enabled the whites to force an entrance into the savage stronghold. The wigwams were set on fire, and all were soon in flames. The savages were totally defeated and driven into the swamp, where many perished beneath the sluggish waters. Others wandered through the frozen woods without shelter, digging for nuts and acorns under the snow. The power of this strong tribe was hopelessly broken. They lost a thousand slain, and almost as many wounded and prisoners. The English loss was also heavy, amounting to six captains and two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded.⁴

Canonchet, the Narragansett chief, survived. He was unconquered. He said: "We will fight to the last man rather than become servants to the English." He was captured near Blackstone in April, 1676, and was offered his life if he would induce

¹ Ex.: Note in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 57, 58.

² Stephens, 130. McCabe's U. S. Bancroft, II. 104. Goodrich, 111, 112. Quackenbos, 111.

³ McCabe's U. S. Stephens, 130.

⁴ Compare Goodrich, 112. Stephens, 131. Quackenbos, 111, 112. Bancroft, II. 104, 105.

the Indians to make peace. He scornfully refused, and when sentenced to death said: "I like it well; I shall die rather than lower myself."¹ Horrible indeed was a war in which such a prisoner was put to death in cold blood. It was extermination for one side or the other.

King Philip fled to the Mohawks, in the New York province, and sought to induce them to take up arms against the whites. Failing in his purpose, he returned to his lurking-places in New England, and by his malign influence roused his savage allies to ferocious raids. Hardly a town escaped. Rhode Island and Plymouth colonies were scourged with fire and tomahawk. Even the aged and loving Roger Williams was obliged to take up arms. Lancaster, Medford, Weymouth, Groton, Springfield, Sudbury and Marlborough, in Massachusetts, and Providence and Warwick, in Rhode Island, were assaulted and destroyed, in whole or in part, and other settlements suffered severely.²

Nor were the savages always unsuccessful in combat. Captain Lathrop, with eighty young men—"the flower of Essex county"—was guarding some teams loaded with grain from Deerfield to Hadley. Passing through a thick wood, they stopped to gather grapes. Suddenly hundreds of Indians were on them. Seventy young soldiers and twenty teamsters were slain. Hearing the guns, troops came from Deerfield to their assistance, and arrived in time to kill or wound one hundred and fifty of the savages and put the rest to flight, with the loss of only two whites. This battle-ground was afterwards known as "Bloody Brook."³

In the spring of 1676, Captains Wadsworth and Pierce, each with fifty men, and the latter with twenty friendly natives, were suddenly beset by hostile Indians, and none escaped with life. Men captured by the savages were almost always put to death with the torture of fire. In the quaint words of Cotton Mather, the red men "roasted their prisoners out of the world."⁴

But the end was coming. The tribes began to quarrel among themselves, and to fall away from Philip. In June the Nipmucks submitted. The tribes on the Connecticut refused to shelter Philip any longer. In proud scorn of danger, he returned to Mount Hope to die. One of his people urged submission. Philip struck him dead with his own hand. Captain Church marched with troops to the fastnesses about Mount Hope, and succeeded in capturing the wife and little son of the king. Then that

¹ McCabe's U. S. Bancroft, II. 105, 106.

² Goodrich, 113. Stephens, 131, 132.

³ Everett's Address at Bloody Brook, 37. Bancroft, II. 104. Goodrich, 111.

⁴ Quackenbos' U. S., 112, 113.

proud heart which had borne unmoved the reproaches of his enemies and of his own people gave way. He was heard to cry out in despair: "My heart breaks! I am ready to die!"

Captain Church quickly closed all avenues of escape and advanced on him. He was seen making a final effort to break the armed lines. A colonist soldier took aim at him, but his gun missed fire. An Indian fired, and the bullet pierced King Philip's heart, and he fell dead. Church's men uttered a shout of triumph. The body of this unconquerable Indian sachem was quartered and treated with unworthy indignities. His head was sent to Plymouth; one of his hands was given to the Indian who slew him.¹

The young son of Philip, nine years of age, the rightful king of the ancient tribe of the Wampanoags, and the grandson of Massasoit, who had been the early and faithful friend and protector of the Plymouth colonists, was transported to the island of Bermuda and sold as a slave.² Nothing in all the unhappy and inconsistent history of the Puritans and their descendants on the subject of slavery has left a deeper stain than this event.

With the death of Philip the war ended. A few fitful cruelties on the borders of Maine occurred; but the spirit of the New England savages was broken. They fell asunder. Of the Narragansetts scarcely a hundred men were left alive. The work of extermination was begun.

But though New England conquered, her loss was heavy. She contained at that time about one hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants, of whom probably twenty-five thousand were able to bear arms. She lost more than six hundred soldiers and uncounted numbers of non-combatants, chiefly women and children. The war had endured barely two years, and yet in that time six hundred dwelling-houses and twenty villages and dawning settlements had been destroyed. The disbursements and losses amounted in value to half a million of dollars.³ Moreover, a heavy debt had been contracted, which the mother country might, with perfect equity, have been expected to pay; but New England never asked this, and paid it all herself.⁴

Heavy as were these losses, they were more than compensated by the gains. The savages never by themselves rose again to disturb the peace of New England.

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 114.

² Goodrich, 113. Bancroft, II. 108, 109. Quackenbos' U. S., 113. Derry, 62.

³ Bancroft, II. 109. Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 113.

⁴ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 88. Stephens, 132, 133.

An incident following the Pequot war will further illustrate the stern depravity of the best tribes of the Indians. The Mohicans were lasting friends of the people of Connecticut, and it is said not a drop of the blood of any colonists was shed on her soil during all the horrors of King Philip's war.¹ But at the close of the strife between the Narragansetts and Mohicans, Miantonomoh, the chief who had provoked the war by attacking the Mohicans, was taken prisoner. Uncas, the Mohican sachem, claimed him as his rightful captive. His fate was referred to the "Commissioners of the United Colonies"—three English gentlemen—for decision. They decided to surrender the captive to Uncas, who carried him beyond the borders of Connecticut, struck him down with his tomahawk, carved pieces of the yet living flesh from his shoulder, and ate them greedily, declaring that the flesh of his enemy was the sweetest of morsels!² The conversion or destruction of such men before the advancing step of Christian civilization was inevitable; and conversion was rare.

We have purposely dwelt at some length on these wars—the Pequot war, the King Philip war, and similar wars in New York, Virginia and the Carolinas—because they vividly illustrate the unchanging character and disposition of the North American Indian, and give the key to the mystery of his fate.

These wars, with some few like struggles to be hereafter noted, were the only wars that could be truly designated as "Indian wars." The wars afterwards known as "King William's war," "Queen Anne's war" and "King George's war" did not begin with warlike uprisings of the savages. They began in Europe; and the Indians only participated because they were seduced into alliances with white belligerents. But their natures and ferocious usages continued unchanged; and, therefore, extermination went on.

¹ Bancroft, II. 109.

² Holmes' U. S., 50.

CHAPTER XXV.

BIGOTRY AND WITCHCRAFT.

FROM a passage of history exhibiting the depravity and malignity that may be attained by the unrenewed spirit of man, we now come to a passage almost equally sad and equally instructive, because it tends to show what the renewed, but imperfectly sanctified, man may do of superstition, cruelty and wickedness, under the influence of false science and false interpretation of Holy Scripture.

We have seen what horrors were enacted in the Old World during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by reason of the false religious belief of both the Roman and the Protestant churches that *witchcraft* was a crime of which a human being might be actually guilty, and that it consisted in holding supernatural communion with fallen and evil spirits, and exercising powers for evil by such spirits imparted to their chosen agents.¹

Upon the hypothesis that such a crime was possible, and might be committed during the ages subsequent to the times of miracles, and to those seasons in the world's history when extraordinary exertions of evil spiritual powers sought to oppose the work of redemption by the Son of God, we need not wonder that witchcraft was held to be a crime specially heinous, and that the death penalty should have been denounced against it by the civil governments of nations calling themselves Christian.

But these episodes in history are inexpressibly sad; and are only important and interesting as admonishing us how depraved man is, how imperfectly sanctified even in his best estate on earth, how prone to pride of opinion and bigotry, how dimly illumined by the reflection of his intellect upon the Word of God, how dependent on true science for true scriptural interpretation, and how certain to go astray when governed by any influence less potent than the law of love given by Christ himself.

The original constitutions of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies permitted them to establish a rigid union between church and state. No man could be a governor or law-maker,

¹ Art. Witchcraft, Schaff-Herzog Encyclop. of Rel., III. 2542.

or even a voter, who was not a communing member of the church.¹

The complete overthrow of these constitutions by Charles II. and James II., through the instrumentality of Sir Edmund Andros, for a time left these colonies under a rule, civil and religious, limited only by the will of a sovereign moved by the Roman faith. He sought to introduce the forms of diocesan episcopacy, to which the great body of the people were strongly averse.

When James II. fled from London and abdicated the throne, the people of Massachusetts regarded with deep interest the question, what kind of a charter William and Mary, the new sovereigns, would grant them. A considerable number, led and disciplined by the Puritan ministers, desired a return to the principles and practices of the old charter.² But this was by no means a universal, and could hardly be called a popular, sentiment, if the entire people were considered. King William himself was very doubtful whether a system which had produced so much of social and religious intolerance ought to be restored. He did not finally consent to the restoration of the church power as paramount over the state in civil affairs.³ The charter granted reserved to the Crown or the governor the appointment of officers. The boundaries of the colony were, indeed, greatly enlarged by being extended to the St. Lawrence river, but an exposed frontier was thus given, of which the guardianship and defence proved very expensive and harassing to Massachusetts.⁴

Meanwhile the spirit of modern speculation and scientific inquiry was making progress among her people. The question of malign spiritual influence working supernaturally in wizards and witches was considered, and many clear minds were beginning to reject the old ideas; but the ministers of religion generally and their more ignorant followers cherished the belief in witchcraft. The names of "Sadducees" and "infidels" were freely bestowed on the more liberal thinkers. This brought on ecclesiastical warfare, and hastened on the crisis of superstition and persecution, in which bigotry and partisanship had as much share as false religious notions.

Among the clergymen of the Massachusetts colony, none were more eminent in talent and one-sided learning than the three Mathers—Richard, Increase and Cotton—father, son and grandson, who lived in this world between the years 1596 and 1728. The rude epitaph which marked the grave of the first may be

¹ Holmes' U. S., 45. Bancroft, Thalheimer.

³ Quackenbos' U. S., 134.

² Bancroft, III. 71, 72, 80.

⁴ Bancroft, III. 81.

considered as fairly expressing the relative estimate of the common people concerning them :¹

"Under this stone lies Richard Mather,
Who had a son greater than his father,
And, eke, a grandson greater than either."

Of the three, Increase was the superior in every quality that makes the really great man—vigorous intellect, sound judgment, trained imagination, enlightened conscience, and will determined by the highest motives. He never looked with favor on the persecutions against alleged witchcraft, and did what he could to discourage their violence.² The writers of history who have attributed to him the composition of works adapted to promote these persecutions, and of active exertions against supposed witches, have done him signal injustice.³

But his son, Cotton Mather, must bear a large part of the odium attaching to these persecutions. He had a bright and versatile genius, and was considered a very effective preacher. He had also a great amount of learning of the sort that runs always in the channel of bigotry and religious traditionalism—the sort most definitely condemned by the omniscient Son of God. Cotton Mather was the type of the religious partisan of all ages—so absorbed in self-esteem and conceit that he was blind to all truth which conflicted with his own religious notions.

It was not to be reasonably expected that the divines and common people of Massachusetts should be able at once to rise above the religious beliefs and practices of Europe on the subject of witchcraft prior to the rulings and sound words of Chief-Justice Holt, which caused the first reaction in favor of truth, good sense and love.

There is evidence that the early settlers of New England believed the Indians to be worshipers of the devil, and that their *medicine-men* were wizards. As early as 1645, suspicions of witchcraft were indulged, and at Springfield, on the Connecticut river, several persons were charged with this crime, and, among others, two of the minister's children.⁴ In 1650 a poor forlorn creature named Mary Oliver, suspected of being a witch, and probably weary of a life embittered by such a fame, confessed that she was guilty, *but she was not put to death*.⁵ Already the revolting tendency of this delusion began to show itself, under

¹ Art. Mather, New Amer. Encyclop., XI. 285.

² Amer. Encyclop., XI. 285.

³ Ex. : Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. McCabe's U. S., 217, etc. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 140-142.

⁴ Gov. Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. McCabe's U. S. Stephens, 138, 139.

⁵ Hutchinson's Mass. Stephens, 139.

which death was visited, not on those who *confessed*, but on those who *denied* the guilt imputed to them.

Between 1650 and 1662, inclusive, four persons—Margaret Jones at Charlestown, two women at Dorchester, and Mrs. Hibbins, the widow of an assistant minister at Boston—were hanged for alleged witchcraft. Another young woman, named Anne Cole, of Hartford, Connecticut, confessed to criminal intimacy with a “demon,” and after a protracted examination by the authorities, civil and religious, she and two other women were condemned and executed.¹

But between that time and 1685 a lull in the witchcraft delusion occurred. Several persons were suspected; and appalling phenomena, such as throwing of bricks and stones by invisible hands, kindling of mysterious fires, and engendering of pining diseases, were attributed to the accused, who were in some cases young boys and girls. But, upon investigation, the evidence was deemed insufficient to convict them of witchcraft.

In 1688, the last year of the power of Andros, events took place which were the prolific sources of the coming “Salem delusion.” Cotton Mather had published, in 1685, his book entitled “Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Possessions,” relating cases which had occurred in various parts of New England, and giving renewed impetus to superstitions which, but for him, would probably have died away never again to be revived.²

The belief in witchcraft awoke refreshed. In 1688 a girl of thirteen years, the daughter of John Goodwin, in or near Boston, charged the laundress of the family with having stolen linen sheets and clothing. Mrs. Glover, the mother of the laundress, a friendless Irish emigrant, almost ignorant of English, but with a true mother’s heart, repelled the charge. Then, immediately seeking revenge, Goodwin’s daughter feigned that she was bewitched. The infection spread, of course. Three others of the family, the youngest a boy less than five years old, all said they were under witches’ influence, and posed accordingly. They feigned to be deaf, then dumb, then blind, then all three; they barked like dogs and purred like cats; yet they ate well and slept well. Cotton Mather undertook to pray near one of them, and, behold! the child lost her hearing till the prayer was over. Then all the four ministers of Boston and one of Charlestown assembled in Goodwin’s house and spent a day in prayer and fasting! The youngest child professed to be “delivered.” But if one was thus saved from possession by a witch, then there must have been a

¹ Hutchinson’s Mass. Stephens, 139.

² Art. Mather, New Amer. Encyclop., XI. 285.

witch. Goodwin accused the mother of his washwoman; and, though he had no evidence, yet when this poor bewildered woman was pressed with questions and threats she made strange, unintelligible answers, which were taken for confessions. She sometimes fell into her native Irish dialect. Hearsay testimony was admitted to the effect that, six years before, she had been seen to come down her own chimney. She could not repeat the Lord's prayer in English, but she could say the "Pater-noster" fluently. Upon such evidence these ministers of a loving Saviour had influence enough to obtain the condemnation of this poor woman as a witch, and she was publicly hanged.¹

Yet, the girl who had started this false and hideous prosecution gave no evidence of remorse. She continued to feign a bewitched condition. Cotton Mather took her to his house that he might study all the phenomena of witchcraft for the benefit of coming generations. She easily imposed on him, because he desired to "believe a lie."² The evil spirit would permit her to read in Quaker books or Popish books, or the Book of Common Prayer of the Anglican church; but a prayer by himself, or a passage read by him from the Bible, would throw her into convulsions. By reading Holy Scripture in various languages this minister satisfied himself that devils are skilled in languages, and understand Latin, Greek and Hebrew! But he fell "upon one inferior Indian language which the demons did not seem so well to understand."³

His overweening vanity was greatly pleased by the artful statement of the girl that demons could not enter *his* chamber, and that *his* person was shielded against all attacks of evil spirits.

But there were then in Boston liberal and enlightened minds, who refused to believe either in Cotton Mather or in the young female liar on whom he experimented. Therefore, he began to write, and to thunder from the pulpit against them. He wrote: "There are multitudes of Sadducees in our day. A devil, in the apprehension of these mighty acute philosophers, is no more than a quality or a distemper. We shall come to have no Christ but a light within, and no heaven but a frame of mind. Men count it wisdom to credit nothing but what they see and feel. They never saw any witches; therefore, there are none."⁴ The ministers of Boston and Charlestown united in deploring the progress of sound opinions on the subject. They said: "How much this fond opinion has gotten ground, is awfully observable." And

¹ Bancroft, III. 75, 76. McCabe's U. S. Stephens, 140.

³ Bancroft, III. 76.

² 2 Thess. ii. 11.

⁴ Bancroft, III. 77.

Cotton Mather, instead of proclaiming the love and mercy of Christ and the curative power of the gospel, shouted from the pulpit: "Witchcraft is the most nefandous high treason against the Majesty on high. It is a capital crime. A witch is not to be endured in heaven or on earth."¹

And soon another minister of great eminence in the mother country gave his name to help on this dismal superstition. Cotton Mather's book, to which allusion has been made, was endorsed by New England ministers as an answer to atheism, and a demonstration that "there is both a God and a devil, and witchcraft." The book crossed the Atlantic; Richard Baxter, of Kidderminster, read it, and caused it to be republished in England with his own recommendation that it was "strong enough to convince all but a very obdurate Sadducee."²

And immediately afterwards another minister took the field in a murderous attack upon supposed witches. Samuel Parris was minister in Danvers, now a part of Salem. He had long been involved in painful alienations with some of his people. In February, 1692, his daughter, nine years old, and his niece, less than twelve, began to exhibit strange irregularities of conduct. In the family was an Indian female servant named Tituba, whose husband stated to Parris that she had practiced some wild incantations, such as were known only among the Indians. Parris resorted to the scourge, and under the agony of the lash this poor creature confessed herself to be a witch. Immediately the ministers of the neighborhood assembled at the afflicted house for a day of fasting and prayer. Tituba, having confessed, was spared. Sarah Goode, a poor woman "of a melancholic temperament," was first accused. Parris questioned his daughter and niece, and took down all the names of persons to whom they attributed witchcraft. It was noted that those who had been most unfavorable to him were among the arrested. Martha Cory, who steadily denied the presence of witchcraft, was committed to prison. Rebecca Nurse, a woman of pure life, but an object of the special hatred of Parris, "resisted the company of accusers, and was committed."³

Parris made witchcraft the subject of his prayers in his church, and preached on the text: "Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?" Sarah Cloyce rose up and left the meeting. She, too, was promptly accused and sent to prison.

¹ Bancroft, III. 77. McCabe's U. S. Stephens, 140, 141.

² Bancroft, III. 78. Art. Baxter, Amer. Encyclop., II. 758, which erroneously attributes to Increase Mather the work "Memorable Providences," &c.

³ Bancroft, III. 86. Stephens, 143.

Examinations and commitments multiplied day by day. The deputy-governor and five other magistrates went to Salem to hold a court of inquiry. Parris made all the accusations, and, in fact, acted as public prosecutor when Sarah Cloyce was examined. John, the husband of Tituba, was introduced by Parris as a witness. Sarah Cloyce impeached him as "a grievous liar." But the niece of Parris testified that Sarah Cloyce had carried her to "the witches' sacrament." Struck with horror at this false charge, the accused sank down in a fainting fit. Her emotion was considered a proof of guilt. She, Rebecca Nurse and Elizabeth Procter were committed for trial. Edward Bishop, a farmer of strong common sense, cured an Indian servant of a fit of bewitchment by a mild flogging, and expressed the opinion that, by similar treatment, he could cure the whole company of the afflicted. For his unbelief, in which his wife shared, both were soon in prison. Mary Easty, of Topsfield, a woman of singular gentleness and force of character, deeply pious, yet unaffected by superstition, was torn from her children and sent to jail. Deliverance Hobbs owned everything charged against her, and was unharmed. "The gallows was to be set up, not for those who professed themselves witches, but for those who rebuked the delusion."¹

It is worthy of note that Simon Bradstreet, the governor, who was the choice of the people of Massachusetts, considered the evidence of witchcraft insufficient, and would not have permitted the delusion to assume fatal forms;² but Increase Mather had gone to England, and had influence enough to induce King William to appoint William Phipps governor, and to authorize Increase himself to appoint other officers. By him, through the persuasions of his son, Cotton Mather, one William Stoughton was appointed chief-justice of the colony.³ He had been a partisan of Andros, and was certainly not the choice of the people of Massachusetts. He was a fit instrument in the hands of Cotton Mather, Samuel Parris, and their brother ministers to prepare the scenes that followed.

He came down to Salem, and, with his associates, opened his court in June, 1692. He instructed the juries rigidly according to the rulings of Sir Matthew Hale, and the doctrines taught in Cotton Mather's book on witchcraft. Conviction followed conviction, and the death sentence was pronounced. In the case of Martha Carrier, her own children testified against her. Her two sons refused to perjure themselves until they had been bound with

¹ Bancroft, III. 87.² *Ibid.*, 87-89.³ *Ibid.*, 83, 89.

cords and pressed so that the blood began to ooze out. The confession of one daughter, seven years old, is still preserved. One old man, named Jacobs, was convicted partly on the testimony of his granddaughter Margaret. She repented, and with deep remorse wrote: "Through the magistrates' threatenings and my own vile heart, I have confessed things contrary to my conscience and knowledge." She stated the whole truth before the magistrates. They refused to believe her, committed her for trial, and sent her grandfather to the gallows!¹

Giles Cory, an old man of more than eighty years, and of indomitable will, when set to the bar refused to plead, and continued to refuse. English common law, nearly obsolete in the mother country, was set upon him.² The horrid sentence was pronounced, and he was pressed to death by weights laid on his body! This horror has never been repeated in America.

George Burroughs, a minister whom Samuel Parris hated as a rival in Salem, and who had opposed from the beginning him and his proceedings, steadily denied the reality of witchcraft. Of course, he was arrested and brought to the bar of Stoughton. On his trial the witnesses, supposed to be bewitched, pretended to be dumb. Stoughton asked: "Who hinders these witnesses from giving their testimony?" "I suppose, the devil," answered Burroughs. The chief-justice retorted: "How comes the devil so loth to have any testimony borne against you?" This retort was considered as an unanswerable suggestion of the prisoner's guilt. Besides, proofs were given of almost preternatural muscular strength in Burroughs. He was convicted, and Cotton Mather has left on record his opinion that this evidence was "enough."³

On the 19th of August, 1692, five persons were hanged. George Burroughs was among them. On the ladder he cleared himself by an earnest speech, and repeated the Lord's Prayer with so much accuracy and feeling that tears flowed down the faces of many present. But Cotton Mather appeared on horseback among the crowd and addressed the people, seeking to pick flaws in the ordination of Burroughs, and to deny that he was a minister, insisting on his guilt, and suggesting that the devil could sometimes assume the appearance of an angel of light. And so he talked and acted until his brother minister was hanged before his eyes! When we look at this Puritan clergyman we no longer wonder at such men as Sprenger and Torquemada.

¹ Bancroft, III. 92.

² Blackstone's Com., Edit. 1836, Book IV., p. 265, 266.

³ Bancroft, III. 87, 91.

On the 22d of September eight other persons were led out for execution. Of these, Samuel Wardwell had confessed, and was safe; but, being ashamed and penitent because of his false confession, he retracted and boldly spake the truth. Therefore, he was hanged, not for witchcraft, but for denying witchcraft.¹ When the eight bodies were swinging from the ropes, Noyes, the minister of Salem, pointed to them and said: "There hang eight firebrands of hell."

A reaction was inevitable. The people of Massachusetts had no sympathy with these proceedings. They were the work of the clergy, and of the few officers and people whom they were able to influence. A feeling of horror began generally to prevail over all surviving superstition. Cotton Mather fought against the reaction, and between September and October, 1692, produced his narrative, entitled "*The Wonders of the Invisible World*," to uphold the tottering firmness of his associates. For this book he received the approbation of the president of Harvard College, the praises of the governor, and the gratitude of Chief-Justice Stoughton.²

In October, 1692, the General Assembly of the colony was convened under King William's charter. The people of Andover, headed by their minister, appeared before the assembly, and presented a strong remonstrance against the "witchcraft" delusion and persecutions. They said truly: "We know not who can think himself safe, if the accusations of children and others under a diabolical influence shall be received against persons of good fame."³ The assembly did not directly deny witchcraft, but they abolished the special tribunal over which Stoughton had presided, and established a fair court by public law. Grand juries began to act independently. Indictments for witchcraft were ignored; prosecutions were dismissed; prisoners were released. One final trial, that of Sarah Daston, a woman of eighty, who had enjoyed for years the fame of being a witch, took place at Salem. The evidence was stronger than on any previous trial; but the jury, rising above the fogs of the former superstition, brought in a verdict of "not guilty," and Sarah Daston was discharged.

Overwhelmed with confusion and defeat, Cotton Mather sought to produce belief in supernatural events in his own parish in Boston. If his statements could be believed, miracles had re-

¹ McCabe's U. S. Stephens, 144, 145. Bancroft, III. 92, 93. Quackenbos' U. S., 133, 139. Holmes' U. S., 61.

² Mather's Cases of Conscience, Bancroft, III. 95.

³ Remonstrance in Bancroft, III. 95.

turned and his prayers had healed diseases. But just then appeared a cool, calm, searching pamphlet by Robert Calef, a merchant of Boston, who, though not highly cultured, had a mind of the keenest analytic power. He exposed and sharply censured the witchcraft proceedings and Cotton Mather's subsequent vagaries. In vain did the baffled minister denounce the author as "a malignant, calumnious and reproachful man," and "a coal from hell." Truth prevailed, and Cotton Mather's *prestige* was gone never to return. His diary proves that his mortification was intense, and that he sometimes "had temptations to atheism and to the abandonment of all religion as a delusion." The people of Salem drove away Parris; and Noyes regained favor only by humbly asking forgiveness and consecrating the remainder of his life to deeds of mercy.¹

The duty of history is to record sadly, but fully, this noted passage in the life of the Massachusetts colony. It has been asserted that "there were people tried in almost every colony for witchcraft,"² but no sufficient evidence bears up so wide a statement. One single case occurred in Pennsylvania, near the borders of Delaware, in which the Scandinavian emigrants had brought some of their native superstitions from their forests. A turbulent woman was tried as a witch. The Quakers on the jury outnumbered the Swedes. William Penn presided, and a fair, full canvass of all the grounds of accusation and of the evidence took place. The verdict was in these words: "The prisoner is guilty of the common fame of being a witch, but not guilty as she stands indicted." This was, in substance, an acquittal. The friends of the woman gave bond that she would keep the peace.³ Thus ended trials for witchcraft in the woodland of Penn.

About the year 1705, one Grace Sherwood was tried for witchcraft in the county of Princess Anne, in the Virginia colony; but the indictment was so broad that a conviction for defrauding by *pretending* witchcraft was possible under it, and the punishment inflicted was not death, but *ducking*.⁴ No other case is authenticated.

And when we compare the Massachusetts delusion and its results with the hundreds of thousands of capital punishments in Europe for alleged witchcraft, we are entitled to cause of rejoicing that before the black vapor of this superstition reached America it had lost most of its mephitic gases. Many were indeed suspected in the colony, and at one time not less than one hundred

¹ Bentley, in Bancroft, III. 97, 98.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 111.

³ Hazard's Register, I. 16, 108, 289. Bancroft, II. 391.

⁴ Record in Howe's Hist. Collections, 436-438.

and fifty were in prison awaiting trial. The estimate most reliable is that two hundred were accused, one hundred and fifty imprisoned, twenty-eight convicted, nineteen hanged and one pressed to death.¹ But small as these numbers were, compared with what had gone on in the Old World, yet the Massachusetts cases vividly presented the most revolting elements of superstition and persecution.

It is a curious fact that this passage in the history of the United States has been found so melancholy and distasteful that some chroniclers who have undertaken to deal with that history have omitted entirely all definite narrative of its facts and of the special influences which gave character to it.² But this cannot be done without a loss which history refuses to endure.

From the time of this movement within her, Massachusetts was never what she had been before it. A change came over her innermost spirit. The Puritan domination was gone, never to return. Religion presented itself in a new light. The unhallowed union between church and state was broken. It was felt to be unsafe to trust to traditional dogmas upheld by ministers who refused to correct old interpretations of Scripture by the facts demonstrated by true science. The light coming from the highest exercise of the human intellect or reason was more sedulously sought for, and every form of religious belief was held up in that light and examined, and rejected if it could not be comprehended. The result has been the wide adoption of Socinian views of Christianity, involving the rejection of the doctrines of the divinity of the Son of God, of the total native depravity of man, of the vicarious atonement of Christ, of the personality of the Holy Spirit, and of the actual existence of Satan, the great spirit of evil.

But while many of her brightest minds have been led astray, the great body of the people of Massachusetts have continued faithful to the central truths of Christianity, and have shown by their lives that Christ is the God incarnate, their Redeemer and Leader; and that while his faith is love, and can never contravene the law of love, it may teach truths which are above reason, though never contrary to reason, and which are to be humbly accepted and believed, because he has revealed them in his Word; for "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."³

¹ Goodrich's *Pict. U. S.*, 101.

² Ex. : Horace E. Seudder's *Hist. of U. S.*

³ Revelation xix. 10.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GERMS OF REVOLUTION.

WE are now brought face to face with an episode in the life of one of the colonies which is instructive because of its prophetic character. It is generally called "Bacon's Rebellion," but not with strict propriety. That it involved an uprising against the ruling powers and a resistance to them, carried on with force of arms, and attended by their temporary overthrow, is true; and it is also true that it was promptly ended, and was followed by the execution of many persons as rebels. It was premature and rash, and finally quenched in blood. But it was something higher than rebellion: it was inchoate revolution.

The wide disparity and contrariety of views taken of this episode by writers of history is worthy of our notice. Some have held it to be of so small importance that they have premitted it entirely, and not mentioned the name of Nathaniel Bacon in works called histories of the United States;¹ others have treated the movement as simply a conflict between the aristocratic and democratic elements in Virginia society;² others have degraded it into a mere insurrection, incited by an ambitious young leader, and attended by much of outrage on the part of him and his followers;³ others have recognized in it a struggle against wrong and oppression, but have failed to see in it the germ from which afterwards sprang nearly every important principle on which the North American colonies founded their successful war of independence.

In the great Declaration adopted by them in 1776, just one hundred years after the movements under Bacon, we find embedded not less than *five* principles as among the most weighty and potent that justified the overthrow of the English rule, all five of which were in active movement to produce the uprising of the Virginia people in 1676.

These five principles were:

1. The right to civil and religious liberty: "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;"

¹ Ex.: Taylor's Centen. History of U. S.

² Ex.: Swinton's Cond. U. S.

³ Ex.: Beverley, Keith, Campbell, Marshall, Chalmers, even Goodrich.

2. The right to throw off a government which had "cut off their trade from all parts of the world ;"

3. Which had "imposed taxes on them without their consent ;"

4. Which had "taken away their charters, abolished their most valuable laws, and altered fundamentally the powers of their government ;"

5. Which had "excited domestic insurrections among them, and had endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of their frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions."¹

History deals with facts, not with conjectures. Notwithstanding the loyalty of the people of Virginia to the Stuart dynasty and the kingly government in England, it is certain that during the rule of the commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell, this colony had enjoyed a season of peace, freedom and prosperity, with which nothing in their past experience could be compared.²

Their assemblies had been regularly elected by the people ; had made salutary laws ; had chosen every important officer of the government, and when necessary had displaced him. Their trade had been undisturbed by oppressive restrictions and had greatly increased ; their population had so rapidly grown that in 1660 it was estimated at thirty thousand souls.³

But the historical statements that the great body of the Virginia people rejoiced at the restoration of Charles II. are true. During the period of about twenty years between the definite beginnings of open resistance to Charles I. and the restoration in 1660, a large number of royalists took refuge in the Virginia colony. They became permanent residents, and exercised a considerable influence on the opinions and customs of the colonists.

If ever a king ought to have been grateful to a part of his subjects who had shown steady love to him and zeal for his cause, Charles II. ought to have so felt towards Virginia. But he was incapable of any real gratitude or generosity. Light, superficial, selfish, and thoroughly immoral and unprincipled, he had none of the qualities of a monarch willing and able to promote the real happiness of his people.

As to self-government and true freedom of body and soul, neither Charles nor Sir William Berkeley, his subservient governor in the colony, had any desire to promote them.

The laws passed by the colonial assemblies inspired by Berkeley, both before his retirement in 1649 and after his re-assumption of

¹ American Dec. of Independence, adopted July 4, 1776.

² Compare Gordon's *Amer.*, I. 53. Marshall's *Colon.*, I. 69.

³ *Ibid.*

his office in 1660 by invitation of the assembly, were destructive of all religious freedom.

Strict conformity to the creed and rubric of the Church of England was required; titles were inexorably imposed; ministers' persons were invested with an outward recognition of sanctity looking much like superstition; members of the Roman church were forbidden to hold any office, and their priests were to be banished from the country; the oath of supremacy to the king as head of the church, was in all cases to be tendered; dissenting preachers were strictly forbidden to exercise their office, and the governor and council were empowered to compel "non-conformists to depart the colony with all convenience."¹

No wisdom or moderation was learned from the sombre and bloody teachings of the English revolution. In 1660 the followers of George Fox and William Penn began to appear in small numbers in the Virginia colony, and the assembly, with Governor Berkeley in active co-operation, passed a stern law against these "Friends" or "Quakers."²

The preamble describes these earnest believers in Christ and his faith as "an unreasonable and turbulent sort of people," who taught and published "lies, miracles, false visions, prophecies and doctrines, to the great disturbance of religion and order." The statute then forbids, under heavy penalty, any master or commander of a vessel to bring any of this hated sect into the colony; requires that all Quakers, upon detection, should be imprisoned without bail until they took an oath to leave the country and gave security that they would never return; and enacts that any Quaker returning should be punished as a despiser of the laws, and forced again to depart, and in case he came a third time he was to be treated as a *felon*.³

Thus this law of the Virginia colony, by not using the words "a felon without benefit of clergy," stopped one step short of the Massachusetts statute, and did not denounce the death penalty against the Quaker who stubbornly persisted in returning.

But it was bad enough—worse than death in paralyzing and quenching all freedom of the soul. It further enacted, that all persons were forbidden to give countenance to the Quakers, all officers were to note and execute the laws against them, and that the circulation of their books and pamphlets should be unlawful under severe penalties.

These laws were not dead letters. Many oppressions were enacted under them. In 1663 John Porter, a burgess-elect from

¹ Hening's Statutez, I. 240, 241, 243, 268, 269, 277. Burk's Hist. of Va., II. 66, 67.

² Hening, I. 533, Art. VI.

³ Hening, I. 533, VI.

lower Norfolk county, was charged with being "loving to the Quakers, and attending their meetings." He frankly confessed that he admired them, and revered the mildness of their doctrines and the purity of their lives. The assembly tendered him the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. He declined to take them; whereupon he was formally expelled from the assembly.¹

In view of such laws and such results in a colony then holding thirty thousand people, many of whom had no sympathy whatever with the teachings and forms of the Anglican church, we can perceive that one just cause of revolution was in most energetic life in Virginia. The people were getting serious and earnest, and were no longer composed of only two classes—viz., aristocratic cavaliers, who worshiped everything pertaining to English royalty, and democratic common people, who cared little for religion, either in substance or form.

Being a devout lover of privileged order, Sir William Berkeley did not desire that the principles of liberty, civil or religious, should make progress among the colonists. We have, therefore, in fully authenticated form, his declaration of his own private and official thanksgiving in 1671, in answer to an inquiry addressed to him by the English council. His words were as follows:

"I thank God there are no free schools nor printing in Virginia, and I hope we shall not have, 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."²

Ignorance in the people is the condition required by absolutism and tyranny in government. Berkeley was cultured and highly educated himself; yet he prayed against free schools and newspapers and printing in Virginia!

The assembly was a very different body from that elected during the commonwealth. It came to be composed in controlling numbers of royalists and aristocrats, whose sympathies and policy were those of the governor and the king. Of the assembly of 1654 only two members were re-elected at the restoration. Of the assembly of March, 1660, which was the last in which the influence of the commonwealth continued, only eight were re-elected, and of these only five retained their places. New men, unfavorable to freedom, soon brought despotic measures.³

The most important of these was the usurpation by the assembly of power to prolong its own existence from two years to an

¹ Burk's Va., II. 132. Henning, II. 193. Rev. Dr. Hawks' Eccles. Hist. of Va., 71.

² Inquiries to Gov. of Va., Henning, II. 517. Bancroft, II. 192. Campbell's Va., 257, 258.

³ Henning, I. 386, 526; II. 107, 250. Bancroft, II. 196, 197.

indefinite term. The old law, salutary as it was, did not suit the royalists. It was silently, but utterly, abrogated and repealed.¹ The same assembly continued to sit at its pleasure from 1662 for nearly fourteen years. The meetings of the people were no longer for election of burgesses, but for the almost hopeless purpose of presenting "grievances" to the adjourned assembly.

Another form of outrage on popular rights soon followed. The burgesses fixed their own wages at two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco (about nine dollars) *per diem*. Each county was required to raise the sum needed to pay its own members, who, instead of *representing* them, contravened all their wishes and interests. The members of the council were exempted from all levies. Berkeley's salary and perquisites were gradually increased until he received a sum larger than the whole annual expenditure of Connecticut.² Yet he was not satisfied, and was constantly asking for more. All these enormous expenses were paid by a permanent imposition of taxes on exported tobacco, the chief article of colonial produce.

Very soon after Charles II. ascended the throne the Parliament of England, with his assent, passed a "navigation law" more oppressive to the American colonies than any yet enacted. No commodities were to be imported into or exported from any English settlements in Asia, Africa or America, except in vessels built in England, or in her colonies, and navigated by crews of which the master and three-fourths of the mariners should be English subjects; and this was under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. No persons other than natural-born subjects, or such as had been naturalized, were permitted to be merchants or factors in any British colonies upon pain of forfeiture of their goods and merchandise; no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods for dyeing, were to be exported from the colonies to any country except England.³

By subsequent laws these *enumerated articles* (as they were styled) were gradually extended until the list embraced every product of colonial industry. In 1663 another law was enacted forbidding that any European article should be imported into the colonies unless shipped *in England*, and in vessels built and manned as above stated. And finally, in 1672, the cap-stone was laid on this column of injustice and oppression by a law which took away the free trade among themselves theretofore enjoyed by the colonies, and imposed on those *enumerated articles*, when

¹ Hening, II. 43. Bancroft, II. 205. Quackenbos' U. S., 115.

² Bancroft, II. 203.

³ 12 Car., II., Cap. XVIII. Robertson's Amer., I. 422. Grahame, I. 107.

carried from colony to colony, the same tax as was imposed when carried to England.¹

A more complete system of commercial oppression could not have been devised. A tax "without their consent" met the colonists at every outlet. Whether they imported or exported, bought or sold, traded with the harsh mother country or traded among themselves, they were taxed. Naturally, it might have been expected that taxes on tobacco would fall finally on the consumer; but this was not so. Consumers would not pay a price high enough to bear all these burdens. The result was that prices were so low that when all the duties in the port of shipment and the port of sale, and all freights, brokerages and other expenses were paid, the poor Virginia planter could hardly realize from his crop enough to clothe his family.² And these "navigation laws" did tend powerfully to "cut off the trade of the colonies from all parts of the world," except the selfish mother country.

Sir William Berkeley, in one of his many visits to the court of England, was specially commissioned by the Virginia assembly to seek more benign legislation. But he did nothing; nor is there any evidence that he made any earnest attempt to influence the Stuart government in favor of the colonies. He basked for a time in the sunshine of royalty, and obtained some special privileges for himself, and then returned to Jamestown.³

These multiplied oppressions produced deep and widely-spread discontent. As early as 1663 a plan for uprising, which has since been styled "the Oliverian Plot," was concocted among settlers, most of whom had served under Cromwell, and from him had imbibed a cordial hatred of kings, a strong aversion to the Anglican church, and a love of freedom. This plan was secretly and skillfully organized, and would have been formidable had it not been revealed by one of the conspirators—a soldier named Berkenhead—the evening before the day fixed for the intended blow.

The governor acted promptly. He issued his orders September 13th. An ample force of militia assembled at the place of rendezvous before the time appointed by the insurgents, and arrested and disarmed them as fast as they came in. Most of the conspirators took the alarm, scattered and escaped; but four of the worst were arrested, tried, condemned, and speedily hanged.⁴

¹ 15 Car., II., VII. 25 Car., II., VII. Robertson, I. 422.

² Grahame's Colon. Hist., I. 107. Burk's Va., II. 133.

³ Hening, II. 7, 17. Bancroft, II. 198.

⁴ Beverley, 58. Keith, 151. Oldmixon, I. 379.

In 1669 Charles II. completed his acts of perfidy and ingratitude to Virginia. He perfected the lesson taught by inspiration two thousand five hundred years before he lived: "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help."¹

By letters patent, regularly executed and issued, he gave away the whole of Virginia—her land and water, her fields and forests, her mountains, swamps, harbors and creeks—for the full period of thirty-one years, unto two of his favorites—Thomas, Lord Culpepper, and Henry, Earl of Arlington, and to their executors, administrators and assigns.²

The first-named of these was a man of good sense, but exceedingly subtle and covetous. The other is best known as one of the notorious band who formed the "Cabal," and gave a new word to the English language. He was smooth, polite, well-bred, but loved low pleasure, and studiously forgot his huge debts as thoroughly as did his royal master.

This grant was one of the grossest acts of violation of chartered rights perpetrated by English rulers against the colonies. Upon the faith of previous charters forty thousand people in Virginia now held lands, most of them reclaimed from the wilderness of forest and swamp and river by their industry. Now all this was deliberately conveyed away from them; and what burdens in the shape of yearly and quit-rents, services, manor duties, tithes upon advowsons, market customs, and similar exactions they might be called upon to endure, was a question frightfully pregnant and ominous of evil.

Finally came renewed danger from the Indians—those "merciless savages" spoken of in the Declaration of Independence adopted a century afterwards. That this danger should be actually increased and intensified by the conduct of the governor and his associates, was a cause of opposition to his government so potent and just that it immediately led to the actual movement.

Sir William Berkeley had received from the royal powers in England some licenses and privileges of trade with the Indians which would be very profitable to him personally so long as peace was maintained with the natives, but which would be cut off and rendered valueless in case of war.³ This gave him a motive adverse to the real safety of the outlying settlements.

It is certain that he had promised to send a force against Indians on the upper streams of the York and James rivers who

¹ Psalm cxlvi.

² See the Patent in Hening, II. 569-578.

³ T. M.'s account of Bacon's Rebellion, in Force's Hist. Tracts, I. 11. Bancroft, II. 216. Derry, 59. Amer. Encyclop., II. 472. Eggleston's Household U. S., 153, 154.

had shown active hostility ; but he had wholly failed to comply with his promise. An armed force, under Sir Henry Chichely, ready to march against the savages, was suddenly disbanded without cause assigned. It is true that Berkeley's rebuke of the conduct of a company under Captain John Washington (great-grandfather of George Washington), who had marched against the Susquehannoes, and had put to death *several ambassadors* sent to them by that warlike tribe, was a just rebuke according to the laws of nations.¹ But his whole course of conduct as to the savages made the people suspect that lower and more selfish motives than respect for public tranquillity or for international law impelled him.

In 1674 Berkeley had sent Captain Henry Batte, with a brave band of fourteen Englishmen and as many Indians, to penetrate and explore the region now covered by Southwestern Virginia. Setting out from Appomattox, in seven days they reached the foot of the mountains, and soon came to other ridges and summits which towered in majesty above them. These ranges were often so rugged that, in penetrating through their gaps, the explorers could only advance three miles a day ; yet, from time to time, they came upon level plains and green savannas refreshing to behold. Flocks of turkeys and herds of deer, elk and buffalo were often seen, and these were so tame that they suffered the party to come very near to them, and seemed to regard them with curiosity rather than alarm. Wild fruits, including grapes of enormous size, were found in abundance. After some progress down a stream their Indian guides refused to go any further, declaring that a little in front lived powerful tribes of savages, who *made salt*, and were so terrible and warlike that strangers who came upon them were never known to return.²

Sir William Berkeley received Batte's report on his return with much interest, stimulated, probably, by his hopes of profit from trade with the tribes of this region ; but stirring events now came upon him.

¹ Burwell's account, Mass. Hist. Collec., XI. 27. Cotton, 3. Bancroft, II. 215, 216.

² The original account is in Beverley's Hist. of Va., 62, 63.

CHAPTER XXVII.

NATHANIEL BACON.

THE Indian tribes in Tidewater Virginia had been so thoroughly subdued or exterminated that they gave little trouble. But as early as 1656, during the republican ascendancy, several fierce tribes, known as the Rechaecrians, at least seven hundred strong in warriors, poured down from the mountains and threatened to establish themselves in strongholds near the falls of James river. These savages were eminent in valor, subtlety, and hatred of the whites. The assembly promptly determined to dislodge them. Col. Edward Hill was sent against them with a force of one hundred whites and several hundred friendly Indians from the remnants of the tribes on the York and Pamunkey rivers, led by Totopotomoi, a brave chief of the Pamunkey tribe.

A desperate combat ensued, as to which it has been asserted that "the Virginians suffered a bitter defeat in a battle with the Indians at the place where Richmond now stands. The brook at this place got the name of Bloody Run."¹

This statement is overdrawn and inaccurate. It is true that the original evidences concerning this battle are obscure; but we have enough to show that mismanagement, and probably want of courage, on the part of Colonel Hill, lost the day. He was afterwards cashiered and fined for misconduct, though the fine was not enforced.² The friendly Indians suffered heavily, and among the slain was the heroic chief Totopotomoi, who had been a constant friend to the whites. The battle-field was considerably west of "Bloody Run," which got its name from a subsequent combat.³

The Rechaecrians were encouraged by this partial success, and continued to infest the neighborhood of the James river falls, drawing to their support such scattered savages as they could influence. From time to time, up to the year 1674, they continued acts of hostility. Frightful murders were committed. Prisoners were captured and put to death with revolting tortures.⁴

¹ Eggleston's *Household U. S.*, 81.

² Hening, I. 423, 424. Burk, II. 106, 107.

³ Burk, II. 176. Howe's *Hist. Collec.*, 75, 304. Charles Dickens' *Amer. Notes*, 56.

⁴ "Indian Proceedings," p. 7—a valuable tract presented by Hon. Wm. Burwell to Mass. Hist. Soc'y. P. Force's *Pub.*, Vol. I.

These outrages became intolerable; and yet Berkeley took no measures for stopping them. The people of Virginia, long oppressed by unjust taxation, religious tyranny, and the menace of the king's grant to Culpepper and Arlington, were now subjected to merciless raids by savages on their frontiers, and were not only unprotected by the governing power, but actually found that power in league with the Indians for purposes of selfish gain. It seemed time for the people to move. They needed only a leader. They found one in Nathaniel Bacon.

He was probably a native of the county of Suffolk, in England, and was born in 1646, of excellent parentage. He was educated at Cambridge, and afterwards was a student of law in the Inns of the Temple, in London.¹ He had a wealthy uncle in Virginia, whose name he bore, and who, being childless, intended to make him owner of his estate.

He came to the colony in 1673. Young, handsome and accomplished, he attracted immediate attention, and was soon a prominent member of the provincial council. He quickly discovered the grievances under which the people suffered, and espoused their cause with his whole heart. He was an orator by nature and training, and in the public assemblages used his gifts of language so effectually that the common people saw the kingly and colonial government in its true light, and idolized their young leader.

The Indian outrages, and the indifference and neglect of the ruling powers in reference to them, fired his soul with special indignation. On his own lands, in the county of Henrico, near to the suburbs of the city of Richmond, long known by the title of "Bacon Quarter Branch," his overseer and a favorite servant had been treacherously murdered by the savages.²

The men of the country, without call of the apathetic rulers, spontaneously assembled in numbers. Each man felt that his home might be the next scene of assault and murder. All eyes turned to Nathaniel Bacon. He met them and delivered an address, in which he passed before their eyes in powerful review the oppressions under which they suffered.³

They observed all proper forms of law. They elected Bacon their commander, and applied to Sir William Berkeley to commission him as such. The governor hesitated and delayed, in the very face of hourly danger from Indian tomahawks. Bacon did

¹ Art. Bacon, *American Encyclopædia*, II. 472. *Allen's American Biog.* Campbell, 215. *Burk*, II. 159.

² Bacon's Rebellion, in *Force*, 10. *Bancroft*, II. 218.

³ *Beverley*, 68. *Oldmixon*, I. 384. *P. Force*, 4, 5, 10, 11.

not hesitate, and no generous soul can blame him. He marched by rapid movements upon the savages at the heads of the lower rivers, fell upon them, and routed them everywhere, with heavy loss to them in killed and prisoners.¹

But behind him was the real foe of the people. Berkeley, professing to be greatly incensed, on the 29th of May issued a proclamation declaring Bacon and his followers to be rebels, and, raising an armed force, set out to pursue them towards the falls. But while in march, Berkeley received intelligence of an alarming spirit of insurrection in Jamestown itself, and immediately hurried back. Everywhere the people were roused against the government.

The governor and council became alarmed, and issued orders directing that certain forts, which had become specially obnoxious because used in enforcing the hated navigation laws, should be dismantled, and that writs should be issued for a new election of burgesses to the General Assembly.²

The people breathed more freely. No attention was paid to the illiberal law restricting suffrage to free-holders. All freemen voted. Many of the burgesses returned were only freemen. Bacon was elected from Henrico. The usurpations of years seemed to be overthrown.

The action of this assembly was salutary and important. Its laws are generally known in history by the title of "Bacon's Laws." Church monopolies were destroyed; vestrymen were limited to three years of tenure, and were made responsible to the free voters of each parish; just levies of county taxes were required; the exorbitant salaries and perquisites of governor, council and assemblymen were greatly curtailed; the sale of spirituous liquors in the country was forbidden; two unworthy magistrates were disgraced and disfranchised; general indemnity as to supposed past offences was enacted; the restrictions on the right of suffrage imposed by the "Long Assembly" of Berkeley were removed; all freemen were to vote; a return to elections once in two years was secured. Only one of their laws is subject to criticism. It evidently emerged from the just indignation felt concerning the Indian outrages. It provided that Indian captives taken in war should be made slaves during life. It did not remain long in force; and when we bear in mind that war authorizes death to the foe in battle, that exchanges of prisoners were almost unrecognized by savage customs, and that death by horri-

¹ Burk, II, 160. "Our Late Troubles," Force, p. 4.

² *Breviare et Conclusum*, Append., in Burk, II, 250; text, I, 165.

ble tortures was generally the mode in which Indians disposed of white prisoners, we cannot say that the law of the Virginia assembly was unjustifiable.¹

So wise and healthful were the laws of this free assembly that, though they were afterwards repealed by special instructions from King Charles II., yet subsequent legislatures found it necessary to revive them, and nearly all were re-enacted *under different titles*.²

But though Berkeley and his coadjutors were compelled to yield for a time to popular demands, he cherished a vindictive purpose against Nathaniel Bacon. As this young leader of the people was coming down the river to Jamestown in a small sloop, without thought of hostility, he was brought under the guns of an armed English ship, arrested by the high sheriff, and carried a prisoner into the city. Fortunately for him, the free assembly was about to convene. Everywhere Bacon was esteemed and loved. Conferences and negotiations were held. An agreement was reached, under which it was provided that Bacon should be released and restored to his place in the council, and that a commission should issue to him from the governor, appointing him commander of the forces against the Indians. This last-named proviso was a *condition precedent*, without which Bacon would not have given his parole or accepted release.

Such being the agreement on the part of Berkeley and his party, the uncle of Bacon presented to him a written paper, which he solemnly adopted on the 5th of June, 1676, in the presence of the council. By it he acknowledged himself to have been guilty of many imprudences and "unwarrantable practices"; begged pardon of the governor for his offences; promised allegiance and true faith to the government in future, and expressed his willingness to pledge his whole estate for his subsequent good conduct.³ Soon afterwards the free assembly convened, of which Bacon was a member.

But troubles came hastening on. The Indian outrages continued, and grew worse and worse. Berkeley, with signal bad faith, positively refused the promised commission to Nathaniel Bacon. This was the crisis, and the efficient cause of all the subsequent disorder and war. Those chroniclers who have represented Bacon as having broken his parole and violated good faith have either been blinded by partiality to Berkeley and the

¹ Hening, II. 346. Gregory v. Baugh, IV. Randolph, 624-633.

² Hening, II. 341-365. Preface to II., 5, and p. 391 in note.

³ Bacon's Proceedings, Force 11, 12. "Our Late Troubles," by Mrs. Ann Cotton, Force 4, 5. *Breviare et Conclusum*, Burk, Append., II. 251. Beverley, 70. Keith, 159.

English rule, or have misunderstood the facts of those portentous days.

Justly indignant at the governor's breach of faith, and warned by his uncle that stringent measures against his personal freedom might be employed, Bacon secretly left Jamestown. In great alarm, the governor issued warrants for his arrest; but they were vain. Four hundred armed men were soon under the command of Bacon. He led them to Jamestown, and, drawing them up in military order on the green in front of the state-house, demanded from the governor and council a fulfillment of their pledge.

Berkeley, with all his faults, was not a coward. He had the spirit of the cavalier. Advancing towards the insurgents, he bared his breast to their presented muskets, and cried aloud: "Here! shoot me—a fair mark—shoot!" Bacon answered with perfect composure and dignity: "No, may it please your honor, we will not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's. We have come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised; and now we will have it before we go."¹

The council and assembly united in urging Berkeley to grant the commission. He issued it accordingly. Bacon instantly led his armed force away to prosecute vigorously the Indian war. But when relieved from immediate pressure, Berkeley and his council, with the pretence that the commission had been forced from them, declared Bacon a rebel, and prepared for hostilities against him.

Berkeley went to Gloucester, a county fertile in soil, abundant in wealth, and having a large population, many of whom were royalists in principle. Here he raised the king's standard, and called on the planters and their tenants to rally and make war on Bacon. Great was his disappointment to find that his call excited no enthusiasm. The leading men of Gloucester sent him a temperate and manly reply, saying that they regarded Bacon as their brother and the friend of their homes; that he was leading an army against the savages, who threatened murder to their wives and children; that they could not consent to bear arms against one thus endangering his life for their safety; but that, should he engage in any treasonable designs, the governor might depend upon their aid.²

Intelligence of these measures against him were borne to Bacon in his camp by Drummond and Lawrence, two steady pa-

¹ T. M.'s account, Force, 15. Bancroft, II. 221. Robertson's Amer., 424. Grahame, I. 120. Beverley, 71. Keith, 150.

² Bacon's Proceedings, Force, 13, 14. Our Late Troubles, *Ibid.*, 5.

triot, and afterwards martyrs to their love of freedom. Roused to righteous anger, he turned his forces and marched rapidly upon the faithless governor and his council. Berkeley, being unable to raise a force adequate to meet him, was compelled to retreat, and with a few adherents crossed Chesapeake Bay, and took refuge in the eastern county of Accomac.¹

Bacon had advanced to "the Middle Plantation," afterwards known as Williamsburg, when he heard of the flight of his enemy. He summoned the gentlemen of the country to a free conference. The difficulties were serious. The assembly had dissolved. There was no organized government. But brave men find a way. The flight of the governor and his council was considered an *abdication*—in curious prophecy of the events which dethroned King James II. Moreover, Berkeley had been appointed for ten years, and his term had expired. Bacon and four members of the council who sympathized with him issued writs for a new assembly. The utmost joy and enthusiasm prevailed. Sarah Drummond, wife of the patriot, said: "The child that is unborn will have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the country."²

A written manifesto, dated 3d of August, 1676, and signed by all the colonists present, set forth the condition of the country, the outrages of the Indians, and the conduct of Sir William Berkeley, and pledged all to join with Bacon against the savages and his white foes, and to oppose any troops that Berkeley might obtain from England to subdue them, "until his majesty should be informed of the true state of the case" by delegates sent by Bacon in behalf the people.³

Having re-established the powers of government and secured his rear, Bacon marched with his forces against the Indians. He destroyed the towns of the hostile tribes of the Pamunkey, Mattaponi and Chickahominy, and then advanced directly on the main body of the savages, who occupied fortifications defended and palisaded in the strongest manner known to the red man. These works were near the present site of Richmond, on both sides of the stream afterwards known as "Bloody Run." Bacon saw the difficulty and danger, but hesitated not a moment to assault the works. The palisades were torn down; the crest of the ridge was gained; the Indian warriors were met hand to hand, and in the fierce encounter it is said that streams of blood ran down the hill, and, mingling with the waters of the rivulet, gave

¹Burk, II. 171. Robertson, 424. Force, 19.

²Bonds, etc., Gen. Ct., Richmond, Va. Bancroft, II. 224.

³Manifesto in Beverley, 73, 74. Burk, II. 173, 175.

to it the dismal name which it has never lost. The savages were fatally routed; many were slain; more were made prisoners. The blow was decisive; the Indian power was broken, and in Eastern Virginia we hear of them no more.¹

But events had occurred which indicated that Bacon's struggle for Virginia's freedom was not ended. Sir William Berkeley had been coldly received by the people of Accomac. Unexpected success had restored his hopes for a time. Giles Bland and Capt. Carver, two zealous adherents of Bacon, had formed a plan for a descent upon Accomac and the capture of Berkeley and his councilmen. Two armed vessels were in their service. But treachery revealed their plan. One Capt. Larrimore had commanded one of the vessels. He hastened to Berkeley and informed him of the plan, and offered to head an expedition to defeat it. Bland and Carver were incautious, and their crews fell into a drunken debauch. Twenty-six men, heavily armed, embarked in two boats, and in the stillness of night came upon the vessels, boarded them, and made prisoners of the crews, who were incapable of resistance. Bland and Carver were carried on shore and put in irons. Berkeley's spirits rose. Revenge had sway. Four days after the capture Carver was executed on a gibbet. Bland was detained in custody, but his death was near at hand.²

Collecting in haste all his naval and military force, Berkeley sailed to Jamestown with one large armed ship, seventeen sloops, and six hundred men. He landed on the 7th of September. He first offered solemn thanks to God, and then issued new proclamations against the "rebels," whom he supposed to be utterly overthrown. But his triumph soon ended.

Bacon promptly advanced on Jamestown with all his forces. While *en route* he caused to be brought into his camp the wives of several leading royalists who had been left in their country homes; but they were treated with courtesy and honor. The statements of some writers to the contrary are without foundation.³ One of the ladies was permitted to pass into Jamestown, and, as expected, she informed the royalists of the presence of the others in Bacon's camp.⁴ Having sounded a note of defiance from his trumpets and fired a volley, Bacon availed himself of a moonlight night in autumn to cut a trench and throw up a breast-work of felled trees, earth and brushwood. For fear of injuring the women, not a shot was fired from either the ships or the town.

¹ T. M., in Force, II. Burk, II. 176. Campbell, 78, 79.

² Bacon's Proceedings, 20. T. M.'s account, 22, 23. Burk, Append., 221.

³ Ex. : Marshall's Amer. Colon., 162. Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 115.

⁴ Holmes' U. S., note 56.

Early the next morning Sir William Berkeley led out a force of nearly eight hundred men, and attacked Bacon in his intrenchments. The result was prompt and decisive. The royalists were broken and routed on every point; many were left dead on the field; their drum was captured by the victors. The leaders escaped captivity only by instant flight.

Bacon followed up his success with skill and vigor. Planting heavy cannon upon a commanding ridge, he turned them against Berkeley's fleet. The first shot was enough to prove that the ships would be sunk if they remained at their anchorage. With deep disappointment the governor withdrew his shattered troops and all his vessels, and sailed down the river.

Bacon and his followers took possession of Jamestown. They found neither foes nor friends. It was deserted. They committed no pillage. But what was to be done with the town? To remain in it with insufficient forces would be to invite a siege and capture from royalist reinforcements already hastening from England at the call of the governor. To leave it to be again occupied by Berkeley would be dangerous. A determination, stern indeed, yet wise and necessary, was reached. Jamestown was destroyed by fire. Bacon approved, and his faithful officers, Drummond and Lawrence, with their own hands set fire to their own houses. The ancient and only city of Virginia was wrapped in flames.¹

Slowly retiring, Bacon learned that a force of nearly one thousand men, under Col. Brent, was advancing against him through the upper counties. He summoned his small army around his person, and asked if they were ready to meet the new foe. Shouts and cries, the rattling of drums, and the clash of steel, attested their enthusiasm. But Brent's men were already deeply infected with the spirit of freedom, and, having learned with joy of Bacon's successes, they refused to march against him, and returned to their homes. Brent was a royalist, but he could not resist the tide which was fast sweeping away in Virginia every trace of kingly rule.

The young leader had done his work. A new assembly had been summoned; the power of free elections by freemen had been vindicated. The army was disbanded, but ready to reassemble at a moment's warning to fight again for liberty. But Virginia was not yet ready for independence. Her sister colonies were not yet prepared to unite with her. A century of experience was yet to pass, and its very opening brought to men's eyes the most revolting scenes of tyranny and revenge.

¹ T. M.'s account, in *Force*, 21. Bancroft, II. 228. Burk, II. 190.

Bacon had received into his system the germs of fatal disease in the trenches of Jamestown. As the season advanced he grew worse and worse, worn down by continued fever; and on the first day of October, at the residence of Mr. Pate, in the county of Gloucester, he died.¹

His life had been the inspiration of the premature insurgent movement for freedom; his death was its destruction. No competent leader now directed the patriots. As their fortunes declined, the hopes of Berkeley and his followers revived. Major Robert Beverley, an active member of the council, with an efficient force, sailed up the rivers and scoured the country.² Among his first captives was Thomas Hansford, a heroic young Virginian, who had been in the front ranks of the insurgents. With cruel haste he was hurried from the place of trial to the gibbet. He did not give way. He asked only that he might be shot as a soldier. The answer returned was that he died not as a soldier, but as a rebel. He met an ignominious death like a brave man.³

As fast as captives of note were brought in they were passed through hurried trials and executed. Capt. Wilford had received a wound in one of his eyes, which deprived him of its sight. When captured, and when allusion was made to his wound, he said, with bitterness, that the loss of his eye was of small importance, as he doubted not the governor would find him a guide to the gallows. His words were soon fulfilled. When Capt. Chieseman was brought in, his wife accompanied him, and, kneeling before Governor Berkeley, declared that she had urged her husband to rebellion, and implored that if one must die it might be herself. In the presence of her husband, Berkeley applied to her a dishonoring epithet, and ordered her husband's execution by the gibbet. But malice was disappointed in this case. Before the time appointed for his execution, Chieseman died in prison.⁴

When William Drummond was captured, Berkeley's malignant joy passed the bounds of decency. Coming from his ship to the shore, he saluted the defenceless captive with a low bend of the body, and addressed him with mock politeness: "Mr. Drummond, you are very welcome. I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour!" A court-martial sat on the case at the house of John Bray. The brave patriot was condemned, and as soon as a gibbet could be prepared he was executed. Berkeley's hatred

¹ Richmond Enquirer 1st, 5th, 8th and 12th September, 1804. T. M.'s account, in Force, I. 29.

² Ingram's Proceedings, Force, 31-33. Bancroft, II. 230.

³ Bancroft, II. 230. ⁴ Ingram's Proceedings, Force, 33, 34.

burned beyond the grave. He pursued the wife of Drummond with fines and confiscations, and would willingly have brought her also to a traitor's death. But even Charles, the reigning king, was moved in her favor. His protection was extended, and she was restored to the possessions which the governor's persecutions had taken from her.¹

How far Berkeley would have gone in his work of death if he had not been contravened, we cannot tell. Daily additions were made to his prisoners. But news of the rebellion (so called) having been carried to the king, he had issued a commission appointing Herbert Jeffries lieutenant-governor, and uniting him with Sir John Berry and Francis Morrison as commissioners to inquire and act as to the state of the colony. A regiment of regular troops accompanied them. They arrived January 29th, 1677.

Although armed with full powers, the commissioners had received instructions to use all proper means for restoring peace; and a royal proclamation offered pardon to all who would submit, except Bacon, who was now beyond their reach.²

But Berkeley continued to thirst for blood. Already eleven victims had been hurriedly tried by martial law and executed. The commissioners strenuously objected to the continuance of martial law, and the vindictive governor was obliged to yield. But he had already provided for this contingency, so as to continue his bloody work. A court of oyer and terminer, without appeal, was set up, and in this the juries were all free-holders and bigoted royalists. Convictions went on, followed speedily by executions on the gallows. Some historians have, either ignorantly or designedly, sought to minimize the cruelty of Berkeley and his adherents by stating that "no man suffered capitally,"³ and that "no person was put to death by martial law except during the subsistence of the rebellion."⁴ But, in fact, a number of trials and capital executions under martial law occurred in January, 1677, four months after the death of Bacon.⁵ And the pretended trials by jury were wrought out under influences worse than martial law itself.

When Giles Bland was convicted, March 8th, 1677, he pleaded a special pardon from the king, which the commissioners had brought over, but which Berkeley had taken into his own possession and unlawfully suppressed, with the fixed resolve that this

¹T. M., in Force, 23. Bancroft, II. 231. Hening, II. 546. Proclamation of Charles, *Burk. Append.*, II. 264, October, 1677.

²True and Faithful Account by John Berry and Francis Morrison, *Burk. Append.*, II, 254.

³Dr. Robertson's America, I. 425.

⁴Grahame's Colon. Hist., I. 126.

⁵The records are in Hening, II. 545-547.

man should die.¹ And so Bland, with the calmness of conscious innocence, met his fate. His name descended to a patriot family.

Lawrence had caused Bacon's body to be interred in a secret spot, and the coffin was pressed down by massive stones. Berkeley's vindictive search for it was vain. Lawrence also escaped the gibbet, having been drowned in a swollen branch which he attempted to cross while fleeing from his pursuers.

It was now time to stop the governor's judicial murders. His own warmest friends were horrified by his virulence. When a burgess from Northampton county returned home he declared to a colleague that "he believed the governor would have hanged half the country if they had let him alone." Even King Charles II., with all his levity and hypocrisy, was shocked when he heard of the executions. We have authentic evidence that the king was heard to say that "that old fool had hanged more men in that naked country than he had done for the murder of his father."²

The General Assembly intervened, and implored the governor to shed no more blood, for none could tell where or when it would terminate. More than twenty victims had already been executed.

Berkeley was compelled to heed the assembly's action; for they had proved themselves a ready instrument against the rebels, having passed acts of attainder against the dead and confiscations upon the living; having pronounced Bacon a traitor, and repealed his laws; and having even gone so far in subserviency as to enact that any one speaking mutinously or contemptuously concerning the governor should either receive thirty stripes upon his person or pay eight hundred pounds of tobacco.³ Reluctantly this English cavalier and colonial governor desisted from his pursuit of vengeance.

He sailed from the colony in April. The public emotions were of joy, and found vent in discharges of cannon and displays of fireworks.

A deep humiliation awaited him in England. We have two accounts, apparently conflicting, as to his treatment by his monarch. One is that Charles refused to receive him at court, and that when the old cavalier heard of the remark the king had made concerning his course in Virginia his heart was so deeply mortified and depressed that he never recovered. A chronicler, very favorable in spirit to royalty, has given his testimony that Berkeley "died of a broken heart."⁴ But others purporting to

¹ T. M.'s account, in Force, 24.

² *Ibid.* Bancroft, II. 232, in substance.

³ Hening, II. 385. Bancroft, II. 232.

⁴ George Chalmers' Revolt of Amer. Colonies, I. 164.

write history have told us that King Charles approved of Berkeley's course in the colony, and that during the last sickness of the former governor the king sent often to make kind inquiries as to his health!¹ Both of these seemingly inconsistent statements may have an element of truth ; for Charles II. was a consummate hypocrite, and could not afford to alienate finally a courtier as faithful to him as Sir William Berkeley.

Thus ended the movement called, by misnomer, "Bacon's Rebellion." Upon the departure of Berkeley, Sir Herbert Jeffries became governor, and all parties sought to heal the wounds and calm the troubled spirits of the unhappy colony. But the immediate effects were depressing. The only city of Virginia had been burned to the ground. Availing himself of the insurrection as a pretext, King Charles refused to grant a favorable charter, which *was said* to have been prepared, and gave a miserable substitute, which imparted no privileges, guaranteed no liberties, removed no burdens, redressed no wrongs.

Jamestown had contained only eighteen dwellings, with the state-house, the time-honored church, and a few storehouses. The seat of government was transferred to Williamsburg in 1700.

The people continued to live on their plantations, generally near some beautiful river or bold stream, which turned their mills and brought to them the produce of foreign climes. The houses were generally of wood, and few had second stories. The more wealthy planters often had as many as seventy horses and three hundred sheep. The laws were simple. Education was not generally diffused ; schools and colleges could hardly be said to exist as means of general culture, although William and Mary College received a royal charter in 1691. The affluent sent their sons to England for education ; the medium classes and the poor gave to their children such knowledge of books as they had themselves, or as "the old field schoolmaster" could impart, and this was generally sufficient for the proper discharge of the duties of life.

From the time of the movement under Bacon we note a change in the cavalier spirit. Many still continued to love and reverence the mother country ; but the eyes of all were opened to the evils and oppressions of her rule. The result was that, in the next century, men like the Washingtons, the Marshalls, the Lees, the Pendletons, the Wythes, the Randolphs, the Jeffersons and the Henrys, with all their loyalty and admiration of the English institutions, were ready to learn that they did not suit America,

¹ Beverley, 77. Keith, 162.

and that independence was what the colonies really needed and ought to demand.

The revolution of 1688, which drove the Stuart dynasty from the throne and placed William and Mary there, was the beginning of a signally prosperous period to Virginia. The grant to Culpepper and Arlington was deprived of all power to do harm. Even Culpepper himself learned while he was governor to be moderate in his demands. The governors Lord Howard of Effingham, Nicholson, Andros, Nott, Spotswood, Drysdale, Carter, Gooch, Dinwiddie, even Dunmore to some extent, governed for the good of the colony, and for the gradual development of the great material resources of Virginia in mines, field and forest.

The Indians in the eastern part of the colony had received the death-blow of their power at the hands of Bacon and his army; but west of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains they continued to be a source of alarm and horror to the families which were constantly pressing in for settlement of that fertile and lovely region. Military movements against them were frequent.

Finally, in 1774, during the governorship of Dunmore, a military force of about two thousand riflemen from the counties of Berkeley, Hampshire, Frederick, Shenandoah, Augusta and Botetourt, commanded by a brave and experienced officer, Gen. Andrew Lewis, met a formidable Indian army near Point Pleasant, on the tributary waters of the Ohio river. The battle was joined October 10th, and was one of the bloodiest and most sternly contested of all the Indian conflicts.

The savages were commanded by Cornstalk, a gigantic warrior of tried courage and skill. He was often seen gliding from tree to tree, manœuvring his men and encouraging them by his stentorian cry: "Be strong! be strong!" which rose above the din of the conflict.¹

The battle was fought in border warfare style, behind trees, and with stratagems and devices for gaining every advantage. Early in the strife, Col. Charles Lewis, a brother of the general, was mortally wounded, and with difficulty saved from falling into savage hands. Colonel Fleming, while animating his men, was three times shot, yet continued in the fight. Colonel Field was mortally wounded. The battle lasted from the early morning until sunset, with hardly an intermission. At last the skill and valor of the whites prevailed even over Indian subtlety. Holding out their hats from behind the trees, the riflemen would tempt the savages to fire. The hat would drop, and when the warrior rushed for-

¹ Doddridge, 154. Withers' *Border Warfare*, 129. Kercheval, 152.

ward to scalp his fancied prey a rifle bullet would bring him down. The Indians began to give way. The whites pressed them with ceaseless vigor, and finally drove them from the battle-field with heavy loss. The victory was complete; but it was dearly bought. Two field officers were killed, a third desperately wounded. More than half the captains and subaltern officers and one hundred and forty privates were slain or wounded.¹ The savages, however, had received a crushing blow. They sullenly retired into more western fastnesses.

In 1776, when independence was declared, Virginia contained about five hundred and seventy-five thousand people, of whom about two hundred and twenty thousand were slaves.²

¹ Kercheval, 153. Burk, III. 394. Doddridge, 154.

² Comp. Swinton, 36, with U. S. Census of 1790.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

NEW FRANCE IN AMERICA.

THE modern nations of Europe, even if they neglected the precepts of Christianity in their treatment of their colonies, might have learned from pagan antiquity a more equitable colonial system than that practiced by themselves.

The colonies sent out from Asia Minor, Egypt, Carthage, Greece and Rome, and which gradually occupied the fairest cities and lands bordering on the Bosphorus, the *Ægean*, the Mediterranean and the North seas, were encouraged and protected by their mothers, and were not subjected to the ceaseless oppression of navigation laws, colonial imposts, internal taxes and religious tyranny. When the colony was assailed by "barbarians" the mother helped her; and when the mother was involved in war she did what she could to avert its horrors from her infant colonies.¹

But after the discovery and settlement of the West Indies and of the great American continent, Spain, France and England, while often at war with each other, all agreed in one colonial system; and that was in laying injurious restrictions upon the industry, trade, commerce and manufactures of their colonies, in forcing on them all the slavery of their own social and religious forms, and in treating them as mere sources of supply and development for the selfish wants of the mother country.²

One of the most grievous burdens borne by the American colonies of all these European nations was the part they were inevitably forced to take in the wars of the mother country—wars which, in most cases, originated from causes set in motion in the Old World, and in which the colonies had no interest and no control.

We are now to review briefly some of these wars. No calm and accurate student will fail to see that the contest of arms generally called "King William's war," which was waged from 1689 to 1697; that called "Queen Anne's war," from 1707 to 1713;

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, III. 3, 4; IV. 35. Whittaker's *Hist. of Manchester*, I. 1, c. 3. Aul. Gel. *Noctes Atticæ*, XVI. 13. Spanheim, in *Usu. Numismat.*, XIII. Gibbons' *Dec. and Fall*, I. 43, Milman's edit.

² Read Bancroft, III. 109-119.

and that called "King George's war," from 1744 to 1748, all originated from causes essentially European, and not in anywise starting from America. And yet the colonies were involved in the bloody sweep of these wars, and suffered from them in losses of property, lives and progress, and in forms of cruelty and torture of which the mother country had no experience.

We have noted that France had not been sluggish in the work of discovery in North America; that as early as 1503 her fishing smacks had visited the banks of Newfoundland; that in 1506 the French navigator Denys had explored and made a chart of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the adjoining coast; that Verrazani, in the service of France, had in 1524 explored the coast of North America from the neighborhood of what is now Wilmington, in North Carolina, to Nova Scotia, and had bestowed the name of "New France" upon all this region; that De Monts, accompanied by Samuel De Champlain, had made a permanent settlement at Port Royal in 1605 (two years before the settlement of Jamestown); and that in 1608 Champlain had established a trading-post on the St. Lawrence river, which he called Quebec, and from which sprang the great city of that name.¹

In 1627, during the reign of King James I., the folly of the Duke of Buckingham, acting upon the pride and jealousy of the French minister of state, Richelieu, had involved England and France in a war unworthy of two great nations.

England had no success except in America. Port Royal, a small trading station, fell into her hands. Encouraged by this, Sir David Kirke and his two brothers, Louis and Thomas, ascended the St. Lawrence in 1628 and summoned Quebec to surrender; the garrison was weak, but Champlain replied defiantly, and the assailants withdrew. Yet Richelieu sent no supplies, and the garrison was reduced to the verge of starvation. In 1629 Kirke appeared again with his squadron, and the defenders of Quebec welcomed him as a deliverer and promptly surrendered. Thus England became the conqueror of the great rocky plateau "Stadacona" and of the infant Quebec, when the town consisted of a few wretched hovels tenanted by about one hundred half-starved men.² Not a port in North America remained in the hands of the French. This was one hundred and thirty years before Quebec made the name of General Wolfe immortal.

In May, 1629, peace was made between France and England. Quebec, Cape Breton and the undefined Acadia—in short, all that was properly claimed as New France—came back to the old mon-

¹ Chapter V.

² *Memoires*, Hazard, I. 285, 287. Bancroft, I. 334.

archy. Canada and the adjoining regions were again open to French colonization.

But France, though active and vigorous as a discoverer and explorer, was indifferent and indolent as a colonizer. Her people were genial and excitable, enjoying intensely the healthful air,¹ clear and rapid rivers, and game-crowded forests of America, but very little disposed to settle down to the drudgery of felling the trees and cultivating the lands, or even of building up and inhabiting the towns. Another cause which made French colonization slow and inefficient in this region was found in the relentless and deadly hostility of the savages known as the "Five Nations," consisting of the tribes of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, and known by the general name of Iroquois. Champlain had three times made war upon them, and had been defeated and driven back with wounds and shame to himself and death to many of his followers.¹

These formidable warriors never forgot nor forgave these provocations. They looked on the French as their enemies. Occasionally some semblance of a treaty of peace was attempted; but soon the semblance passed away, and the old hatred broke out afresh. The pleasant and versatile Frenchmen were signally successful in making other Indians their friends, but never permanently conciliated the Iroquois.

The English colonists were more fortunate. It is true the Oneida, the Onondaga and Cayuga warriors had left some bloody traces of their raids as far as the mouth of the Susquehanna, the eastern counties of Maryland, and the highlands of Virginia. This induced the Governor of Virginia, Lord Howard, of Effingham, and Governor Dongan, of New York, to invite a meeting of the ambassadors of all five of the tribes at Albany in July, 1684.² Here the two governors met them, and here Cadianne, the Mohawk orator, made speeches replete with savage eloquence and sagacity. The result was a treaty of peace with all the tribes, by which the English colonies were not only saved from their attacks, but were able to rely on them as allies in wars with the French and the savages uniting with them.

De la Barre, the Governor of Canada, was greatly chagrined by this treaty. He determined to strike a heavy blow at the Iroquois, and for this purpose, in 1684, led a force of six hundred French soldiers, four hundred Indian allies, four hundred carriers, and three hundred extra troops for a garrison, against the Indian fortification near the outlet of the present Rideau canal. But the

¹ Bancroft, II. 417.

² Colden, in Bancroft, II. 419. Stephens' Comp. U. S., pp. 110, 111.

poisonous August exhalations from the swamps of Ontario utterly disabled his army. He was obliged to ask terms of peace from the warriors he had expected to exterminate. He was listened to with haughty disdain by Garangula, of the Senecas, who well knew his impotence, and replied to his threats with savage satire. De la Barre accepted humiliating terms, and leaving his red allies at the mercy of their enemies, hastily returned to Canada.¹

All these influences were unfavorable to the advance of French colonization. But for the presence of a powerful religious element, it is doubtful whether France would ever have become strong enough in North America to justify a serious struggle with force of arms.

Champlain was himself devout according to the faith of the Roman church, and to him has been attributed the high sentiment that "the salvation of a soul is worth more than the conquest of an empire."² He admired the simplicity and voluntary poverty of the Franciscan monks, and brought over Le Caron, Viel and Sagard, priests of this order, who labored assiduously among the natives. Le Caron, on foot or paddling a bark canoe, had passed to the north into the hunting grounds of the Wyandots, and gone among the Mohawks in what is now New York, and penetrated westward, receiving food and shelter from the red men, until he had reached the rivers that run into Lake Huron.³

But these earnest brothers were soon outstripped in zeal and self-sacrificing labors by men from another society of the Roman church. Ignatius Loyola had completed the organization of "the Society of Jesus" just about the time when John Calvin's "Institutes" were published to the world. Whatever errors in the tract of ages may have become crystallized in the creed and forms of the Roman church, she has retained the foundation rock of truth in the Nicene Creed. And she has retained millions of zealous adherents. To encourage and strengthen these is the cherished object of the Jesuits, whose vows are poverty, chastity, absolute obedience, and a constant readiness to go on missions against heresy and heathenism. "Immediately on the institution of their society their missionaries, kindling with a heroism that defied every danger and endured every toil, made their way to the ends of the earth; they raised the emblem of man's salvation on the Moluccas, in Japan, in India, in Thibet, in Cochin China, and in China; they penetrated Ethiopia and reached the Abyssinians; they planted missions among the Caffres; in California; on the

¹ La Hontan, in Bancroft, II. 421. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 111, 112.

² Le Jeune, Brieve Relation, 1632. Bancroft, III. 119.

³ Sagard's Hist. du Canada. Bancroft, III. 118 (1616).

banks of the Marañhon ; in the plains of Paraguay ; they invited the wildest of barbarians to the civilization of Christianity.”¹

A succession of these Jesuit fathers came from France to North America. Brébeuf, Daniel, Lallemant, and others of like spirit penetrated the wilderness, making their patient and toilsome way to the tribe of the Hurons on the great lake of that name. No difficulties stopped them, no dangers deterred them. Their souls were filled with one purpose—the salvation of the souls of the Indians. These brave, untiring labors made a profound impression on the red man ; nor have we a right to doubt that many genuine renewals and conversions took place.

But the greater number of the savages remained unchanged. Wars were incessant between the tribes ; and the Jesuit missionaries encountered, with unflinching courage, all their horrors. In September, 1641, Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues, two heroic Jesuits, set out in a bark canoe from the land of the Hurons and penetrated deeply into territory now within the bounds of the United States. Raymbault, wasted by consumption, returned in the summer of the next year, and died at Quebec in October. Jogues, with a converted Huron chief, the faithful Ahasistari, fell into the hands of the Mohawks, who were at war with the Hurons.

They were led in triumph from village to village between the St. Lawrence and the Mohawk rivers. Everywhere they endured the running of the gauntlet and other horrible inflictions of savage cruelty. Their courage did not fail ; and at one village, an ear of Indian corn having been thrown to him, Jogues joyfully used a few drops of water, which he found clinging to it, to baptize two captive savages who had professed Christianity.²

Three Huron chiefs were condemned to the flames, among them the brave Ahasistari, who met his fate with composed resignation. Jogues expected the same fate, but his life was spared. He was kept in captivity, but permitted sometimes to walk in the forests of lofty trees near the present site of Albany. Here he cut with his knife on several of the trees the figure of a cross and the name of Jesus. Sometimes he lifted up his voice in a solitary chant. His presence became known to some Dutch traders who came occasionally to traffic with the Indians, and they humanely ransomed him from captivity, and enabled him to return to France. A similar series of persecutions and sufferings awaited Father Bressani, another Jesuit missionary, who was in like manner rescued by the Dutch traders.³

¹ Baneroff's U. S., III, 120, 121.

² Creuxius, 346. Baneroff, III, 133.

³ Jogues, Letter from Albany. Creuxius, 395. Baneroff, III, 134.

For many years these and other equally fearless missionaries carried forward the explorings and temporary colonizings of France in America. The Franciscan Viel had his frail bark dashed to pieces in shooting a rapid on his way from the Hurons, and was drowned. Father Anné de Noué, in the depth of winter, left Quebec for the mouth of the Sorel, to minister spiritually to the small garrison there. He lost his way and perished in the snows of Canada. Peculiar dangers beset the priests. They sedulously sought opportunities to baptize the infant Indian children. Often the savage fathers believed this to be a mystical enchantment practiced on the child, and slew the ministrant Jesuit soon after the act.¹

In the winter of 1645-'46 a half-concocted treaty of peace existed, and Algonquins, Wyandots and Iroquois joined each other in the chase. The wilderness seemed tranquil, but danger lurked within. In May, 1646, the undaunted Father Jogues, commissioned as envoy, ventured among the Mohawks and Onondagas, and carried back a favorable report. He knew their dialects; and the French authorities, being very anxious to establish a permanent alliance with the Five Nations, offered to send him to them with ample powers. He accepted the offer, but, with prophetic farewell, he said: "*Ibo, sed non redibo*"—"I will go, but I shall not return." Hardly had he reached the strongholds of the Mohawks before he was seized as a prisoner. The savages, having had a blighted harvest, believed that, as an enchanter, he had wrought the harm. A death festival was going on, and as he entered the cabin of the ceremonial, he received his death-blow. His head was hung on the palisades, and his body was thrown into the Mohawk river.²

This was the signal for war between the Iroquois and Hurons. On the morning of July 4, 1648, the village of St. Joseph was attacked by the Mohawks when all the Huron braves were absent on the chase, and none but women, children and old men left. Father Anthony Daniel heard the cries, and hastened to the spot only in time to behold the butchery of his converts. He baptized many in the moment of death. Mid the flaming wigwams the furious Mohawks rushed to the chapel. Daniel serenely met them, and for a few seconds awe and astonishment kept them from violence. But, quickly, Indian brutality resumed its sway. A shower of arrows pierced him, and amid war-whoops and threatened tortures, and while offering prayers and mercy for his enemies, he died.³

¹Bancroft, III, 137.

²Jesuit Relation, 1647, in Bancroft, III, 137, 138.

³Relation, 1648, 8-17. Bancroft, III, 138, 139.

Within less than a year, in the dead of the Canadian winter, a thousand Iroquois fell upon the village of St. Ignatius. Hardly one of its four hundred inhabitants escaped. The Huron town of St. Louis was attacked, and its group of Indian cabins became a slaughter-house. Two indomitable missionaries, Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lallemant, were captured. They exulted in martyrdom. Lallemant was delicate in body. He was stripped, and wrapped from head to foot with bark filled with resin. Brébeuf was set on a scaffold, and amid the encouraging words of his Huron converts, and the frantic cries of their enemies, he was cut and gashed and mutilated with knives, in mouth and lip and nose, and a hot iron was thrust into his throat. When he and his fellow martyr were brought together, Lallemant said in the words of Scripture: "We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels and to men." The pine bark was set on fire, and boiling water was poured on the heads of the martyrs. Brébeuf was scalped while yet alive, and died after a torture of three hours. The weaker victim died after seventeen hours of indescribable sufferings. If the Inquisition, sanctioned by the Roman church in her persecuting days, had brought permanent disgrace upon her name, the tortures inflicted on her Jesuit missionaries, and borne with Christ-like resignation, may furnish evidence that her errors were the result of centuries of evil tradition, and not the result of the Christianity she professed.

A thoughtful historian has noted the sequel: "It may be asked if these massacres quenched enthusiasm. I answer, that the Jesuits never receded one foot; but, as in a brave army new troops press forward to fill the places of the fallen, there were never wanting heroism and enterprise in behalf of the cross and French dominion."¹

Gradually the wilderness was penetrated, and the regions lying west and south of the great lakes were explored. In August, 1654, two young fur-traders, smitten with the love of adventure, joined a band of the Ottawas, and in their little boats of bark ventured on a voyage of fifteen hundred miles. In two years they returned, accompanied by fifty canoes, paddled by five hundred strong arms. The people of St. Louis, in Canada, welcomed them with a salute of cannon, and heard with enthusiasm of vast plains, lakes and rivers, and of the powerful Sioux Indians who dwelt far west and south of Lake Superior.²

The narratives and appeals of the Jesuit explorers, and of other private adventurers, at length roused the government of France

¹ Bancroft, III. 141.

² Jesuit Relation, 1656, c. xiv. Bancroft, III. 145, 146.

to action. In February, 1663, Colbert, the able minister of Louis XIV., began measures for the armed occupation and extension of New France. In 1665 a royal regiment was sent over. Tracy, old but energetic, was appointed viceroy; Courcelles, a veteran soldier, governor; and Talon, a man of business and integrity, intendant of the colony. Wider discoveries soon followed, in which three missionaries—Claude Alloüez, Claude Dablon and Jacques Marquette—were specially active. The discovery of the great Mississippi river by De Soto, in 1541, was known; but more than a hundred years passed before this “father of waters” was descended in almost his whole navigable length. Talon, the intendant, when about to return from Canada to France, signalized his useful power by encouraging this great enterprise.¹

Marquette associated with himself and a few skilled boatmen Joliet, of Quebec, who was the special envoy of the government. The Potawatomes, over whom Marquette had gained influence, heard with wonder of his proposed voyage and sought to dissuade him. They said: “Those distant nations never spare the strangers; their wars fill their borders with bands of warriors; the great river abounds in monsters which devour both men and canoes; the excessive heats bring death.” But Marquette was not to be dissuaded. He said: “I will gladly lay down my life to save souls.” And his Indian converts joined him in prayer for success.

On the 10th of June, 1673, Marquette, Joliet his associate, with five Frenchmen and two Algonquin guides, lifted their two canoes and bore them across the narrow portage that divides the Fox river from the Wisconsin. For seven days they made their way down the Wisconsin between broad prairies and gentle hill-side slopes, hearing no sounds but occasionally their own voices or the ripple of the canoes or the lowing of buffaloes. On the seventh day they entered the great Mississippi, and the two canoes, “raising their happy sails under new skies and to unknown breezes, floated down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream over the broad, clear sand-bars, the resort of innumerable water-fowl; gliding past islets that swelled from the bosom of the stream with their tufts of massive thickets, and between the wide plains of Illinois and Iowa, all garlanded with majestic forests or checkered by island groves and the open vastness of the prairie.”²

In July they passed “the most beautiful confluence of rivers in the world—where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror

¹ Marquette, in Thevenot and Hennepin. Bancroft, III. 156.

² Bancroft's U. S., III. 157.

into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea." Within less than two hundred miles they passed the mouth of the Ohio, then and long afterwards called the Wabash. On its banks were the peaceful Shawnee Indians, who had already felt the bloody hands of the Iroquois.

As they passed down, the canes on the banks appeared, growing so thickly that the buffalo could not break through them; the insects became almost intolerable; the prairies faded out of view; forests of whitewood, huge in girth and majestic in height, came to the water's edge. And here they found the Chickasaw Indians with fire-arms, furnishing proof that they had traded with white men.

Only once were they threatened with savage hostility; but when the mysterious peace-pipe was held aloft the natives ceased their war-whoops, and, throwing their bows and quivers into the canoes, received the voyagers with primitive hospitality.

They went down the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Arkansas, to a climate so mild that winter has rains instead of frosts and snows. Having satisfied themselves that the great river went not to the ocean east of Florida, nor yet to the Gulf of California, on the Pacific coast, they set out on their return voyage.¹

Near the thirty-eighth north parallel they entered the river Illinois, and discovered a country with fertile prairies covered with stags and buffaloes, and with lovely rivulets abounding in wild duck, swans and wild turkeys. The Indians there entreated Marquette to reside among them; but he hastened on. Joliet returned to Quebec, and his report quickened the zeal of Colbert for New France. Marquette labored quietly in preaching salvation to the Miamis, near the present site of Chicago. Two years afterwards, in 1675, he entered a little river in Michigan, and, erecting an altar, solemnized the rites of his church. He asked to be left alone for half an hour, and when his comrades returned his soul had left the body. He died on the banks of a stream which still bears his name.²

His example of patient toil and exploration was not lost. Robert Cavalier De la Salle, a Frenchman of good family, had renounced a competent inheritance and joined the society of Jesuits, though he did not assume priestly duties. He came to Canada, and was for some time a fur-trader. Encouraged by Talon and Courcelles, he explored Lake Ontario and ascended to Lake Erie, spending on his way days in the neighborhood of the mighty

¹ Marquette Map. Compare Charlevoix, III. 312, 397.

² Charlevoix, III. 313, 314.

cataract of Niagara. Returning to France, and aided by Count Frontenac, he obtained the rank of a noble, and a grant which covered a large domain and secured almost exclusive traffic with the Five Nations.¹

Encouraged and aided by the high powers in France, he entered upon a plan for the navigation of the Mississippi to its mouth, and for securing to his king all the adjoining territory. In company with the Franciscan father, Louis Hennepin, in the winter of 1679, he penetrated what is now the State of Illinois by its rivers. In 1680, Hennepin, accompanied by Du Gay and Michael D'Acault as oarsmen, followed the Illinois river to the Mississippi, and then ascended the great river to its falls, where he engraved the cross and the arms of France on a tree near the largest cataract. They returned by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers to the French mission at Green Bay.²

After some delays, La Salle, in a capacious barge, with a few companions and guides, made his way down the Mississippi to its mouth. His voyage was early in 1682, and before the end of that year its result was known in France; and Louis XIV., now in the proudest period of his long reign, gladly encouraged his ministers in measures for securing for his monarchy and glory a western empire of vast extent and riches which seemed open to his grasp.

But the brave La Salle did not reap the fruits of his own enterprise. Intent on colonizing the new country to which the name of Louisiana had been given, he came, early in 1684, with four ships and two hundred and eighty persons, one hundred of whom were soldiers, to take possession. He was delayed by disasters, and kept for precious months at St. Domingo and in other places. On the 10th day of January, 1685, they were near the mouth of the Mississippi; but even La Salle thought not so, and they sailed by. Perceiving his error soon, he urged return, but his naval commander, Beaujeu, refused; and so they came to the Bay of Matagorda, in what is now Texas. The store-ship was wrecked by the carelessness of the pilot. Misfortunes followed in pitiless succession. A settlement was made, and the arms of France were carved on the stately forest trees of Texas. Thus was a title acquired which was never relinquished or publicly conveyed, except in the cession of Louisiana to the United States.³

La Salle was a giant in force of will. He resolved to make his way on foot to his friends in Canada, and return to the help

¹ Bancroft, III. 162.

² Hennepin's *New Discoveries*, 173, 184.

³ Joutel, 92. Bancroft, III. 163-171.

of the almost extinct colony. He set out in January, 1687, with sixteen men. In March they had reached a branch of Trinity river, beyond the basin of the Colorado. Here a conspiracy among the men, headed by Duhaut and L'Archevêque, came to a crisis. They first murdered young Moranget, the nephew of La Salle, and then shot down the heroic leader himself, leaving his remains, without burial, to be devoured by wild beasts.¹

But France did not relinquish her claim to the great region in North America penetrated by her missionaries and explorers, though never permanently settled by her colonists. Along the lines of discovery her officers and agents had caused to be deposited in many safe places brass plates engraved with the name and arms of France, and claiming the country in that name.²

Thus, when James II. was driven from the throne of England, and William of Orange and Mary his wife were recognized as king and queen, North America was claimed, in all its important parts, by the three great monarchies, England, France and Spain. England held the Atlantic seacoast from Acadia to Florida, and her colonies claimed the interior as far at least as the Mississippi; France held a few cities and fortified posts in Canada, and claimed Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Acadia, a part of Maine, and an undefined region of immense extent stretching from the northern lakes down the Mississippi, and including Louisiana and Texas; Spain held Florida, Mexico and its dependencies, and asserted some claim to Louisiana, Texas and the Californias. A Divine Power was preparing the destinies of the United States.

¹ Joutel, 120, 137, 148. Bancroft, III. 173.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 117.

CHAPTER XXIX.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

LOUIS XIV. of France espoused the cause of the dethroned King James II. of England, and, declaring war, prepared to support his pretensions by force of arms. But, happily for the cause of human freedom and progress, the expectation of the arrogant monarch of France that his war in behalf of what he claimed to be "a legitimate succession" would bring to his side as allies the other leading monarchs of Europe, was disappointed.

Austria had been already invaded and encroached upon by Louis, and therefore took sides with England. Holland was, of course, with William and Mary. Even the Spanish Netherlands had suffered so much by France under Louis that they were arrayed against him. And so Spain, the most unreserved of all upholders of the Roman church, took sides with Protestant England in this war. France found herself alone in the attempt of her despotic sovereign to prevent the English people from reforming their own government.¹

The causes of the war were wholly of European origin: and yet the English colonies in North America were so deeply interested in the questions and results involved that they were soon actively in the struggle.

In America there was great apparent disparity in the strength of the belligerents. The entire French population did not exceed eleven thousand three hundred persons, barely a tenth part of the population of New England and New York with the colonies adjacent, and not one-twentieth part of English North America.² But the French adult males were almost all hardy soldiers, trained in woodland craft. They had also controlling influence with numerous warlike Indian tribes; but to offset this the "Five Nations" were strongly hostile to them.

As soon as war was declared the French government reappointed the veteran Count Frontenac Governor of New France, and directed him to recover Hudson's Bay, to protect Acadia, and to make a descent from Canada on the English colonies. So

¹ Bancroft, III, 174-176.

² French census of 1688. Bancroft, III, 177.

hopeful were they of subduing New York that De Callières was, in advance, appointed governor of that province, and was directed, after conquering it, to permit the English members of the Roman church to remain, but to banish the Protestants into Pennsylvania and New England.¹

But Frontenac, on reaching the St. Lawrence, found that the Iroquois had already taken up the hatchet and scalping-knife against France. On the 25th of August, 1689, these formidable warriors, fifteen hundred strong, reached La Chine, on the Isle of Montreal, at daybreak, and, finding all asleep, set fire to the houses, and in less than an hour massacred two hundred people in modes too horrible for description. After a sharp contest they captured Montreal itself, making many prisoners, and becoming masters of the fort and of the whole island. The last act of the retiring governor, Denonville, was to order Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, to be evacuated and razed to the ground. From the Three Rivers to Mackinaw, not a French town and hardly a trading-post remained.

Frontenac used every means in his power to urge to active hostility the Indian tribes who were under his influence. Unhappily, they had only too much cause to hate the English whites. Thirteen years before this war, at Coheco, in what is now the State of Maine, three hundred and fifty unsuspecting natives had been captured and shipped to Boston, where they were sold as slaves.² This deed was remembered, and, war now openly existing, the tribe of the Abenakis of Penacook sought for vengeance.

Richard Waldron was eighty years old—a brave man—a trader and a magistrate, who had often pronounced harsh, though probably just, judgments against Indian delinquents. Two squaws went to his house, June 27th, 1689, and asked shelter. They were permitted to lodge on the floor. In dead of night they unbarred the doors and admitted the savages. The brave old man, shouting, "What now? what now?" seized his sword and defended himself until stunned by a blow. The Indians set him upright in a chair on his own table and mocked him with the words: "Now, judge Indians again." Some who owed him money gashed his breast with their knives, each debtor, in making his gash, exclaiming: "That crosses out my account." Faint and reeling from loss of blood, Waldron fell and died. Twenty-three whites were killed and twenty-nine led captives into the wilderness.³ The settlements on the Penobscot and St. Johns

¹ Bancroft, III. 179.

² Quackenbos⁴ U. S., 135. Bancroft, III. 180.

³ Bancroft, III. 180, 181. Giles, in Drake, 1877. Quackenbos, 135.

were overcome, and the Abenakis recovered all their old hunting-grounds.

New England commissioners, in September, 1689, visited the Mohawks at Albany and sought an alliance; but in vain. These Indians answered: "We have burned Montreal; we are allies of the English, but we will not take up arms against the Abenakis."

Frontenac made strenuous efforts to win the Iroquois to friendship, or at least to neutrality. Knowing Indian nature well, he concluded that a strong impression favorable to France would be made on the "Five Nations" if he could pass them and strike a heavy blow upon the English settlements.

In January, 1690, a body of Frenchmen and Indians, one hundred and ten strong, led by De Mantet, St. Helene and D'Iberville, set out from Montreal, and waded for twenty-two days through snows and morasses, forests and rivers, to attack the town of Schenectady, in New York. The townspeople were resting in perfect sense of security, having, it is said, moulded snow sentries and set them up at the gates. Just before midnight the war-whoop was raised, the houses were fired, and indiscriminate massacre began. Some of the people, half-clad, fled through the wintry snows to Albany. Sixty were murdered, among whom were seventeen children and ten Africans. War showed itself in its true horrors in the wilds of the New World.¹ But the New York settlers had some revenge. A party from Albany, with Mohawks as allies, overtook the French and Indians retreating from Schenectady, routed them, and killed and captured twenty-five.

A marauding party, led by Hertel—half French, half Indian—who had fifty-two followers, of whom three were his sons and two his nephews, in March, 1690, fell suddenly on the settlement at Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua river.

A bloody contest followed, but the few defenders were overcome. Houses, barns and cattle in their stalls were burned. Fifty-four prisoners were carried away, chiefly women and children. They were compelled to bear on their shoulders the spoils from their own houses. Robert Rogers refused his burden, and was slowly burned to death by heaps of leaves kindled round him. Mary Furguson, a girl of fifteen, wept from fatigue and suffering, and was first scalped and then put to death. Mehetabel Goodwin lingered apart in the snow, seeking to lull her crying infant. Furious at her delay, a savage dashed the head of the child against a tree and hung its body among the branches. Mary

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 113. Bancroft, III. 182. Goodrich, 123.

Plaisted's child was drowned, so that, eased of her burden, she might walk the faster.¹

Such facts history publicly retains only to show what Indian nature, let loose by war, was capable of; how inevitable was their extermination, and how deep is the shame resting on Frenchmen, Spaniards and Englishmen, who, knowing the war usages of these savages, nevertheless co-operated with them as allies.

Roused by these barbarous outrages, the English colonies resolved that, if possible, Canada and her dependencies should be wrested from the hands of the French. For this purpose, union was indispensable. The first American "Congress" assembled in New York in May, 1690. Massachusetts was the leader in this movement. Delegates attended by letters of invitation from her general court, addressed to the separate colonies as far south as Maryland.² At that congress a joint military and naval movement against Canada was planned.

The attack was to be in several parts. Sir William Phipps sailed with a force to Port Royal, which soon surrendered. Acadia was conquered. New England was mistress of the coast to the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia.

The expedition of united New York and New England troops which advanced against Montreal as far as Lake Champlain failed and retreated because of estrangements among the leaders. Leisler, the man who had assumed the governorship of New York, charged Governor Winthrop with want of co-operation. The New England troops openly laid the blame of failure upon Leisler's son-in-law, Milbourne, who, as commissary, had failed in furnishing needed supplies.³

A third force sent out by Massachusetts, and commanded by Governor Phipps, consisted of thirty-four vessels and two thousand troops, chiefly citizen-soldiers. They sounded their way up the St. Lawrence, intent on the capture of Quebec. But the indefatigable Frontenac had learned of their approach through an Abenaki scout, who hurried for twelve days through the woods to warn him. Frontenac reached Quebec the 14th of October, 1690. The men were all put under arms; the fortifications were strengthened. On the 16th the Massachusetts fleet appeared, and cast anchor near Beauport, in the stream. But it was too late. The flag of truce demanding a surrender was dismissed with a scoffing refusal. The almost impregnable ramparts were manned with more trained soldiers than the fleet carried. The hoped-for

¹ Bancroft, III. 182, 183. Goodrich, 123.

² Bancroft, III. 183. Thalheimer's *Essee*. U. S., 98.

³ Stephens' *Comp.* U. S., 113. Bancroft, III. 184.

diversion on Montreal had failed. Phipps retired with his fleet. A storm scattered them, and one bearing sixty men was wrecked on Anticosti. France rejoiced in the easily-won triumph.¹

Thus the exhausting and expensive expeditions of the colonies to conquer Canada had been fruitless. The joint attacks of French and savages continued to shock the distant settlements. In January, 1692, a considerable body, coming in snow-shoes from the east, burst on the town of York and carried away all its people, offering no terms but captivity or death.

A single French ship-of-war, anchoring in the harbor of Port Royal, re-established the dominion of their country in Acadia.²

The government of England resolved on the conquest of Canada, and sent a fleet for the purpose in 1693. But, after suffering a repulse at Martinique, the fleet sailed for Boston, scourged by yellow-fever, which destroyed two-thirds of the mariners and soldiers on board. Offensive operations against Canada were, of course, impossible.

The Indian barbarities continued, and it is the sad duty of history to state that the French, and especially the Jesuit leaders among them, encouraged and urged on these cruelties. The people of Maine had made peace with the Abenakis (who belonged to the Lenni Lenape family of Indians), but in a short time, solely through the influence of the Jesuits, they were in the field again, and under Villieu, the French commander on the Penobscot, they attacked the village of Oyster River, in New Hampshire, and killed or carried into captivity ninety-four of its inhabitants. The chiefs of the Canadian tribe of Micmacs presented to Frontenac many scalps of English victims killed on the Piscataqua, and he received them graciously.³ The Jesuit missionaries Thury and Bigot were specially enthusiastic in urging the savages to barbarous war upon the English, and one of the Jesuit historians extols these counsels and eulogizes the daring excesses of Taxus, the bravest of the Abenakis!⁴ Thus we learn how feebly, at any time, depraved man has realized the love born of faith in Christ.

One of the episodes of these Indian attacks deserves special notice, because it teaches to what resolution and courage the human soul was trained by these dangers. In March, 1697, a prowling band of savages approached the home of Mr. Dustin, near Haverhill, thirty-two miles north of Boston. His wife, Hannah Dustin, had an infant seven days old. Warned in time, the husband and father rode hastily to the house, and finding it

¹ Cotton Mather. Hutchinson. Charlevoix. Bancroft, III. 185.

² Bancroft, III. 186. ³ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁴ Clergue. Charlevoix, in Bancroft, III., 187, 188.

impossible to remove the wife and babe, started the other children, seven in number, before him. He intended to save at least one by the fleetness of his horse. But his heart could not make a selection. The savages pressed on behind, but cautiously, as is their habit. Keeping between them and his fleeing children, he turned in his saddle from time to time and brought his rifle to deadly aim. The Indians feared to expose themselves, and gave up the pursuit. The father had the joy of seeing his seven children in a place of safety.¹

But meantime the savages set fire to his house, and carried off Hannah Dustin, with her infant, her nurse, and a boy from Worcester named Samuel Leonardson. Hardly had they entered the forest before an Indian snatched the babe from the mother and dashed its brains out against a tree. But the remaining captives bore up with wonderful resolution on their weary march. They were led to an island in the Merrimac, just above Concord. They were informed that in April they would be conducted to an Indian settlement still further in the wilderness, where they would have the torture of the gauntlet. They planned an escape. The boy Leonardson, who seems to have acquired influence with his Indian master, asked him: "Where would you strike with a tomahawk to kill instantly?" The savage instructed him, and he gave the lesson to the two women.

At night the captives rose. Each arm was nerved by the desperate exigency. There were twelve sleepers—ten warriors, a squaw, and a child. At one blow each man was killed; the squaw, though stunned and wounded, was not killed; the child was spared. Hannah Dustin secured the gun, scalping-knife and tomahawk of the murderer of her child, and being determined to have evidence of her deed of daring, scalped the victims and bore away the scalps. In a bark canoe the three resolute avengers descended the Merrimac and safely reached the white settlements. Their escape filled the minds of the people with wonder and triumph. The general court of Massachusetts voted them a reward in money, and a granite monument erected on the spot in Boscawen, New Hampshire, commemorates their deed.² The tomahawk used by Hannah Dustin is in a museum in the State, and the knife used by her was presented in 1890 by Charles Dustin, her great-great-grandson, to a military post of United States veterans.³

¹ Centennial U. S., by C. B. Taylor, 94, 95. Bancroft, III. 188.

² Derry's U. S., 74, 75. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 77-78. Centen. U. S., Taylor, 94-96. Bancroft, III. 188, 189.

³ Haverhill Gazette. Washington Post, Dec. 1, 1890.

The special efforts of the French were directed to the Iroquois. Finding it impossible to make them friends, they summoned savage allies in February, 1693, and sought to exterminate the Mohawks. The attack was at first successful, for the leading chiefs were absent at a war-dance. But this warlike tribe quickly rallied, and gave the invaders a bloody reception. The French Governor of Montreal had ordered that no quarter should be given except to women and children. But the savage allies of the French insisted on mercy to the captive warriors. As they were retreating with their prisoners, Peter Schuyler, of Albany, who had already made terrible attacks on the French in Canada, raised two hundred Mohawks, and, pursuing the invaders, slew many of them and set free the captives. Therefore, the French historian says the mercy of these Indians was "inexcusable."¹

In 1697, France made a final movement on a wide scale with a powerful fleet and a large military force, intending to devastate the coast of New England and to conquer New York. But, fortunately for the English colonies, the storms of nature fought with them against the French. The fleet was scattered and could not co-operate with the land forces, and the whole movement came to naught.²

In September, 1697, the war between England and France was ended by the peace of Ryswick. The terms of the treaty were a victory for free principles; for the English revolution of 1688 was recognized, and Louis XIV., with James II. still at his court, acknowledged William III. as the sovereign of England.

But in America no gains of territory were made for the colonies. France retained all of Hudson's Bay, and all the places of which she was possessed at the beginning of the war. Her claim to the western half of Newfoundland, part of Maine, all of Canada and the valley of the Mississippi, and Louisiana, including the unsettled region as far as Mobile, remained. On the east, England claimed to the St. Croix, and France to the Kennebec. Boundaries remained undefined.³ Future war was in the womb of the treaty itself.

The colonies south of Pennsylvania had hardly felt "King William's war" otherwise than in some interruptions to their trade; but New England and New York had suffered heavily in lives and losses of property. Moreover, Massachusetts had added to her debts by an emission of bills of credit. Yet, in discipline and experience great advances had been made. Two necessities had

¹ Bancroft, III. 189. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 91.

² Bancroft, III. 191. Goodrich's U. S., 124.

³ Bancroft, III, 192.

become apparent: one, the restriction and, if practicable, the extinction of the French possessions on the north and west; the other, the amity or the extermination of the Indian tribes within their bounds or on their frontiers. This necessity was intensified and complicated by the presence of the French.

Immediately after the peace of Ryswick, the Earl of Bellamont, an Irish peer of sound heart and in sympathy with freedom, was appointed governor of all the northern colonies, except Connecticut and Rhode Island. He arrived in New York in April, 1698. One significant event soon followed. The wrongs perpetrated by aristocrats on Leisler and Milbourne were partially redressed by an appropriation from the New York assembly of money for the families of those unjustly executed men.¹

Pirates had for years lurked in the West Indies and infested the coasts of North America. There was some reason to believe that Fletcher of New York had connived at their movements and probably shared in their nefarious gains.

In Lynnhaven Bay, in Virginia, a pirate ship, with consummate audacity, had seized several merchantmen in full view of a small vessel bound up James river. Fortunately, the *Shoram*, a fifth-rate English man-of-war, was in the waters of Virginia, and her captain, Passenger, was paying his respects to the governor, Sir Francis Nicholson, at the time the news of the pirate came to them. Both hastened aboard the *Shoram* and sailed towards the Capes. At day-break they were alongside the pirate. A desperate conflict ensued. The ships were nearly equal in size, and the outlaws fought for ten hours with the resolution of despair; but at last they were compelled to strike their colors and unconditionally surrender.²

The Earl of Bellamont was not so successful against the piratical movements. The king and the admiralty of England had commissioned one Captain William Kidd to make special naval war on the pirates; but, as no suitable ship was furnished to him, Bellamont and others associated with him procured an armed ship, manned her with a crew, and put Kidd in command, doubtless hoping for large money returns from his captures of freebooting ships. Instead of doing his appointed work, Kidd, on reaching the high seas, turned pirate himself, and led his crew into crime with him. For three years he infested the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. He is said to have taken immense booty and to have buried his treasures somewhere on the coasts of New York or New England, and seventy thousand dollars have been actually found.

¹ Bancroft, III, 59.

² Beverley, 94, 95. Hening, III, 176, 177.

He burned his vessel and appeared publicly in Boston. He was recognized, seized, sent to England, tried and executed as a pirate. Suspicions of complicity were openly expressed as to those who had furnished him his ship; but these suspicions were unfounded.¹

These piracies continued on the American coast. In 1717, Colonel Rhett, of South Carolina, pursued the outlaw Steed Bonnet into Cape Fear river, and after a sharp fight captured him and thirty of his men. They were tried and hanged in Charleston. Governor Johnson, of the same State, attacked a pirate vessel under Richard Worley, who, with his men, fought until all were dead except the pirate chief and one man. These, desperately wounded, were taken and hanged. In 1718, Lieutenant Maynard sailed from Virginia, and in Ocracoke inlet came up with the pirate ship of John Theach, generally called "Blackbeard." A hand-to-hand fight resulted in the death or wounding of all the outlaws; and Maynard sailed back with Blackbeard's head hanging at his bowsprit.² All who were captured were tried, condemned and executed. The final blow against these coast pirates was struck in 1723 by the English man-of-war *Greyhound*, which captured a pirate ship with a large crew and carried them into Rhode Island, where, after solemn trial, they were all executed at Newport, July 19, 1723.³

From this succinct account of the coast pirates and their end, we turn back to the Earl of Bellamont. His administration was signalized by one act highly advantageous to the colonies. Count Frontenac hoped that, after peace was made between England and France, he would be able to wreak upon the "Five Nations" a revenge bloody and overwhelming. But Earl Bellamont supplied these Indians with arms and ammunition, and notified Frontenac that if the French made any offensive movement, the whole disposable military force of the northern English colonies would aid the "Five Nations." This was too serious an admonition to be unheeded. Frontenac desisted from his intended war; and soon afterwards peace was agreed on between the French and the Iroquois.⁴

Bellamont died in New York in 1701, respected and beloved by all friends of equitable government. His successor, Edward Hyde (Lord Cornbury) was a relative of Queen Anne, but "had every vice of character necessary to discipline a colony into self-reliance and resistance."⁵

¹Taylor, Centen. U. S., 96. Goodrich, 135. Thalheimer's Ecler. U. S., 116, 117, 119 (note). Eggleston's Household U. S., 102, 103.

²Eggleston, 103. Grahame, III. 87. Oldmixon, I. 402.

³Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 135.

⁴Stephens' Comp. U. S., 114.

⁵Bancroft, III. 60.

He was Governor of New York and New Jersey from 1702 to 1708, and established for himself a permanent reputation as the meanest and worst of all the governors appointed by England for her American colonies. He retired from the yellow fever in New York, in 1703, to Jamaica, on Long Island. Finding that the best dwelling-house in the town was the manse of the Dutch Reformed Church, held by the pastor, Mr. Hubbard, he requested that he might have it for his use. His request was courteously granted; but when the pestilence had subsided, and he was preparing to return to New York, he refused to return the house to its owner, and with bigoted meanness made it over to the Episcopal Church.¹ He persecuted with relentless eagerness the pious and courageous religious pioneer, Francis Makemie. He used the most unscrupulous and dishonest means for diverting the money of the people into his own pocket. Their complaints were so loud that he was removed from office in 1708; and on his removal he was immediately taken into custody by his creditors. His father's death enabled him to return to England with the title of Earl of Clarendon, but did not remove the dark cloud which persistently blackens his fame.

¹ Art. Cornbury, *New Amer. Encyclop.*, V. 722. McDonald's *Hist. Ch. in Jamaica*, N. Y.

CHAPTER XXX.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

WILLIAM and Mary, as joint king and queen, ascended the throne of England in February, 1689. Mary and her younger sister Anne were daughters of James II. by his marriage with Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon. They were both educated under Protestant influences, although their mother is thought some time before her death to have sympathized with James in his love for the Roman church. She died in 1671, and, two years later, James, then Duke of York and presumptive heir to the English throne, was united in marriage to Maria Beatrice Eleonora, Princess of Modena, who was his junior by twenty-five years. No child was born of this marriage until June 10, 1688, on which day the queen gave birth to a son, James Francis Edward Stuart, afterwards known as the Chevalier of St. George. He was born in the very strain of the crisis which soon afterwards resulted in compelling James to fly from England, and which called William and Mary to the throne. The circumstances were so peculiar and promotive of suspicion that a large body of the people of England believed that the asserted birth of the prince was a fraud; but there was no actual ground for this suspicion.¹

Mary, the consort of King William, died in 1694. Her husband, under the title of William III., lived until 1702. He was preparing for renewed war with France, when a fall from his horse hastened his death. He was succeeded by Anne, the second daughter of James, who was a Protestant, and a woman who, with some manifest failings, was yet so kindly in her disposition that she was called "Good Queen Anne." Her reign of twelve years was a brilliant period of English history, but one of keen suffering to the New England colonies.

It was believed by many that a secret article in the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, provided that, upon the death of William and Mary, James II. or (if he was not alive) his son should take the throne of England.² No reliable evidence has ever justified such belief.

¹ Compare Art. James II. with those on Mary and Anne, Amer. Encyclop., IX. 709-711, etc.

² Art. James, Amer. Encyclop., IX. 710.

But it is certain that when James II. died in the palace of St. Germain, in France, on the 16th of September, 1701, his son, the Chevalier of St. George, was recognized by Louis XIV. as King of Great Britain. And on the day of the coronation of Queen Anne, the alliance against France between England, Holland and the German empire (including Austria) was renewed, in proximate view of war.¹ But Spain was now on the side of France. The war came, and speedily involved the American colonies. Its immediate cause was more entirely foreign and apart from the intents and interests of these colonies than had been the previous contest known as "King William's war." The war which commenced in 1702 and continued to 1713 is commonly styled "Queen Anne's war" by the early chroniclers of American history. In Europe it has always been known as "the war of the Spanish succession." If it had no other good effect, it had at least that of confirming the convictions of thoughtful people in North America against the rule of "kings."

Spain, during the time of the imbecile Philip III., had squandered all of her immense revenues derived from American gold and silver, and had driven six hundred thousand Moors (embracing some of her most ingenious and industrious population) out of her bounds. The reign of Philip IV., from 1621 to 1665, was but a succession of frightful losses and disasters to Spain, including the loss of Portugal, the devastation of Catalonia for ten years by civil war, the Dutch successes in Peru, the destruction of three fleets and their crews by storms, diseases and war; the complete release of Protestant Netherlands from Spanish rule, and ruinous insurrections in Naples and Sicily. The reign of Charles II. of Spain, from 1665 to 1700, was, if possible, still more disastrous, involving, as it did, a desolating war with France, which left Spain poor in money and property, incumbered with heavy mortgages, and with a population reduced to barely eight million souls.²

With the death of this Charles, in 1700, the line of the Spanish kings of the German House of Hapsburg became extinct. Who should succeed him on the throne of Spain? Austria and France, through their ambitious and selfish Kings Leopold I. and Louis XIV., both strove by every means, public and private, fair and foul, to determine this question in favor each monarch of his own dynasty. The success fell to France, but by means certain to kindle war. The secret influences which Louis and his

¹ Art. Anne, Amer. Encyclop., I. 612, 613.

² Art. Spain, New Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 810. Baneroft, III. 206, 207.

ministers so well knew how to use were brought to bear on Charles II. of Spain; and his second will, opened upon his death, was found to appoint Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., sole heir of all the Spanish monarchy!¹

Thus did human kings of the modern centuries, when they died childless, affect to imitate the despotic emperors of Rome, and to dictate, by a brief writing, who should control as sovereign the lives, liberties and properties of millions of people. We cannot wonder that England and Holland, where personal freedom had gained some permanency, instantly refused to recognize this will as valid. As to Germany, and especially Austria, the motive of disappointment and wounded pride was sufficient to array them against France.

And so "Queen Anne's war" commenced in 1702, with England, Holland and Germany on one side against France and Spain on the other. Our history herein has nothing to say as to Marlborough or Prince Eugene, nor as to the splendid victories of Oudenarde, Ramillies and Blenheim; but we have the duty of narrating the events and results of this war in North America.

Governor James Moore, of South Carolina, made the first movement in 1702, immediately after the war began. We have already noted his fruitless effort to capture St. Augustine, his successes against the Appalachian Indians, and the vain attempt of a joint attack by a French and Spanish fleet upon Charleston.²

A series of causes united to save the colony of New York from a descent by French and Indian forces, with their usual barbarous attacks. The French had made a treaty of peace with the "Five Nations." So terrible had these tribes been to them that they carefully avoided giving them the least pretext for renewal of hostilities. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, therefore abstained from any hostile movements against the white settlements of New York, as the Iroquois would have regarded such movements as sufficient cause for taking up the hatchet.³

And thus the brunt and horror of this war fell upon New England. Nothing of united French and Indian cruelty previously known exceeded what she now endured. Lying and treachery were added to barbarities not to be described.

In June, 1703, Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, met at Casco, in Maine, a congress of chiefs of the Abenakis, whose tribes covered the country from the Merrimac to the Penobscot.

¹ Art. Spain, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 810. Bancroft, III. 207.

² Chapter XXII.

³ Derry's U. S., 75. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 79. Bancroft, III. 211.

The governor sought for peace, and the chiefs solemnly assured him that "the sun is not more distant from the earth than our thoughts from war."¹ Giving the belt of wampum in token of peace, they added new stones to piles already raised as memorials of friendship.

Yet at that very time they were meditating war. In less than six weeks the storm burst. On the same day, in all the country from Casco to Wells, parties of the Indians and French united fell upon the dwelling-houses and strongholds, giving mercy to "neither the milk-white brows of the ancient nor the mournful cries of tender infants."² "Cruelty became an art, and honor was awarded to the most skillful contriver of tortures. The prowling Indian seemed near every farm-house; many an individual was suddenly snatched away into captivity. If armed men, rousing for the attack, penetrated to the fastnesses of their roving enemy, they found nothing but solitudes."³

All that dismal winter was a season of terrors to the people of the New England frontiers. In February, 1704, a body of two hundred French and one hundred and forty-two Indians, led by Hertel de Rouville, and helped by snow-shoes, made their way from Canada to the neighborhood of Deerfield, where a pine forest gave them shelter till after midnight. The careless sentinels, numbed with cold, had retired.

Then, before dawn, the whoop was sounded, and the savages rushed over the palisades, which the deep frozen snow almost covered. The village was set on fire; only the church and one dwelling escaped. Few of the people found refuge. Forty-seven were killed. One hundred and twelve, including the minister and his family, were led captives into the wilderness. Many perished on the march. Eunice Williams, the wife of the minister, had brought her Bible. When they rested, the Indians permitted her to read it, and her soul found strength; but her body fainted with fatigue and hardship. Her husband reminded her of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," and "she justified God in what had happened." But she could go no farther, and the savages would not leave her living. She commended her five captive children to God; and a blow from a tomahawk ended her sufferings. Her husband could only say: "She rests in peace and joy unspeakable and full of glory."⁴

After being carried into captivity, all the members of this family were ransomed and restored to their home, except one. This was the youngest daughter, who was only seven years old when made a captive. She was adopted by a body of christianized Indians

¹ Penhallon, in Bancroft, III. 211.

² *Ibid.*, 212.

³ Bancroft, III. 212.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

who had entered the communion of the Roman church near Montreal. She became a proselyte to their forms of faith, and in due time was united in marriage to a Conewaga chief. Several children were born to them. Years afterwards she visited her relatives and friends at Deerfield. Great efforts were made to reclaim her. The good people of the village held a day of fasting and prayer for her deliverance from what they regarded as a sinful thralldom; but all in vain. She went back to the fires of her own wigwam, and to her own husband and children.¹ No Christian can prove that she was wrong.

The cruelty of the French and their savage allies was only equaled by the ferocious pertinacity of their marches for purposes of secret attack and murder. A force of Frenchmen and Algonquin Indians, under Des Chaillons and that same inhuman Hertel de Rouville, intent on an attack on the flourishing town of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, ascended the St. Francis, and, passing along the practicable parts of the White Mountains, through paths even now almost impervious to man, made nearly four hundred and fifty miles of distance before they reached their allotted rendezvous at Lake Winnipiseogee. Here they expected to meet a war party of the Abenakis, but these savages had changed their bloody purpose and retired. Too weak to attack Portsmouth, the French and Indians passed down the Merrimac to Haverhill, then a cluster of thirty cottages and log cabins.²

"On the night of the 29th of August, 1708, the evening prayers had been said in each family, and the whole village fearlessly resigned itself to sleep. The band of invaders slept quietly in the near forest. At daybreak they assumed the order of battle; Rouville addressed the soldiers, who, after their orisons, marched against the fort, raised the shrill yell, and dispersed themselves through the village to their work of blood. The rifle rang; the cry of the dying rose. Benjamin Rolfe, the minister, was beaten to death; one Indian sunk a hatchet deep into the brain of his wife, while another caught his infant child from the dying mother and dashed its head against a stone. Thomas Hartstone and his two sons, attempting a rally, were shot; a third son was tomahawked. John Johnston was shot by the side of his wife; she fled into the garden, bearing an infant; was caught and murdered; but as she fell she concealed her child, which was found after the massacre clinging to her breast. Simon Wainwright was killed at the first fire. Mary, his wife, fearlessly unbarred the door; with cheerful mien bade the savages enter; got for

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 97, says it was the "eldest daughter"—a mistake. Bancroft, III. 213, 214. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, p. 79.

² Mirick's Haverhill, 117, 133. Bancroft, III. 214.

them what they wished, and when they demanded money she retired as if to 'bring it,' and, gathering up all her children save one, succeeded in escaping."¹

We do not propose to multiply such narratives, though they are legitimate history and powerfully suggestive. They present the French character in a repulsive light, but not more repulsive than St. Bartholomew and the scenes preceding and attending the French revolution would lead us to expect. The English and Dutch colonists of that period conceived an abiding hatred of the French, and especially of their Jesuit missionaries, which has not been removed even down to this day.

The brave New York citizen-soldier, Peter Schuyler, made a protest on this subject to the French Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Canadian governor, which must stand as the voice of Christian humanity against France. He said: "I hold it my duty towards God and my neighbor to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties. My heart swells with indignation when I think that a war between Christian princes, bound to the exactest laws of honor and generosity, which their noble ancestors have illustrated by brilliant examples, is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery. These are not the methods for terminating the war. Would that all the world thought with me on this subject!"²

Yet these barbarities were continued. The northern colonists suffered more than can be told; not merely in actual raids of savages—French and Indian—but in the torments of constant anxiety, in the necessity for taking from industrious labor a large proportion of the men capable of active service, and in the inevitable purpose of exterminating the Indians like wild beasts, which was in itself a demoralizing necessity. A bounty was offered for Indian scalps—ten pounds to regular soldiers, twenty pounds to volunteers in actual service, and fifty pounds to those who, without pay, would make up hunting parties and scour the forests and lurking places in search of Indians.³ And under this system the work of extermination went on with fearful efficiency. The white hunter soon excelled the savage in his own fastnesses.

The American colonies, naturally enough, cherished the desire to conquer from France all her possessions on their northern frontier, and arrest her progress in the west and south. Sir Francis Nicholson, who had been Governor of Maryland, and then of Virginia, had formed a plan for uniting all the colonies and obtaining for himself the high position of governor-general.⁴

¹ Mirick's Haverhill, 133, in Bancroft, III. 215.

² Charlevoix, 239. Bancroft, III. 216.

³ Bancroft, III. 217.

⁴ Beverley, 92, 93. Burk, II. 319. Grahame, III. 10, 11.

However much of personal avarice and ambition may have stimulated him, it is certain that he was active and successful for the colonial cause. He visited New York and England, and urged on preparations for a decisive movement. In 1710 six English ships were joined by thirty from the northern colonies, and four New England regiments. They sailed from Boston in September, and in six days were anchored before the fortress of Port Royal, in Acadia. Famine was threatening, and neither Vaudreuil nor his lieutenant, Castin, were able to relieve the garrison. They surrendered, one hundred and fifty-six strong, and, though in a tattered and half-famished state, were permitted to march out with the honors of war. The name of the town was changed to Annapolis, in honor of Queen Anne; and it has never been lost to England since that time.¹

Made happy by this success, Nicholson went to England and urged a wider movement against the French in Canada. The keen observers in North America had already marked with alarm the progress of a plan for cutting off all English progress towards the Mississippi by a *cordon* of French strongholds from Louisiana to the lakes. William Penn had advised that the St. Lawrence should be held as the boundary on the north, and that the valley of the Mississippi should be included in the English colonies.² Governor Alexander Spotswood, of Virginia, again and again warned the English ministry of coming danger on this subject. Even the careless and pleasure-loving minister of Queen Anne, Henry St. John, Earl of Bolingbroke, was somewhat moved, and expressed "apprehensions of the future undertakings of the French in North America."³

In 1710 the Legislative Assembly of New York sent a memorial to Queen Anne, saying:

"It is well known that the French can go by water from Quebec to Montreal. From thence they can do the like, through rivers and lakes, at the back of all your majesty's plantations on this continent as far as Carolina; and in this large tract of country live several nations of Indians who are vastly numerous. Among those they constantly send emissaries and priests, with toys and trifles, to insinuate themselves into their favor. Afterwards they send traders, then soldiers, and at last build forts among them; and the garrisons are encouraged to intermarry, cohabit and incorporate among them; and it may easily be concluded that, upon a peace, many of the disbanded soldiers will be sent thither for that purpose."⁴

¹ Charlevoix, II. 342-346. Bancroft, III. 218.

² Bancroft, III. 233.

³ Bolingbroke Corres., II. 272. Bancroft, III. 233.

⁴ Address of N. Y. Assembly, in Bancroft, III. 218-219.

A more prophetic forecasting has seldom been made by mere human sagacity. To increase its effect, Peter Schuyler went to London, accompanied by five Iroquois sachems, who, in English small-clothes of black, but wearing also scarlet cloth mantles edged with gold, appeared in the audience chamber of Queen Anne, and avowed the readiness of the "Five Nations," and all other Indians whom they could influence, to aid in wresting Canada from the French.

The English ministry were moved. St. John planned the conquest of Canada. But, unfortunately, the naval force, consisting of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, was placed under the command of an incompetent officer, Sir Hovendon Walker; and still more unhappily, the forces for land operations, consisting of seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army and a battalion of marines, were put under the command of Brigadier-General John Hill, whom his bottle comrades called "honest Jack Hill," and whom the Duke of Marlborough, in refusing him a colonelcy, had declared to be "good for nothing." But he was the brother of Mrs. Masham, one of Queen Anne's favorites!

Great delays and expenditures took place, by which the English treasury was defrauded.¹ From June 25th to July 30th, 1711, the fleet and transports lay at Boston. The colonial forces under Nicholson consisted of an army from Connecticut, New Jersey and New York, with Palatinate emigrants and six hundred Iroquois. They were to advance on Montreal, while the fleet and transports, on which were embarked most of the New England forces, attacked Quebec.

But when at last the fleet with its convoy sailed, the incompetency of Admiral Walker became manifest. He had conceived a strange and utterly unscientific fear that the St. Lawrence river (in its channel at least five hundred feet deep) would "freeze to the bottom" and entrap his ships. He loitered on his voyage through the ocean, racking his bewildered brain for some method of avoiding the imaginary danger. Meanwhile the Marquis De Vaudreuil, seconded by great enthusiasm among his French and Indian followers, was preparing to defend Quebec.²

On the evening of August 22d a thick fog came on with an easterly breeze. Pilots and captains united in warning the admiral that land was dangerously near. He scoffed at their fears, and without going on deck, ordered the ships' heads to be kept to the north, and turned into his berth. He was soon called up again, and hurried to the deck "in his gown and slippers." But

¹ Harley's Brief Account, Bol. Corres., I. 154. Bancroft, III. 221.

² Charlevoix, II. 351-361. Hovendon Walker's Journal, 121.

it was too late then to give orders. The fleet was in the breakers among the Egg Islands. Eight ships were wrecked, and eight hundred and eighty-four men perished. A council of war voted unanimously that it was impossible to proceed. The weak admiral actually claimed merit for the results of a gigantic disaster caused by his own incompetency. In his journal he wrote these words: "Had we arrived safe at Quebec, ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger; by the loss of a part, Providence saved all the rest."¹

This disastrous failure and withdrawal of the fleet and transports was fatal to all hopes of the land forces under Nicholson, and they hastily retreated, dissolving as they fled. The French held Detroit, though the English claimed it. Its situation on the bold Detroit river, in what is now the State of Michigan, with its centre seven miles from Lake St. Clair and eighteen miles from Lake Erie, made it at once one of the loveliest and most important places in Canada and the very centre of New France. Its loss would have been almost a fatal blow to the hopes of France in North America. Yet it came near being lost to her in 1712. The Iroquois had urged their friends, the Fox Indians of Michigan, to attack Detroit, and they came in numbers to burn the village and fort. But Du Buisson, with twenty brave men, held it firmly until the Jesuit missionaries, by great exertions, succeeded in bringing up a united body of Ottawas, Hurons, Potawatomes, Sacés, Illinois, Menomonies, Osages and Missouris to the rescue. The Foxes, instead of capturing and burning Detroit, were themselves besieged and compelled to surrender. Those of them who bore arms were ruthlessly murdered; the rest were enslaved by the confederates.²

Finally, this "Queen Anne's war," so unfortunate for the English northern colonies in America, was brought to an end by the peace of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, after many previous efforts and negotiations among the belligerents.

By this treaty a settlement of the balance of power in Europe was made, highly advantageous for the cause of peace there, inasmuch as it effectually checked the encroachments of France, and forced her to recognize the power of the English people, through their Parliament, to dethrone a king and settle the crown as their safety and happiness demanded. But it is remarkable that, though Louis XIV., in his old age and accumulated military reverses, would have been compelled to abandon the cause of his grandson, Philip of Anjou, in Spain (which was the origin of the war), yet

¹ Walker's Journal (28), in Bancroft, III. 223, 224.

² Charlevoix, II. 365-372. Lanman's Michigan. Bancroft, III. 224.

as the alternative would have been the placing of the Archduke Charles of Austria (who had become Emperor of Germany by the death of Joseph) on the Spanish throne; and as the Spanish Netherlands were allotted to Austria by the treaty, and England and Holland were indisposed to such accumulation of power in the Austrian sovereign, Philip of Anjou was established by the treaty of Utrecht as King of Spain. But Spain, by the treaty, lost all her European provinces, and lost even Gibraltar, a part of her very soil, which England has ever since retained. Her colonial possessions—the islands remaining to her in the West Indies, Florida, Mexico, and her parts of South America—were, however, left to Spain by this remarkable treaty.

England, under it, obtained supremacy in the fisheries of the Atlantic off the coasts of North America, and full right in Newfoundland, the Bay of Hudson and its borders, and all of Nova Scotia or Acadia according to its ancient boundaries. It was also agreed that "France should never molest the 'Five Nations' subject to the dominion of Great Britain." But France's possessions in Canada and the west and south, down to and including Louisiana and her eastern dependencies, and Texas to an undefined extent, were left undisturbed; and boundaries were not defined. Thus the germs of future war remained.

One provision, signally disgraceful to England, Spain and their high dignitaries, was inserted as a special "*assiento*" in the treaty. While the great principle that "free ships make free goods" was now first definitively established, and all ports of Spain and her colonies were opened, yet England could not lose an opportunity for money-making through a black channel. "Her Britannic majesty did offer and undertake, by persons whom she shall appoint, to bring into the West Indies of America belonging to his Catholic majesty, in the space of thirty years, one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred in each of the said thirty years," paying, on four thousand of them, a duty to the Spanish treasury of thirty-three and a third dollars per head.¹

Thus England extorted the privilege of filling the New World with African slaves. As great profits were expected, Philip V. of Spain took one-quarter of the common stock; Queen Anne took another quarter. Lady Masham wanted some of the stock. In everything making slavery profitable and infamous, England has fixed upon herself the largest share of righteous censure from the Christian world.

¹ *Assiento*, in treaty of Utrecht. Cooke's Bolingbroke, I. 175. Bancroft, III. 232.

CHAPTER XXXI.

GEORGE THE SECOND'S WARS.

QUEEN Anne died in 1714, less than a year after the treaty of Utrecht had gone fully into effect. Therefore, her profits from the "*assiento*" could not have been large. Although she had borne eighteen children by her marriage with Prince George of Denmark, they had all died in infancy, except one boy, who was Duke of Gloucester, and who reached his eleventh year and then died.¹

By the terms of the parliamentary settlement of the English crown, upon the death of Queen Anne, George, King of Hanover, in Germany, became King of England. He was never able to speak English intelligibly, and never liked England, and therefore spent most of his time at Osnaburg, in Hanover, where he finally died in 1727.

He was never personally popular—was gross in his tastes and vicious and immoral in his life. He was a cruel husband and a harsh and unloving father. Yet, on the whole, he was not a bad king. Knowing very little of the language, literature, habits, or constitutions of the English people, he had the good sense to let them govern themselves and to interfere but seldom with the policy of Robert Walpole, the leading English mind and minister. Great Britain had peace during his reign.

These thirteen years were a good season for the American colonies. They were undisturbed by war, except some encounters with the Indians, in which the whites always got the advantage. They grew rapidly in population, commerce, and art, notwithstanding the burden of the bills of credit, by which war expenses had been paid.²

On the 24th February, 1717, the greatest snow-storm theretofore known in New England occurred. In many places the drifted snow was sixteen feet deep, and covered cottages nearly to the tops of their chimneys. A number of people and many cattle perished.³

¹ Compare Westminster Effigies, Harper, Aug., 1889, with Amer. Encyclop., I, 612.

² Stephen's Comp. U. S., 136.

³ Cotton Mather, in Stephen's Comp. U. S., 137.

Not quite three years afterwards, on the night of the 11th of December, 1719, a display of the *aurora borealis* occurred, which was so bright and portentous in New England that the people were filled with wonder and alarm. And on the 29th of October, 1727, four months after the death of the king, a noted earthquake shook all the soil of the northern colonies, filling them with vague fears.

These fears were not without prophecy. France had been steadily pushing forward her schemes of occupation in the south and west. In 1702, French settlers had founded Mobile, which was the chief city of Louisiana until New Orleans was founded in 1718, and received its name from the generous, but dissolute, Regent of France.¹ All this region gained rapid impetus from the financial operations of John Law, a Scotchman, who, from 1716 to 1720, dazzled the vision of all classes in France with prospects of untold wealth in the Louisiana scheme. The bubble burst, but enterprises commenced did not cease. Le Moyne D'Iberville, with sixty colonists, ascended the river four hundred miles and began Natchez. Bienville D'Iberville, his brother, began New Orleans in a canebrake. The Chickasaws and Natchez Indians bravely defended their homes and impeded the plans of the French. In May, 1736, a chivalrous young officer, D'Artaguet, with the priest, Father Senat, and the brave Canadian, Vincennes, led a force of fifty French soldiers and a thousand Indian allies from Illinois against the Chickasaws, near the sources of the Yalabusha river. A furious battle ensued, in which D'Artaguet fell severely wounded, and his best men were slain. The Illinois Indians fled from the field. D'Artaguet, Senat and Vincennes were made captives. They were bountifully cared for and fed for several days, and were then, bound each to a stake, and put to death with all the slow torments of fire and knives and arrows that Indian depravity could invent.²

But such horrors did not stop French enterprise. They had built Fort Niagara in 1728, Crown Point in 1731, and gave the name of Vincennes to their post on the Wabash. By the middle of the eighteenth century they had control of all the water routes from the northern lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. They had more than sixty military stations from Lake Ontario down the Illinois, Wabash and Maumee rivers to the Mississippi, and thence down that great river to New Orleans.³ Governor Spotswood's warnings were not premature.

¹ Derry's U. S., 76. Bancroft, III. 352.

² Dumont, II. Du Pratz, III. 418. Charlevoix, II. 501. Martin, I. 304.

³ Derry's U. S., 76, 77.

In 1727, George I. died, and his son, George II., ascended the throne of Great Britain. In 1739 his government declared war against Spain. The causes of this war on the English side were hardly sufficient for her justification. It is true that the Spanish rulers in Florida had given trouble to Georgia and the Carolinas, and had seduced their slaves away from the owners, as we have seen. But this would not have been sufficient to call for the terrible remedy of war.

Walpole was opposed to this war, and did what he could to prevent it. Its real cause was avarice of English merchants and higher adventurers, who "were not permitted to smuggle to Spanish coasts with impunity."¹ Spain was weak; England was strong, especially on the water. Her lumber-dealers cut logwood in enormous quantities in the woods on the Bay of Honduras, in which the right of Spain had not then been extinguished. Her smuggling vessels, drawing light draught of water, constantly evaded the revenue laws of Spain. A large part of the population of Jamaica was supported by this contraband trade.² But from time to time, Spain, whose colonial trade was almost annihilated by these unlawful English ventures, caught the thieves and smugglers and dealt out to them unmerciful justice. Then came a howl for war, which Walpole was unable to withstand.

This war brought little of success or glory to England. We have already noted the part in it borne by Governor James Oglethorpe and the people of Georgia and the Carolinas.³ In addition to these movements, the mother country called, in 1741, on all her American colonies to aid her with men for the projected attack on the Spanish town of Carthagen. This call was promptly and cheerfully met. Governor William Gooch, who was a brigadier-general in the English service, led the Virginia forces. Even Pennsylvania, with her peace principles derived from her great founder, voted money by which she paid for her ratio of the soldiers. Every colony contributed men. The whole number from America was not less than four thousand.⁴

Lord Cathcart was to command the land forces, but died at Dominica, in the West Indies, under the fatal fever of the climate. The inexperienced, irresolute Wentworth succeeded him. Admiral Vernon was brave, but impetuous and imprudent. Carthagen was the strongest place in South America. Fort San Lazaro was furiously assaulted by twelve hundred men, who were repulsed with heavy loss. The naval and military leaders quarreled and delayed. Rains set in; disease began to prey upon sol-

¹ Lord Mahon's *England*, III. 5.

² Bancroft, III. 435, 436.

³ Chapter XXIII.

⁴ Chalmers, II. 198. Campbell, 94. Grahame, III. 212. Bancroft, III. 440. Barnes' *U. S.*, (note) 80.

diers and sailors. Thousands died; the remnant were helpless and hopeless. The description of the English poet was realized:

"Such as of late at Carthagea quenched
The British fire. You, gallant Vernon, saw
The miserable scene. You heard the groans
Of agonizing ships from shore to shore;
Heard nightly plunged amid the sullen waves
The frequent corse."¹

In two days the effective land forces dwindled from six thousand three hundred to thirty-two hundred. Yet the fire of the fleet was destructive. The Spanish fortifications were demolished. Vernon wrote: "Even the Spaniards will give us a certificate that we have effectually destroyed all their castles."² But the wasting of the pestilence was ruin to the English. They abandoned the fever-smitten region, and sailed away.

When the fleet returned to Jamaica, late in November, 1741, the entire loss of lives was estimated at twenty thousand. Nine out of ten of the colonial troops had perished. Not more than four hundred of them returned to their homes.

Fortunately for the southern colonies, Spain was growing weaker all the time, and could not do them much harm. But hardly had the war with her ended before England became involved in one with France, arising out of questions concerning the succession to the Austrian throne, and, of course, entirely alien and apart from all colonial interest.

This war, which is generally called "King George's war," commenced in 1744, and lasted four years. It speedily involved the northern colonies in conflicts with the French and Indians along the Canadian borders.³

In this war the colonists moved actively and efficiently against the French territories. They had long been satisfied that they would have no stable peace until France was dislodged from her hold on Canada and the adjacent positions. They felt now strong enough to undertake aggressive movements. Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia, thirty-nine years of age, began to manifest his administrative powers. By his influence he set in motion two lotteries, which raised six thousand pounds sterling, and equipped one hundred and twenty companies of militia, of which Philadelphia raised ten of about one hundred men each. The women, in their zeal, furnished ten pairs of silk colors wrought with various mottoes.⁴ The "Friends" had manifestly so modified their views of war as to justify offensive movements in order to defence and final safety.

¹ Thomson's *Summer*.

² Bancroft, III. 442.

³ *Ibid.*, 448-451. Derry's *U. S.*, 77.

⁴ Logan's *MS.*, in Bancroft, III. 456.

The town and fortress of Louisburg, on Cape Breton, was very important to the French, and its possession was, in like proportion, desirable to the colonists. Its harbor afforded a safe retreat for French privateers after their descents on the colonial fishing smacks and merchantmen. In January, 1745, the Massachusetts legislature, by a majority of one vote, resolved on an expedition against it. New York sent artillery; Pennsylvania, provisions; New England furnished the men—Connecticut, 516; New Hampshire, 304; Massachusetts, 3,000. Rhode Island also sent 300, but too late for active service. The English naval commander at Antigua, Commodore Warren, was requested to co-operate, but, after consulting his captains, and having no orders of co-operation from England, he declined. Thus the expedition was strictly colonial in its inception.¹ William Pepperell, of Maine, was chief commander, but Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was the wise planner of all. The men were chiefly fishermen, unemployed because of the war, and mechanics, lumberers, farmers—all inured to fatigue, and all skilled marksmen with the rifle.

The drifting ice of the seas about Cape Breton detained the fleet for sixteen days at Canseau. But this detention was providential; for Commodore Warren, having received instructions from England to render to Massachusetts every aid in his power, sailed from Antigua, and under the bright sun of the 23d of April, 1745, arrived with his squadron at Canseau.

On the last day of April, an hour after sunrise, the combined fleet came in sight of Louisburg. The fortress had one hundred and one cannon, seventy-six swivels and six mortars, and a garrison of sixteen hundred men. The harbor was also strongly defended by moat and bastions with thirty cannon. The New England forces had only eighteen cannon and three mortars, but no sooner did they come in sight of the city than, "letting down the whaleboats, they flew to the shore like eagles to the quarry." The French who came to oppose their landing were put to flight and driven into the woods.²

The next day four hundred men, led by William Vaughan, of New Hampshire, got in the rear of the shore battery, and the French, struck with panic, spiked the guns and left the work in the night. In the morning a vain attempt to recapture it was made.

The siege was pushed with vigor, but in a manner so unusual and so out of the track of regular military science that the garrison were bewildered by its vagaries. The weather was fair, and the marksmen picked off the men in the embrasures with unerr-

¹ Seth Pomeroy's MS. Wolcott's MS., Bancroft, III. 458.

² Wolcott's MS., in Bancroft, III. 460.

ing skill. Still no breach had been effected, and it was seriously proposed to attempt to carry the walls by escalade, when, on the 15th of June, a decisive event occurred.

The ships under Commodore Warren had rendered effective service in blockading the harbor. Without them it is probable that the colonists could not have achieved success. Duchambon, the French commandant, and his garrison were becoming despondent. Supplies were running short. The *Vigilant*, a French ship of sixty-four guns, and carrying stores for the fortress, was attacked in the harbor by Captain Douglas, of the *Mermaid*, and, after a sharp action of several hours, was captured in full sight of the garrison.

The hopeless Duchambon sent out a flag of truce, and on the 17th of June, 1745, the city, fortress and batteries were surrendered to combined naval and land forces. When news of the great event reached Boston the bells were rung, and all the people were in transports of joy.

The next year France made a stern effort for its recovery, but the large fleet commanded by the Duc D'Anville was wasted by storms, shipwrecks and pestilential diseases, was discouraged by the sudden death of one commander and the delirium and suicide of his successor, and did not even venture to attack Annapolis. In 1747 the French fleet, with troops destined for Canada and Nova Scotia, was encountered by Anson and Warren, and totally destroyed or captured.¹

A few unimportant conflicts took place on the frontiers; but the advantages were so decidedly in favor of England and her colonies that the Duke of Newcastle, as premier, conferred with Governor Shirley and Admiral Warren for arranging a united advance for the total conquest of Canada. But this was to be delayed by the results of diplomacy.

A congress of European nations was convened, in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and concluded a treaty of peace. The gigantic contest of four years, in which thousands of lives were sacrificed, resulted in nothing for the advancement of the human family. Madras was restored to England, but Cape Breton was restored to France. The boundaries between the British and French provinces in America were left unsettled.

The recovery of Louisburg by France under the treaty was a bitter disappointment to the colonies, especially to New Englanders, who called the day of its surrender "a black day, to be forever blotted out of New England calendars."² But they were learning the lesson which led to final independence.

¹ Bancroft, III. 463.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 128.

CHAPTER XXXII.

WAR OF ANGLO-AMERICAN ADVANCE.

HARDLY five years had passed after the inglorious treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle before the encroachments of the French upon the English colonies in America brought on a collision of arms. This contest was the inevitable result of the policy of France, of which we have already spoken. She made up in activity and enterprise what she wanted in calm perseverance. Her progress in permanent settlement in North America had been so slow that, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the French population, from Louisiana to the St. Lawrence, did not exceed fifty-two thousand souls, while the English colonies had probably as many as two million people.¹

Nevertheless, France pushed forward her *cordon* of military posts with zeal and skill, claiming the vast valley of the Mississippi and Ohio, and intending to shut out the English from this region, and thus confine them to a narrow strip of country extending barely five hundred miles back from the Atlantic.

New York made no effective resistance, but Pennsylvania, under the counsels of Benjamin Franklin, made earnest protest.² The Indians, also, of the Ohio valley—promiscuous bands of Delawares, Shawnees, and emigrant Iroquois—met in council at Logstown and resolved to oppose the progress of the French.

Tenacharisson—"the Half-King," as he was called—went to the French post below Erie, and, though rudely received, made his laconic speech, as follows: "Fathers, you are disturbers of this land by taking it away unknown to us and by force. This is our land and not yours. Fathers, both you and the English are white; we live in a country between. Therefore, the land belongs neither to the one nor the other of you. But the Great Being above allowed it to be a dwelling-place for us; so, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers, the English." He then offered a belt of wampum in token of peace.

The French commandant replied with haughty derision: "Child, you talk foolishly; you say this land belongs to you; but not so

¹ Marshall's Amer. Colon., (note) 259.

² Bancroft, IV. 107-108.

much of it as the black of your nail is yours. It is my land, and I will have it, let who will stand up against it;" and he threw the belt of wampum back with contempt.

The crisis came hastening on. Benjamin Franklin, at Carlisle, met in council the envoys of the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, and Miamis. They insisted that neither the French nor the English should settle in this country; but, as the French were most pressing, they offered to help the English to repel them.¹ Dr. Franklin made presents and a soothing speech to them; but he returned to the Pennsylvania authorities with the ominous report that the French had already established military posts at Erie, at Waterford, and at Venango, and were preparing to establish themselves on the banks of the Monongahela.

Governor Spotswood had continued his warnings; and in 1749 the English Parliament had so far heeded them as to create a corporation styled the "Ohio Company," composed of merchants in London and wealthy planters in Virginia. Six hundred thousand acres of land bordering on the Ohio were granted to them, and they were invested with the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians on their grant.²

This company might have done much to conciliate the Indians and stop the encroachments of the French; but their primary object was money-making. Soon their compasses, theodolites, chains and rods were seen by the savages in the hands of armed bodies of surveyors traversing the forests and plains of Ohio; and in answer to the simple and eager questions of the hapless red men they preserved a sullen silence, and went on with their work. We cannot wonder at the question of two Indian sachems to Gist, the agent of the Ohio Company: "Where lie the *Indians'* lands? for the French claim all on one side of the Ohio, and the English all on the other side."³

The English home government saw what was coming. When news arrived that the French had built a fort on the river Le Bœuf, which takes its rise not far from Erie, and is discharged into the Ohio, they made earnest, though fruitless, complaints to the ambassadors of France; and, pending negotiations, they instructed the colonists to defend themselves, to repel force by force, and to hold themselves ready for hostilities. With these instructions, thirty pieces of light artillery and eighty barrels of gunpowder were sent to Virginia.⁴

¹ Hazard's Regis., IV. 236.

² Holmes' Annals, II. 39. Grahame, III. 344. Burk, III. 170.

³ Sparks' Life of Washington, I. 23.

⁴ Sparks' Washington, I. 21. Chalmers' Rev. of Amer. Colon., II. 265.

Determined to proceed by fair and pacific means, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, prepared to send a message to the French commandant on the Ohio. For this purpose he selected George Washington, a young Virginian, whose name has since been placed among the very highest of all the men who have been leaders of their race in the pursuit of freedom and virtue. He was born in Westmoreland county, February 22d, 1732. He held the rank of major in the colonial military, and had gained much experience in western scenes and hardships by surveying vast bodies of land for Lord Fairfax in the upper parts of the Northern Neck and the Valley of Virginia.

He left Williamsburg, bearing the governor's passport and instructions, on the 31st of October, 1753, and in fourteen days reached Wills' creek, on the Potomac. His party consisted of eight persons, one of whom was Gist, the former agent of the Ohio Company. Over rugged mountains and ice-bound rivers, through gloomy forests, wherein lurked treacherous savages, they made their way.

Washington's observant eye noted the point where the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers unite to form the majestic Ohio. He saw that it was a suitable place for a strong fort, and determined that, if possible, Virginia should have one there.¹ He did not then see the coming tragedy.

At Logstown, on the Ohio, he met the Half-King, Tenacharison, and many Indian braves, and addressed them, telling the object of his mission, and asking their aid. Already jealous of the French, they answered very favorably.

Guided by the chief and three other Indians, Washington and his party marched a distance of one hundred and twenty miles from the Ohio to the French post. St. Pierre, the commandant, a knight of the military order of St. Louis, received him courteously, and, after reading the message of Governor Dinwiddie with respect, made reply that it was not for him to determine territorial rights and treaty obligations; that he would transmit the message to his superior, the Marquis Duquesne, then governing Canada, but that in the meantime he could not obey any summons to retire.²

With this reply, George Washington made his way back to Williamsburg. Twice his life was nearly lost—once by a treacherous shot from an Indian; once by being thrown overboard from his raft into the rushing waters of the Alleghany. But a Divine

¹ Sparks, I. 26. Marshall's Washington, II. 4.

² Burk, III. 174, 175. Smollett's Contin., VIII. 490, 491. Compare Gordon, I. 88.

Power kept him safe, for his life's work was only begun. On the 16th January, 1754, he delivered to the governor the answer of St. Pierre.

It was, of course, the prelude to war. But this war was essentially different from the previous wars between France and England which had involved the colonies. This war was so intensely colonial in its origin and nature that it was actually in fierce progress for nearly two years before a declaration of the war took place in Europe.

This stern contest of more than seven years has generally been styled in histories of the United States "the French and Indian war." But this name is inappropriate and misleading. Each of the three wars previously waged, and known as "King William's," "Queen Anne's" and "King George's," was emphatically a "French and Indian war," more so even than this. Neither could this war be properly styled a war of English success, for it had many English defeats; nor a war of English triumph, for it had many English humiliations. But it was certainly, in its progress and results, a "war of Anglo-American advance." It annihilated the dominion of France in the north and west, and prepared for the North American republic established by the war of the Revolution.

When Washington's journal of his late embassy to St. Pierre was published in London it excited deep interest. The ministry advised the colonies to unite for common defence. In 1741, Daniel Coxe had proposed an extended "Plan of Union," and thirteen years afterwards, through the influence of Benjamin Franklin, a convention was held at Albany, July 4th, 1754, and a draft of "Articles of Union" had been presented by him, which, if adopted, would have drawn the colonies into close chartered contact. But this plan was not agreed on. The colonists thought it gave too much power to the mother country. English statesmen thought it gave too much independence to the colonies. These curiously conflicting views are strong evidence of the wisdom and moderation of the plan;¹ but they sufficed to defeat it.

Thus the colonists were left only to such union as a sense of common danger might bring, and such help as England might give. The French made the first aggression. George Washington led the first movement to repel it.

The Ohio Company sent a force of forty-one Virginians to erect a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers. The Virginia assembly had voted ten thousand pounds

¹ Grahame, III. 377, 378. A. H. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 175.

for defence, and Governor Dinwiddie had caused six companies of provincial troops to be raised, commanded by Colonel Joshua Fry, a native of England, but with Washington as lieutenant-colonel, second in command. Two companies being ready, he marched without delay from Alexandria to Wills' creek. Here he learned that the French were already in motion. A force consisting of nearly one thousand men, in three hundred canoes, with several pieces of artillery, the whole commanded by M. Contre-cœur, had poured down on the men of the Ohio Company, driven them from their work, and had completed the fort, which, in honor of the Governor of Canada, was called Fort Duquesne.¹

Washington advanced cautiously. Colonel Fry had not yet joined him. After the assault on the Ohio Company's men, he was compelled to regard the French as enemies. On the 28th of May, 1754, at daybreak, the first collision took place. A simultaneous fire occurred; the provincials rushed forward, and the French surrendered, having lost their commander, M. Jumonville, and ten of their number. Washington's loss was one killed and three wounded.²

Colonel Fry had died suddenly at Wills' creek. Thus the whole command devolved on Washington. Tenacharisson, the Half-King, and other friendly Indians, warned him that enemies were approaching "as numerous as pigeons in the woods." He fell back to the "Great Meadows," not far from the Yohogany. He had now about four hundred effective men. He worked hard to complete the stockade fort here, which he called "Fort Necessity." Before the work was done, fifteen hundred French and Indians, under M. De Villier, advanced on it. They were confident of easy victory; but they were mistaken. The position of the fort showed Washington's judgment. It was in the midst of an even meadow, without a point of concealment within two hundred and fifty yards. As the enemy came up, they commenced firing at long distance, but their shot were thrown away, and when they ventured nearer they were rapidly shot down by the keen marksmen within the work. From ten o'clock in the morning till dark the engagement continued. Washington was most of the time outside the wall encouraging his men, who were often up to their knees in mud and water.³

De Villier had already lost two hundred men killed or disabled. He had met a determined foe. He asked a parley. Captain Vanbraam, a Dutch soldier, was sent out to him. On the 4th of July,

¹ Burk, III. 176. Sparks' Washington, I. 43. Gordon's Amer., I. 89.

² Compare Sparks, I. 46, with Burk, III. 177. Marshall, II. 7.

³ Sparks, I. 55. Marshall, II. 9.

1754, articles highly honorable to the provincials were agreed on. They were to retain all their arms, except the artillery; to march out with drums beating and colors flying; to keep as much of their baggage as they could carry away, and to proceed, unmolested by the savages, to the frontiers of Virginia.¹

The articles of capitulation were in the French language, and contained the expression: "*L'assassinat de M. Jumonville.*" Vanbraam, who knew little of the language, explained this to Washington (who then knew less of it than Vanbraam) as meaning simply, "the death of M. Jumonville." So artfully was the matter arranged that, when accounts of the opening of hostilities, with a copy of the articles of surrender, were published in Paris, profound emotion was excited. Jumonville was looked on as an assassinated hero. Washington was vilified as his murderer, and an epic poem was written on the tragedy!² Years elapsed before France did justice to the great man of America.

When all the facts of this campaign were known, the Virginia assembly passed a vote of thanks to Washington, and appropriated three hundred pistoles to the wants of his men.

War, though not yet declared in Europe, was begun in America, and England prepared to sustain her territorial and colonial rights. Negotiations between France and England still continued, with proposition after proposition, as to possessions in North America, unacceptable and rejected on each side.³ Louis XV. sent three thousand French troops to America, while yet professing earnest desires for peace. England did the same in substance.

Early in 1755, Major-General Edward Braddock arrived at Alexandria, in Virginia, accompanied by two regiments from Ireland, and soon followed by the *Sea Horse* and *Nightingale*, ships of war giving convoy to transports with more troops and military supplies. In April, General Braddock, with Commodore Keppel of the squadron, met in war council, at Alexandria, Governors Shirley, of Massachusetts; De Lancy, of New York; Morris, of Pennsylvania; Sharpe, of Maryland, and Dinwiddie, of Virginia.⁴ The first subject discussed was finance, and Braddock's anger was kindled "that no fund had yet been provided" in America. But soon the more pressing danger was considered. Four expeditions were planned—one by Lawrence, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, for the complete reduction of that province; one by Col. William Johnson, selected because of his intimate familiarity

¹ Compare Chalmers' Rev. Am. Colon., II. 269, with Sparks, I. 56.

² Howe, 94. Sparks, I. 47-49. Washington's letter, in Marshall, II., Append. 20-23.

³ Bancroft, IV. 176, 177.

⁴ H. Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, 19th April, 1755. Bancroft, IV. 177.

with the "Six Nations," to conduct an army of provincials and Indians against Crown Point; one by Governor Shirley against Niagara, and one (regarded as most important) by General Brad-dock himself, for the capture of Fort Duquesne and expulsion of the French from the Ohio valley.¹

The expedition that moved first was that intended to complete the reduction of Acadia. It was entirely successful, but it was followed by a wholesale act of violence and merciless power which has ever since brought reproach on the English name.

By the treaty of Utrecht, Acadia, or Nova Scotia, was ceded to England; but the cession was only of the peninsula itself. The isthmus, barely fifteen miles wide, was still held by the French, and they had fortified it at two points—one, a small stockade at the mouth of the little river Gaspereaux, near Bay Verde; the other, the strong and costly fortress of Beau-Séjour, on the north side of the river Messagouche, on the Bay of Fundy.² And though the whole peninsula was recognized as belonging to England, yet her supremacy was only marked by "the name of Annapolis, the presence of a feeble English garrison, and the emigration of hardly five or six English families."³ The inhabitants were French, and they still loved the language and the usages of their forefathers, and their religion was graven upon their souls. They promised submission to England, but would not fight against France. Though conquered, they were French neutrals.

"For nearly forty years from the peace of Utrecht they had been forgotten or neglected, and had prospered in their seclusion. No tax-gatherer counted their folds; no magistrate dwelt in their hamlets. The parish priest made their records, and regulated their successions. Their little disputes were settled among themselves, with scarcely an instance of an appeal to English authority at Annapolis. The pastures were covered with their herds and flocks; and dikes, raised by extraordinary efforts of social industry, shut out the rivers and the tide from alluvial marshes of exuberant fertility. The meadows, thus reclaimed, were covered by richest grasses or fields of wheat that yielded fifty and thirty fold at the harvest. Their houses were built in clusters, neatly constructed and comfortably furnished, and around them all kinds of domestic fowls abounded. With the spinning-wheel and the loom, their women made—of flax from their own fields, of fleeces from their own flocks—coarse, but sufficient, clothing. The few foreign luxuries that were coveted could be obtained from Annapolis or Louisburg, in return for furs or wheat or cattle."⁴

¹ Flassan. *Diplom. Française*, VI. 34. Bancroft, IV. 182, 183. Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 175, 176.

² Bancroft, IV. 197.

³ *Ibid.*, IV. 194.

⁴ Raynal, *Mascarene*, Bancroft, IV. 194, 195.

Thus were these Acadians happy in their neutrality and their simplicity. They numbered about sixteen thousand souls.

But the English rule was intensely distasteful to them. Their priests especially were kindled into fervor at the thought that heretics, as they esteemed the English, were to surround, and perhaps to overwhelm, the ancient Acadians. "Better," said the priests, "surrender your meadows to the sea, and your houses to the flames, than, at the peril of your souls, take the oath of allegiance to the British government." This spirit wrought counter-irritation, and the English rule was harsh. Given up to military masters, the Acadians had no redress in civil tribunals. Their papers and records, witnessing the titles to their estates, were often taken from them. When their property was required for public uses, "they were not to be bargained with for the payment."¹ There was no love between rulers and ruled.

When the total reduction of Nova Scotia was undertaken, Massachusetts cheerfully levied seven thousand nine hundred soldiers—nearly one-fifth of her able-bodied men. A strong detachment took part in the attack on the French forts on the Acadian isthmus. In June, 1755, the English ships approached, and landed fifteen hundred provincials with three hundred regulars and a train of artillery. The forts were besieged, and both soon surrendered, with a loss to the English of only twenty men killed and as many wounded.² Thus were the Acadians at the mercy of their conquerors; and mercy was not granted.

They declined at first to take the oath of allegiance to the British government. Afterwards, when, discovering that they were helpless, they expressed their willingness to take the oath, they were informed that it was too late—that by a clause in a British statute, persons who had once refused the oaths could not afterwards be permitted to take them, but were to be considered as "Popish recusants" and liable to imprisonment.³

The harsh treatment of those poor Acadians was entirely the work of the British government. The American colonists had no agency in it, except in official forms under command. The great American poet Longfellow, in his "Evangeline" has told of this melancholy episode.

The English minister, Halifax, and his colleagues expressed the opinion that, by the treaty of Utrecht, these people of Acadia were bound to become British subjects within one year, or forfeit their titles to their lands. All questions involved were referred

¹ Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, I. 169. Bancroft, IV. 196.

² Lawrence to the Lords of Trade, 28th June, 1755. Bancroft, IV. 198.

³ Statute George II., c. xlii.

to Belcher, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, who decided against the right of the Acadians to remain.¹

A few fled to Quebec and other parts of New France ; but not less than seven thousand were driven on board ships and scattered among the English colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia—one thousand and twenty to South Carolina alone. Some made their way to the French settlements in Louisiana. The fate of these banished people, as far as traced, was sad beyond description.²

¹ Halifax to Lawrence, Oct., 1755. Bancroft, with references, IV. 199-202.

² See Bancroft, IV. 204-206.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WASHINGTON, BRADDOCK, MONTCALM, WOLFE.

THE expedition of General Braddock against Fort Duquesne moved next in time, and resulted in one of the most frightful disasters to the British arms recorded in American history. It seemed as though the merciless policy of England towards the people of Acadia was to recoil upon the country that practiced it.

Braddock had heard of Washington and sought his aid. He listened to his military counsels, and had he heeded them would have escaped the disgrace and death that were hastening upon him. But, though brave, he was puffed up with pride and self-conceit. He believed that his regiments of British regulars could not be defeated by the warfare of the American forests. Washington knew better than he how formidable that warfare was, unless met by similar strategy.

The British force moved from Alexandria in April, 1755. Two regiments from Ireland, in admirable condition, and several bodies of provincial troops, comprised a total of nearly two thousand five hundred men. Braddock commanded in chief, and under him were Colonel Dunbar, Sir Peter Halket, and many other English officers; Colonel Washington and others of the colonies, almost equally distinguished.

When they reached Wills' creek, where a fort had been erected by Colonel Innes, and called Cumberland after the Duke, an unexpected delay took place, caused by the failure of Virginia contractors to supply wagons and teams. General Braddock fell into a paroxysm of rage at this disappointment; but Benjamin Franklin, with good humor and address, succeeded in inducing the Pennsylvania farmers to supply one hundred and fifty wagons, with their teams.¹ Thus the army was enabled to move slowly forward.

The delays, and his constant exposure, fatigue and anxiety, preyed on Washington's health, and in June he was prostrated several days by fever, and was only well enough to join the army a few days before the crisis.

¹Sparks, I. 62. Note in Burk, III. 196.

But his advice was sought by the superior officers and approved by a council of war. Under it the heavy baggage and part of the force were left behind, and a select body of troops was pushed rapidly forward upon Fort Duquesne. Twelve hundred men, embracing nearly all the provincials, made the advance. But Braddock would not yield to Washington's advice that the provincial rangers, and all the friendly Indians they could enlist, should constantly scour the woods and fastnesses in advance of the regulars.¹

To avoid a rugged and circuitous road, Braddock crossed the Monongahela twice at a bend, so as to secure a direct road to Fort Duquesne. On the morning of the 9th of July, 1755, the army was in regular march, and eye-witnesses have told us that a sight more brilliant and picturesque has seldom been presented. The British troops were in full uniform. Three hundred regulars, under Colonel Gage, led the advance. Their bayonets glittered in the sun, and the flash of warlike steel contrasted strangely with the deep and peaceful verdure of the forest shade. By one o'clock the whole army had passed the second crossing of the Monongahela and was ascending the slope from its banks, within seven miles of Fort Duquesne.²

Suddenly a terrible fire of rifles and musketry was opened on them from foes concealed in the long grass and ravines around them. Not an Indian or Frenchman could be seen, but their weapons poured death upon the regulars. Volley followed volley in quick succession, and every shot told with fatal power among the English troops. In confusion, the grenadiers halted and sought to return the fire, but obviously without effect. Brave men became appalled by deadly blows from unseen enemies. As their numbers were thinned, the regulars lost all presence of mind, and, falling back in dismay upon their comrades, involved the whole army in disorder. General Braddock was a brave man, but he knew not how to fight this battle. He attempted to form his men into platoons and solid columns. The result was appalling. Crowded together in masses, the British soldiers kept up a wavering fire, which did little harm to the foe, and was often fatal to their own comrades and officers. Upon these masses the French and Indian sharpshooters poured fatal volleys. The English were cut down in numbers, and it was soon evident that their total defeat was at hand.³

In no modern battle have more officers been killed or disabled in proportion to their whole number than in this murderous ac-

¹ Gordon's *America*, I. 95. Grimshaw's *U. S.*, 85.

² Grahame, III. 396. Sparks, I. 65, 66.

³ Grahame, III. 397. Burk, III. 202. Sparks, I. 66.

tion. Had Braddock ordered up his ten pieces of light artillery, he might have raked the woods with grape-shot, and given time to his soldiers to recover from their confusion; but the regular army officers, though of dauntless courage, knew nothing of forest warfare. The Indians knew them by their brilliant uniforms, and brought them down with their rifles. Out of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or wounded.¹

In this drama of death, only the colonial troops retained their courage and efficiency. They spread themselves in the wood, and from the shelter of trees returned the fire of the enemy with effect. Yet no part of the army suffered more. "They fought like men and died like soldiers."²

Out of one Virginia company of twenty-nine, twenty-five were killed. Of another, commanded by Captain Polson, a single private was the only survivor. Captain Peronny, who had been with Washington at the Great Meadows, was killed, as was every officer of his command, down to the lowest corporal. Thirty men were all that remained of three full Virginia companies that had gone into the battle.

On this fatal day Colonel Washington displayed consummate courage and ability. Two of Braddock's aides had fallen, and on the young colonial officer fell the perilous duty of distributing his general's commands. Two horses were shot under him. Four bullets pierced his clothing. An eye-witness watched him with thrilling interest, expecting every moment to see him fall.³ An Indian chief marked him, as he rode again and again through the field, and, taking deliberate aim with his rifle, fired and missed. He repeated the fire, but in vain. Calling several of his red men around him, he directed all their rifles on Colonel Washington; but every shot was harmless. The savages desisted, in superstitious fear that the Great Manitou protected his life.⁴

Three-fourths of Braddock's officers had fallen. Sir Peter Halket fell by the first fire; a few moments afterwards a son of Governor Shirley fell. For three hours the carnage continued; yet the commander-in-chief was unhurt. He displayed heroic courage, exposing himself to the hottest fire, and using every exertion to restore confidence to his troops. Three horses fell under him. At last a musket ball, fired (according to a belief long prevalent in Pennsylvania) accidentally or intentionally by one of his own men, pierced his right arm, and, passing through his

¹ Sparks, I. 67.

² Burk, III. 205.

³ Dr. Craik, in Marshall, II. 19.

⁴ Sparks' Washington's Writings, II. 475. Append. and Life, I. 68, 69, note. Taylor's Cent. U. S., 109.

lungs, inflicted a mortal wound.¹ Washington, with Captain Stewart, of the Guards, brought him from the field.

The rout of the English army was now complete. The regulars broke and fled in dismay towards the river. Artillery, ammunition, baggage, colors, stores, all were abandoned to the enemy. Probably this saved the army from total destruction. The savages revelled in plunder, and the French officers could not persuade them to leave the field and join in the pursuit.² Yet the result was sufficiently disastrous. Out of twelve hundred who had crossed the river in the morning, sixty-three officers and seven hundred and fourteen privates were killed or wounded. Of the enemy, not more than forty were killed, and probably all by the colonial troops.

The remnant of the English army retreated to the camp of Colonel Dunbar, where Braddock died. A rapid and ruinous retreat was continued. The artillery was left; the heavy baggage was abandoned or burned; the public stores were destroyed; the retrograde movement was not arrested until they reached Wills' creek, one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Duquesne. Colonel Dunbar seems to have feared for the shattered remnant of his army even in Winchester, and in a short time he led them to winter quarters in Philadelphia.³

Yet, amid all this darkness, the conspicuous merit of Washington appeared. The Virginia assembly voted to him three hundred pounds, and proportionate sums to other colonial officers and privates who had borne themselves bravely in the battle of the Monongahela. Samuel Davies, one of the most eloquent of American divines, named Washington as an object for the admiration of Christian patriots.⁴ The appointment of commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces was tendered to him, and accepted on his own terms. His chief exertions were to repress Indian raids and cruelties in Western Virginia.

We have seen that one part of the plan of campaign for 1755 was a movement of Governor Shirley against Niagara, an important point at the mouth of Niagara river, where it enters Lake Ontario. Shirley, who ranked next to General Braddock, had an effective force of not less than two thousand men. The works at Niagara were weak and rotten, and the garrison was only thirty men, poorly armed. It had been intended that Shirley, after capturing this place, should await the arrival of Braddock, whose triumph at Fort Duquesne had been confidently expected.

¹ Howe's Hist. Col., 97. Note in Sparks, I. 63.

² Marshall, II. 19. Grahame, III. 398.

³ Smollett's Contin., VIII. 542.

⁴ Sparks, I. 71.

But on his march Governor Shirley heard of the fatal defeat and death of Braddock. He and his men became disheartened. On the 21st of August, 1755, he reached Oswego (now in New York), and began to build boats. But on the 18th of September a storm came; head-winds prevailed; sickness weakened his force; Indians deserted; the season was unpropitious. But he was not "outgeneraled by the French," as a historian has stated.¹ He constructed a new fort at Oswego, placed Colonel Mercer in command, with a garrison of seven hundred men; and, abandoning all attack on Niagara, he led the rest of his army back to New England.²

When General Braddock's troops sailed from Ireland, the French government, hardly satisfied with the English assurance that they meant only to resist encroachments on England's rights, thought it safest to send a fleet to Canada, with reinforcements, under the brave veteran, Baron Dieskau. Admiral Boscawen, with his ships of war, pursued this French fleet. On the 8th of June, 1755, parts of the two fleets were near each other; the *Alcide*, under Hocquart, was within hearing of the *Dunkirk*, of sixty guns, under Howe. "Are we at peace or war?" asked Hocquart. The French witnesses affirm that the answer was, "Peace! peace!"³ But soon afterwards Boscawen gave the signal to engage. Howe, brave and taciturn, obeyed promptly, and captured the *Alcide* and *Lys*. The *Dauphin*, though very near, being a good sailer, escaped. In June, the larger part of the fleet, with Dieskau and his troops, landed at Quebec. De Vaudreuil superseded Duquesne as governor, and, being a native of Canada, was cordially received by her people.⁴

And so the Baron Dieskau was the French military commander when the expedition of Col. William Johnson against Crown Point was undertaken, according to the plan agreed on at Alexandria.

Johnson was a native of Ireland, but, by invitation of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, had come to New York as manager of an immense landed estate, chiefly in the valley of the Mohawk, acquired by the admiral by his marriage with Etienne De Lancey of the New York colony. Johnson had administered his trust with conspicuous skill, conciliating the Mohawks and others of the "Six Nations" by his honesty and justice, never dealing with them when they were intoxicated, and acquiring their several dialects so perfectly that he spoke them as well as the natives. The

¹ Eggleston's Household U. S., 133.

² Bancroft, IV. 213. Stephens, 177.

³ *Précis des Faits*, Walpole's Mem. of George II., I. 389. Bancroft, IV. 183.

⁴ Bancroft, IV. 183, 184.

Mohawks adopted him, made him a sachem, and gave him the title of "Wariaghejaghe," which means "he who has charge of affairs."¹ In 1743 he was appointed by the English rulers sole superintendent of Indians in North America. His residence was a large and massive stone dwelling, built and fortified by him, on the north side of the Mohawk river, opposite to Warrensburg, and appropriately called "Fort Johnson." It may still be seen about three miles west of the village of Amsterdam in New York.

Knowing his ability and influence, General Braddock invited him to the conference at Alexandria, and commissioned him as major-general, with directions and full authority to raise and conduct an expedition against Crown Point. Troops from New England and New York promptly responded to his call. Five hundred foresters of New Hampshire, among whom was Lieutenant John Stark, marched to Albany. The Connecticut and Massachusetts men were commanded by their major-general, Phineas Lyman, an officer of courage and skill in forest warfare.

Baron Dieskau commanded the French, and for defence of Crown Point called out every able-bodied man in the district of Montreal. This swept the country so completely of men that reapers were sent up from Three Rivers and Quebec to gather in the harvest.²

Towards the close of August, 1755, General Johnson, at the head of an untrained army of thirty-four hundred men, made up of colonists and Indians, advanced across the portage of twelve miles between the upper waters of the Hudson and the beautiful lake, called by the Indians "Horican," and by the French "the Lake of the Holy Sacrament." In honor of his king, Johnson changed the name to "Lake George," and by this name it has since been known.

Two forts had been constructed: Fort William Henry, at the eastern head of Lake George, and Fort Edward, about half way on the road between George and Champlain.³

Dieskau's maxim was: "Boldness wins."⁴ For the defence of the weak fortress at Crown Point, seven hundred French soldiers, sixteen hundred Canadians and seven hundred Indians had assembled; but at least three hundred were emigrants from the "Six Nations," and, therefore, of very doubtful fidelity to the French.

Taking with him six hundred Canadians, six hundred Indians and two hundred regulars, Dieskau ascended to the head of Champlain, and made a three days' march, intending at night-fall

¹ Art. Johnson, Sir William, New Amer. Encyclop., X. 34.

² Breard to the French Minister, 13th August, 1755. Bancroft, IV. 207.

³ Holmes' U. S., note, 76, 77.

⁴ Doreil to the Minister, 28th October, 1755.

of the fourth day to attack Fort Edward; but the guides took a false route, and at night Dieskau's troops were four miles from Fort Edward, on the road to Lake George. The savages, never very obedient to orders, refused to go against Fort Edward, where they expected to be met by intrenchments and artillery, but were willing to march against the camp at Fort George.

Hearing of their approach, General Johnson sent out a body of troops, consisting of a thousand colonists, under Col. Ephraim Williams, of Massachusetts, and two hundred warriors of the "Six Nations," under Hendrick, their chief, well known for his clear voice, flashing eye and gray hair. Colonel Williams was a man of wealth and high character. In passing through Albany, on this campaign, he made his will and bequeathed a large sum to found a college, which has ever since borne his name. Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, was a private soldier in this body.¹ But they marched incautiously, and fell into an ambuscade of French and Indian enemies.

Yet already Dieskau was experiencing the peril of disaffected savages. The Mohawk emigrants of his army revealed themselves to their brethren, and left the Abenakis and Canadians to make the attack.

On the morning of September 8th, 1755, this opening collision occurred. At the first fire, Colonel Williams and the brave Hendrick fell. Forty Indians and a number of whites were slain. The English forces fell back, but were rallied, and commenced their retreat under Col. Nathan Whiting, of New Haven, often turning on the enemy and delivering a deadly fire. A force had been sent out to help them, and thus Dieskau was kept at bay.²

This gallant Frenchman advanced, confident of victory; but he was met by a sturdy resistance, and in the very crisis of the fight he found his Indian allies untrue. The Iroquois, on a rising ground, stood inactive; the Abenakis halted, and the Canadians lost heart. In a wilderness of pitch-pines, barely within gunshot, these skulkers crouched together below an undergrowth of shrubs and brakes. Dieskau bitterly exclaimed: "Are these the so much vaunted troops?" He pushed his regulars forward, and a bloody encounter followed. General Johnson was wounded in the thigh and borne from the field. But for five hours the colonial troops, under Lyman and his brother officers, maintained the battle. They were keen marksmen, and took careful aim, cutting down the French regulars in hundreds, and nearly destroying them. Dieskau was twice wounded, but refused to leave the

¹ Bancroft, IV. 209, 210.

² C. B. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 110.

field. At last two Canadians came to remove him ; one was shot dead ; he dismissed the other, and supported himself on the stump of a tree. A soldier—said to have been a renegade Frenchman—came up. Dieskau, thinking his purpose was plunder, put his hand to his pocket to draw out his watch. The soldier, fearing he was drawing a pistol, fired and shot him through the body, inflicting a wound which was finally mortal, though Dieskau lived, part of the time a prisoner, for eleven years thereafter.¹

The French retreated, with heavy loss, to the scene of the ambuscade in the morning. But disaster followed them. While they were sitting in fancied security eating a hasty meal, Captain McGinnies, of New Hampshire, who had marched from Fort Edward with two hundred men, suddenly fell upon them. The rout was complete, and attended with severe loss to the French, although McGinnies himself fell.²

Thus three distinct battles were fought in this one day. The loss to the French was not less than seven hundred in killed and wounded, besides many prisoners. The English loss was two hundred and sixteen killed and ninety-six wounded. These battles, for the numbers engaged, were sanguinary ; and several localities, known as "French Mountain," "Williams' Rock" and "Bloody Pond," are yet witnesses of these fierce combats.³

The English ministry had been greatly depressed by Braddock's defeat. They were correspondingly elated by the success of the army under Johnson. They made him a baronet, and voted him five thousand pounds ; and the House of Lords, in an elegant address, praised the colonists as "brave and faithful." But praises were not the substantial rewards of merit which ought to have been bestowed. All in the colonies knew that the success was theirs.⁴

Governor Shirley and a council of war urged Sir William Johnson to advance ; but he did not, upon the plea that he was not strong enough to attack the intrenchments at Crown Point. The French strengthened themselves at Ticonderoga. Johnson completed Fort William Henry, near Lake George ; garrisoned it with six hundred men, and when winter approached dismissed the New England troops to their homes, and retired to his own strong stone residence near the Mohawk river.⁵

War was formally declared between England and France in May, 1756. For more than a year it had been openly waged in

¹ Goodrich's *Pict. U. S.*, 154. Bancroft, *IV.* 211. *New Amer. Encyclop.*, VI. 465. Thalhimer's *Eclec. U. S.*, 103. Quackenbos, 168, 169.

² C. B. Taylor's *Centen. U. S.*, 110. ³ *Ibid.*, 110, 111.

⁴ Bancroft, *IV.* 212. Quackenbos' *U. S.*, 169.

⁵ Bancroft, *IV.* 212, 213. A. S. Barnes' *U. S.*, 86.

North America. And now for seven years a stern contest of arms was continued in every part of the world in which these two belligerent nations could grapple with each other.

At its beginning, the English ministry embraced no mind of commanding power, and their feebleness projected itself into America. The Earl of Loudon, a friend of the minister Halifax, and a man passionately zealous for the policy of keeping the colonies in subordination and inferiority to the mother country in all respects, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant and Captain-General in North America. His dignity was enhanced by his appointment as "governor of the central, ancient and populous dominion of Virginia."¹ His commission was very broad, giving him military power independent of the colonial governors and superior to them. He was also to make American assemblies "distinctly and precisely understand that the king required of them a general fund, to be issued and applied as the commander-in-chief should direct, and provision for all such charges as might arise from furnishing quarters."²

Thus the powers of the sword and of the purse were united in one hand; and that was the hand of one who had no military genius and very small military knowledge, and who was weak and sluggish in intellect, and so little honest in character that he accused Benjamin Franklin of dishonesties in the postal service of the colonies by reason of losses caused chiefly by his own narrow and unprincipled policy.³ Disasters might have been expected under his rule.

On the side of France, a very different commander-in-chief was sent to Canada in the person of Louis Joseph De Saint Véran, Marquis De Montcalm. He had been in military service since his fourteenth year, and had already gained a name which has since become immortal in American history.

He landed at Quebec about the last of May, 1756. Difficulties surrounded him, arising from the failure of successive harvests in New France, the paucity of the population, the loss of Acadia and its occupation by English forces, and the hostilities between the "Six Nations" and the Indian tribes under the influence of France.⁴ But with indomitable courage and address, he set himself to the work of organizing a military force adequate for attack and defence.

His first movement was against the forts, Oswego and Ontario, on the lake of the last name, which, as we have seen, had been

¹ Bancroft, IV. 228, 229.

² Commission and Instructions to Loudon, Bancroft, IV. 229.

³ Grahame, IV. 1, 2. Franklin's Memoirs, note, p. 2.

⁴ Art. Montcalm, Amer. Encyclop., XI. 678.

completed and garrisoned by Governor Shirley. Montcalm collected three regiments and a large body of Indians at Montreal, reviewed them at Frontenac on the 5th of August, 1756, and on the evening of the same day anchored at Sackett's harbor.

Oswego, on the right of the river, was a stone fortification with a wall and bastions, but commanded by the opposite summit, on which Shirley had erected Fort Ontario. Against the latter, on the 12th of August, Montcalm opened his batteries. The garrison kept up their defensive fire until their ammunition was exhausted. They then spiked their cannon and retreated to Oswego. Montcalm instantly occupied the deserted work and turned its guns on the lower fort. Colonel Mercer was killed; a breach was made. The French were just about to storm the works on the 14th, when the garrison, sixteen hundred strong, capitulated. Only forty-five had been killed. But the prisoners of war were carried in triumph down the St. Lawrence river; their colors, as trophies, decorated the churches of Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec; and one hundred and twenty cannon, six vessels of war, three hundred boats, with stores of ammunition and provisions, and three chests of money, fell into the hands of the victors.¹

This success brought joy to Frenchmen, Canadians and savages. The missionaries planted a cross, bearing on one side, "This is the banner of victory," and on the other, "Bring lilies with full hands." Montcalm felt this triumph, but to allay the jealousy of the natives, he caused both forts—Oswego and Ontario—to be razed to the ground.²

The Indians of the Ohio valley, moved by this success of the French, and faithless to their treaties, fell upon the settlements which were extending in the west and committed cruel havoc. But three resolute companies of Pennsylvania, under Col. John Armstrong, struck the Delawares a blow so sudden and severe that they soon sought peace. Kittanning, their chief town, was captured and destroyed.³

Had the Earl of Loudon been prompt and resolute, he could have saved Ontario and Oswego. But his inefficiency became more and more apparent as the war went on.

In December, 1756, William Pitt became the Prime Minister of England, and was commissioned to form a new cabinet. The moment his mighty hand grasped the helm of the ship of state, it seemed as though the heavens began to brighten and the storms to lose their power. Incompetent officers, civil and military,

¹ De Vaudreuil to the Ministers, 30th Aug., 1756. Bancroft, IV. 239. Quackenbos, 170, 171.

² Bancroft, IV. 239.

³ Thalheimer's *Eclat*. U. S., p. 103. Bancroft, IV. 242.

were dismissed, and stronger men were put in their places. Everywhere preparations were pushed forward for meeting the French armies with success.¹

But Montcalm also was active in America. His rapidity was in curious contrast to the sluggishness of Loudon. At the close of the spring of 1757, this inefficient earl was at Halifax with an English fleet of sixteen ships of the line and several frigates, and a well-equipped army of ten thousand men. Instead of moving instantly against Louisburg, and to sustain the forts on the lakes against Montcalm, Loudon planted a vegetable garden, leveled uneven ground for a parade, and passed a precious season in exercising his men in mock-battles, sieges, and stormings of play-fortresses. By the middle of August the war spirit of his army had evaporated. Charles Lee (then a subaltern, afterwards a general in the American Revolutionary army) grew nearly frantic, and Major-General Lord Charles Hay expressed contempt so openly that Loudon had him arrested. At last the expedition sailed, apparently for Louisburg; but reconnoitering vessels brought news that the French fleet at Cape Breton had one more ship than the English! On this unworthy plea, Loudon abandoned the enterprise. Part of the soldiers returned to inactivity in Halifax. Loudon sailed to New York, and arrived just in time to hear of a sad reverse to the English fortunes on the lakes.²

The French officers had exerted themselves successfully to rouse the Indian tribes against the English possessions. At a congress at Montreal, Vaudreuil had addressed the chiefs of thirty-three nations—some from Maine and Acadia, some from Lakes Superior and Huron, and some from the Iroquois of New York. He said: "The English have built a fort on the lands of Onontio (meaning the King of France); I am ordered to destroy it. Go, see what I shall do, that when you return to your mats you may tell what you have seen." They took the belt of wampum, and answered: "Father, we are come to do your will."³ And Montcalm, by his personal magnetism, attracted irresistibly these sons of the forest. They almost idolized him. Day after day at Montreal he joined them in singing the war songs of the tribes. He was soon at the head of nearly ten thousand men, more than half of whom were Indians.

Provisions were scarce; the harvests of Canada had failed, and the French government had not sent food-ships, fearing that they would be captured by the English cruisers. Montcalm knew

¹ Bancroft, IV. 247-249.

² Bancroft, IV. 258. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 178.

³ Vaudreuil to Fr. Min., Bancroft, IV. 259.

that what was to be done must be done without delay. He pressed forward, by way of Ticonderoga, upon Fort William Henry, at the south end of the beautiful Lake George.

Meanwhile his savage partisans, under Marin, two hundred in number, had made a successful raid to the very borders of Fort Edward, and had brought back forty-two scalps and only one prisoner! Montcalm's own narrative betrays the atrocity of spirit engendered by these wars. He wrote as to Marin: "He did not amuse himself with making prisoners." And a yell of joy arose in his camp when the scalps were seen.¹

On the 24th of July, the Indians of his force made a sudden rush on twenty-two barges on the lake, under Captain Palmer, killed many boatmen, and took one hundred and sixty prisoners.

General Webb, one of the incompetent appointees of the weak Earl of Loudon, was in command at Fort Edward, with four thousand men. Alarmed at these Indian irruptions, he marched, with a heavy force, to Fort William Henry, but marched back just in time to escape the impending siege. Montcalm kept all his savage warriors enthused and ardent for the siege by producing to them, in the name of Louis XV. of France, a mighty belt of six thousand shells, which, being accepted, bound them, by ties the most solemn known to them, to continue to the end of the expedition.²

Fort William Henry was commanded by Colonel Monro, a brave and skillful officer of Scottish descent, who had under him about five hundred men in the fort and seventeen hundred in the adjoining outworks and field.³ The French and Indians rowed across the lake, formed rapidly, and advanced so suddenly that the English out-forces barely escaped to the fort, leaving barracks, stragglers, cattle and horses to the enemy.

On the 4th of August, 1757, Montcalm had completed his investment, having, with his subordinates, De Levi and La Corne, a force of six thousand French and Canadians and seventeen hundred Indians; enough to encompass the work on every side.⁴ He summoned Monro to surrender; but that firm officer, strong in his own soul, and hoping for help from Webb, returned an answer of defiance. The siege was fiercely pressed.

General Webb had four thousand soldiers, and unlimited authority to summon the militia of the near country and villages to help him. Had he been a true soldier, he would have intervened

¹ Montcalm to Vaudreuil, 27th July, 1757. Bancroft, IV. 260. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 113.

² Bougainville to the Minister, 19th August, 1757.

³ Compare Bancroft, IV. 263, with Stephens, 178.

⁴ Capt. Christie to Gov. Pownall, 10th August, 1757. Bancroft, IV. 263, 264.

to raise the siege and relieve the heroic *Monro* and the beleaguered garrison. But he did nothing except to send a letter of gloom and discouragement to *Monro*, exaggerating the enemy's force, and advising him to capitulate. The messenger who bore this letter was captured and brought to *Montcalm*, who immediately, by flag of truce, forwarded the letter to *Monro*.¹

This dauntless officer held out to the 9th of August, when, finding more than half his guns burst and many disabled, his provisions failing, his ammunition almost exhausted, and his hopes of help from *Webb* gone, he hung out a flag of truce, and arranged terms of capitulation.

By these the English were to retire with the honors of war; not to serve against the French for eighteen months; they were to retain their private effects, and to be escorted by the French forces to the outposts of *Fort Edward*. All prisoners, French or Indians, captured in the war and held in the fort, were to be liberated.²

And now once more we meet a scene manifesting the hopeless faithlessness and atrocity of the North American Indians. *Montcalm* had kept away intoxicating liquors from the savages, but the English sutlers had supplied them. Hardly had the sad procession of unarmed soldiers, with camp attendants, women and children, moved a mile from the outworks before the savages fell on them, and for hours continued deeds of murder, pillage and cruelty, which resulted in the death of not less than thirty, the plundering of all their effects which could be snatched away, and the carrying away of an unknown number into captivity in the wilderness of Canada.³

History has acquitted *Montcalm* and his officers of all complicity in this massacre, and of all blame, save their share in the general custom of that age of employing lawless savages as allies. Before the surrender, *Montcalm* had called the Indian chiefs into war councils, and had obtained their solemn pledges that the terms should be observed: and when the savage work commenced, he, with *De Levi* and other French officers, had plunged into the tumult and striven to arrest it by their commands and their acts, several of them receiving wounds during their humane exertions. *Montcalm* uttered prayers, menaces, promises to the natives. "Kill me," he cried, "but spare the English, who are under my protection." He urged the English troops to defend themselves.⁴

¹ Bancroft, IV. 264. J. Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*.

² Bancroft, IV. 265. Quackenbos' U. S., 172, 173.

³ Stephens, 178-180. Quackenbos, 178. Bancroft, IV. 265.

⁴ *Montcalm* to French Minister, 8th September, 1757. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 86. Bancroft, IV. 265.

It has been alleged against him that he did not command his own soldiers to open fire on the murderers.¹ But in the tumult, and while the savages were in the midst of the captives, such a fire would have been more fatal to the sufferers than to their assailants. Montcalm collected four hundred fugitives and sent them, under strong escort, to Fort Edward; and he sent De Vaudreuil with instructions and authority to ransom all who had been led into captivity and return them to their homes.²

After the surrender of Fort William Henry, twelve hundred men remained to demolish the works, and a thousand to transport the vast stores surrendered. Webb sent his own baggage to the rear, and prepared to retreat to the highlands on the Hudson. Incompetency, and something near to cowardice, threatened New York with subjugation by French and Indians, and called out an appeal from the brave officer in command at Albany. "For God's sake," he wrote, "exert yourself to save a province; New York itself may fall; save a country; prevent the downfall of the British government upon this continent."³

Everywhere in North America England was humiliated and her colonies were depressed. The settlements in the Ohio valley shrunk away; France had her posts on each side of the lakes and at Detroit, Mackinaw, Kaskaskia and New Orleans, and corded them together by lines of fortification at Waterford and Duquesne, on the Maumee, the Wabash, and by way of Chicago to the Illinois river. In twenty-five parts of what is now covered by the United States and her territories, at the end of the autumn of 1757 France claimed and seemed to possess at least twenty parts, Spain four parts, and Great Britain only one!⁴

But with the crisis came the man to meet it. William Pitt saw the danger and its cause, and sent out his reorganizing orders. Loudon and his incompetents were quietly put aside. Able naval and military commanders were sent to America. Preparations were made for a decisive advance on Louisburg, Quebec, Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Fort Duquesne.

For operations on the coast, a large English fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, came to the American waters in the early part of 1758. The land forces, intended to operate against Louisburg and eastern Canada, were to be commanded by Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, an officer of solid judgment, and Gen. James Wolfe, who, though young, had already drawn the intuitive confidence of Pitt, and whose name was to be placed high on the column of renown.

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 178.

² Montcalm to Earl of Loudon, 14th August, 1757. Bancroft, IV. 266.

³ Capt. Christie to Gov. Pownall, 10th August, 1757.

⁴ Bancroft, IV. 267.

The advance on Ticonderoga and Crown Point was to be conducted by General Abercrombie, with whom was Lord Howe, a young nobleman already very dear to the army. The movements against Fort Duquesne and in the Ohio valley were intrusted to General Forbes.

At the same time, William Pitt adopted a generous course towards the colonies. They were to be trusted and encouraged, rather than depreciated and held as inferiors. England was to furnish arms and ammunition for colonial forces, but the colonies were to enlist the men, clothe them and pay them. England was to appoint the generals and division officers, but the colonial troops might choose their own colonels and subordinate officers.¹ The happy effects of this liberal policy were soon manifested.

On the 28th May, 1758, after a long and rough passage, General Amherst reached Halifax. The English fleet had twenty-two ships of the line and fifteen frigates. The army was at least ten thousand effective men.²

No time was lost. Early in June the fleet approached Louisburg. The high winds and rough surf in Chapeau Rouge Bay delayed the landing. But at daybreak on the 8th, General Wolfe, leading his troops, who were forbidden to fire until the landing was effected, cheered on the oarsmen, and when they reached the shallows, leaped into the water; and under a severe fire from the French, the troops gained the firm land, charged through an *abattis* of felled trees and over a rampart, and drove the enemy from their batteries, which were instantly occupied by the English soldiers. On the same day Louisburg was completely invested. In these daring movements, two young officers under Wolfe—Isaac Barré and Richard Montgomery—distinguished themselves; but in the cause of colonial freedom they were even better known sixteen years thereafter.³

On the morning of June 12th, Wolfe, with light infantry and Highlanders, took by surprise the strong light-house battery on the northeast side of the harbor's entrance. The smaller works were promptly captured, and the central attacks began.

The water assaults were equally successful. On the 21st July three French ships were burned. On the night of the 25th the boats of the fleet set fire to the *Prudent*, a seventy-four, and carried off the *Bienfaisant*. Admiral Boscawen was preparing to send six English three-deckers into the harbor.

¹ Horace E. Scudder's U. S., pp. 151, 152.

² Bancroft, IV. 296.

³ Barré, in Chatham Correspondence, II. 42. Bancroft, IV. 296, 297.

But the army and the heavy guns had already done the work of capture. Louisburg was in ruins. No place of safety covered either officers or men. Forty cannon out of fifty-two were disabled. The Chevalier de Drucour, commanding the garrison, made signals of submission. On the 27th July, 1758, the English forces took possession. The French garrison, with the sailors and marines, five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven in number, was sent to England as prisoners of war.¹ Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island were in the possession of England.

Louisburg is still hers, but as Halifax is her naval station, the town so often attacked, surrendered, relinquished and recovered is now little more than a village, with a port which gives shelter to merchantmen in storms.

General Wolfe was called back to England to confer with Pitt as to the possibility of capturing Quebec. He was greeted with joy by all as the coming hero. The trophies from Louisburg were deposited with pomp in the cathedral of St. Paul's. Admiral Boscawen, a member of Parliament, received a unanimous vote of thanks from the House of Commons.²

The wise encouragement of Pitt had greatly stimulated military preparations in the colonies. Massachusetts had forty-five thousand men on her rolls, of whom thirty-seven thousand were by law required to train, and, if needed, to take the field. When General Abercrombie assembled his army early in July, to advance on Ticonderoga, he had under his command nine thousand and twenty-four provincial troops from New England, New York and New Jersey, brave and skillful men—many of them rangers in woodland tunics, with rifles, hatchets, powder-horns and slung bags of bullets. Among them were John Stark, of New Hampshire, and Israel Putnam, of Connecticut. Abercrombie had also six thousand three hundred and sixty-seven regulars. No army so large and so well equipped had thus far marched through the forests of America.³

Lord Howe was the prevalent spirit of the army. He genially adopted Pitt's policy of treating the colonial officers as in every respect the equals of the regulars of like rank. He cut off his hair, wore clothes suited to field and forest, dismissed the great army of washwomen, washed his own under-garments, and cheerfully led the way in all acts of self-denial that he required from his soldiers.⁴ He won all hearts that knew him.

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 182. Scudder's U. S., 152. Bancroft, IV, 297, 298.

² Art. Wolfe, Amer. Encyclop., XVI, 513, 514. Bancroft, IV, 298.

³ Journal of Cleveland, Bancroft, IV, 300. Quackenbos, 173, 174.

⁴ Eggleston's Household U. S., 140, 141.

On the 5th day of July, 1758, the army of more than fifteen thousand men struck their tents at daybreak, and embarked on Lake George in nine hundred small boats and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats, followed by the artillery, mounted on rafts. The day was bright; banners waved; martial music resounded over the quiet waters; the fleet moved in stately order down the lake. No sight more imposing had ever been witnessed in the New World.

But in front of them was an ever vigilant and dauntless foe. Montcalm held Ticonderoga, and defended it with a strong fortification on the heights of Carillon. He had only two thousand eight hundred French and four hundred and fifty Canadians. With these he toiled day and night to strengthen his works. On the evening of the 6th of July, De Levi joined him with four hundred more men, some of whom were choice Indian warriors. The work was carried on with ceaseless resolution. The road from Lake George passed, by two bridges, over the rapid river torrent, which ran four miles from Lake George to Champlain. The French had destroyed these bridges, but Montcalm had ordered Colonel De Trépézée, with three hundred men, to hold the approaches and reconnoiter, and to retire on the main body when attacked.¹

The English army, leaving behind provisions, artillery and heavy baggage, pressed forward. The right centre, commanded by Lord Howe, came suddenly on De Trépézée's small force, who, in retreating, had lost their way. But these Frenchmen, though overpowered by numbers, fought gallantly. At their first fire, Lord Howe fell mortally wounded, and soon to die. Some of the enemy were killed, some drowned in the stream, and one hundred and fifty-nine surrendered. But the death of the beloved young English noble carried grief through the army. "Order disappeared, and infatuation and dismay took the place of courage."²

On the morning of July 7th, Abercrombie, discouraged by the destruction of the bridges, thought of a retreat back to the landing; but before noon Gen. John Bradstreet came up with a strong detachment, rebuilt the bridges, and took possession of advantageous ground near saw-mills which the French abandoned. Somewhat cheered by this, Abercrombie ordered an advance, and that night the army encamped not more than a mile and a half from the enemy's fortifications.

¹ Montcalm to Vaudreuil, 6th July, N. Y. Paris Documents, XIV. Bancroft, IV. 301, 302.

² Bancroft, IV. 302, 303.

Abercrombie's road to success was plain. He had a splendid army, open communications, and plenty of artillery. He needed only to envelop Montcalm by investment, as that prudent, though daring, officer had invested Fort William Henry. The English artillery could have been easily planted on Mount Defiance and other points which commanded the hastily constructed works of Carillon. Thus a surrender of the whole French force would have been compelled in a brief siege. Montcalm himself has left this testimony: "Had I to besiege Fort Carillon, I would ask for but six mortars and two pieces of artillery."¹

But the English commander-in-chief was incompetent to select the right way. Early on the 8th of July, 1758, the engineer, Clerk, upon hasty examination, reported Montcalm's works as flimsy and inadequate. John Stark and the English engineers knew better, and gave warning. But, without waiting for his artillery, Abercrombie ordered an assault. He himself prudently took his place far in the rear. Sir William Johnson also had come up with four hundred and forty Iroquois warriors; but they took no part whatever in the battle.²

Montcalm had called in all his forces, had stationed them, and was prepared. He ordered that no shots should be fired until his enemies were within the shortest range. The English and provincial troops, with heroic courage, rushed forward over piled logs, stumps, and abattis of felled trees with their sharp branches pointed outwards. At deadly range, swivels and musketry were opened on them, cutting them down in hundreds. Through hours of the afternoon these charges were continued. An attempt, nearly successful, was made on the French left. There Bourlamarque fell dangerously wounded, and his bleeding lines were broken. Montcalm sent reinforcements and restored the lines. On the right, the grenadiers and Scotch Highlanders charged for hours without faltering; many fell within fifteen paces of the trench, some on its very ridge. Montcalm was everywhere, encouraging his men, and causing food and refreshments to be distributed to them. De Levi was almost equally efficient. The English troops fell into some confusion, and fired on their own comrades in advance. At six o'clock the last charge was repulsed, and the assailants retired, with a loss of one thousand nine hundred and forty-four men killed and wounded.³

Yet, even then, more than twelve thousand troops remained to Abercrombie, and, with the help of his artillery, he could readily

¹ Bancroft, IV. 306. McCabe's U. S., in Stephens, 182-184.

² Bancroft, IV. 304.

³ McCabe, in Stephens, 183. Bancroft, IV. 305, 306. Quackenbos, 174.

have captured Carillon and Ticonderoga. But, in the "extremest fright and consternation," he hurried the army back to the landing on Lake George, and nothing but the alertness and presence of mind of Bradstreet prevented a scene of panic and destruction at the boats. Abercrombie did not rest quietly until he had placed the lake between his fine army and their greatly inferior foes. He sent his artillery and ammunition to Albany for fear it should be captured!¹

Montcalm was astonished at this retreat; yet his judgment was too clear and well-balanced not to perceive the extreme peril threatening the French possessions in North America. He saw that Pitt was in earnest, and was wielding powerful resources with consummate skill, and that all he needed was competent commanders in order to drive the French from their strongholds. It was at this crisis that he expressed his conviction, that "in a few months the English would be masters of the French colonies in America." But his courage did not fail. He resolved to struggle to the last, and, in his own words, "to find his grave under the ruins of the colony."² His forebodings were justified by coming events.

General Bradstreet had already gained reputation for courage and efficiency by his success, in July, 1756, in supplying Oswego with stores from Schenectady, and his repulse, with heavy loss to his French and Indian enemies, of an attack made on him from ambuscade while, at the head of a force of three hundred armed boatmen, he was descending the Onondaga river.³ Early in the spring of 1758 he had proposed an attempt to capture Fort Frontenac, near Lake Ontario. Lord Howe had favored the scheme; and, after the retreat from Ticonderoga, a council of war induced Abercrombie to give reluctant consent, and to order the needed troops to move under General Bradstreet.

He took command, at Oneida carrying place, of twenty-seven hundred men, all colonial troops, more than eleven hundred being from New York, and nearly seven hundred from Massachusetts. They were joined by one hundred and fifty warriors of the "Six Nations." Crossing Ontario in open boats, Bradstreet landed, August 25th, within a mile of Frontenac. Some of the garrison had fled; the rest surrendered on the second day after his appearance. He captured thirty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, nine armed vessels carrying from eight to eighteen guns, and a large quantity of stores, most of which were intended for

¹ Bancroft, IV. 306.

² Art. Montcalm, New Amer. Encyclop., XI. 678.

³ Art. Bradstreet, Amer. Encyclop., III. 613.

Fort Duquesne and the Ohio dependencies. Bradstreet razed the fort, destroyed such vessels and stores as could not be brought off, and returned with his troops to Lake George.¹ From this time to the end of the war victory seldom left the arms of England.

The expedition for the capture of Fort Duquesne was commanded by Gen. Joseph Forbes, whose health had become so impaired that he was drawing near to the grave. Nevertheless, the preparations were pushed forward by Colonel Washington and other officers. In consequence of a disagreement between the Earl of Loudon and the authorities of Maryland, that colony contributed nothing, either in men or money, towards the expedition.² But twelve hundred and fifty Highlanders came from South Carolina; three hundred and fifty Royal Americans joined them; Pennsylvania, with conspicuous ardor, raised twenty-seven hundred men; Virginia sent two full regiments, numbering nineteen hundred men, with Washington as senior officer.

He desired to push on the whole advance by the old road from Fort Cumberland; but Forbes was persuaded by the Pennsylvania officers to cut a new road to the Ohio. Washington was grieved by the delay, and wrote: "See how our time has been misspent." But he submitted to his superiors, and was unceasing in his efforts to win a decisive success. General Forbes was borne on a litter as far as Raystown. The new road was cut thence to Loyal Hanna, a post forty-five miles in advance. Had the whole army now pressed forward, a bloodless victory and heavy captures would have been reaped;³ but imprudence in savage warfare brought on one more scene of death.

From Loyal Hanna, Major Grant, with eight hundred chosen Highlanders and a company of Virginians, was sent forward to reconnoiter and advise as to the best mode of attack. The brave French officer, Aubry, had, a short time before, reinforced the garrison of Duquesne with four hundred men, chiefly Illinois Indians. Grant advanced within a short distance of the fort, and gained a hill near the fork of the two rivers. At daybreak of the 14th of September, 1758, hoping to tempt the foe into an ambuscade, he ordered his drums to sound a morning "*reveille*." Hardly was the sound heard, before the gates of the fort flew open, and with terrible war-cries a swarm of savage warriors poured out upon the invaders. The attack was so sudden and violent that the men had not time to draw their rifles to their shoulders before they were falling under the strokes of the tomahawk. A

¹ Volunteer's Impartial Account, 25. Bancroft, IV. 308. Thalheimer's Ecce. U. S., 104.

² Sharpe to Baltimore, Dec., 1757. Calvert to Sharpe, 27th Nov., 1758. Bancroft, IV. 310.

³ Marshall, II. 68-69. Sparks, I. 95-98.

ferocious butchery followed; no quarter was given by the Indians; a few prisoners, among whom were Majors Grant and Lewis, were saved by the French, who had followed the Indians from the fort.

But the savage success was interrupted by a deed of mingled heroism and coolness. Captain Bullet, at the head of his company of Virginians, seeing the Indians rushing on in a tumultuous band, eager for fresh victims, directed his men to lower their arms and make signs of surrender.¹ The savages, massed together and with hatchets uplifted, were coming on. When they came within ten yards, Bullet, in a voice of thunder, cried: "Fire, and charge bayonets." Instantly the muskets rose to deadly aim, and a fire was delivered at this short range, which covered the ground with the slain and wounded. A furious rush with presented bayonets followed. The savages gave way on every side, and, believing that a strong reinforcement was at hand, fled to the main body of the French near the fort. Hastily summoning the stragglers, Bullet ordered a retreat, and, after a march of great fatigue and peril, regained the camp at Loyal Hanna. The loss was nearly three hundred men, and the provincials saved the day.²

General Forbes did not reach Loyal Hanna until the 5th of November, 1758. He was feeble and dying, and the council of war that assembled partook of his weakness. It was decided not to advance. But Washington, having gained from three prisoners accurate information of the weakness of the garrison of Duquesne, and of their discouragement because of the capture of Fort Frontenac and the cutting off of their supplies, asked the privilege of pressing on, and Forbes could not refuse it.³

On the 15th of November, Washington had gained Chestnut Ridge; on the 17th, Bushy Run. The troops were in eager spirits, saddened only by passing through the fields and forests where the whitening bones of the victims of the slaughter of the Monongahela were seen.

An easy victory awaited Colonel Washington. Disappointed and depressed, the Indian warriors had been falling away, until the garrison hardly numbered five hundred. These set fire to all in the fort that was combustible, and retreated down the river to Presque Isle and Venango. A mine exploded as the English troops advanced, and before the burning fragments were extinguished, Colonel Washington, on the 25th of November, entered

¹ Burk, III. 232. Campbell, 129, 130. Joshua viii. 1-22, with Henry's comments.

² Rae's Town Camp, 20th October, 1758. Bancroft, IV. 312.

³ Burk, III. 231. Campbell, 132. Bancroft, IV. 312.

the works at the head of the advance guard, and planted the British flag on the long-contested ground. The fort was immediately repaired, and was named "Fort Pitt," in honor of the great English minister of state.

The army then proceeded to the sad duty of collecting the remains of those who had fallen in Braddock's defeat, and giving them decent burial. An eye-witness has related the scene: "In profound silence they trod the withered leaves, which were already falling before the blasts of winter; around them on every side were the bleaching bones of men who had left the soil of Britain to die amid the forests of America. Wild beasts had already visited the field, and many fearful signs gave proof of their ravages." Major Halket had lost a father and a brother in the battle. An Indian guide conducted him and some of his men to the spot where he had seen a veteran officer fall, and a heroic young subaltern sink down in death as he stooped to his assistance. Two bodies were found, one lying on the other. A false tooth identified the father to the son, who, with a faint cry, "It is my father!" fell back into the arms of his comrades.¹

Since the day when a Roman army, under Germanicus, discovered the remains of whole legions under Varus, which had perished in the forests of Germany by the murderous strategy and assaults of the barbarians, ten years after the birth of Christ, no scene more pathetic and mournful had attended a battle-field down to this burial service on the borders of the Monongahela.²

With the opening of the year 1759, William Pitt made almost superhuman exertions for decisive success against France. Benjamin Franklin was one of his counselors, and filled his great soul with the conviction that England must, at any cost, wrest the control of North America from her enemies. The British Parliament responded to Pitt's propositions with an unanimity which excited astonishment at home and abroad. They voted for the year twelve millions sterling (sixty millions of standard dollars), and such forces by sea and by land as had never been previously raised. Lord Chesterfield wrote in amazement: "This is Pitt's doings, and it is marvelous in our eyes. He declares only what he would have them do, and they do it."³

All questions of seniority of rank were disregarded. The whole inquiry with the premier was, Who are the men that will lead most vigorously and successfully in this work? Stanwix was to complete the reduction and occupation of the posts of the west,

¹ Galt's *Life of West*. Grahame, note iii., vol. IV. 483, 484.

² Taciti *Annalium Lib. I. lxi. 38*, edit. Lips., 1829.

³ Lord Chesterfield's *Corres.* Bancroft, IV. 313.

from Pittsburg to Lake Erie and the Mississippi; Prideaux was to reduce Fort Niagara and proceed against Montreal; Amherst, now commander-in-chief, and in title Governor of Virginia, was to advance with the main army against Ticonderoga and Crown Point and to Lake Champlain, and afterwards to co-operate against Quebec. The undertaking to capture that almost impregnable city was intrusted to the young general, James Wolfe, and with him the fleet in the American waters was to act in concert.¹

The resources of the two belligerent powers in North America were so unequal that Montcalm plainly informed the minister of war in France that Canada must be lost to them unless unexpected good fortune helped them, or signal incompetency and folly attended the English management. Yet the French war premier continued to trust to Montcalm, and to write: "The king relies on your zeal and obstinacy of courage."²

The census of New France showed a population of only eighty-two thousand whites, of whom barely seven thousand could serve as soldiers. Moreover, there was continued scarcity in the land; interruptions for military service left the fields uncultivated, and British fleets intercepted all supplies from France; the domestic animals were failing; the soldiers were unpaid; paper money, to the amount of forty-two millions of livres, and greatly depreciated, flooded the channels of commerce, and civil officers were making haste to get rich, and hoping that their frauds would be wiped out by their country's disaster.³ On the other side, England was growing richer and richer, though her public debt was increasing. Her colonies were prosperous, and she had nearly fifty thousand armed men in America.

General Prideaux was the first to advance. He had two battalions from New York, one of Royal Americans, two regiments of regulars, a detachment of artillery, and a large force of Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson. He moved on Fort Niagara, which stood on the narrow promontory round which the deep and rapid Niagara river sweeps from Erie to Ontario. It commanded the portage between these two lakes and the western fur-trade. Its possession, therefore, was very important.

Leaving a detachment under Colonel Haldimand to construct and hold a post at the mouth of the Oswego, General Prideaux, on the 1st July, 1759, embarked his forces on Lake Ontario, and with little opposition invested Fort Niagara.

¹ Bancroft, IV. 315, 316. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 186, 187.

² Letter from Belleisle.

³ Bancroft, IV. 320.

The resolute French officer, D'Aubry, knowing its importance, had collected from Detroit, Erie, Le Bœuf and Venango, about twelve hundred men, and marched to the rescue. Prideaux was preparing to intercept this force, when, on the 15th July, he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn. Sir William Johnson succeeded to the command, and acted with great promptness, courage and success.¹ He posted a large part of his army on the left, above the fort, so as at once to intercept D'Aubry's advance, and protect the men in the trenches. On the 24th July the French force appeared. Johnson's Mohawks made a sign to the opposing Indians, but as it was not returned, they uttered the war-whoop and rushed to the encounter. The regulars met the French firmly in the centre, and the Indians, under Johnson's order, attacked their flanks and threw them into confusion. The English then charged with impetuous valor; the enemy broke and fled in utter rout. The carnage continued until fatigue stayed the victors. The next day the garrison capitulated and surrendered six hundred men. The success on Ontario was so complete that a force sent by General Stanwix from Pittsburg took possession, without resistance, of all the French posts as far as Erie.²

Meanwhile, the advance of the large army under General Amherst took place. He was at the head of nearly six thousand regulars, and of as many provincial troops and light infantry, under Colonel Gage. Amherst was taciturn, stoical, slow and safe, but not fertile in resources, inventive or daring. He moved slowly by way of Lake George, and on the 22d of July disembarked his army nearly at the landing-place of Abercrombie. The next day the French, under De Levi and Bourlamarque, retreated from their lines, leaving only a garrison of four hundred in Fort Carillon.³

On the 26th of July the fort was abandoned, and five days afterwards the French retreated from Crown Point to intrench themselves on Isle-aux-Noix. The whole country was open to the strong army under Amherst. He took possession of Crown Point, and was expected immediately to advance on Montreal, and thence to proceed eastward to co-operate with Wolfe in the attempt to capture Quebec; but he did nothing towards this great end. He let all of August, of September, and ten days of October, pass without movement. Had Wolfe been like him, Quebec would not have been gained. But thus the greater glory came to this heroic young soldier. The work was all his own.

¹ Barnes' U. S., note, 87. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 128. Art. Johnson, New Amer. Encyclop.

² Bancroft, IV. 321, 322. ³ *Ibid.*, 323.

As soon as the heats of June began to clear the mouth of the St. Lawrence of floating ice-masses, Wolfe and his naval aids began their movement. The fleet, under Admiral Saunders, had twenty-two ships of the line, and as many frigates and other armed vessels. Wolfe had command of about eight thousand five hundred soldiers. His adjutant-general was Isaac Barré; his brigadiers were Monckton, Townshend, and Murray. Col. Guy Carleton commanded the grenadiers. Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards Sir William) Howe had a detachment of light infantry.¹

Quebec was powerful in natural defences, standing on the lofty plain of Stadacona, and defended on three sides by the broad rivers St. Charles and St. Lawrence. The citadel was three hundred and thirty-three feet above the level of the rivers. Behind the city was the level known as the "Plains of Abraham." This was the weak part; but to gain it with a military force seemed nearly hopeless. Montcalm was in command, and had drawn to the defence of Quebec and its dependencies about twelve thousand men, leaving the western lines of Canada almost without soldiers.

On the 26th of June the English fleet and army, without loss, arrived off the Isle of Orleans, which screens the spacious harbor just below the junction of the two rivers. Wolfe and his officers immediately began to reconnoiter. On all sides the upper city seemed impregnable. In the night of the 29th, fire-ships were sent down to burn the fleet; but the British sailors skillfully grappled them and towed them aside, so that they did no harm.

On the night of the 29th, General Monckton, with four battalions, succeeded in crossing the rapid south channel, and occupying Point Levi. He immediately erected batteries of cannon and mortars. The people of the lower town, foreseeing its fate, volunteered an attack; but, after crossing, their courage failed and they retreated. The English fire of shells and red-hot balls destroyed the houses of the lower town, but made no impression on the defences of Quebec.²

Montcalm's army was dwindling. The Indians left him, and many Canadians returned to their homes. But with ceaseless exertions he sought to make every approach to his citadel impracticable.

Wolfe was anxious, almost impatient, for decisive action. He planned an attack on the French intrenchments on the left bank of the river near the falls, where the Montmorenci, passing over a perpendicular rock, flows for three hundred yards amid clouds of spray to the St. Lawrence. On the last day of July the attack

¹ Bancroft, IV. 324, 325. Holmes' U. S., 78, 79.

² Bancroft, IV. 326.

was made with rash gallantry by grenadiers and the brigade of Monckton; but it was opposed by a strand of deep mud, a hill-side steep and almost impracticable, and a heavy fire of a brave and well-intrenched force of French soldiers. Wolfe saw enough to induce him to order a retreat. In this bloody repulse the English lost four hundred men.¹

General Wolfe was now disheartened in spirit and sick in body. He sent Murray, with twelve hundred men, above the city to destroy the French ships and open communication with Amherst. He heard of the capture of Niagara and the successful occupation of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. He looked daily for the coming of Amherst, which would enable him to secure the capture of Quebec; but that general came not.

Almost hopeless, Wolfe called a council of war at Monckton's quarters, and laid before his three brigadiers three several and equally desperate plans for attacking the intrenchments of Montcalm at Beauport. They wisely and unanimously opposed them, but advised that four or five thousand men should, if possible, be conveyed above and behind the town. Wolfe acquiesced, but wrote to Pitt on the 2d September a letter showing that he regarded this attempt as the last resort of desperation.²

Three armed ships, with transports and part of the army, passed up the river. The summer was over, and the French began to hope that the English attempts on Quebec were ended.

But on the 10th of September, Wolfe, whose eyes were keen, discovered the spot which has made his name immortal. It is the quiet cove whose curving promontories make a basin with very thin margin; and a dark, narrow path, hardly sufficient for two men abreast, then led up the mountain to the "Plains of Abraham" above. His resolve was made, and his orders issued, and during the day and night of the 12th all was preparation.³

Gray's well-known poem, the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," had been published not long before. Wolfe greatly admired it, and as he passed from ship to ship on the evening of the 12th September, he spoke of it with enthusiasm, and even went so far as to say: "I would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow." Thus he soundly estimated the glory of the true poet as higher than that of the true soldier. But the "coming event," with all its sombre glory, was already "casting its shadow before" it over his high spirit;

¹ Compare Stephens, 188. Bancroft, IV. 328, 329. Holmes' U. S., 79.

² Bancroft, IV. 331.

³ Wolfe to Rickson, 1st Dec., 1758. Admiral Saunders to Pitt, 20th Sept., 1759. Bancroft, IV. 332.

for, out of all those marvelous stanzas, the one he selected and repeated again and again in the hearing of his comrades was this :

“The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour;
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”¹

But he hesitated not, faltered not, delayed not. At one o'clock in the morning of the 13th of September, 1759, Wolfe, with Monckton and Murray and about half their troops, set out in boats, and without sails or oars glided down with the tide.

But as they passed, almost noiselessly, a French sentinel on the shore, he hailed : “*Qui va là ?*” A captain in Frazer's regiment, familiar with French, answered : “*La France.*” The sentinel rejoined : “*De quel régiment ?*” The ready captain, having learned the name of one of the regiments up the river with Bourgainville, replied : “*De la Reine.*” The sentinel was satisfied, and sent the word “*passé*” over the water.²

At the cove (now known as Wolfe's cove) the light infantry leaped ashore a little below the path ; but, clambering up with the help of roots and boughs, they gained the top, and with a few shots dispersed the picket-guard. Then the chief movement began, and before the dawn of day four thousand five hundred British regulars, “perfect in discipline and terrible in their fearless enthusiasm,” stood on the “Plains of Abraham,” on the weakest side of Quebec.

Montcalm was in his intrenchments on the farther side of the St. Charles when he first learned of the appearance of the English. He was amazed, but at first said : “It must be a small party. They will burn a few houses and retreat.” But he was soon better informed, and said, with bitter earnestness : “Then they have got to the weak side of this miserable garrison : we must give battle and crush them before mid-day.”³

He had no alternative. The British war-ships held every approach by water, and could quickly supply heavy artillery to Wolfe on the elevated plateau he now held, which commanded the rear defences of Quebec. Montcalm knew he must either dislodge Wolfe, by prompt force of arms, from his position, or capitulate in a few days. He led out his army to battle.

The two forces were not equal in numbers ; but in efficiency and discipline the English had greatly the advantage. In fact,

¹ Narrative of J. C. Fisher, of Quebec, to the historian, Bancroft, who has inaccurately quoted “the inexorable hour,” IV. 332, 333.

² Taylor's Centen. U. S., 129. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 89.

³ Bancroft, IV. 333, 334.

Wolfe himself, a short time before, had described Montcalm's immediate garrison as "five weak battalions of less than two thousand men, mingled with disorderly peasantry." But these Canadian militia were so numerous as to have been estimated at five thousand men.¹ Moreover, the French had three small pieces of artillery; the English only two, which had been, with great labor, drawn by hand up the precipice.²

For one hour the cannon only were used. But the English regulars were gaining strong positions, and Montcalm dispatched couriers to Bourgainville to bring up his two thousand men, and to De Vaudreuil to add his fifteen hundred, to prevent the central French force from being driven from its ground. He endeavored, by a flank movement, to crowd the British troops down the high bank of the river. Wolfe promptly met and defeated this movement, by detaching Townshend with Amherst's regiment and a part of the Royal Americans.

Waiting no longer for more troops, Montcalm led his whole army in an impetuous attack. But, though his doubled lines greatly outnumbered his foes, they were ill-disciplined, and were disordered by the uneven ground. Monckton, by Wolfe's command, received the shock with steadiness, reserving his fire until the French were within forty yards. Then a regular, rapid and destructive fire of musketry was opened, under which the enemy melted away. Montcalm was everywhere; though wounded, he cheered on his men. His second in command, De Sennezergues, was killed on the field. The brave Canadians wavered under the hot and fatal musketry fire. The French regulars were overwhelmed.

Wolfe had received a musket ball in the wrist; but, binding it with his handkerchief, he placed himself at the head of the Twenty-eighth regiment and the Louisburg grenadiers, and led a resistless charge of bayonets. The French lines began to break. But Carleton was wounded; Barré, who fought near Wolfe, received a ball in the head which deprived him of sight; Wolfe received another wound, but urged on his men. The serried line of steel surged onward, and the French gave way.³

In the moment of victory, Wolfe received a third musket ball in his breast. "Support me," he cried to an officer near him; "let not my brave fellows see me fall." He was carried to the rear. Water was brought to him; but he felt that life was fast ebbing. Lying on the ground, with his head supported by an officer, he heard him shout with excitement: "They fly! they

¹ Knox's Journal, I. 74. Bancroft, IV., note, 334.

² Compare Holmes' U. S., 79, with Bancroft, IV. 334.

³ Scudder's U. S., 155. Derry, 88. Eggleston's Household U. S., 138. Bancroft, IV. 335.

fly!" The dying hero opened his eyes, and asked: "Who fly?" The answer came: "The French! the French! Victory! victory!" "Now, God be praised!" said Wolfe, "I die happy."¹ And so his brave spirit passed away from this world in the moment of a great triumph. But even he knew not how great it was.

Montcalm, in the same battle, received his mortal wound. When told by the surgeon that death was certain, he said: "I am glad of it; how long shall I live?" "Ten or twelve hours," was the reply; "perhaps less." "So much the better," the French hero answered; "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." He calmly gave his orders. When De Ramsay, who commanded the garrison, asked his advice, he replied: "To your keeping I commend the honor of France. As for me, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." He dictated a letter asking from the English officers generous treatment for the French prisoners, and at five the next morning he died.²

De Vaudrenil advised De Ramsay to capitulate, without waiting for bombardment and assault. He wrote: "We have cheerfully sacrificed our fortunes and our houses, but we cannot expose our wives and children to a massacre."³ And so, on the 17th of September, 1759, De Ramsay capitulated, and Quebec belonged to England.

America rung with exultation. England also triumphed, while she mourned for Wolfe. The genius of Benjamin West, a native of Pennsylvania, produced a painting of his death scene, which introduced a new era in art, and was visited and gazed on with emotion by thousands of spectators; and at Quebec, in the government gardens, and in our own age, a massive obelisk, sixty feet high, has been reared, which bears in united honor the worthy names of Wolfe and Montcalm.⁴

The fall of Quebec was virtually the end of the French dominion in the region which had been called "New France." True it is that France could not quietly acquiesce. In the spring of 1760 an earnest attempt to recapture Quebec was made. Admiral Saunders had left abundant stores and heavy artillery, and a garrison of seven thousand men in the city, under the brave, but superficial, General Murray. Amherst continued inactive; and as soon as the river opened, in April, 1760, De Levi, with ten thousand men, began the siege.

On the 28th of April the imprudent Murray, leaving his advantageous ground, hazarded an attack near Sillery Wood. De Bourlamarque met the shock with firmness, and made a counter

¹ Cassell's U. S., I. 617-619. Stephens, 188. Bancroft, IV. 335, 336.

² Bancroft, IV. 337.

³ Relation du Siege de Quebec.

⁴ New Amer. Encyclop., XVI. 356, 515.

charge with so much vigor that Murray was signally repulsed, and lost a fine train of artillery and a thousand men. The French loss was only three hundred, though the empty and boasting Murray represented it as eight times that number.¹

Fortunately, frost delayed the French approaches. The English garrison was reduced, by winter, sickness, and the unfortunate battle, to two thousand two hundred effective men; but they worked incessantly at defence. Even the women and the crippled helped. And Pitt had foreseen and provided against the danger.² A fleet came in time, and the English minister was able to write to his wife, on the 27th of June: "Join, my love, with me in most humble and grateful thanks to the Almighty. The siege of Quebec was raised on the 17th of May, with every happy circumstance. The enemy left their camp standing, and abandoned forty pieces of cannon. Swanton arrived there in the *Vanguard* on the 15th, and destroyed all the French shipping, six or seven in number. Happy, happy day! My joy and hurry are inexpressible."

General Amherst sent Colonel Haviland with a force from Crown Point towards Montreal. He found the fort at Isle-aux-Noix deserted by the French. Amherst cautiously led an army of ten thousand men by way of Oswego and Ogdensburg, reducing all into English possession, but treating the helpless Canadians with humanity. On the 7th of September, 1760, he reached the neighborhood of Montreal, and joined to his own forces an army under Murray, who had marched from Quebec, occasionally, on his way, burning a village and hanging, on slight pretences, some Canadians. The next day Haviland, with his troops, arrived from Crown Point.³

To resist these three armies was not thought of by De Vaudreuil. On the 8th of September, Montreal surrendered, and the surrender included by its terms all of Canada, at least as far as the Miami, the Wabash and the Illinois rivers. Property and religion were cared for in the terms, but for civil liberty no stipulation was made.⁴

Everywhere England was victorious. France and Spain desired peace. Negotiations for the purpose were long in progress. While they were pending, George II. died suddenly of apoplexy, and on the 25th of October, 1760, his grandson became king, with the title of George III.; and in his twenty-second year commenced a reign memorable in the history of the world, and especially in that of North America.

¹ Mante, *Memoires*, 281. Bancroft, IV. 359.

² Wm. Pitt to Lady Hester, 27th June, 1760. Bancroft, IV. 359.

³ Bancroft, IV. 360. ⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 361.

The new king soon drove Pitt from the circle of his counselors, but could not deprive Great Britain of the triumphs won by the great minister. The successes of the English arms were so wide and decisive that France and Spain were obliged to submit to terms which would otherwise have been sternly rejected.

In fact, the minister of France for foreign affairs, Choiseul, who, in despair, had resigned his department to the Duc de Praslin, wrote, concerning the proposed terms: "The English are furiously imperious; they are drunk with success; and, unfortunately, we are not in a condition to abase their pride."¹ But a Divine Power was ruling, though unseen by all. England, by her very successes and the broadness of her demands, was preparing the way for the loss of her colonies, and the grandeur of the American republic.

The terms of the treaty of Paris were signed on the 3d of November, 1762, and ratified on the 10th day of February, 1763.

By this treaty of peace, England obtained several islands in the West Indies; the Floridas; all Canada, Acadia, Cape Breton and its dependent islands; the fisheries (except that a share in them was retained by France, with the two islets, St. Pierre and Miquelon, as a shelter for her fishermen); Louisiana to the Mississippi, but without the island of New Orleans; Senegal in Africa, with the command of the slave-trade; the island of Minorca, in the Mediterranean; and all of the East India possessions (except a few dismantled and ruined posts) which France held on the 1st of January, 1749. All that France had claimed east of the Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, one of its outlets, through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico, was ceded to England. For the loss of Florida, France indemnified Spain by ceding to her New Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, with boundaries undefined.²

Thus the American colonies had peace, and vast expansion of their possible territories for settlement. But they had suffered greatly; had lost thirty thousand lives, and had expended sixteen millions of dollars, of which England repaid only five millions.³ On the other hand, the colonies had learned self-denial and self-reliance; had learned the value of their own officers and men, when compared with those of the mother country, and had made immense advances in ideas of self-government, which, though yet vague and undefined, needed only the stimulus of coming events to be developed into complete independence.

¹Choiseul, quoted by Bancroft, IV, 451.

²Compare Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 191, with Bancroft, IV, 452.

³Barnes & Co.'s *U. S.*, 90, 91.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR OF REVOLUTION.

THE period of fifteen years, from 1760 to 1775, was one of momentous import in the life of the colonies. The student will have contented himself with inadequate premises and shallow inferences, who reaches the conclusion that oppression in *money* demands, in the form of navigation laws, stamp acts, customs on colonial imports, and other forms of taxation, direct or indirect, practiced by the mother country, constituted the real and efficient cause of the American Revolution. These were mere incidents and evidences. The cause lay deeper. It was the never-dying question of *right*, and not of money. The colonies had a right to discard a government by a king and a parliament separated from them by three thousand miles of ocean, and to assert and maintain the divine and indestructible right of every people to govern themselves. The whole question was, Had the time and occasion come? And a Supreme Providence decided that question in the affirmative.

But the condition of the colonies during those fifteen years, in relation to the mother country, had special interest on several subjects, which enlist our attention in the following order: (1) The Indians; (2) Negro slavery; (3) Religious liberty; (4) Civil freedom; (5) The social system and customs; (6) Taxation without representation. These all united in warming into life and growth the germs of revolution.

(1.) It is remarkable that, although the savages outnumbered the colonists for nearly a century after the first settlements, and although they were often mercilessly hostile, yet England never made any direct efforts to give military aid to her colonies in resisting Indian attacks. She left them to their own resources. She did worse. In some instances she hampered and restrained them in their measures for repelling the savages. We have seen one signal illustration of this in narrating "Bacon's rebellion." The results were painful and harassing struggles, sufferings and losses to the people of the colonies, but attended by the immense advantage to them of learning Indian warfare and wiles, of be-

coming unequaled marksmen with musket and rifle, and of acquiring the virtues of endurance and self-denial, which fitted them for the final contest for freedom.

The English governors sent to the colonies were often the instruments of provoking Indian wars, which prudence and conciliation might have averted. This was notably the case with Governor Lyttleton, of South Carolina.

When Washington, in 1756, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, no part of his duty caused him more solicitude and anxiety than that of seeking to protect the western parts of that colony and North Carolina. The savages "gave no quarter, and spared neither age nor sex. Women and children were chosen objects of their barbarity. Many were left weltering in blood on the floors of their own dwellings. Many were carried into the wilderness to be put to death with nameless tortures. A few survived to return, after years of degradation and suffering passed among native tribes on the Ohio and the northern lakes."¹

Washington's heart was wrung with anguish in view of these cruelties, and of his inability entirely to stop them or to avenge them. In his official reports, his feelings expressed themselves in one well-known passage. He wrote: "The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."²

Yet he was not unjust or indiscriminating. The Cherokees, in the western borders of the Carolinas, had always been friendly to the colonists. Virginia had acknowledged this in 1755, and had sent them a deputation and a present. In 1757, their warriors had rendered brave and efficient service in protecting the frontiers south of the Potomac. The colonial government made them no acknowledgment, but Washington and his officers were prompt and generous in furnishing to them supplies of food and appropriate gifts.³

It was with this friendly Cherokee nation that Governor Lyttleton provoked hostilities by his imprudent and unmerciful demands. In July, 1758, a private and entirely local affray occurred between some Virginia backwoodsmen and some half-starved Cherokees, who had been acting as allies of Washington, and on their way back to their homes, took, without asking, some food absolutely needed. In this skirmish several "beloved men" of

¹ Kercheval's Valley of Va., 93-104.

² Sparks, I. 80. Burk, III. 214. Howe, 100.

³ Washington's Writings, II. 10-270.

the Cherokees were slain, and their scalps were ostentatiously displayed by the whites.¹

The Cherokees, naturally enough, sought to avenge this wrong. Their young men went on the war-path, and killed two soldiers of the garrison of Telliquo, in the Carolinas.² But the Cherokee chiefs recalled them, and came from their mountains to Charleston to assure the whites of peace. The South Carolina legislators, who knew Indian morals, met in March, 1759, and by a vote refused to consider hostilities with the Cherokees as either existing or to be apprehended.

Lyttleton repudiated this decision, and, assuming the high prerogative of making war, inflamed the colonists, called out the militia, and sent envoys to the Chickasaws, Catawbas, Tuscaroras and Creeks to stir them up against the Cherokees. His blood-thirsty demand was that twenty-four of the Cherokees should be delivered up to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of as he thought fit, in retaliation.³ The Cherokees could not consent to this. They prepared for extremities, and sent warriors to surround and besiege Fort Loudon, on the Tennessee, in the western borders of the colony.

In October, 1759, Governor Lyttleton came to Congaree, the gathering-place of the South Carolina militia. He had a considerable force, and with him were Christopher Gadsden, long colonial representative of Charleston, and Francis Marion, afterwards so renowned in the war of Revolution.

Oconostata, the great chieftain of the Cherokees, and thirty other warriors, came as envoys to make peace. Their persons were sacred by the laws of nations. Yet, after holding several conferences with them, and permitting them to come with him to Congaree, Lyttleton caused them all to be arrested; and, on arriving at Fort Prince George, they were crowded into a prison-hut hardly large enough for six of them.⁴ Oconostata and two others were exchanged; the rest remained in close imprisonment.

This hastened the bloody sequel. The Cherokees commenced war after the manner of Indians. Hoping to rescue the imprisoned envoys, they allured the commandant of Fort Prince George to a dark thicket by the river-side, and shot him dead. The garrison was justly incensed, but their fury took a brutal and cowardly form. They butchered in cold blood all the imprisoned envoys; and to conceal their crime they invented the falsehood that these victims (whom Lyttleton called "hostages") had de-

¹ Hewat's S. C., II. 214.

² Adair's Amer. Indians, 247. Bancroft, IV. 341, 342.

³ Speeches in Hewat, II. 219.

⁴ Bancroft, IV. 348.

vised a plan to poison the wells of the garrison! It is noteworthy that a historian of these events leaves out of his narrative all mention of this atrocious crime.¹

The effect of this massacre on the minds of the Cherokees may be conceived. There was hardly a village that did not mourn a murdered chief. The warriors flew to arms. They said, with poetic truth: "The spirits of our murdered brothers are flying around us, screaming for vengeance." They harried the frontiers of the Carolinas, and even advanced so far as to attack the skirts of Ninety-Six. Here several of the Cherokees were killed, and Governor Lyttleton's subservient officer wrote to him in hideous triumph: "We fatten our dogs with their carcasses, and display their scalps, neatly ornamented, on the tops of our bastions."²

The Cherokees obtained arms and military stores by barter with Louisiana. The stern fact of open war could no longer be denied; yet so obvious was it that it had been brought on by the cruelty and injustice of Lyttleton and his creatures, that the Legislature of South Carolina, in February, 1760, made a second protest against his course, as subversive of their "birthrights as British subjects, and in violation of undoubted privileges." Yet the English Lords of Trade sustained him, and could find no words strong enough to express their approbation of his whole conduct.

England was then at war with France, and Lyttleton found no difficulty in inducing General Amherst to detach a force to help him in his unfortunate war on the Cherokees. Colonel Montgomery (who was afterwards Lord Eglinton) and Major Grant were sent, in April, 1760, with six hundred Highlanders and six hundred Royal Americans, from the army of the Ohio, to strike a sudden blow at the Indians and return. Seven hundred Carolinians joined them at Ninety-Six, with whom Moultrie, and perhaps Marion, served as officers.³

Early in June this large force reached Little Keowee, one of the Cherokee towns, and, killing all the people except women and children, left their homes in ruins. They marched next to Estatoe, in the beautiful valley of Keowee, famed for its fertility and picturesque scenes. This was the favorite home of the Cherokees. The English army showed no mercy. They easily mastered the defenders, slaying and wounding some, taking others

¹ Stephens; compare his account, 190, 191, with Miln to Lyttleton, 24th February, 1760. Adair, 250. Bancroft, IV. 350.

² Francis to Lyttleton, 6th March, 1760. Drayton's South Carolina, 246.

³ Bancroft, IV. 351.

prisoner, and putting the rest to flight. They then plundered and set fire to every village—Estatoc, Qualatchee and Conasatchee—utterly destroying them. The poor Indians were plainly seen on the mountains, gazing mournfully on their desolated homes. Even Major Grant felt compassion. He wrote: "I could not help pitying them a little; their villages were agreeably situated; their houses neatly built; there were everywhere astonishing magazines of corn, which were all consumed." About seventy Cherokees were killed; forty, chiefly women and children, were made prisoners. The survivors, feeding on horse-flesh and wild roots, made their escape over the mountains.¹

Montgomery sent messages that unless they consented to his terms of peace, he would follow them and reduce the upper towns to ashes.²

The chiefs gave no response to his message. He crossed the Alleghany ranges with his army. The Royal Scots and Highlanders and the colonial troops alike enjoyed the free mountain paths and breezes. At a narrow pass, called "Crow's Creek," in the valley of the Little Tennessee river, the Cherokees emerged from ambush and gave battle. Morrison, a gallant Scottish officer, was killed at the head of the advance. But the Highlanders and provincials returned huzzas to the Indian yells, and, pressing on, drove them from their lurking-places, and chased them from height and hollow. The loss of the whites was twenty killed and seventy-six wounded.³

This was the end of Montgomery's advance. He did not relieve the half-starved Fort Loudon. Resting a single day in the Alleghanies, he then kindled lights at Etchowee to deceive the Cherokees, and silently retreated. By the 1st of July he had reached Fort Prince George.

This retreat was fatal to Fort Loudon. Already nearly starved, the garrison made terms of capitulation with the Cherokees, which neither side observed. Oconostata himself received the surrender, August 8th, and sent the garrison of two hundred on their way to Carolina. But the next day, at Tellico, the Cherokees surrounded them, killed Captain Demeré and three other officers, with twenty-three privates, and distributed the rest as captives among their tribes. They were very exact in claiming that they put to death only the same number that had been murdered in Fort Prince George the previous December.⁴

¹Timberlake on the Cherokees, Bancroft, IX. 353.

²Virginia Gazette, 496, 2, 1.

³Virginia Gazette, August, 1760, 501, 2, 1, 15.

⁴Lieut.-Gov. Bull to Lords of Trade, 9th Sept., 1760, 21st Oct., 1760. Fauquier to Lords of Trade, 17th Sept., 1760.

Thus does wrong give birth to wrong. Montgomery, with his troops, left the colony to the harassing assaults of the Cherokees. Governor Ellis, of Georgia, by a wise and humane policy, conciliated the Creeks, and his people were left to peaceful pursuits.

During 1761 the war with the Cherokees went on. "I am for war," said Saloué, the young warrior of Estatoe. "The spirits of our murdered brothers still call on us to avenge them; he that will not take up his hatchet and follow me is no better than a woman." To reduce these native mountaineers, General Amherst, early in 1761, sent a regiment and two companies of light infantry under that same Grant, of sad Pittsburg memories. South Carolina added a regiment of her own, commanded by Colonel Henry Middleton, under whom were William Moultrie, Henry Laurens and Francis Marion.¹

In April, 1761, this force encountered the Cherokees on the banks of the Little Tennessee, about two miles from the spot where Montgomery had met them. A battle was kept up for three hours. The Cherokees fought bravely, but their ammunition gave out and they retreated, having inflicted a loss of ten killed and forty badly wounded on the whites.

Grant's troops remained for thirty days west of the Alleghanies, marching from town to town, plundering, burning and laying waste. The unhappy Cherokees had that year planted new fields of maize, all of which were desolated. Four thousand Indians—men, women and little children—were driven from their pleasant homes to wander among the mountains.

Utterly broken in fortunes and spirits, they sued for peace through Attakulla-kulla, a well-known chief, who said to the whites: "I am come to you as a messenger from the whole nation, to see what can be done for my people in their distress." The people of the Carolinas felt pity for them. Lyttleton was gone; his counsels no longer prevailed. Peace was agreed on. The sad Cherokees returned to their loved valleys; but they felt that they were no longer to rest in permanent security. "They knew that they had come into the presence of a race more powerful than their own; and the course of their destiny was irrevocably changed."²

Hardly had the peace of Paris terminated the war of seven years between England and France, before a war was commenced against the English colonists by the Indians of the northern and northwestern borders and of the Ohio valley, which, though not

¹ Moultrie's *Memoirs Amer. Rev.*, II. 223. Bancroft, IV. 423.

² *Terms of Peace with the Cherokees in L. of T.*, 11th Dec., 1761. Bancroft, IV. 425, 426.

of long duration, was waged with every appliance of savage duplicity, treachery, cruelty and skill that ever had been put in practice by the natives. This war is very properly designated as "Pontiac's war." The chief bearing that name was said to have been a Catawba captive, adopted by the Ottawa nation; and he came to be regarded as "the king and the lord of all that country" of the Northwest.¹

He was of colossal stature and size, and of commanding talents, united with impressive manners and address.² He was almost adored by numerous tribes, and was represented as a man "of integrity and humanity," at least according to the morals of the wilderness.

The termination of the war with France, and the advance of the English to take possession of the forts in the surrendered country, were regarded with sagacious alarm by Pontiac and all the Indians whom he could influence. The French, by their cordial manners, their religious missions, and their easy pliancy as to marriages and social habits, had gained the hearts of the red men. The English treated them as inferiors, to be swept out of their way, and sold them intoxicating liquors—a practice utterly repudiated by the French policy.³

Pontiac, and the more observant of all the Indians, saw that the success of the English meant the gradual destruction of the red men, or their reduction to modes of life which they abhorred as slavery. The Iroquois, and especially the Senecas, led the way in secret combinations for hostility. They were soon in cautious conference with the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Miamis, the Wyandots, the Abenakis and the Potawatomes. Pontiac was the central and moving spirit. For two years this secret work was going on, and the "bloody belt" was being carried around from nation to nation and town to town, until it was discovered by the young ensign in command at Fort Miami, who, "after a long and troublesome interview," persuaded the chiefs to arrest its progress and surrender it to him.⁴

But the dark work had been done. Of all the inland settlements, Detroit was the largest and most attractive. The climate was mild and the air healthful. Good land abounded, yielding wheat, Indian corn, and excellent vegetables. The forests were stocked with buffaloes, deer, quails, partridges, and wild turkeys. Water-fowl of delicious flavor frequented the streams, and the

¹ William Smith to Gates, 22d Nov., 1763. Gladwin to Amherst, 14th May, 1763. Bancroft, V. 113.

² Rev. W. T. Price's *Hist. Sketch of Greenbrier Presbytery*, 1889.

³ Hutchinson to Rich'd Jackson, Aug., 1763. Bancroft, V. 111.

⁴ Gayarre's *Hist. de la Louisiane*, II. 131. Holmes to Major Gladwin, 30th March, 1763.

waters yielded fine fish, especially the white fish, very seldom caught elsewhere. The French inhabitants dwelt on farms, and were contented and peaceful. They honestly submitted to the English sovereignty, according to the peace of Paris.¹ The Indians tried in vain to draw them into their war.

Major Gladwin was in command of the Detroit fort—a large stockade enclosing about eighty houses. He had one hundred and twenty men, with eight officers. Pontiac paid him several insidious visits, with constantly increasing forces of warriors secretly armed. But Gladwin was on his guard against all surprises. A romantic tradition, which has gained wide acceptance, asserts that a Chippewa Indian girl, who was in love with Gladwin, revealed to him the plan of Pontiac; but this tradition can hardly claim historic basis.²

On the 7th of May, 1763, an English party sounding the entrance to Lake Huron were seized and murdered. On the afternoon of the 9th, Pontiac threw off all disguise, and, with a large body of savages, openly beleaguered the Detroit fort, which had provisions for only three weeks. His proclamation was: "The first man that shall bring them provisions, or anything else, shall suffer death." But Gladwin obtained needed supplies, and set at defiance the seven hundred besiegers.

War was soon apparent at every point open to savages' wiles and cruelty. On the 16th of May, a party of Indians appeared at the gate of Fort Sandusky, then a small and weak work. Ensign Paulli, the commander, admitted four Hurons and three Ottawas, as "old acquaintances and friends." They sat smoking, till, on signal, they seized Paulli, slew his sentry, admitted their comrades and massacred the garrison. The traders were killed and their stores plundered. Paulli, as a prisoner, was carried in triumph to the lines around Detroit.³ On the 25th of May, by similar villainy, the small work at St. Joseph's was captured, and the garrison, except three men, were put to death.

Nine British garrisons were thus, by treachery and wiles, surprised in one day. Prowling savages gathered around all the outlying settlements. It has been estimated that twenty thousand persons in Western Virginia were driven from their homes by the fear of the savage tomahawk and scalping-knife.⁴

At Michilimackinac the fort was on the strait, and the whole inclosure was more than two acres on the main-land, surrounded

¹ Bancroft, V. 114, 118.

² Compare Carver, 155, 156; Thalheimer, 107; Quackenbos, 182, with Gladwin's own statement, and Bancroft, V. 116, note.

³ Paulli to Gen. Gage, Bancroft, V. 118.

⁴ Quackenbos' U. S., 181.

by a picket fence, with cabins for a few traders, and a garrison of about forty men. The Chippewas had been in the habit of assembling in the enclosed space to play ball, somewhat in the forms of the modern game of base-ball. On the 4th of June, 1763, an exciting game was in progress; the officers were watching it, when, suddenly, the ball was driven close to the gate. Unsuspected, the savages ran up, seized the commander, Etherington, and his lieutenant, and hurried them to the woods. The Indian squaws were already in the fort, with hatchets hidden under their blankets. The Indians seized these arms, and, by a sudden attack, killed an officer, a trader, and fifteen men. The rest of the garrison were made prisoners. Everything portable was carried from the fort. The French traders were not harmed. Thus was taken the old fort of Mackinaw. Presque Isle (now Erie) was captured by reason of the terror of the commander. Le Bœuf was next invested. Its resolute commander made a stern defence till midnight, and then escaped with his men into the woods, after the Indians had set fire to the block houses. The old fort at Venango was reduced to ruins. But all the numbers and strategy of the natives was of no avail for the capture of Fort Pitt.

In a severe engagement, the white troops under Dalyell were worsted. But Bouquet, at Bushy Run, with his officers and men, behaved with great courage and coolness, and finally routed the savages, though with a loss of one-fourth of their own numbers. Unfortunately, when the savage movements began, General Amherst regarded them as hardly worthy of notice. He expressed the hope that the natives would be "too sensible of their own interests" to conspire against the English.¹

But as the news of the capture of fort after fort, and of bloody massacres, and of a defeat to Dalyell, and heavy loss to Bouquet came to him, the English commander grew in wrath. His indignation against "the bloody villains" knew no bounds. He offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any one who would kill Pontiac. He sent eleven hundred troops (in large proportion colonial), under General Bradstreet, to the Northwest. His instructions were: "You will take no prisoners, but put to death all that fall into your hands."²

Had such instructions been carried out, Indian wars would never have ceased in North America so long as a red warrior was alive. But General Bradstreet was too wise, brave and humane to be led astray by such orders.

¹ Amherst to Major Gladwin, May, 1763. Bancroft, V. 113.

² Amherst's instructions, 10th Aug., 1763. Bancroft, V. 132.

Pontiac had shown eminent address and skill in organizing and conducting the war. He had even devised a rude system of banking, and of negotiable instruments, which were strangely effective for his money purposes. His notes, which were always punctually paid, consisted of pieces of smooth, tough bark, each etched with the figure of what he wanted to buy, and of an otter, which he had adopted as his own hieroglyphic seal.¹ No Indian chief had ever exercised an influence so extensive as his.

But his career was now drawing to its close. The Indians, alarmed at the advance of the white troops, began to fall off from him. The French, in Illinois, contributed greatly to a general pacification. De Neyon, the officer lately in command of Fort Chartres, sent belts, messages and peace-pipes to all parts of the continent accessible to him, urging the savages to bury the hatchet and take the English by the hand, and telling them that they would see his face no more.² General Bradstreet found no organized resistance, though a formal peace was not made until Sir William Johnson brought all the New York, Northwestern, and Ohio valley tribes to a treaty of peace in 1766.³ The more eastern savages, known as the St. Francis Indians, who had been especially barbarous and destructive to the people of New England, were so fearfully scourged and overthrown in 1759, by Major Rogers, that they had given no trouble thereafter.⁴

Pontiac refused to sign the treaty of peace, and retired to the hunting-grounds of the Illinois. He still sought to organize a war upon the whites. But while attending a council, in 1769, he was stabbed and slain by a Peoria Indian, who had received from some base whites a bribe of a barrel of rum to do this deed of assassination.⁵ With his death ended the last hope of a native liberator.

(2.) On the subject of negro slavery, the facts of history are all against the mother country in her fixed policy towards her colonies in America. It is true that the first introduction of negro slaves was the result of a voluntary purchase by Virginia planters from a Dutch ship, in 1620, as we have noted; and doubtless similar transactions often occurred afterwards in all the colonies. For at least two and a half centuries after Columbus came to the West Indies, the African slave-trade was considered legitimate and consonant even to Christian morality. The crime of having a black skin and negro conformation, was held sufficient to justify enormities at which the Christian world now gazes back with

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 183. Art. Pontiac, New Amer. Encyclop., XIII. 479.

² Neyon a Kerlerec, Dec., 1763. Bancroft, V. 133.

³ Scudder's U. S., 157.

⁴ Goodrich's U. S., 162.

⁵ Compare Quackenbos, 183. Holmes' U. S., 81. Amer. Encyclop., XIII. 479. Derry's U. S., 90.

horror. And yet there are divines who claim that no discoveries nor advances in Christian theology are possible!

The colonies became sensitive as to the moral blackness of this slave-trade, and its effects upon their prosperity, long before England would tolerate any discontinuance thereof.

When first brought in, the negroes spoke nothing but their African dialects, and were often fierce and intractable. Great harshness was used to subdue them. Insurrections were not infrequent, and they were always put down with the bloody hand. One occurred in the city of New York in 1712. Twenty-four negroes were put to death, in some cases with prolonged torture.¹ In 1740 an uprising of slaves took place in South Carolina. The whites organized and gave them battle, and routed them with fearful slaughter. In 1741 a negro plot for insurrection was supposed to have been detected in New York, and, upon evidence far from conclusive, thirty-three slaves were executed, thirteen of them by fire.²

Prior to the Revolution, negro slaves were in all the colonies; but in Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia they most abounded, because the conditions of soil, climate and productions in the South made their labor most profitable. Moreover, the hot suns and mild winters of the South suited the African, and he increased and multiplied wonderfully there.

And it was in the Southern colonies that the first earnest protests and adverse legislation against slavery began. It is true that, as early as 1701, the town of Boston instructed its representatives in the assembly "to put a period to negroes being slaves";³ but no favorable enactment followed. In 1712, a general petition was gotten up in Pennsylvania, and signed by many, asking for the emancipation of the negro slaves; but the Legislature of Pennsylvania answered that "it was neither just nor convenient to set them at liberty."⁴

A deep religious sentiment was all the time proclaiming in the hearts of the Southern colonists that negro slavery was inconsistent with Christianity. We cannot otherwise account for the crude notion that if a negro was baptized with Christian baptism it was unlawful thereafter to hold him in slavery. Yet, so prevalent was this notion that from 1667 to 1748, Virginia passed repeated laws forbidding the baptism of negro slaves;⁵ South Carolina passed a similar law in 1712, and Maryland in 1715.⁶

¹ Eggleston's *Household U. S.*, 108.

² Eggleston, 108. Bancroft, III. 406. Holmes' *U. S.*, 64. D. B. Scott's *U. S.*, 98.

³ Bancroft, III. 408.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 408.

⁵ Henning, II. 260; III. 448, etc.

⁶ *Laws of S. C.*, Dalcho, 94. Bancroft, III. 409.

But England did not trouble herself with any such scruples. In May, 1727, Gibson, Bishop of London, declared that "Christianity and the embracing of the gospel does not make the least alteration in civil property." Thus he held that a negro might be "civil property"—in other words, "a chattel"—and yet a proper subject for Christian baptism. The incongruity was latent still.

It is no longer a question of historic doubt that all the Southern colonies passed repeated laws to discourage, and, if possible, to prevent entirely, the further importation of African slaves, and that England invariably nullified this colonial legislation. Throughout the statute books of Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina these laws are copiously scattered. This sentiment was so general in America that the very first Continental Congress which could claim any power of legislation, on the 6th of April, 1776, passed a resolution "that no slaves be imported into any of the thirteen united colonies."¹

We have seen that, by the acts of the trustees, under the original charter of Georgia, slavery was forbidden. Doubtless, as settlements increased, there were those in the colony who were impelled by selfish greed to seek a change in this provision. But it was England who really broke it down. Years afterwards Oglethorpe wrote: "My friends and I settled the colony of Georgia, and by charter were established trustees. We determined not to suffer slavery there; but the slave-merchants and their adherents not only occasioned us much trouble, but at last got the government to sanction them."²

In 1760, South Carolina enacted restrictions on the importation of slaves and the increase of slavery. The English ministry rebuked her, and nullified her action.³ In 1761, a proposition was introduced into the Legislature of Virginia to suppress the importation of negro slaves by a prohibitory duty. A warm debate followed. Richard Henry Lee, from Westmoreland, made his maiden speech in favor of the restriction, arguing with learning and eloquence to show all the dangers of slavery, its sinister effects on the prosperity of the colony, and painting from the models of ancient history the horrors of servile insurrections.⁴

The enactment was carried by a majority of a single vote; but, from England, a negative from the Crown promptly annulled it.

In all this, England alienated her colonists more and more, because it was evident that her policy was purely selfish and money-seeking. Whenever great barriers of morals have stood in her

¹ Journals of Congress, I. 307.

³ Bancroft, III. 416.

² Oglethorpe letter in Bancroft, III. 416.

⁴ Lee's Mem. of Lee, II. Bancroft, IV. 422.

way in seeking selfish gain, as in the cases of importing negro slaves into North America and opium into China, she has broken those barriers in the pursuit of money.

Steadily rejecting every colonial limitation on the slave-trade, she instructed the governors, on pain of removal, to refuse even temporary assent to such laws. Only a year before the opening of the Revolution, the Earl of Dartmouth summed up her policy on this subject in these memorable words: "We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation."¹

This traffic, inhuman in its origin, conduct and results, had been a favored method by which the kings, queens and nobles of England had sought to enrich themselves, from the days of Sir John Hawkins to modern times. Under it nine millions of negroes are estimated to have been snatched from their homes in Africa, up to 1776, by negro-kidnapers and traders, chiefly English.² At least one-eighth of these victims died on the middle passage, and were thrown into the Atlantic. Yet England, especially after the insertion of the *assiento* in her treaty of Utrecht with Spain, in 1713, pressed on this traffic with unrelenting zeal. Her manufacturers earnestly favored it, because they were sure that negro labor in the colonies would permanently unfit them for competition with English skilled labor.³

(3.) On the subject of *religious liberty*, the first impression would be that the colonists themselves had been more responsible for its loss or restriction than the mother country, and that such examples as Maryland, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania presented would prove that it would not have been restricted in any colony, had it been properly sought. But this is a superficial view.

The very essence of the English constitution and laws assumed the connection of church and state as legitimate and beneficial. Therefore, as far as her influence could be felt, England sought to extend this connection in her colonies. The system of glebe lands, church properties, and tithes was the necessary outcome of the union of church and state; and its overthrow was part of the Revolution itself, and was needful to the establishment of religious liberty; for, if the state may adopt a special organization of the grand Christian system as "the church," and may compel people to support it by their attendance and property, religious liberty is impossible.

¹ Dartmouth to colonial agent, Bancroft, III. 416.

² Raynal's Indies. Edwards, II.

³ Bancroft, III. 413-417.

It was, naturally and almost inevitably, in the Virginia colony that this question showed itself in its true light and proportions. We have seen that many circumstances had contributed to give this colony a reputation for loyalty, and to put into her counsels a number of leading minds who felt special reverence for the institutions of England.

But, as population increased, others of equal mental power and culture began to appear; and even the Washingtons, Pendletons, Wythes, Lees, Randolphs and Jeffersons began to realize that a church established by law necessarily antagonized the principles of religious liberty. The crisis of exposure approached, and with the crisis came the man to lift the curtain.

By a statute enacted in 1696, the Episcopal clergy of Virginia were to receive, each one, a salary of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. This statute was in substance re-enacted in 1748, and had been sanctioned by the Crown.

The price of tobacco had been long stationary at two pence per pound, but was liable to change by the law of supply and demand. A short crop in 1755 caused the price to advance, and the assembly passed an act declaring that debts or claims payable in tobacco might be discharged by paying *in money* at the rate of two pence per pound.¹ This law was in operation ten months only, and was quietly endured by the clergy. But in 1758 the assembly, in view of another short crop, re-enacted the statute of 1755, and annexed no suspending clause, which would have kept their enactment in suspense until sanctioned by the Crown. The clergy took fire, and determined to enforce their claims by law.

Immediately a hot controversy arose. Pamphlets on both sides appeared. His majesty, in council, sought to cut the knot by declaring the act of 1758 null and void.² Thereupon suits were instituted in various counties by clergymen against their respective parish collectors to enforce the law of 1748, which gave sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco to each minister. In Hanover county, Rev. James Maury had sued his vestry. Able counsel had been employed on each side. The action was for the sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco; the defendants pleaded the act of 1758, and the plaintiffs demurred to the plea on two grounds: *first*, because that act had not received the royal sanction when enacted; *second*, because the king, in council, had expressly declared it void.

¹ Wirt's Patrick Henry, 22, 24.

² Wirt's Henry, 25. Dr. Hawks' Ecclesias. Hist. of Va., 122. Grahame, IV. 96.

When this demurrer came up in the county court for November, 1763, it was argued by Peter Lyons for the plaintiff, and John Lewis for the defendants. The court, notwithstanding that popular feeling ran strongly against the clergy, sustained the demurrer, thus deciding that the law of 1748 must take full effect.

Upon the mere technical rules of law as then existing, there can be no doubt that the court was right in sustaining the demurrer. Nothing remained but to call a jury and submit to them the question of the amount of damages to which the plaintiff was entitled. At this stage Mr. Lewis withdrew from the cause, telling his clients he could do nothing more for them.

But deeper down than the merely legal question was the principle of religious liberty, which rested on the rock of right and justice. It was latent, silent, asleep; but it was *in the case*, and needed only to be aroused to show itself in might and majesty; and the time and man had come to arouse it.

Almost hopeless, the defendants employed a young lawyer named Patrick Henry, then in his twenty-seventh year. He was not deeply learned in his profession, and had not theretofore exhibited conspicuous talent; but he was known to have strong common sense, and to feel deep sympathy for the popular side in a controversy already stigmatized as that of "the parsons against the people."¹

The case came before a jury in the County Court of Hanover on the first day of December, 1763. Patrick Henry's own father was the presiding justice, and his uncle was one of the very clergymen now urging their claims. The court-room was densely crowded. Mr. Lyons, for the plaintiff, opened the case, and, certain of success, he stated the previous steps before the court, and concluded his speech to the jury by a brilliant eulogy upon the merits of the clergy. Patrick Henry then arose and commenced his address. He was awkward and embarrassed; his words faltered; the clergy smiled, nodded, and exchanged glances of compassionate triumph; the people trembled for their champion; his father hung his head in shame and sorrow. But gradually a mighty change came over the speaker; his form became erect; his eye kindled into fire; his voice grew in emphasis, and from his lips poured forth words which bound all in the assembly as with a magician's spell. A dead silence prevailed, and, bending forward from seats and windows and each place where they stood, the people listened in awe to the voice of the great spirit of eloquence who had descended among them. His power was

¹Wirt's Henry, 29, edit. 1839. Sample's Va. Baptists, 2-7.

such that he made "their blood to run cold in their veins, and their hair to rise on end." His father sat a listener, with tears of indescribable feeling running down his cheeks. With resistless sway, the orator pleaded before the jury the injustice of the plaintiffs' claim. He denounced the act of the king in declaring void the law of 1758, and with prophetic power he urged that the compact between people and sovereign might be dissolved by royal oppression. He painted in repulsive colors the conduct of the clergy, and at length, at one withering burst of invective, the ministers present rose and fled from the house!¹ When the case was submitted to the jury, they returned almost immediately to the bar with a verdict of *one penny damages*.

A motion for a new trial was made, but was promptly overruled by a unanimous vote. Men were already looking to the future. Religious liberty prevailed over statute law and the king's negative. The clergy abandoned all their suits, and never again urged their claims.² They felt that their foundation was rotten. The people were already conscious that religious freedom would never be obtained until the dominion of England over them was destroyed.

(4.) The violations by the English crown and Parliament of the principles of civil freedom, in their application to the colonists, were so gross and repeated that the marvel is, not that revolution came at last, but that it was so long delayed. The "Acts of Trade" passed by the Parliament, and specially enforced by the "Lords of Trade," were oppressive and unjust to every man, woman and child in the colonies, cutting them off from legitimate business, compelling them to buy English manufactures and deal with English merchants, and freight in English ships exclusively. And to enforce these odious "Acts of Trade" a contrivance still more odious was brought into play. The English custom officers asked for "writs of assistance" from the colonial courts, by means of which any man's house and papers and means of living might be searched for evidences of violation or evasion of the "Acts of Trade."

In February, 1761, Boston was a seaport town of about fifteen thousand people.³ The question of granting these "writs of assistance" came before the chief justice, Hutchinson, and his four associates sitting in the old town hall. James Otis, a native of Barnstable, and a man of fiery eloquence and varied learning, argued against them as contrary to the free constitution

¹ Wirt's Henry, 28, 29. Burk, III, 302, 303. Grahame, IV, 99.

² Wirt, 29. Dr. Hawk's Ec. Hist. P. E. Church in Va., 123, 124.

³ John Adams to Wm. Tudor Novanglus, 269. Bancroft, IV, 418.

of the English realm. His speech was the beginning of the Revolution in New England, and produced a profound impression.¹ John Adams, then a young man, listened to it with rapt admiration, and declared that from that time he could never read the "Acts of Trade" without anger, nor "any section of them without a curse." Yet Hutchinson and the subservient judges, after continuing the application to the next term, and writing to England, decided to grant "writs of assistance" whenever the revenue officers applied for them.

And during those pregnant fifteen years England kept standing armies in her colonies without the consent of their legislatures; rendered the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power; protected her soldiers from punishment when they committed murders on the inhabitants; deprived the colonists of the protection of trial by jury, and frequently transported them beyond the Atlantic, to be tried away from their homes and from the scene of the alleged offence, by strangers and veniemen hostile and prejudiced. The people of the colonies felt the ever-growing conviction that civil freedom was not to be enjoyed by them under British dominion; yet they endured while endurance was possible.

(5.) In the early years of colonization, the social system and customs of England were followed in the colonies with almost slavish obedience. Even in New England and in Pennsylvania, the ideas coming from privileged orders and established ranks long prevailed. Official positions were monopolized by a few leading families, and often descended by an unbroken usage from father to son. The catalogues of the students in the colleges of Harvard and Yale were long arranged according to supposed family rank.²

Distinctions in dress, to mark the higher and lower ranks of society, were long kept up. In New England, up to the time of the Revolution, calf-skin shoes were worn only by the gentry; the lower classes wore heavy neat's-leather shoes; farmers, mechanics, laborers and workingmen generally were clothed in red or green baize jackets, leather or striped ticking breeches, and a leather apron. On Sundays and holidays a white shirt took the place of the checked one; the stiff leather breeches were greased and blacked; the heavy cowhide home-made shoes were adorned by huge brass buckles. The common laborer received only about two shillings (little more than twenty-five cents) per day.³

¹ Minot's Diary of John Adams, 523. Note in Bancroft, IV. 416, 417.

² Barnes' Popular U. S. Colonial Life, Chap. IV. Barnes & Co.'s U. S. (note) 91, 92.

³ Note in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 93.

The colonial "gentleman," on the other hand, dressed richly. His morning costume was of silk, with velvet cap and dressing-gown; and his evening dress was of blue, green or purple flowered silk or embroidered velvet, enriched with gold or silver lace, buttons and knee-buckles. Wide lace ruffles fell over his hands; his street cloak was heavy with gold lace; and he was seldom without a gold-headed cane and a gold or silver snuff-box.¹

These distinctions were carried even into the church and the place where God was supposed specially to dwell. The pew of the governor or the speaker of the assembly was often marked by some special ornament.² In New England the men and women usually sat apart, and the children were put in the galleries. Sunday morning was opened with the sound of the drum; the men, heavily armed, and the women assembled in front of the captain's house. Three abreast, they marched to the church building, where every man placed his musket or his rifle within easy reach. The elders and deacons sat in front facing the congregation. The services began with a long prayer; then came the reading and expounding of the Scriptures, and a psalm, lined out and led by one of the elders. Instrumental music was absolutely proscribed, being supposed to be forbidden by Amos v. 23. The sermon was often three hours, sometimes four hours, long. At the end of each hour the sexton turned the hour-glass on the desk. This was the sole relief that could be expected. The constables carried long staffs, having a hare's foot at one end and a hare's tail at the other. If a female nodded with coming sleep during the sermon, the end with the hare's tail was gently applied to her face till she was roused; but if a man or a boy was the delinquent, the end with the hare's foot was brought down with a smart rap on the head to awake him.³

The customs in New York long retained the Dutch mould originally impressed on them. To the Dutch we owe the Christmas legends and visits of Santa Claus, the colored eggs at Easter, dough-nuts, crullers, New York cookies, and, above all, the custom of general visiting on New Year's day, which Gen. George Washington approved so highly that he expressed the hope that its cordial observance would never be abandoned.⁴ The happy burghers breakfasted at dawn, dined at eleven and retired to rest at sunset. On dark evenings, lighted candles were placed in the front windows to guide belated wanderers. But on the Hudson, the great patroons with their immense estates, their families and

¹ Note in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 93.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 199, 110.

³ Eggleston's Household U. S., 109. Barnes, (note) 95.

⁴ Washington's words, quoted in note p. 95, Barnes & Co.'s U. S.

their crowds of feudal tenants kept up the usages and indulgences of the nobles and wealthy classes of the country regions of Europe.

In the Southern colonies the life most prized was not that of cities and towns, but of the country. The Virginia gentleman, with his family, lived in his large and well-built house on some elevated part of his immense landed estate, surrounded by a numerous household of domestic servants, all of whom were negro slaves. The slaves who did the agricultural and other work of the estate had their quarters, forming a sort of small village or hamlet, with rude gardens and poultry yards. One of these estates in those days was literally "a state" on a small scale, with a monarch nearly unlimited in his powers. Among the slaves were men of nearly all trades—blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, millers. There were large buildings for curing tobacco and threshing wheat, and mills for grinding wheat, maize and other grain. George Washington, on the Mount Vernon estate, established so high a reputation for the flour ground from his own mills out of his own wheat, that the packed barrels bearing his brand are said to have been received, bought and sold without inspection in the West India markets.¹

Along the rivers Ashley and Cooper, in South Carolina, and a few other parts of that region, were found, even down to the Revolution, survivals of the only legal titles of nobility that had ever existed in the North American colonies. These were the landgraves provided for by the "Grand Model" of Locke. But it is certain these titles were never liked, and were so persistently a subject of ridicule and aversion by nearly all classes that, with the withdrawal of the "Model," they soon evaporated. Nevertheless, in the regions where rice, cotton and tobacco were raised, the life of the proprietor and his family assumed most of the forms of European privileged orders. The planters kept kennels of choice hunting dogs and stables of blooded horses, and with their families rolled to church or to some small town in a coach with two magnificent horses, often with four, and with mounted attendants.

The spacious dwellings gave many evidences that Europe had contributed both to their materials and their adornment. The grand staircases, mantels and wainscoting were often of solid mahogany or other costly wood, and were elaborate and quaint in construction. The sideboards were laden with gold and silver

¹ Irving's *Life of Washington*, I. 289. Address of Hon. R. C. Winthrop. Barnes & Co.'s U. S. (note) 96.

plate, and the tables were covered with luxuries. All labor, except fine embroidery or similar recreation, was performed by negro slaves. They abounded most in Virginia and the Carolinas. They were often so numerous, especially in South Carolina, that the owner had no knowledge even of their names. The overseer conducted the work and discipline of the plantation. Yet these laboring classes were, in general, contented and happy, being without ambition or anxieties. They cherished a "family pride" which was just as intense as that of the white family to whom they belonged; and the household slaves, male and female, in their dress, language and manners, kept up the privileged ideas which a life so independent and luxurious was adapted to form.

The tendency in the South was to country life, and, therefore, the cities and towns were few and small. North of Maryland the towns grew faster, and some of them assumed the proportions and dignity of cities. Philadelphia was the largest city, containing, before the Revolution, probably as many as thirty thousand inhabitants. It was also remarkable for its flagged side-walks, the regularity of its streets, and the elegance of its brick and stone residences. And William Penn's longing that it should be a "fair greene country town" had been realized. The carriageways were bordered with trees, and many of the houses were surrounded by grass-plots, gardens and orchards refreshing to the eye.¹

The usual mode of travel was on foot or on horseback. Coasting sloops were also much used, and were fitted up with some comforts for travelers. If the wind was fair, three days sufficed for the run from New York to Philadelphia. Conveyances by land carriages were commenced in 1766, which reduced the time between New York and Philadelphia to two days! This was such unprecedented speed that these coaches were called "flying machines."² The future was hidden, but the spirit of the age was preparing for it.

The first regular stage-coach service was between Boston and Providence, and took two days. The colonies combined for a postoffice system. Benjamin Franklin was one of the earliest postmasters-general. In his two-horse chaise he made a grand tour through the country maturing and perfecting the plan. His daughter Sally accompanied him, riding sometimes with him in the chaise, sometimes alongside on an extra horse. Five months were occupied in this tour. In 1672 a mail was started between

¹ Note in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 91, 95.

² *Ibid.*, 93.

New York and Boston, by Hartford and other towns. A month was allowed for the round trip.¹

Education, in the sense of book study, was far more general in the Northern than in the Southern colonies. The Puritans highly prized education. When Boston was only six years old, she appropriated two thousand dollars to the seminary at Cambridge, which became Harvard College in 1636. Yale followed in 1700: Princeton in 1746; the University of Pennsylvania in 1749; Columbia in 1754; Brown University in 1764; Dartmouth in 1769, and Rutgers in 1770.

In the early years of Harvard, each family gave a peck of corn or a shilling in cash for its support. Common schools were provided for in Massachusetts prior to 1647, in which year every town was ordered to have a free school, and if it had over one hundred families, a grammar school. In Connecticut, any town which failed to maintain a free school for three months in a year was liable to a fine. In 1700, ten ministers, having previously agreed, brought each a gift of books, each saying: "I give these books for founding a college in Connecticut." Governor Yale generously befriended it, and it was called by his name. It was located first at Saybrook, but in 1716 was removed to New Haven.²

But it is a significant fact that England neither desired nor cherished education in her colonies. No appropriations from the public funds of the mother country were made to any American school or college, except William and Mary in Virginia, and this was with ungraceful and deluding accompaniments.

While James Blair, a learned and pious minister of the Established Church, who held the office of "commissary" in Virginia under the Bishop of London, was in England in 1691, soliciting a charter and a grant of funds for a college in the colony, he was stubbornly opposed by Seymour, the attorney-general. Mr. Blair urged the necessity for the grant, and ventured to remind Seymour that the college was to train young men for the ministry, and that the people of Virginia had *souls*. "*Souls!*" said Seymour, "*damn your souls! make tobacco.*"³

Yet Mr. Blair was more successful with others. In a short time two thousand five hundred pounds were raised from colonial or private contributions. William and Mary received graciously the application of Commissary Blair. The college was called by their name, and the charter was granted in 1691. The immediate grants from the Crown were the balance in quit-rents due from

¹ Note in Barnes, 93, and illustration of stage-coach, 304.

² Note in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 96.

³ Grahame's Colon. Hist., I. 136.

the colony, amounting to two thousand pounds sterling, twenty thousand acres of "choice land" from the public domain, and a revenue of one penny per pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland to the other American plantations.¹

The observant student will see at once that these grants really took no funds out of the English treasury; for the quit-rents had arisen chiefly by the odious and illegal grants of Charles II., the "twenty thousand acres" from the public domain already belonged to Virginia, and the tax of one penny per pound on exported tobacco was certain to be borne by consumers in the other American plantations, and took not a penny from England.

Nevertheless, the colony was then so smitten with loyalty that the people shut their eyes and persuaded themselves that the British crown had really done much for their college. The Virginia assembly passed an act imposing, for the benefit of William and Mary College, a tax on rawhides, buck-skins, doe-skins, otter-skins, wildcat-skins, mink-skins, fox-skins, raccoon-skins, muskrat-skins and elk-skins.² These wild creatures paid with their lives for the upraising of the college. Thus William and Mary commenced her career, and she helped in the education of some of the most enlightened patriots of the Revolution.

Meanwhile the colonies were fast filling up with new men, women and children. The hold of English customs was weakening. Education, in its widest sense, was generating thoughts of independence. People who had felled the forests, subdued the native sod, and covered the lakes and rivers with ships and vessels bearing the products of their own hard-working hands, naturally conceived the idea that they had a right to independence.

In the Southern colonies the effects of their peculiar civilization were noteworthy. It would have seemed as if every influence there was adverse to independence, and favorable to loyalty to the English crown; but events proved that a hidden current had been running for years, which made the Southern statesmen and planters the leaders in all thought and action favorable to revolution. Those men of leisure, thoroughly educated in all that books could teach, had noted the differences between the conditions in North America and any that had previously existed on earth. They saw the advantages of independence, and the opportunities for its establishment. They saw how the world had suffered under civil and religious tyranny, and the monarchical institutions springing therefrom, and in their quiet homes they

¹ Beverley, 88. Keith, 168, 169. Campbell, 88, 89.

² Henning, III. 122, 123. Acts III. and IV.

mused on the problems of freedom, and watched for the occasion of solving them.

Thus it happened that when the days of revolution came, *Tories* were few in the colonies. So long as they remained quiet, as Lord Fairfax did, they were not persecuted; but when they showed themselves actively hostile, they were hated with bitter hatred, as the worst enemies of their country.

(6.) Taxation without representation was the immediate cause of the Revolutionary war. Had the English monarch, his ministers and the Parliament been wise, they would never have resorted to this means of attempting to relieve the ever-increasing pressure of the national debt; for it was a violation of the basis principles of the English constitution.

The power of the Parliament to legislate for the colonies in all legitimate subjects of legislation had been generally recognized. Even William Pitt held this opinion; for he had said, in one of his speeches favorable to the colonies: "At the same time, let the sovereign authority of legislative and commercial control, always possessed by this country, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised; and, if it were denied, *I would not suffer even a nail for a horse-shoe to be manufactured in America.*"¹

Hence, oppressive as were the navigation laws and acts of trade passed by England, the colonists submitted. But there was one line which the Parliament never ventured to pass till 1765. It was the line which asserted that taxation without representation was not to be practiced. During Sir Robert Walpole's ministry, although England was heavily pressed by her debt, yet, when it was suggested to him to tax America, he repelled the temptation with prophetic alarm.² He declared that "it was a measure too hazardous for him to venture upon." And afterwards, when Walpole's celebrated "Excise Bill" failed, and Sir William Keith renewed the suggestion to tax America, the great minister answered: "I have Old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England likewise?" It was the weaker thought of subsequent ministers that yielded to this temptation.

George Grenville was the minister who first passed this fatal line. He approached it cautiously. In 1764 he intimated that a "stamp act," operative in the colonies, was contemplated, but that its enactment would be postponed for a year, in order that the colonies might offer an equivalent for its proceeds in any form

¹ Grahame, IV. 241. Blackstone's Com., I. 76, 78.

² Belsham's Great Brit., V. 134. Bisset's George III., 188, note.

they might adopt. But this lure was vain. The colonies refused to follow it. Some returned equivocal answers, but the larger number answered by positive refusals.¹

Grenville hesitated no longer, but on the 7th of February, 1765, caused the celebrated Stamp Act to be introduced into the House of Commons. It imposed a tax on wills, deeds, conveyances, leases, contracts, bonds, bills of exchange, notes, parchment, vellum, paper writings, declarations, pleas, demurrers, rejoinders, bills, answers, newspapers, calendars, pamphlets, almanacs—in short, on every writing necessary to business in the colonies; and it declared void and invalid all that was done without payment for these stamps.²

This act did not pass the House of Commons without strenuous opposition. In the course of the debate, Charles Townshend, who was thought to know much of America and her people, in arguing for the tax, used words as follows: “And now, will these American children, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy burden under which we lie?”³

Isaac Barré, the comrade-in-arms of Wolfe, rose, and, with words of fire, replied:

“They planted by *your* care! No; your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated, inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and, among others, to the cruelties 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 the 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 who should have been their friends.

“They nourished 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 out to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men whose behavior on many occasions has caused the blood of these SONS OF LIBERTY to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest

¹ Miller, III. 50, 51. Grahame, IV. 182.

² See Stamp Act, in Otis Botta, *Amer. Revol.*, I. 58, 62.

³ Erroneously attributed to Grenville, *Parliamentary History*, XV. 38. Adolphus, I. 71. Compare with Baneroft, V. 239, 240.

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 valor, amidst their 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—remember, I this day told you so—the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still.

"God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat. What I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. 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."¹

While Barré spoke, Ingersoll, of Connecticut, sat in the gallery and heard him with delight. He made a report of the speech, which the next packet carried across the Atlantic. Every newspaper in the colonies soon copied it. The name, "Sons of Liberty," given by it was seized upon with enthusiasm, and soon hundreds of societies bearing that name were organized from New England to Georgia.

But the Stamp Act was passed by a vote of two hundred and fifty to fifty in the Commons, and even a larger proportion in the House of Lords.² On the 22d of March it received the royal sanction, to take effect in the colonies on the first day of the succeeding November.

It was met by a steady storm of opposition from the northern limits of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to the southern boundary of Georgia. James Otis, Samuel and John Adams led the argument for the rights of the colonies in the North, but they were quickly joined by Livingston in New York, Mifflin and Thomson in Pennsylvania, Patrick Henry in Virginia, Gadsden in South Carolina, and others equally patriotic and firm.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin was in London seeking to promote the interests of the colonies. He did all he could to avert the passage of the Stamp Act. When it passed both houses of Parliament and received the king's assent, Franklin seemed to despair of American freedom, and wrote home to Charles Thomson, of

¹ Parliamentary History, XV. 38, 39. Ingersoll's Report, Bancroft, V. 240, 241.

² Bisset, 190. Miller, III. 51. Belsham, V. 168, 169.

Pennsylvania : "The sun of liberty is set. The Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy." Thomson answered him, in a prophetic spirit : "Be assured, the Americans will light lamps of a very different sort from those you contemplate."

When the act was printed and issued from the king's press in Boston, it was seized and torn to pieces.¹ Lawyers in many of the colonies resolved that they would abandon the practice of their profession rather than use the stamps. The English ministry felt the strongest desire that the distributing agents should be native Americans ; but few colonists would accept the office. Mr. Mercer, in Virginia ; to whom this office was assigned, immediately rejected it.²

In the House of Burgesses in Virginia of this year, men of commanding talents appeared. Among them were Peyton Randolph, who also held the office of attorney-general ; Richard Bland, Edmund Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee, George Wythe and Patrick Henry. Though all disapproved of the Stamp Act, the spirit of loyalty to England was yet strong ; but near the close of the session, Patrick Henry assumed the lead. He wrote on the blank leaf of an old law-book the rough draft of five resolutions which he offered to the house.³ They were a strong protest against the course of the Parliament. The third declared that taxation by the people themselves, or their representatives duly chosen, was an essential characteristic of British freedom. The last resolution was in these words : "Resolved, therefore, that the General Assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony ; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

A warm debate ensued. Pendleton, Bland, Wythe and Randolph all opposed the resolutions ; but Henry was the master mind, and made an impression which is felt to this day. His words were pregnant with a nation's freedom. In the heat of the debate occurred a memorable scene. Patrick Henry reached a climax. "Cæsar," he cried, "had his Brutus ; Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third—" "Treason !" burst from the lips of the president. "Treason ! treason !" resounded through the house. The orator paused ; then, raising himself to his full height, with eyes of fire and a voice which thrilled every soul, he

¹ Belsham, V. 184. Burk, III. 289.

² Gordon, I. 116. Grahame, IV. 220.

³ Wirt's Henry, 49. Marshall, II. 130, and Burk, III. 306, 310, are inaccurate.

concluded his sentence, "and George the Third may profit by their example. If *this* be treason, make the most of it."¹

While this was in progress, a young student of William and Mary College stood in the lobby of the house, and listened with reverence and delight to Patrick Henry. He was learning from him, but he was destined to go far beyond him in teachings on freedom, civil and religious. On the 29th of May, 1765, the debate closed, and the resolutions were adopted by a majority of a single voice. Peyton Randolph came to the door, and the excited young listener heard him exclaim, with every mark of passion: "I would have given five hundred guineas for a single vote."²

Patrick Henry left for his home the same evening. The next morning the governor and his council were busy in seeking to have these bold protests erased from the journal. They partially succeeded. The house agreed to strike out the fifth resolution if the others might stand. Thus the journal for May 30th, 1765, bears only the four. Finding the house in a temper very unfavorable to the king and his policy, the governor, on the 1st of June, dissolved the assembly.³

The resolutions of Virginia were echoed throughout all the colonies. Similar resolves were adopted on every side; newspapers which had sought to reconcile the colonies to the Stamp Act came out boldly against it. Non-importation agreements were made by merchants and wealthy planters. Stamp agents were compelled to resign. By the 1st of November "not a sheet of stamped paper was to be found throughout the colonies."⁴ The "Sons of Liberty" opened correspondence with each other. Finally, Massachusetts proposed a scheme for the union of representatives from all the colonies in a general congress.

This, the first American congress which looked to independence, met in New York in October, 1765. The governor having dissolved her assembly, Virginia was not formally represented. Neither was New Hampshire nor Georgia; but all were there in spirit. Twenty-eight members met on the appointed day. Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was elected president. They adopted resolutions in which the rights of the colonies are set forth, and their freedom from taxation, except by their own assemblies, is declared. They refused to rest their rights on charters granted by England; and, under the lead of Livingston, of New York, and Gadsden, of South Carolina, acted in a spirit

¹Burk, III. 309. Grahame, IV. 209. Wirt's Henry, 55.

²Jefferson's account in Wirt, 52. Tucker's Jefferson, I. 43.

³Gordon, I. 119. Burk, III. 310. Grahame, IV. 209, 210. Wirt, *contra* (note), 54, but it is proved.

⁴Belsham, V. 185. Burk, III. 293, verbatim from Belsham.

which found words as follows: "We should stand upon the broad common ground of those natural rights that we all feel and know as men and as descendants of Englishmen. The charters may ensnare us at last, by drawing different colonies to act differently in this great cause. Whenever that is the case, all will be over with the whole. There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the continent, but all of us Americans."¹

These views prevailed. And yet their resolutions and memorials were conceived in a tone so mild, courteous and conciliatory that they were not entirely welcome to the more enthusiastic patriots.²

All the governors, except the Governor of Rhode Island, pressed measures for making the Stamp Act efficient. Lieutenant-Governor Colden, of New York, was specially active in this odious work. Friday was the first day of November. Signs of gloom were everywhere. In Boston, muffled drums beat dead-marches; bells tolled as for funerals; long processions of mourners passed through the streets; a coffin containing the emblematic corpse of "Liberty" was solemnly interred; but it was raised again.

In New York "the whole city rose up as one man in opposition to the Stamp Act." Sailors came from the shipping. The people flocked in by thousands. Isaac Sears was the recognized leader. At the corners of the streets and on prominent houses, placards threatened all who should use stamps, or delay business for want of them.

Colden retired to the fort, and sent for a detachment of marines from the *Coventry*, ship of war. He would have fired on the people, but a paper was delivered at the fort gate by an unknown hand, November 1st, 1765, which menaced the governor that if he attacked the people he would be hanged upon a sign-post, like Porteous, of Edinburgh, whose fate was recent enough to give serious warning to Colden.³

As darkness came on, a vast torchlight procession carrying a scaffold and two images—one of the governor and the other of the devil—came from the fields (now the park) down Broadway to a point near the fort, knocked at its gate, broke open the coach-house, took out the governor's chariot, carried the images upon it around the town, brought them back, and burned them before his eyes, with tumultuous cries and warnings which he could not disregard.

¹ R. R. Livingston, Jr., to Gordon, the historian. Letter of Gadsden, Bancroft, V. 335.

² Burk gives them, III. 311-322.

³ Bancroft, V. 355.

Colden yielded to resistless pressure. Colonel Gage, the military head in the colony, being appealed to, avowed the belief that a fire from the fort would be the signal for "an insurrection" and "the commencement of a civil war." The common council asked that the stamped papers of all kinds should be delivered into their custody. Colden capitulated. The hated stamps were taken to the city hall. Order was restored; but everywhere was heard the shout: "Liberty! property! and no stamps!"¹

And soon everywhere in the colonies the custom-houses and the courts were re-opened, and business went on without stamps. This was the death-blow; for when a pretended law is openly disregarded, its power is gone.²

Meanwhile the British ministry had changed. Grenville had been displaced and Rockingham had succeeded. Petitions poured in for repeal of the Stamp Act. William Pitt denounced it and applauded the colonists. "I rejoice," he said, "that America has resisted; three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."³

Dr. Benjamin Franklin was examined in the presence of the House of Commons, and by his practical wisdom and simple and courteous words carried persuasion to many minds. On the 19th of March, 1766, the king sanctioned the law repealing the Stamp Act; but the repeal was accompanied by a *Declaratory Act*, asserting the right of the King and Parliament of Great Britain by law "to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever."⁴

Here was the germ of subsequent oppression by the mother country, and revolution by the colonies.

The Duke of Grafton succeeded Rockingham as prime minister in 1767, and Charles Townshend was made chancellor of the exchequer. He was active and excitable in mind, brilliant in debate, formidable as a party leader and unscrupulous as a politician. Provoked by the fierce opposition made by New York to the Stamp Act, the Parliament passed a law suspending the powers of government in that colony until she made satisfactory reparation. But Virginia sympathized with New York, and openly encouraged her.⁵

Townshend boasted that he knew a method of taxing America to which no constitutional objection could be raised. He insisted that, though the colonies might, with a show of law on their side,

¹ Colden to Gage, 5th November; to Major James, 6th November. Bancroft, V. 356, 357.

² Gordon, I. 132.

³ Pitt's speech in Belsham, V. 193.

⁴ Miller's George III. 58.

⁵ Letters of a Pennsylvania farmer in Virginia Gazette, January 7, 1768.

object to *internal* taxes (such as those imposed by the Stamp Act), yet they had no right to object to *external* taxes, such as duties on imports would impose.¹ But there was no difference in principle, as the colonists clearly saw.

A bill was introduced by the ministers into Parliament, imposing duties upon lead, painters' colors, glass, paper and tea imported into the colonies. With little opposition, it became a law in May, 1768.²

In October of this year Norborne Berkeley, Baron De Botetourt, became Governor of Virginia. He obeyed with some reluctance the wishes of the English ministry that he should seek to impress on the colonists a sense of the power and authority of the mother country by a display of splendor on his arrival. In a magnificent coach, presented by George III., he was slowly drawn by six milk-white horses, in gorgeous trappings, through the streets of Williamsburg. He met the assembly with all the ceremonious powers observed by the English sovereign when he received his Parliaments.³

But all this vain show did no good. It neither dazzled nor deceived the burgesses. It was distasteful to Botetourt himself, and he soon laid it aside. He was a man of excellent disposition and character, although a firm supporter of the rights of the Crown, as he understood them.

In May, 1769, the burgesses took up the late measures of England, and passed four resolutions in firm, but respectful, words: They denied the power of taxation except by themselves, and declared that persons accused of crime in the colonies ought to be tried at home, and that to seize them and send them to Britain for trial "was highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects." They were already preparing for union, and therefore recommended that their resolutions be sent to all the other colonies for their concurrence.⁴

Lord Botetourt was taken by surprise. Already he saw the influence of the king fading away. Summoning the speaker and assembly to the council chamber, he addressed them thus:

"Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the House of Burgesses: I have heard of your resolves, and angur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

But now the spirit of freedom was in the air. Instead of returning to their homes as heretofore, when dissolved, the bur-

¹ Virginia Gazette, February, 1768.

² Miller, III. 64. Belsham, V. 271.

³ Note in Burk, III. 333. Wrong in text, 342, and Grahame, IV., 299.

⁴ Resolutions in Burk, III. 342, 343. Grahame, IV. 291.

gesses, almost as with one accord, re-assembled in a private house, the residence of Anthony Hay, in Williamsburg, and formed the first Revolutionary "convention" that Virginia had known. Nothing like it had previously existed, except the meeting called by Nathaniel Bacon in 1676, which we have already noted. The parallel, both in place and in purpose, will not escape the studious reader.

The convention made no attempt to make laws; but they adopted a preamble strongly expressive of the wrong done by the late acts of England, and then entered into a non-importation agreement, binding themselves to be frugal, to import no taxed article, and none of the manufactures or products of Britain, and no slaves, until she should return to the practice of justice.

This paper was signed by eighty-eight of the highest and noblest names then known in Virginia. Among them were the names of George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Lee, Richard Henry Lee, and Carter Braxton, with others of whom history is proud. The original paper, after having for years disappeared from Virginia, was recovered and preserved by a historical society in Massachusetts, and in November, 1889, was, by agreement, placed in the State library of Virginia.¹

Copies of the preamble and resolutions were soon spread everywhere through every colony, and excited deep enthusiasm. Old and young, great and humble, rich and poor, united in opposition to England. The flame spread everywhere. British statesmen began to see their mistake. The Earl of Hillsborough, secretary of foreign affairs, wrote to Lord Botetourt, assuring him of the favorable intents of Parliament, and that at the next session the custom duties on glass, paper, and colors would be repealed as adverse to the interests of commerce. The good governor rejoiced, and sent a genial and hopeful message to the council and House of Burgesses, who replied by a resolution of gratitude to the governor and respect for the king.² But their hopes were soon blasted.

Charles Townshend died in September, 1769, and was succeeded by Frederick, Lord North, the eldest son of the Earl of Guilford. In January, 1770, the Duke of Grafton resigned, and Lord North became First Lord of the Treasury and Premier of England. His administration was memorable—fatal to the true interests of Britain, and only beneficial to the North American colonies because it drove them to war, and secured their independence as sovereign States, united for common defence and general welfare.

¹ Article in Richmond Dispatch, Nov. 29, 1889. *Burk*, III, 345-349.

² Documents in *Burk*, III, 350-353.

In March, 1770, urged by numberless petitions from British merchants and manufacturers, Lord North introduced a bill repealing the customs on all articles imported by the colonies, except *tea*. But the duty on tea was retained for the express purpose of affirming the right to tax, and his lordship openly declared his policy: "To temporize is to yield; and the authority of the mother country, if it is now unsupported, will in reality be relinquished forever; a total repeal cannot be thought of till America is *prostrate at our feet*."¹

In this form the bill became a law. Lord Botetourt was so deeply disappointed and wounded that he asked leave to resign. While his application was pending, his anxiety and grief of spirit aggravated a disease of the body, and he died during the summer.²

In 1772 he was succeeded by Lord Dunmore, who was transferred from New York. He is represented as having decided talent, and ability for diplomacy, but as coarse in person, rude in manner, unscrupulous in morals; wanting in the courtesy, refinement, and sensitive love of justice which had distinguished his predecessor.³ It was meet that during the rule of such a man kingly authority should be uprooted forever in the Virginia colony.

Her assembly in 1773 contained members of great mental power and of uncompromising patriotism. Among the youngest were Dabney Carr and Thomas Jefferson. On the 12th of March, Mr. Carr introduced resolutions appointing "a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry," to consist of eleven members, whose duty it should be to watch Britain, and to confer with the other colonies. On this committee were put Peyton Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Cary and Thomas Jefferson.⁴ Each became a leader for liberty in the coming struggle. But Dabney Carr did not live to see his country declare her independence. He died in Charlottesville on the 16th of May, 1773, in the thirtieth year of his age.⁵

Meanwhile in all the colonies, North and South, the approaching storm of war was manifesting its presence. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was still in London. His character and influence made him an object of much interest to English politicians. In 1772 a member of Parliament sought to convince him that all the obnoxious measures and grievances complained of by the colonists had

¹ Belsham, V. 358.² Burk, III. 361.³ Wirt's Henry, 99. Burk, III. 368-370.⁴ Wirt's Henry, 69, 70. Burk, III. 392. Tucker's Jefferson, I. 52, 53.⁵ Virginia Gazette, May 29, 1773.

really originated, not from the British government, but from Tories in America. He put into Franklin's hands a number of letters, written from Massachusetts by Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, warmly urging coercive measures against the colonies. Franklin sent these letters to the Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.¹

Their publication aroused great and just indignation against their authors and all who shared their sentiments, and rendered invaluable service in diffusing everywhere the revolutionary spirit. Massachusetts, by her assembly, petitioned the king to remove Hutchinson and Oliver from office. In January, 1774, Franklin appeared before the privy council to urge this removal. He was now nearly three-score and ten years of age, and venerable for genius, science and wisdom; yet he was grossly reviled and insulted by Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, whose scurrilous harangue was listened to with shouts of laughter and applause by the lords in council. The petition of Massachusetts was rejected, and the next day Franklin was dismissed from his office of colonial postmaster-general.² Thus did England urge on her own dire misfortune and the independence of the United States.

Yet the British civil leaders were not entirely blind. Hoping to reconcile the colonists to the payment of the import duty of three pence per pound on tea, the Parliament passed a law under which the East India Company were permitted to withdraw from English ports millions of pounds of tea there stored, and to ship them to America without paying any duty in the custom-house of the mother country. The effect of this was to make the price of tea actually lower in America than it had been before the tax was imposed.³

But the eyes of the colonists were now wide open. Evidently the question of *principle*, and not the question of *money*, had gained the ascendancy. So long as they paid a duty tax in their own ports, so long were they taxed without their consent. The determination was almost universal not to use imported tea, and not to permit any of this hated commodity to be landed.

The East India Company sent several ships with cargoes of tea to America. In Charleston, South Carolina, they were permitted to bring the boxes into the city, but under the requirements of the city council it was stored in cellars, where the damp heats speedily rendered it worthless.⁴ In Wilmington, North Carolina, a band

¹ Art. Franklin, New Amer. Encyclop., VII. 707.

² Amer. Encyclop., VII. 707, 708. Bancroft, VI. li. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 148.

³ London Times, January, 1847. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 200.

⁴ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 200. Goodrich's U. S., 180.

of bold men, led by Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe and Hugh Waddell, in open day, and bearing down all opposition, boarded a tea ship and destroyed her cargo. In Baltimore, the ship *Peggy Stewart*, laden with tea, was taken off into a safe place in the harbor and burned with her entire lading.

But in the harbor of Boston occurred the decisive act, known ever since as the "Tea Party." The inhabitants of Philadelphia and New York had made such strenuous opposition to landing their cargoes that the tea ships had quietly returned to London. In Boston there was already a considerable English military force. The people met in town meeting and voted a formal request to the governor to send back to England the three tea ships in their harbor. Strong speeches were made by Adams, Quincy and others. The governor paid no attention to the request; whereupon, on the 16th December, 1773, in open day, the people rushed down to the wharves, and, as night approached, seventeen men—sea captains, carpenters and citizens, all dressed like Mohawk Indians—boarded the three ships, and in less than two hours hoisted out and threw overboard three hundred and forty-two chests of their cargoes. They then quietly dispersed to their homes.¹

They passed by a house where the British Admiral Montague was. He threw up the window and called to them: "Well, boys, you have had a fine night for your Indian dance; but, mind me, you will have to pay the fiddler!" One of them answered: "Oh! never mind, admiral, just come out here and we'll settle the bill in two minutes!" He shut down the window.² All this seemed humorous, but it pointed to a bloody settlement.

General Gage had been ordered to Boston with two regiments of British soldiers. They entered on a quiet October morning, 1768, with drums beating and colors flying, as if in a conquered city. The town was required to quarter them and maintain them, but refused. Some made quarters in Faneuil Hall, some in tents on the commons.³ It could not have been expected that, with such irritations, peace would be preserved. Long before actual war came, bloodshed had occurred.

The first blood was shed in New York. For three years a liberty-pole had stood unmolested in the park. After the "Stamp Act" disorders of 1765, English soldiers had been stationed in the city. Early in 1770 some of them, in an insolent spirit, cut down this liberty-pole. The irritated people assembled, and an

¹Gordon, I. 225. Otis' Botta, I. 121. Goodrich, 180.

²Note in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 105.

³Taylor's Centen. U. S., 143. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 104.

affray occurred, in which several citizens were killed; but the soldiers were worsted and withdrew. A new pole of liberty was erected in the upper part of the town, with which the soldiers did not venture to interfere.¹

On the 5th of March, 1770, a serious conflict took place in the streets of Boston between part of her people and the soldiers, which has been since designated as the "Boston Massacre." It is only important as a sign of the times. A man of African descent, bold spirit, and great strength and stature, named Crispus Attucks, from Framingham, was the leader of the people. Next to him in boldness was a white citizen, named Caldwell, who was not a resident of the town. The crowd, under the lead of Attucks, pressed on the soldiers near a sentry-box. The soldiers pushed them back.² Attucks cried out: "Don't be afraid of them; they dare not fire! Kill them! kill them! knock them over!" The crowd brandished their clubs, and pelted the soldiers with snowballs. Attucks seized the bayonet on the musket held by a soldier, and, with a blow of his powerful fist, knocked him down. Then the soldiers fired. Attucks and Caldwell dropped dead; several were wounded. The soldiers fired twice more. Three citizens were killed and a number wounded before the crowd would disperse.

Boston was on fire with excitement. The drums beat, and men, women and children rushed into the streets. The soldiers who fired were arrested, and the governor persuaded the crowd to disperse and retire to their homes.

The funeral of the slain was conducted with tolling bells and much pomp and ceremony. The bodies were all deposited in the same vault in the cemetery.³

Notwithstanding the public *furor*, the trial of the arrested soldiers was conducted with perfect impartiality. John Adams and Josiah Quincy defended them with signal ability. Six were acquitted; two were convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to a brief imprisonment.

In 1771, disorders resulting in bloodshed occurred in the North Carolina colony. Governor Tryon was already known as inimical to the rights of the colonists. A body of men had banded themselves together under the name of "Regulators." They had been organized under a written agreement made in Orange (now Randolph) county, March 22d, 1767, soon after the Parliament had asserted a right to bind the colonies *in all cases whatsoever*.

¹Quackenbos' U. S., 197.

²John Adams' defence of the soldiers, Amer. Encyclop., II. 331.

³Art. Attucks, New Amer. Encyclop., II. 331. Goodrich, 176, 177.

Their agreement was neither treasonable nor factious, being simply to resist illegal taxes.¹

Their chief opposition was to a tax to be levied for building a new executive mansion for Tryon. They openly resisted levies under this very objectionable law. The governor was selfishly incensed, and took the field, with a considerable force of Royalists, against the Regulators.

A sharp engagement occurred on the Alamance river May 16th, 1771. The insurgents were overcome by superior forces, and, after their ammunition was exhausted, they retreated, leaving on the field a number of their dead and wounded.²

Tryon followed up his success with rancor. Several of the captured were hanged. The estates of others who sympathized with the Regulators were confiscated, and the proceeds divided between the governor and his satellites. Some of the persecuted submitted. Others retired westward and were kindly received by the Cherokees, who, remembering Lyttleton and his outrages on them, granted land to the refugees who had fled from the tyranny of another English governor. The Regulators founded a republic, which afterwards became the State of Tennessee.³

Tryon was soon transferred to New York as governor, and left North Carolina with a debt of two hundred thousand dollars resting on her, contracted by his illegal and selfish course.

Thus revolution rolled on to the crisis. When news of the destruction of the tea in the harbor of Boston reached England, the Parliament adopted the harshest measures. In 1774 the bill known as the "Boston Port Bill" was passed. Her port was closed, and her custom-house removed to Salem. The charter of Massachusetts was abrogated, and her governor was authorized to send her citizens, when accused of crime, either to another colony or to England for trial.⁴

But all these measures only hastened the overthrow of the British dominion. The people of Rhode Island had already shown their spirit. The *Gaspee*, a British armed schooner, had made herself specially detested because of her activity in enforcing the navigation laws and "Acts of Trade." One day, in chasing a Providence vessel, she ran aground. A plan was laid to destroy her. An armed body, under Captain Whipple, boarded her at two o'clock in the morning (1772), sent the lieutenant commanding, with his men and their most valuable effects, ashore, and burned the *Gaspee* and all her stores. Vigilant efforts made to detect the captors were entirely unsuccessful.⁵ As might have been ex-

¹ It is given by Stephens' Comp. U. S., 200, note.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 200.

³ Quackenbos' U. S., 196.

⁴ Goodrich, 180. Stephens, 201.

⁵ Goodrich's U. S., 178, 179.

pected, the people of Rhode Island extended active sympathy to Boston in her distress.

Marblehead offered her harbor, wharves and warehouses to the merchants of Boston free of charge.¹ Everywhere in the colonies offers of sympathy and help came to her. Georgia sent sixty-three tierces of rice and seven hundred and twenty dollars in money. Massachusetts was not discouraged. Town meetings were held and fasts appointed. A "League and Covenant," almost as solemn as that of Scotland, was established, and signed by thousands, that they would trade no more with England.

General Gage had become governor. He issued a proclamation against this league, declaring it to be treasonable. The Boston people quietly replied that his proclamation was treason, and that all who refused to sign the league were enemies to their country.²

It now became evident to the people of the colonies that armed resistance to the claims of England was the only means by which they could maintain their rights and save themselves from an oppression fast tending to slavery. They began to collect ammunition, arms and military stores, and to organize their men capable of bearing arms into companies of "minute-men," who engaged to assemble at a minute's warning and to march for defence to any point of danger. General Gage, as commander-in-chief in the colonies and as Governor of Massachusetts, issued a proclamation warning the people to desist from these preparations, and return to their duties of loyalty and allegiance. He fortified Boston Neck, and seized the military stores collected at Cambridge and Charlestown, and brought them to Boston.³

When the Boston "Port Bill" and its attendant measures were known in Virginia, her assembly was in session. Without delay they adopted resolutions expressing the deepest sympathy for their oppressed fellow-patriots; setting aside the 1st of June as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, and ordering that a suitable sermon should be preached on the occasion. The next day, May 25, 1774, Lord Dunmore summoned the burgesses to his presence, and addressed them thus: "I have in my hand a paper published by order of your house, conceived in such terms as reflect highly upon his majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary for me to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."⁴

Instantly the members repaired to the Raleigh Tavern, in Williamsburg, and formed another association. They adopted reso-

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 201.

² Goodrich's U. S., 181.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 206.

⁴ Wirt, 74, 75. Burk, III. 378. Tucker's Jefferson, I. 56.

lutions condemning strongly the course of England and of the East India Company. They recommended that the members to be elected for the next assembly should meet "in convention" at Williamsburg, on the 1st of August, and should then appoint deputies to represent Virginia in the "General Congress" to be held this year. This action was signed by eight-nine members.¹ Then, going to their homes, they spread far and wide their spirit of resistance to English aggression.

The convention assembled at Williamsburg on the 1st of August, as recommended. Their action was confined entirely to the absorbing topic of the day. Thomas Jefferson had been elected a member from Albemarle county, but, being prevented by sickness from attending, he sent his thoughts in writing, which were afterwards published under the title of a "Summary View of the Rights of British America." The doctrines sustained in this tract were too bold to be adopted even by the patriots of 1774; but they made a deep impression. The tract was republished in England, and is said to have gained for its author the honor of being included in a bill of attainder for treason introduced into, but not passed by, the House of Commons.²

The members appointed as deputies from Virginia to the congress were Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton.

This venerable body assembled on the 4th day of September, 1774, at Carpenter's Hall, in Philadelphia. Every colony was represented except Georgia. From New Hampshire came John Sullivan and Nathaniel Folsom; from Massachusetts, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine; from Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward; from Connecticut, Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Samuel Johnson, Silas Deane; from New York, James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Isaac Law, William Floyd; from New Jersey, James Kinsey, William Livingston, John Dehart, Stephen Crane, Richard Smith; from Pennsylvania, Joseph Galloway, Samuel Rhodes, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, John Morton, George Ross, Edward Biddle; from Delaware, Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George Read; from Maryland, Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Matthew Tilghman, Samuel Chase; from Virginia, the deputies

¹Tucker's Jefferson, I. 56, 57. Wirt's Henry, 75.

²This tract and also Richard Bland's "Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies," published in 1766, are in the library at Cambridge, Mass.; also in the Amer. Archives, Vol. I., and in Jefferson's Works, I. 100-116. Tucker's Life of Jefferson, I. 58-61.

already named; from North Carolina, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes; from South Carolina, Henry Middleton, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch and Edward Rutledge.¹ Other delegates afterwards appeared and took part.

Peyton Randolph was chosen president, and Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, an Irishman by birth, was elected secretary. The congress settled first the question of its own character and organization, by voting that it was a congress of separate and distinct political bodies. In all deliberations and decisions, each colony was to be considered as equal and to have an equal vote, without regard to population or the number of the delegates sent by the respective colonies. This was fundamental.

They then adopted a declaration of indefeasible rights, and a preamble and series of resolutions which were so dignified in tone and strong in fact and logic, that they drew from William Pitt (who had been created Lord Chatham) a testimonial to their soundness, in words as follows: "Though I have studied and admired the free states of antiquity, the master spirits of the world, yet, for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to this congress."²

They were not yet ready for a declaration of independence, but were preparing the way. They advised that no commercial intercourse should be held with Great Britain until her unjust and oppressive acts were repealed. They recommended also that all the colonies should send delegates to another congress to meet May 10th, 1775; and on the 26th of October their session ended.³

Meanwhile, Governor Gage in Massachusetts had been sorely perplexed. He had convoked the General Court to assemble at Salem on the 5th of October, but finding he could expect nothing from them but opposition to the English measures, he issued a proclamation, before the day of meeting appointed, dissolving the assembly. But they met, appointed John Hancock president, addressed a communication to the governor, and adjourned to meet in Cambridge on the 17th. Here they appointed committees of safety and supplies; voted the equipment of twelve thousand men, and the enlistment of one-fourth the militia as "minute-men."⁴ The war cloud came on.

Early in 1775 Lord Chatham introduced a bill into Parliament making one more effort at reconciliation. But nothing less than absolute submission would now satisfy Great Britain. Instead of

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 203.

² Resolutions, etc., in Stephens' Comp. U. S., 203-204.

³ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 158, 159. Stephens, 206.

⁴ Goodrich's U. S., 184. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 206.

Chatham's measure of peace, Lord North procured the passage of two bills—one restraining the people of New England from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland; the other extending similar and worse restraints to the people of all the colonies, except New York and North Carolina. These acts united all the colonies. Georgia ranged herself with her sisters.¹

In March, 1775, the Virginia convention assembled in the time-honored church known as St. John's, on what is now Church Hill, in Richmond, which was then a small town, chiefly of wooden houses, rising over hills that ascended from the banks of James river.

The patriots of Virginia were there, but their views were different. Though English fleets were on the coasts of America, and English armies quartered in her towns, many yet hoped for a peaceful settlement. Their first measures were indecisive. They expressed pleasure at having received a petition and memorial from the assembly of Jamaica addressed to the king, and making earnest offers of compromise. But they were soon aroused from this delusive calm. Patrick Henry presented resolutions, alluding in direct terms to the presence of British armies and the dangers threatening American freedom, and finally proposing that the Virginia colony should be put in a state of defence, and that measures should be immediately taken "for embodying, arming and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose."²

These resolutions were opposed by the men who were not yet prepared for revolution by war. Richard Bland, Robert Carter Nicholas, Edmund Pendleton and Benjamin Harrison all argued against it. They urged the weakness of America and the strength of England; a country without soldiers, without arms, without generals, opposed to the military power that had shaken the civilized world; they urged the duty of loyalty, and the advantages and comforts the colonies might still enjoy, contrasted with the horrors of civil war.

It was now that Patrick Henry appeared in power. Rising slowly from his seat, he made an appeal which, in eloquence and strength, and in its effect upon the future of the world, went far beyond any effort of oratory ever previously made. It was the demonstration that the coming war was to be a war of ideas and principles, and not a mere war of brute force. No perfect reproduction of this speech has been preserved—perhaps none was

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 206, 207.

² Wirt's Patrick Henry, 90.

possible ; yet enough has been preserved to enable the thoughtful student to feel something of its inspiration :

“Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. We have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned—we have remonstrated—we have supplicated—we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted ; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult ; our supplications have been disregarded ; and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight ! I repeat it, sir, we must fight ! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us.

“There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone ; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged ; their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable, and let it come. I repeat it, sir, let it come !

“Gentlemen may cry, Peace ! peace ! but there is no peace. The war is already begun. The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle ? What is it that gentlemen wish ? What would they have ? Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery ? Forbid it, Almighty God ! I know not what course others may take ; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death ! ”¹

A dead silence followed this speech. The feelings it excited were too deep for applause ; but there was no longer any hesitation or division of opinion. The proposal of Henry was adopted, and in a short time Virginia was alive with military preparation.

¹Wirt's Henry, 95.

In every county men were to be enrolled, arms prepared, powder and ball provided. Special diligence was given in raising companies of horse, and training them to the sound of firearms and the movements of the field.

Henry's words were prophetic. Early in April, 1775, three thousand British soldiers were in and around Boston, and General Gage felt strong enough for active movements. Learning that the colonists had collected ammunition and other military stores at Concord, about sixteen miles from Boston, he prepared to destroy them.

In the night of the 18th of April, eight hundred troops of the grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the British army in Boston, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, crossed in boats to East Cambridge and marched to Concord, through Lexington, then a small town ten miles from Boston. In this town John Hancock and Samuel Adams then were, on their way to the congress. Gage hoped to capture them. But in Boston Dr. Joseph Warren remained, than whom no truer patriot lived in America. For a week he had been expecting some such expedition, and he sent messages by agreed signals to Hancock and Adams, under whose orders the most valuable part of the stores in Concord were removed.¹

By ten o'clock of the night of the 18th, Warren had dispatched William Dawes through Roxbury to Lexington, and had requested Paul Revere to go for the same purpose by way of Charlestown. Lord Percy had overheard a remark that the British troops would "miss their aim," and by his advice, Gage issued an order that no one should be suffered to leave the town.² Revere stopped only long enough to engage a friend to raise concerted signals by lanterns in the "Old North Church" tower. Five minutes before the sentinels received the order to stop all egress, he was rowed by two friends close by the *Somerset* man-of-war and across Charles river.

This Paul Revere is immortal in the Revolutionary history. He was of Huguenot descent, an engraver by occupation, and a man in whose bosom a love of freedom burned so warmly that he made his art a means of kindling that love in others. He was one of the disguised in the "Boston Tea Party." During the Revolution he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was ceaseless in his work for liberty.³ His midnight ride to warn the patriots and "minute-men" of his colony was helped by Providence. He

¹ Bancroft, VII. 288, 289. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 162.

² Bancroft, VII. 289.

³ Art. Revere, New Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 39.

was intercepted by two British officers on horseback, but escaped them by his address and the fleetness of his horse.¹

The poet Longfellow has clothed in words of genuine poetry the romance of this ride :

“A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet :
That was all ! And yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night ;
And the spark struck out by that steed, in its flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.”²

The “minute-men” of Lexington, to the number of seventy, under Capt. John Parker, with perhaps half as many boys and unarmed men, were assembled on the common at Lexington. The British van, hearing the drum and alarm guns, hastened to load. The remaining companies came up ; and half an hour before sunrise, April 19th, 1775, the light troops moved forward at double-quick, closely followed by the grenadiers.

Major Pitcairn, of the English marine service, rode up within thirty yards of the “minute-men,” and sternly demanded what they meant and whither they were going. The answer came : “We are going to Concord.” Pitcairn immediately shouted : “Disperse, ye rebels ! Throw down your arms, and disperse !” and firing his pistol at them, ordered his soldiers to fire. They obeyed, and several of the minute-men fell, killed and wounded. The first who fell exclaimed in dying : “I have a right to go to Concord.” Thus the sacred claim of *right* was in the heart and on the lips of the first man who fell in the war of the Revolution.³

The next volley of the British troops was heavy, close and deadly. To make a stand with fifty or sixty untrained men before eight hundred regulars would have been madness. Parker gave command to disperse ; but as they obeyed, some of his brave men, under resistless impulse, fired, and Pitcairn’s horse was grazed and one of the light troops slightly wounded.

The seven dead and nine wounded minute-men were carried to their homes—to the sight of weeping wives and children. But though there was grief, there was no dejection. In the presence of those bleeding bodies, a spirit of undying resolution to resist to the final end the rule of England took possession of every soul there, and was soon spread through every colony.

¹ Bancroft, VII. 289. New Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 39.

² “Paul Revere’s Ride,” Longfellow. Thalheimer’s Ecclæ. U. S., (note) 132.

³ Compare Stephens’ Comp. U. S., 208, with Bancroft, VII. 293.

The British troops huzzaed at their inglorious success over the little band of men at Lexington, and marched on to Concord. Here they spiked two twenty-four-pounders found in a tavern yard, broke to pieces sixty barrels of flour and scattered the contents (but so inefficiently for destruction that one-half the flour was gathered up and saved by the Massachusetts men), and threw five hundred pounds of ball into a mill-pond.¹ They also burned a liberty-pole and some artillery carriages, and rifled several private residences. For this insignificant achievement they paid the price of a defeated army and a country lost to their dominion for ever.

The minute-men assembled in numbers no longer to be despised. The first encounter was at the bridge across the small river on which Concord stood. The Americans, under Major John Buttrick, of Concord; Robinson, of Westford; Davis and Hosmer, advanced on the causeway to prevent the destruction of the bridge. The British fired, killing and wounding several. But the fire was instantly returned, and with such deadly effect that the British retreated in disorder to their main body.²

Now commenced their retreat, and the persistent and destructive pursuit and attack with which the Massachusetts minute-men followed them during their hurried march of eighteen miles. Thirty-one towns and villages and all the intervening country poured out their hastily armed men,³ who, with muskets, rifles, fowling-pieces and long shot-guns, threw themselves behind every stone wall, every post and rail fence, every rock and bush and tree, on the road from Concord by which the sorely pressed British troops retreated. These colonial farmers, merchants, mechanics and professional men were all alike in this: they were all skilled marksmen, and hardly a shot they fired failed to take effect.

The British officers were perplexed by this novel warfare, and could devise no means of meeting it, save the detachment of flanking parties, who fought the assailants while the main body hurried on. But gradually these flankers were shot down or worn out with fatigue. Major Pitcairn, finding his status on horseback to be too dangerous, dismounted and led his men on foot. His horse and accoutrements were captured.

By one o'clock the British army was in a condition very nearly desperate. They were greatly exhausted and fatigued; most of their ammunition was expended; their wounded could hardly keep the march; their flanking parties were either cut to pieces

¹ Bancroft, VII. 300.

² *Ibid.*, 302, 303.

³ The names of these towns are given in Austin's *Mass.*, and in Thalhimer's *Eclec. U. S.*, (note) page 132.

or so worn out that they could no longer protect the line. Yet the pursuit and attack never relaxed for a moment. It is no longer a question in military history, that if succor had not opportunely arrived, the force under Smith and Pitcairn would have been all killed, wounded, or surrendered as prisoners.

But at two o'clock Lord Percy came in sight with a reinforcement of twelve hundred fresh British troops and two field pieces. They had marched out insolently playing "Yankee Doodle";¹ but they grew silent and grave when they found every house on the way deserted, and not a person to give them tidings of the troops they came to rescue. When the junction was made, the soldiers under Smith fell down for rest on the ground with "their tongues hanging out of their mouths like those of dogs after a chase."²

After resting for half an hour, Lord Percy continued the retreat, followed all the way to the outskirts of Charlestown by the fire of the minute-men. The retreating troops committed brutal murders and atrocities on the defenceless families they found.³ It was after sunset when the survivors of this British army escaped across Charlestown Neck.

In this the opening battle of the Revolution, which we have described with some fullness, because it was in many respects typical and decisive, the American loss was forty-nine killed, thirty-four wounded and five missing. The British loss, in killed, wounded and missing, was two hundred and seventy-three; among the severely wounded was Colonel Smith himself.

The news of this conflict soon spread through all the colonies, and with instantaneous effect in producing unity and resolution. The war was a fact, and men prepared for it. Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, left his horses and plow in the furrow, and hastened with his comrades to Boston. In a brief time twenty thousand armed colonists beleaguered Boston. Gage and his forces had no outlet except by the ocean.

¹ Bancroft, VII. 306.

² Stephens, 208. Bancroft, VII. 306. Thalheimer, 130. Swinton's Cond. U. S., 119.

³ Details in Bancroft, VII. 308. Quackenbos' U. S., 205.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WASHINGTON.—BUNKER'S HILL.—CANADA.

THE plan of this work has required fullness of detail and treatment, not only of the discovery, early life and colonization of the North American colonies, and of the events immediately preceding the war of the Revolution, but of the institutions and abuses of earlier years, running back for many centuries, yet all bearing with appreciable weight upon the destinies of the New World. This was necessary, to show from what past the great republic of the Western Hemisphere has emerged, what obstacles she has encountered and overcome, what abuses she has corrected, what sinister influences she has thrown off, and what wrongs she has set right.

The same plan for the future history dictates a more laconic and condensed treatment, for reasons which the student will hardly fail to discover and approve. The time of preparation for a harvest is long and full of labor. The ground is to be selected, fenced in, broken up with the subsoil plow, then gone over with the lighter plowing, harrowed and pulverized until clods have disappeared; the seed is to be carefully inspected and chosen, then sown with the hand, or drilled in with adequate implements and cautious labor; enemies and intruders are to be kept out. And so the long season passes; the germs appear; the stalks grow; the heads form and fill, and at last the time of the harvest comes, and the developed fruits are gathered and stored away, in far less time and space than that required for the preliminary work.

Another reason will confirm the wisdom and necessity for this condensation. The period upon which we are about to enter, covering the war, the Revolution, the assumption and gaining of independence, the formation of a stable confederated republic, the early administrations, the expanse of the American civilization, the brief war with France, the second war with England, the successive presidencies, the war with Mexico, the enormous additions of territory, the growth and Southern development of African slavery, the questions arising therefrom, the gigantic war

between the States, the overthrow of slavery, the reconstruction of the States, and the subsequent history and growth of the United States of North America—all these events have occurred within very little more than one hundred years—not one-fifth of the time extending from the dawning of light after the dark ages to the time when American independence was secured.

Yet, upon the events of this period of little more than a hundred years, as they affect America, not less than six hundred volumes have already been written and published, embracing history, biography, political economy, science and art. To give, therefore, a full history of this period, in a work like this, would be a task as impracticable as it would be tedious and unprofitable. By these considerations we are admonished to seek to give only such presentation of facts and inferences as will enable the student to understand what this republic has accomplished, in gaining for herself and for the world the blessings of self-government, overthrow of monarchy in every form, religious and civil liberty, and a triumph over all the most deeply-rooted institutions of evil which had existed in the Old World.

Pursuing this plan, we are met on the very threshold of this period by two very distinct subjects for investigation: (1) The war; (2) The revolution. These are often so confounded and fused as to lead to the impression that they are one and the same. But they are definitely separable. Had England been wise, and just, and magnanimous, and humane, the revolution might have taken effect in America without the war; but no monarchy has ever heretofore existed on earth which failed to make war upon subjects attempting a revolution, when war was possible to that monarchy. Therefore, Great Britain made war upon her colonies, because her own persistent oppressions drove them to revolution; and the colonies, in the very throes and agonies of the war, wrought out and perfected the revolution. We shall, in brief form, deal with these two distinct subjects in their order.

The battle of Lexington, which we have purposely described at some length, was strangely representative of the whole subsequent war. It was long protracted—lasting from before sunrise till after sunset; it was carried on by a large body of regular British troops against untrained provincials; it was attended by local defeats and dispersions of the colonists; it was accompanied by brutal and unmanly atrocities by the king's troops, and it was made memorable by a steady, resolute, persistent, long-continued, unflagging pursuit, attack and resistance, which finally drove the British soldiers, defeated, worn out, bleeding, from the country

through which they had marched with huzzas of triumph in the early morning. It was a panorama of the war.

At the opening of the contest, the population of the colonies was about three million, of whom not less than five hundred and seven thousand were African slaves, and, of course, not available as soldiers.

The effect of the news of the battle of Lexington was remarkable. The night after the tidings came, the people of Charleston, South Carolina, took possession of the royal arsenal, and distributed twelve hundred stand of arms. The provincial assembly, headed by Henry Laurens, voted to raise two regiments of infantry and one of rangers, and issued seven hundred thousand dollars in bills of credit, which long kept at par value. General Gage wrote: "The people of Charleston are as mad as they are here in Boston."¹

Georgia had been undecided. She had only a population of thirty-two thousand, of whom fifteen thousand were Africans. She was exposed on the coast and on her southern border, and on the frontiers held by Indians; but when she heard of Lexington, on the 10th of May, she began to move. On the night of the 11th, a body of citizens in Savannah, headed by Wimberley Jones, Joseph Habersham, John Milledge and Edward Telfair, took possession of the king's magazine, in the eastern part of the city, and obtained more than five hundred pounds of powder. The royal Governor of Georgia wrote: "A general rebellion throughout America is coming on suddenly and swiftly. Matters will go to the utmost extremity."²

The patriot leaders in New England, knowing that the war must go on, hesitated not to prosecute it promptly. They divided with accuracy what the future campaigns of England would be, and saw that the possession of New York, the Hudson river and Canada would isolate the Eastern colonies and cost years of struggle. The men of Vermont, under Col. Ethan Allen, determined, if possible, to seize the Canadian forts. Samuel Adams and John Hancock actively urged the enterprise, and Connecticut furnished the needed funds. Fifty volunteers from Massachusetts and sixteen from Connecticut joined Allen at Bennington. One hundred men from Vermont rallied promptly. Benedict Arnold, with one attendant, came, bearing a commission from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety. But the little army unanimously elected Ethan Allen their chief.³

¹ Bancroft, VII. 336, 337.

² Bancroft, VII. 338. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 209.

³ Bancroft, VII. 339.

Early in the morning of May 10th, 1775, they rushed upon Ticonderoga, Allen leading, but Arnold close by his side. The gate was locked, but the wicket was open. Through it the assailants passed, uttering a war-whoop such as had not been heard since the days of Montcalm. A sentry fired and wounded an officer, but, receiving a wound himself, he cried for quarter, and showed the way to the room of Delaplace, the commander. Hearing the stern summons to surrender, he came out in amazement, half dressed, and holding up his small-clothes with his hand. "Deliver to me the fort instantly!" said Allen. "By what authority?" asked Delaplace. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" answered Allen. Resistance seemed vain. Delaplace surrendered, ordering his men to be paraded without arms.

Thus was Ticonderoga taken. "What cost the British nation eight millions sterling, a succession of campaigns and many lives, was won in ten minutes by a few undisciplined men, without the loss of life or limb."¹

Seth Warner, with a small detachment, captured Crown Point immediately afterwards. Another American party made prisoner a dangerous British agent named Skeene, and took possession of the harbor of Skeensborough. These several successes secured to the American cause sixty-three prisoners, one hundred pieces of cannon, with mortars and swivels, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores, which were sorely needed.

On the 10th of May, 1775—the day on which Ticonderoga was captured—the second Revolutionary Congress met in Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph was again chosen president and Charles Thomson secretary. Dr. Joseph Warren wrote from Massachusetts: "A war has begun; but I hope, after a full conviction both of our ability and resolution to maintain our rights, Britain will act with necessary wisdom. This I most heartily wish, as I feel a warm affection still for the parent state."

By a curious anachronism, a historian has placed (in time) the battle of Bunker's Hill (in which Warren fell) *before* the meeting of this congress, to which he wrote the above.²

The congress was not prepared for independence—hardly, indeed, for a recognition of open war with England. In viewing their indecisive and somewhat timid course, we must bear in mind how many elements of inevitable weakness existed in their constitution. At first they represented only twelve colonies. Georgia's delegate, Lyman Hall, appeared on the 13th of May. The

¹ Bancroft, VII. 340.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 209.

colonies were yet dependent, and had not even formed a confederacy. The congress was merely a voluntary assemblage, having neither executive nor legislative powers. For the use of the very hall in which they sat, they were indebted to the courtesy of the carpenters of the city. They had not a square foot of ground over which they could claim jurisdiction; they had no money, and no power to raise money; they had not a civil officer, not one soldier enlisted, not one military officer subject to their commands. They represented nothing more solid than the unformed opinions of an unformed people; and against them was the organized colossal power of England, with her navy, her army, and her uncounted wealth.¹ We need not wonder if for a time they hesitated.

This hesitation was manifested in advising the people of New York not to oppose the landing of British regiments known to be under orders for taking possession of the city, but not to permit them to erect fortifications; to act strictly on the defensive, and to repel force by force. It was further manifested by the inclination shown by this congress to abandon the captures of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Skeensborough, and to open new negotiations with the English crown and ministry.²

But a wise Providence hurried their indecision into action. George III. showed his obstinate and unmerciful disposition. As soon as the tidings of the battle of Lexington reached him, he began preparations for crushing the colonies by military force unscrupulously obtained and employed. He sought first to negotiate for the services of Russian soldiers and Cossacks, to be paid for by British money and employed in America. He sent emissaries to stir up the Highlanders and others in North Carolina, supposed to be Tory in sentiment. He sent a small squadron, with three thousand stand of arms, two hundred rounds of powder and ball for each musket, and four pieces of light artillery, to Lord Dunmore, to be used against the people of Virginia. And as he knew that Dunmore could not enlist white men in the colony to use these arms, the king sent him special instructions to rouse the negro slaves to insurrection, and arm them against the whites, and to urge the Indians, and notably the "Six Nations," to make war upon Virginia!³

In June came an express to the congress, informing them that the British generals Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne had arrived in Boston, bringing with them more troops, making the total number in that city not less than ten thousand. And on the 12th of

¹ Bancroft, VII. 353, 354.

² *Ibid.*, 358, 361, 380.

³ *Ibid.*, 347-349.

June, General Gage issued his proclamation, proclaiming martial law in the province, summoning the people to lay down their arms and submit to the rule of the mother country, and offering pardon and amnesty to all who would do so, *except* to John Hancock and Samuel Adams, whose crimes were declared to be too great to be pardoned.¹ And yet their only crime was patriotism!

The congress hesitated no longer. They adopted the name of "United Colonies" for their country. They voted to borrow thirty thousand dollars "for the use of America," to be applied to the purchase of gunpowder for what was now, for the first time, called "THE CONTINENTAL ARMY." They voted to issue three millions of dollars in paper money, and to raise an army of twenty thousand men. They instructed the New York patriot forces to fortify and keep open a passage of access to Philadelphia; and they resolved to elect a commander-in-chief.²

Peyton Randolph having been called home for a season, John Hancock, of Massachusetts, had been elected president *pro tem*. He had made exertions and sacrifices for the American cause probably greater than those of any other person up to that time. It is now known that he aspired to the position of commander-in-chief. He had proved himself a good militia officer; but his health was delicate, and he had had no experience whatever in the stern duties of actual war service.³

Gen. Charles Lee was then in Philadelphia. He was a native of Demhall, Cheshire, England, but had adopted America as his country, and had his home in Virginia. By many, his military skill was ranked very high; but something was already known as to his passionate pride and ambition. Moreover, his birth was against him. Gen. Artemas Ward, of Massachusetts, was already in command of the New England army beleaguering Boston, and many thought favorably of him as commander-in-chief.

But George Washington, of Virginia, was the man to whom the thoughts of most of the members turned. John Adams is entitled to the honor of having first brought his name before the congress. He moved that they should adopt the army at Cambridge as the Continental army; and in the same speech he described the man in his thought for commander-in-chief, as "a gentleman from Virginia, who was among us and very well known to all of us; a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents and excellent universal character would command the approbation of all Amer-

¹Taylor's Centen. U. S., 166. Derry, 107, 108. Quackenbos, 209. Bancroft, VII. 391, 392.

²Holmes' U. S., 106. Bancroft, VII. 379, 391.

³John Adams' Diary.

ica, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person in the Union."¹

Washington arose and retired to the library. Hancock's face indicated mortification and resentment. When the subject came under debate, several opposed Washington, because they thought that, as the troops were all from New England, Artemus Ward was entitled to the highest place. Even Edmund Pendleton was "clear and full" against the expediency of appointing Washington.²

But before the day of election all opposition vanished. On the 15th of June congress adopted the army, and proposed to fix the pay of the commander-in-chief at five hundred dollars per month. They designated the army under General Gage in Boston as the "Ministerial army"—still clinging to the loyal idea.

At this stage, Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, arose and nominated George Washington as commander-in-chief.³ The election was by ballot, and was unanimous.

He accepted the high position thus tendered, but in the very act of acceptance manifested the unassuming modesty and unselfish patriotism of his character. He said:

"But lest some unlucky event shall happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with. As to pay, I beg leave to assure the congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept of this arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit of it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."⁴

The commission issued to Washington by authority of the congress, signed by John Hancock as president and countersigned by Charles Thomson as secretary, and dated Philadelphia, June 19th, 1775, is noteworthy in this, that it gives the name and authority of each colony separately, describing one as "New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware," and leaving out Georgia, which was not yet fully represented.⁵

The congress elected Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler and Israel Putnam major-generals; Horatio Gates adjutant-general; and Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David

¹ John Adams' Diary. Irving's Washington, I. 411, 412.

² Irving's Washington, I. 411, 412.

³ Compare Irving, I. 413, with Bancroft, VII. 393.

⁴ Irving, I. 413. Bancroft, VII. 401, 402.

⁵ Sparks, III. 482, 483. Stephens, 210, 211.

Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan and Nathaniel Greene brigadier-generals.

This same congress adopted an address to George III., which he refused to receive.¹ Thus he shut them up to independence with his own hand.

Meanwhile momentous events occurred near Boston. The American troops beleaguering the city were about fifteen thousand in number, but were distributed into at least four divisions. Massachusetts had about ten thousand, under Ward; New Hampshire had her men, under Col. John Stark; Rhode Island had hers, under Gen. Nathaniel Greene, and Connecticut hers, under Putnam. All were animated by patriotism, and all, by tacit consent, followed the lead of Massachusetts. There was a regiment of artillery, with nine pieces, under Colonel Gridley, a skillful officer; but most of the men were poorly armed, and without military dress or accoutrements.

The British soldiers and officers in Boston were galled and humiliated by being closely hemmed in and straitened in luxuries by this rustic army. Considering prelacy as the only loyal and royal faith, they openly desecrated the Puritan places of worship. One church building was turned into a riding school for cavalry, and the fire in the stove was kindled with books from the library of its pastor. The provincials retaliated by turning the Episcopal church at Cambridge into a barrack, and melting down its organ-pipes into bullets.²

The army under Ward needed action to keep them together. Charlestown Neck connected Boston with the main-land. On this neck rose several hills, the most prominent of which was "Bunker's Hill." Works on it, armed with artillery, would command the city. Putnam urged that the hill should be intrenched. He said: "The Americans are never afraid of their heads; they think only of their legs; shelter their legs and they'll fight forever." General Pomeroy, a veteran of the French war, a hunter, and a dead-shot with the rifle, seconded Putnam. But Ward and Warren doubted the prudence of the move, chiefly because of the scarcity of powder.³ Col. William Prescott, of Pepperell, turned the scale. He commanded a regiment of minute-men, had seen service in the French war, was fifty years old, tall and commanding, with the port of a soldier, and, moreover, with a military blue coat with white facings and lapels on the skirts, and with a three-cornered cocked hat. He counselled the movement. His counsel prevailed.

¹ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 111.

² Irving's Washington, I. 421.

³ *Ibid.*, 422.

A rumor came that General Gage intended to seize and fortify Dorchester Heights on the night of the 18th of June. The rumor was probably unfounded, but precipitated the American movement. Orders were given. Colonel Gridley was the engineer. A little before sunset twelve hundred troops assembled before General Ward's headquarters. President Langdon, of Harvard, offered a fervent prayer; after which the silent march commenced.

Colonel Prescott was the leader. They left Cambridge at nine o'clock. At Charlestown Neck they were joined by General Putnam and Major Brooks, with Bridges' regiment; and here several wagons loaded with intrenching tools made the first disclosure of the purpose of their march. The British had a battery on Copp's Hill, opposite to Charlestown. The utmost caution and silence were needed.

Arrived near Bunker's Hill, a question arose. Breed's Hill was nearer to Boston, and better commanded the town and shipping. Putnam urged that they should intrench Breed's, but have a minor work at Bunker's as a protection to their rear; but Ward's written orders specified Bunker's, and a short time of hesitation occurred. The night was waning. Every moment was a loss. Colonel Gridley was impatient. Breed's was determined on. The lines were marked off, and the men threw off their coats and seized the tools.

Never was work more rapid. Before dawn a strong redoubt arose, flanked on the left by a breastwork nearly cannon-proof, extending down the crest of Breed's to a marsh. The sailors on the British war-ship *Lively* first gave the alarm. Without waiting for orders she put a spring on her cable, brought her guns to bear, and opened fire. The work went on. One man, incautiously exposing himself, was killed. Colonel Prescott directed that he should be buried at once, for he saw that his death had agitated the nerves of his comrades. A few of the more timid quietly left the hill and did not return.¹

To restore composure to his men, Prescott calmly mounted the redoubt and walked up and down. General Gage saw him through his glass. "Who is that officer in command?" he asked of Counsellor Willard, Prescott's brother-in-law. Willard told him. "Will he fight?" asked Gage. "Yes, sir! he is an old soldier, and will fight to the last drop of blood; but I cannot answer for his men." "The works must be carried!" exclaimed Gage, and issued his orders.

¹ Irving, I. 427. Bancroft, VII. 410, 411.

A council of war was held. Clinton and Grant advised that a force should be landed on Charlestown Neck, under protection of their batteries, so as to attack the rear of the Americans and cut off their retreat. To this Gage objected that it would place his attacking force between two armies—one at Cambridge, superior in numbers, the other on the heights, strongly fortified. He therefore determined to land his force in front of the works and push directly on them, trusting to the firmness and discipline of his regulars against untrained militia, who, he believed, would fly before him. His confidence cost his army dearly.

The sound of drum and trumpet and the hoofs of artillery horses on the morning of Saturday, the 17th of June, warned the men behind the intrenchments on Breed's Hill of the coming attack. They were tired and hungry, but they firmly bore the artillery fire from the ships and from Copp's Hill. At noon twenty-eight barges crossed from Boston in parallel lines. They carried two thousand chosen British troops, under Generals Howe and Pigot. Percy, under plea of sickness, let his regiment go without him. No opposition was made to their landing. On reaching Moulton's Point, a little north of Breed's, Howe halted. He saw the New Hampshire troops, under Stark, marching to reinforce Prescott. He sent back to Gage for more troops, and for artillery ammunition. He delayed nearly two hours, refreshing his men with "grog" and provisions. This enabled Stark to come up, and a novel intrenchment of two lines of post and rail fence, packed in with straw, was hastily run to protect Prescott's exposed flank. Putnam hurried on the works on Bunker's Hill, and was everywhere, encouraging the men and advising them not to fire until they could "see the whites of their eyes." After the British passed through Charlestown, they set fire to the town by order of General Gage, who had threatened that if the provincials threw up works on the hills he would burn Charlestown.¹

The British infantry marched steadily up the incline to Breed's Hill, firing as they advanced. The Americans made no attempt to reply to this fire, nor to that of the enemy's light artillery; but when the serried red ranks came within fifty yards Prescott gave the command to fire. Nothing in musketry and rifle-shooting was ever more destructive than the fire that followed. The ranks of the British went down like wheat before the reaper. They could not stand it, but broke and retreated in disorder down the hill. Their officers rallied them, pushing them on, in some

¹Bancroft, VII. 421.

cases, with their swords. Again they advanced, again to meet that desolating fire and again to retreat. Men fell, officers fell, dead or wounded. Major Pitcairn fell into the arms of his son, mortally wounded. The attempts to rally the men failed for a time.

But reinforcements were hurried over from Boston. Again an attack was organized. And now came to the brave Prescott and the officers surrounding him the disheartening report that their ammunition was failing. The fire during the two attacks had been marvelously rapid and sustained. The men were so high in spirits that they stood their ground, many of them without powder, ball or bayonet. The third attack was made with great superiority of numbers. Yet such of the provincials as had ammunition mowed all down before them, both at the dirt and the straw intrenchments. The men without powder fought with clubbed guns. The heroic Warren, who had come over and taken his place in the ranks with his musket, was mortally wounded just as the retreat commenced. Reluctantly, Prescott gave the command to retire. The Americans retreated, first to the works at Bunker's Hill. The English made no attempt either to follow or to flank them. Their victory, though gained, was too bloody and too dearly bought for an advance.

In this bravely fought battle the loss of the British, by their own admission, was one thousand and fifty-four. Thirteen commissioned officers were slain, seventy were wounded. At one time the attacking troops stood and staggered on in the face of a fire which was not intermitted one second for half an hour. The oldest soldiers had never seen the like. The American loss was one hundred and forty-five killed and missing, and three hundred and four wounded.¹

This defence of Bunker's Hill wrought a permanent effect on the minds of British soldiers and officers, especially in Boston. They began to doubt whether they could hold the city. They might also have had doubts whether they could, by arms, subdue a people who lived in villages and in the country, and who, in six hours, had thrown up intrenchments from which it had cost half a British army to drive them. It was soon known that had they had plenty of powder and ball they could not have been dislodged. Dr. Benjamin Franklin expressed a growing conviction when he wrote to his friends in England: "Americans will fight; England has lost her colonies forever."²

Meanwhile George Washington, the commander-in-chief of the American armies, was approaching from Philadelphia. He trav-

¹ Baneroft, VII. 431, 432.

² In Baneroft, VII. 435.

eled on horseback, accompanied most of the way by Generals Schuyler and Lee. Twenty miles from Philadelphia they were met by a courier bearing dispatches to congress from the army around Boston, and especially tidings of the battle. Washington eagerly inquired how the militia had behaved. When told of their conduct, a weight of doubt and solicitude seemed to be rolled away from his breast. He exclaimed: "The liberties of our country are safe."¹

As they approached New York, the sentiments of the people of that important province became a subject of anxious discussion. It is true, many of the oldest and richest families—the Jays, Bensons, Beekmans, Hoffmans, Van Hornes, Roosevelts, Duyckincks, Pintards, Yateses and others—were known to be warm and self-denying patriots; but many were of doubtful position. Among them were the families inheriting wealth and influence from Sir William Johnson. We have seen how England had honored him; yet when the Revolutionary struggle came he felt his sympathies divided, and when dispatches came to him from England instructing him to enlist the Indians against the colonists, his conflict of feeling brought on a stroke of apoplexy, from which he died July 11th, 1774, leaving his son, Sir John Johnson, and his sons-in-law, Col. Guy Johnson and Colonel Claus, as his male representatives.

They felt none of his scruples, and were soon busy drawing Scotch Highlanders of the Roman faith and other Tories around the old stone-house family mansion on the Mohawk, which was armed with swivels. They also used their influence with violent men, such as the Butlers, of Tryon county, and Brandt, the Mohawk sachem. With armed retainers they went about the country breaking up patriotic assemblages, and threatening an Indian war. Moreover, Governor Tryon was known to be a strong Tory. He was absent in England, but his return was hourly expected. In fact, by a curious series of time-serving instructions, the New York assembly sent its committee to pay honor either to Washington or to Tryon, *whomsoever of the two might first arrive*. Washington arrived first, and was cordially greeted at Newark by the committee. At eight o'clock the same evening Tryon arrived, and the same committee met him with due honors!² It was not the first instance in the history of the world in which the impossible deed "to serve God and mammon" was attempted.³ Washington appointed General Schuyler to supreme command in New York. He could not have made a better appointment.

¹ Irving's Washington, I. 445.

² Irving's Washington, I. 446-449.

³ "Ye cannot serve God and mammon."—Matt. vi. 24.

As Washington approached, the Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts made preparation for him by appointing the president's house at Cambridge as his residence, except one room reserved for the head of the college. On the 2d of July, 1775, at Watertown, the assembly met Washington and delivered to him a congratulatory address, in which, however, they frankly stated the undisciplined and unsupplied condition of the army.¹

The same evening Washington proceeded to his headquarters at Cambridge, and took command of the army. He was received with shouts and the thunders of artillery, which reached the ears of enemies and friends in Boston, exciting very different emotions. His fine person, dignified manner and splendid horsemanship aroused universal enthusiasm.²

The accomplished wife of John Adams saw the commander-in-chief on this occasion, and wrote to her husband :

"Dignity, ease and complacency, the gentleman and the soldier, look agreeably blended in him. Modesty marks every line and feature of his face. The lines of Dryden instantly occurred to me :

"Mark his majestic fabric! He's a temple
Sacred by birth, and built by hands divine;
His soul's the deity that lodges there;
Nor is the pile unworthy of the God."³

But heavy cares soon pressed on Washington. He found the army numerous enough, but daily disintegrating. In the ardor of patriotism the men had come together, and had fought gallantly when fighting was to be done; but they were little more than volunteers at will, and many soon grew weary of the camp and went to their homes. Washington soon introduced regular enlistments for the war, or for stated periods, longer or shorter. Thus the "Continental lines" of the different States were formed. There was scarcity of gunpowder; but a happy event partially supplied this. In July a British vessel arrived at Tybee Island, below Savannah, Georgia, with thirteen thousand pounds of powder for the use of the royal troops. Thirty volunteers, under the lead of two commanders, naval and military, Commodore Bowen and Colonel Habersham, seized this prize. The powder was secured in a magazine in Savannah. Five thousand pounds of it were sent to the army around Boston.⁴

By patient industry and skill Washington organized and supplied his army, so that by the beginning of winter he had four-

¹ Irving's Washington, I. 452.

² Thatcher's Military Journal.

³ Extract from Mrs. Adams' letter, in Irving's Washington, I. 453. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 111.

⁴ Derry's U. S., 109.

teen thousand troops of high spirit and good discipline besieging Boston. The British army made no attempt to break his lines. The winter was severe, and the suffering in the city from cold and want of fuel and proper food was very great.

The efforts of the Americans to possess themselves of all the strong points in Canada continued. Col. Ethan Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga, made an attempt with an inadequate force on Montreal. He was defeated and captured, and sent a prisoner in iron handcuffs to England to be tried for treason. He was subjected to ignominious and inhuman treatment.¹ But the question of treason was too dangerous for tampering. English prisoners of rank were held by the Americans. Allen was returned to a prison-ship in New Harbor, and finally exchanged.

In August, 1775, General Schuyler projected an expedition against St. Johns and Montreal, with Quebec as the final objective point. Gen. Richard Montgomery, a native of Ireland, but now a daring and devoted friend of America, commanded. Sir Guy Carleton commanded the British forces in Canada. He was stirring up the Indians, and making preparations to send out armed vessels from St. Johns into Lake Champlain by the Sorel river. Montgomery saw that no time was to be lost, and hastily embarked with about a thousand men and two pieces of artillery to take possession of Isle-aux-Noix, which commanded the Sorel.² General Schuyler, though suffering from the effects of bilious fever, traveled in a covered bateau, and on the 4th of September overtook Montgomery, and on the same day their force occupied Isle-aux-Noix, thus defeating a part of Carleton's plan.

In October, Fort Chamblee, a small work within five miles of St. Johns, was captured by fifty Americans and three hundred Canadians who sympathized with the Americans, commanded by Majors Brown and Livingston. A large quantity of powder and military stores were thus secured. Montgomery pressed the siege of St. Johns with vigor. The garrison were already suffering for provisions, but their brave commander, Major Preston, held out, hoping for promised relief from Sir Guy Carleton.

That English officer had with him a motley force of a hundred regulars, several hundred Canadians and a number of Indians. He hoped for help from Colonel Maclean, "a veteran Scot, brave and bitterly loyal," who, with three hundred of his countrymen, listed as "The Royal Highland Emigrants," was to come from Quebec, land at the mouth of the Sorel, and join Carleton in raising the siege of St. Johns.³

¹ Goodrich's U. S., 190, 191.

² Irving's Washington, II. 47, 48.

³ Irving's Washington, II. 83, 84.

But this concerted union was prevented by stern war. On the 21st September, Carleton embarked his forces at Montreal in thirty-four boats. As they approached the right bank of the St. Lawrence, at Longueuil, a destructive fire of artillery and musketry was opened upon them by Col. Seth Warner's Green Mountain boys and New Yorkers. Some of the boats were disabled; some were driven ashore on an island. Carleton retreated to Montreal with loss in killed and wounded. Colonel Maclean fared no better. He landed at the mouth of the Sorel, and recruited, at the point of the bayonet, a number of Canadians in the neighborhood.¹ He was in march for St. Johns, when Brown and Livingston encountered him with their successful troops from Chamblee, reinforced by dauntless Green Mountain boys. Maclean was forced back, with loss, to the mouth of the Sorel, where, hearing of Carleton's defeat, and deserted by the Canadians, he thought it wise to continue his retreat down the river to Quebec. The Americans took possession of the mouth of the Sorel, and erected batteries to command the St. Lawrence.

The resolute Preston was now in extremity. Yet, in answer to General Montgomery's demand for surrender, he asked for four days. This was refused. He capitulated, and delivered up five hundred regulars and a hundred Canadians, among whom were some who claimed to be of noble families.² Though the provisions were nearly exhausted, the cannon, small arms, and ammunition captured were considerable in quantity. Montgomery, who had been an officer in the British service, treated Preston and the captured garrison with considerate courtesy.

On the 12th of November the American forces invested Montreal. Sir Guy Carleton had embarked, with his garrison and a number of the civil officers, on a flotilla of small vessels, carrying away the powder and important stores to a point above the mouth of the Sorel. The town surrendered on the 13th, and Montgomery gained the goodwill of the people, both English and French, by his urbanity and kindness.³

General Washington had corresponded with Schuyler, and actively concurred in all the measures for the capture of the Canadian posts. Quebec was chiefly coveted, as in all previous wars, because of her strength and commanding position. Washington ordered a detail of eleven hundred picked troops to go by way of the Kennebec river and a march through the wilderness to attack Quebec, in co-operation with Montgomery.

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 87.

² *Ibid.*, 86.

³ *Ibid.*, 91.

For the command of this dangerous and exposed expedition Col. Benedict Arnold was selected. His indomitable courage and skill were already known. And with this body went Aaron Burr, afterwards so brilliantly notorious, and Daniel Morgan, with a corps of riflemen from the Valley of Virginia, afterwards to gain undying reputation in the war.

The expedition went first in vessels to the mouth of the Kennebec river; thence they made their way up that river. Part marched on land; part pushed the boats, with immense labor and difficulty, up the stream. They had to contend with swift currents, to unload at rapids, and transport boats and lading on their shoulders to the next practicable water passage. Days passed in making their way around rushing cataracts; several times the boats were upset and filled with water, to the loss and damage of arms, ammunition and provisions.

Those on the land scrambled over rocks and precipices; struggled through swamps and fenny streams; cut their way through tangled thickets, which almost tore their clothing from them. From four to ten miles a day was all they could make.

Fatigue and swamps began to prey on their health. By the time they reached the portage between the Kennebec and Dead rivers, barely nine hundred and fifty men remained effective. It was determined to send the sick and disabled back under an escort, and Colonel Enos, who commanded the rear division, probably misinterpreting his orders, turned over all the provisions he could spare to the main army, and returned with the sick and with his whole command of three hundred men to Norridgewock.¹ He was afterwards tried for desertion, but the court-martial acquitted him because the orders were not entirely definite, and because many of his men would have starved had they remained.

Through the wilderness the remaining men pressed, with Arnold at their head. Starvation was on them; they were driven to eat dogs, and even to boil and chew the leather of their moc-casins and cartouch-boxes. For thirty-two days they saw not a human dwelling. They embarked in boats on the Chaudiere river, and at length reached Sextigan, the nearest French settle-ment. The kind people saw with wonder this small army of men, so gaunt and thin that they looked like living skeletons, coming up from their boats; but they received them cordially. Arnold bought provisions, and soon his men were restored to health.

Montgomery hoped to capture Sir Guy Carleton. He would have been a prisoner worth having. But after making several

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 88. Goodrich's U. S., 202, 203.

abortive attempts to pass with his flotilla by the batteries, Carleton abandoned such hope, and, disguised as a Canadian boatman, slipped by the batteries in a boat with muffled oars, and made his way to Quebec. The flotilla surrendered to Montgomery, and among the prisoners was the British General Prescott, late commander of Montreal.¹ A large supply of flour, beef, butter, cannon, ammunition, and military stores was secured.

Montgomery now prepared to join Arnold before Quebec ; but a large number of his troops refused to go with him. They had been greatly dissatisfied with his course in permitting the captured officers and men to retain their private stores, clothing and property. They regarded these as spoils of war. Their insubordination so greatly discouraged Generals Schuyler and Montgomery that they both proposed to resign their commissions ; but Washington, by wise appeals to their patriotism, appeased them.²

With numbers much reduced, Montgomery joined Arnold early in December. The siege was pressed for several weeks. But the season was advancing. It was resolved to attempt to carry those formidable works, defended by two hundred cannon and more than two thousand troops, by escalade. The assault was made with conspicuous courage on the 31st day of December. Montgomery was in the lead, and fell dead ; his aid, McPherson, fell at his side ; Arnold was severely wounded in the leg. The assault failed. The troops retired with a loss of a hundred killed, and three hundred wounded or prisoners. Among the prisoners was the brave Morgan. The whole attacking army was barely twelve hundred in number.

Thus, on the last day of the year in which her war for freedom commenced, America received her first decisive lesson, repeated again and again since that time, that Canada was not to be wrested from the English dominion by force of arms. If ever gained, she must be gained by love. Colonel Thomas, who succeeded to the command, because Arnold's wound compelled him to retire, continued in the neighborhood of Quebec until the spring, and then withdrew his force from Canada.

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 172. Irving's Washington, II. 91, 92.

² Irving, II. 86, 93, 97.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE WAR OF REVOLUTION CONTINUED.

THE first day of the year 1776, in which the United States of America declared their independence, was signalized by events vividly representative of the kingly government about to expire in Virginia. Lord Dunmore was the last, and in many respects the worst, royal governor.

He saw in the spirit of the House of Burgesses, the conventions, and the words of Patrick Henry, enough to satisfy him that the people of the colony meant to resist by force the measures of England. On the day after the battle of Lexington, a corps of marines from the armed English schooner *Magdalen*, under orders from Dunmore, came up to Williamsburg in the dead of night and carried from the public magazine twenty barrels of gunpowder, which they stored before daybreak in the hold of their vessel. Thus on the 20th of April, 1775, the war of the Revolution commenced in Virginia.

This act caused great irritation and excitement. The people began to arm themselves. A meeting of six hundred men, well armed, was held in Fredericksburg, and on the 29th of April, 1775, passed resolutions approaching, in spirit, a declaration of independence. Patrick Henry marched from Hanover at the head of a military company. John Tyler (afterwards governor of the State), at the head of another company, marched from Charles City county. They met at Doncaster's ordinary, in New Kent county, and formed a battalion, with Henry in command.¹ Dunmore was startled by these prompt movements. He sent Richard Corbin, the king's receiver-general, who paid to Patrick Henry three hundred and thirty pounds sterling for the powder, and gave him a written acknowledgment of all the facts. Thus for a time the storm was stilled.²

But its mutterings were soon heard again. Dunmore carried on a surly correspondence with the burgesses. But the people were arming in every county, and fearing that he might be seized and detained as a hostage, on the night of the 8th of June, 1775, Dunmore fled from his palace and took refuge aboard the British

¹ Skelton Jones, 14. Wirt, 108, 109. MS. note to author from J. Tyler, Jr.

² Wirt, 110. Burk, III. 421, 422.

frigate *Fowey* at Yorktown. He was accompanied by his wife and some of his domestics, and by Foy, his secretary, who was specially hated by the patriots.

From this time, for more than a year, this fugitive royal governor carried on a predatory warfare against Virginia. He went first to Norfolk, which was then a flourishing town of about six thousand inhabitants, many of whom were true to their country; but many also were English and Scotch merchants, who loved money more than freedom.

Dunmore carried out the king's instructions. He proclaimed the negro slaves to be free, and sought to rouse them to insurrection against their masters. He employed agents to visit the Indian tribes and organize them for war on the whites. He had now under his command the frigate *Fowey*, the *Mercury*, of twenty-four guns, *Kingfisher*, of sixteen, and *Otter*, of fourteen, with two companies of regulars, and a rabble of negroes and Tories who followed his standard.

He made an attack upon Hampton on the 25th of October, 1775, but was beaten off by riflemen under Captain Woodford. This action was singular in this: that the men on armed ships were so constantly reached and slain or disabled by rifle bullets, that they were compelled to withdraw. Two tenders, with prisoners, six swivels, and a quantity of muskets, pistols, swords and other weapons, were captured by the Americans.¹

The Virginia convention had appointed a "Committee of Safety," who conducted the military operations. Dunmore attempted several raids from Norfolk, but was driven back with loss. At Great Bridge, across the Elizabeth river, twelve miles from Norfolk, a sharp skirmish occurred on the 9th of December. The Virginians were about three hundred in number, under Adjutant-General Bullet, Colonel Stevens and Major Marshall. The English force was commanded by Captain Fordyce, a brave officer, who had one hundred regulars and more than three hundred Tories, convicts and negroes. At the head of a selected force Fordyce charged gallantly across the bridge, but fell dead with fourteen rifle bullets in his body. His force was completely routed, and fled precipitately, leaving behind them their killed, wounded and prisoners. The fort defending Norfolk was attacked, and Major Leslie abandoned it, having lost one hundred and two men and two pieces of artillery. Lord Dunmore is said to have raged like a madman when he heard of these successes of the patriots.²

¹ Skelton Jones, 63, 64. Burk, III. 434, 435. Howe, 249, 250.

² Girardin, 88, 96, 97.

The road to Norfolk was now open, and Colonel Woodford, after sending a message to the mayor and town authorities that he had no hostile intents towards them, and would use no violence unless opposed, marched in on the night of the 14th of December and took possession. Dunmore fled, and a wretched train of traitors and Tories accompanied him to the war-ships.

An American force of twelve hundred and seventy-five men, under Howe and Woodford, now held the town. Dunmore made no attempt to recapture it. He resorted to the most inhuman form of warfare. On the first day of January, 1776, the frigate *Leopard*, the ship *Dunmore*, and two sloops of war were moored with their batteries bearing on the town, and at half-past three in the afternoon opened a tremendous fire. Under its cover sailors and marines, well armed, landed in boats and set fire to the warehouses and other buildings on the wharves. The contents were turpentine and pitch, and all burned with frightful rapidity. Notwithstanding the almost intolerable heat, the American riflemen drew near, and with deadly fire drove back these incendiaries, with severe loss, to their ships.¹ But the fire raged, and as the ships kept up a storm of balls and shells it could not be extinguished; for part of three days and nights it burned without intermission. Nine-tenths of the town were reduced to ashes; property worth a million and a half of dollars was destroyed. It is true a large proportion of this loss fell on those disaffected to the cause of freedom; but Dunmore's revenge was blind. He had the satisfaction of knowing that out of six thousand residents, at least four thousand were deprived of their homes and driven out to seek shelter in the counties above.²

Dunmore was now in a wretched condition. His fleet consisted of the ships of war and more than fifty transports, carrying a crowd of miserable Tories, men and women, a great many negroes enticed from their masters, and a rabble of convicts and odious characters. With these he cruised up and down the bay and the rivers, burning and marauding, yet scantily supplied with food, and suffering more and more from sickness among his crowded followers.

At this time Gen. Charles Lee was appointed to the command of the southern division of the united colonies. He arrived at Williamsburg on the 29th of March, 1776, and took in at a glance the military condition of Virginia. His orders were stern and peremptory. Under them Colonel Woodford removed the in-

¹ Letter from Howe and Woodford to Convention, *Virginia Gazette*, Sup., January 5, 1776. Burk, III. 450. Girardin, 101.

² Girardin, 101, 102. Woodford and Howe in *Virginia Gazette*, January 6, 1776.

habitants of Norfolk and Princess Anne counties into the interior with all their live stock and provisions; and if any were found in correspondence with the enemy they were to be sent handcuffed to Williamsburg.¹

Dunmore was reduced to great straits for food. He took possession of Gwynn's Island on the 24th of May, landed his forces and formed an intrenched camp. This island lies just in the mouth of the river Piankatank, is about four miles in length and two in width, and before the coming of Dunmore had abounded in grain, cattle, fruits and vegetables, in good water and abundant verdure; but his disorderly rabble soon made it a scene of want and disease.

Moreover, the "Committee of Safety" sent General Andrew Lewis to attack him. On the 8th of July this efficient officer took possession of a point opposite Gwynn's Island, and soon had two batteries ready, one mounting two eighteen-pounders and the other several lighter guns. Lewis himself pointed one of the eighteens at the *Dunmore*, in which was the governor. The first shot passed through her hull; the second cut the boatswain in twain and wounded three other men; the third narrowly missed Dunmore himself, wounded him with splinters and dashed some of his china to pieces. He was heard to cry out in alarm: "Good God! that ever I should come to this!"²

The fire was too hot to be borne. The war-ships cut their cables, and the whole fleet in confusion sought the more distant waters. The island was abandoned. When Lewis' troops crossed over and took possession, they found sad evidences of the ravages of disease and want. At least five hundred of Dunmore's followers had perished. Among the graves was found one more carefully prepared and turfed than the others; and an English nobleman, Lord Gosport, was supposed to rest there.

Lord Dunmore's career in America was now closed. After committing some ravages on the shores of the Potomac and burning the beautiful residence of William Brent, of Stafford county, he sailed to Lynnhaven Bay and dismissed some of his ships to St. Augustine, some to the Bermudas, and some to the West Indies. He himself joined the British naval force at New York, and about the close of the year sailed in the *Fowey* for England, never to return to America.

During the fall and early winter season of 1775, Washington was still employed in organizing, drilling and disciplining his army. He longed to undertake some active enterprise against the enemy,

¹ Lee's Instructions, in Girardin, 143, 144.

² Virginia Gazette, July 29, 1776. Girardin, 174.

but was delayed by considerations of prudence and the doubts of councils of war. He was also greatly in want of heavy artillery, without which no works would be effective against the enemy in Boston.

At this time Henry Knox (afterwards so eminent as an artillery officer, a warm and trusted friend of Washington, and a member of his cabinet) approached him with a proposition to go to New York and Canada and transport heavy cannon and mortars from the captured works there to the lines around Boston. Knox had been a thriving bookseller in Boston, but had thrown up his business to take part in the battle of Bunker's Hill, and afterwards to aid in the defences of the American camp.¹ He had shown so much of aptitude for this work that Washington was glad to employ him, and to issue orders giving him all the facilities in his power for his heavy undertaking.

Some months were needed ; but at length, early in February, the camp was rejoiced by the arrival of Colonel Knox with his long train of sledges, drawn by oxen, bringing more than fifty heavy cannon, mortars and howitzers, besides ample supplies of lead and flints.

No time was lost. Washington's plan was to erect batteries at Lechmere Point and other favorable positions for occupying the attention of the enemy by the appearance of attack ; to throw up his heaviest and strongest works on Dorchester Heights and plant there his most effective cannon and mortars, and to organize an actual assault on the troops in Boston by a large force under General Putnam, in case the British should repeat their disastrous policy at Bunker's Hill.

The work all went forward with energy and swiftness. General Gage, who had not gained reputation by his military movements from Boston, had been quietly recalled to England, and Sir William Howe was in command. He was resolute, but somewhat lethargic and slow. Notwithstanding the cold, hunger and sufferings of many of the people, the British officers managed to amuse themselves with dramas and farces, in some of which Burgoyne appeared, and which were often efforts to ridicule the Americans.²

The evening of Monday, the 4th of March, was fixed by Washington for the occupation of Dorchester Heights. The ground was frozen, and as digging was not easy, fascines, gabions, and bundles of screw-pressed hay were collected to form breastworks and redoubts. The American cannon at other points opened

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 79.

² *Ibid.*, 164-167.

fire ; the English replied, and thus the attention of the enemy was completely diverted, and the ceaseless roar of artillery drowned the rumbling of wagons and ordnance.

General Thomas was to manage the work ; the veteran Gridley was again the engineer. First came a covering party of eight hundred preceding the carts with intrenching tools, then a working party twelve hundred strong, then three hundred wagons with the fascines, gabions, and packages of pressed hay, each of seven or eight hundred pounds weight. At eight o'clock the work began. It was severe, but the men worked with more than wonted spirit ; for Washington himself was there, and his eye was on them.¹

Before the dawn a formidable-looking fortress frowned along the heights. A British officer has described the impression of wonder made on him : "This morning at daybreak we discovered two redoubts on Dorchester Point, and two smaller ones on their flanks. They were all raised during the last night, with an expedition equal to that of the genii belonging to Aladdin's wonderful lamp. From these hills they command the whole town, so that we must drive them from their fort or desert the place." Howe, also, gazed at the fortress with amazement. "These rebels," he said, "have done more work in one night than my whole army would have done in one month."²

His first purpose was to attack. He had written several letters to the English ministry scouting the idea of "being in danger from the rebels." He had "hoped they would attack him." Now they were preparing to attack him ; but he was not so confident.

He ordered that all his batteries that would bear should be opened on the works. This was done, but obviously with little effect. He planned a night attack. Lord Percy was to lead, with twenty-five hundred men ; but a storm came on from the east. The boats could not reach their landing place. The attempt was to be renewed the next night ; but the storm continued with torrents of rain. The movement was again postponed ; and, in the next twenty-four hours, the American works were so strong that Howe abandoned the intent to advance on them.

No alternative remained but to evacuate Boston. The cannon and mortars on Dorchester Heights could reach effectively not only every part of the city, but the ships in the harbor.

On Sunday, March 17th, 1776, at four o'clock in the morning, the movement began. Seventy-eight ships and transports were casting loose for sea, and twelve thousand soldiers, sailors, and

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 174.

² *Ibid.*, 175.

Tory refugees hurrying to embark—the latter with their families and personal effects. The American batteries did not open fire, probably because Howe had given a written intimation that if they did he would cause the city to be burned; and, although Washington had made no reply to this intimation, he was too humane and considerate to subject the helpless people to such suffering.¹

General Putnam, with his troops, first entered the city. He took command, and hoisted over all the forts the flag of thirteen stripes, the standard of the Union, although independence was not yet declared. On Monday, the 18th of March, Washington himself entered, and was joyfully welcomed by nearly every class of the people. The country was more than satisfied. In congress, on motion of John Adams, a vote of thanks to the commander-in-chief was unanimously adopted, and it was ordered that a gold medal be struck commemorating the evacuation of Boston, and bearing the effigy of Washington as its deliverer.²

Early in this year the attention of England was drawn to the Southern provinces of Georgia and South Carolina; but her efforts had no effect except to arouse the revolutionary spirit. On the 12th of January, 1776, two British ships of war, with troops, under Maitland and Grant, arrived at Tybee. Apprehending a repetition of the outrages by Dunmore, the Committee of Safety in Savannah determined on the bold step of arresting Sir James Wright, the royal governor. Maj. Joseph Habersham promptly undertook this duty. Entering the council chamber while a meeting was in progress, he advanced upon the governor, and, laying his hand on his shoulder, said: "Sir James, you are my prisoner!" Instantly the members of the council, knowing Habersham, and believing he was backed by an armed force, began to escape by doors, windows, and every practicable passage.³ The governor's person was secured. No indignity was offered to him, but he was confined to his house, and no intercourse was allowed between him and the royalists. He managed to escape, and on the 11th of February reached the British war-ship *Scarborough*. This prompt action probably saved the coast of Georgia from predatory war. The English authority ceased, and was never permanently restored.

A British fleet under Sir Peter Parker, with a large body of troops under Sir Henry Clinton, had sailed from Cork to America, and the point of their attack had been a subject of anxious consideration by Washington and his officers. It was made apparent

¹ Irving's Washington. Compare II. 177, 179, 182.

² Irving, II. 185. Derry's U. S., 110. Stephens, 218.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 219.

early in June, 1776. They approached the harbor of Charleston. Gen. Charles Lee was at hand to meet them, and was received with enthusiasm by the people, who were in high spirits and determined to fight to the last. Lee's military eye saw much to alarm him in the defenceless state of the land approaches to the city; but, fortunately, the enemy were intent on mastering the approach by water.¹

On Sullivan's Island, below the city, was a fort built of palmetto logs, earth and sand, with twenty-six heavy guns, and a garrison of three hundred and seventy-five regulars and about one hundred and fifty militia, commanded by a resolute officer, Col. William Moultrie, of South Carolina. The fort afterwards bore his name. On the other side of the island was an earthwork for land defence, with a force under Colonel Thompson. General Lee encamped at Haddrell's Point, on the main-land, ready to succor any point that was hard pressed. Clinton landed with troops, but could not pass the batteries of Thompson, and his men suffered severely by the heat and brackish water of the island, and scanty and bad provisions. They depended on the success of the naval attack.

This was made on the 28th of June. The *Thunder Bomb* commenced throwing shells at the fort, and by eleven o'clock the ships of the fleet had taken position. For twelve hours the battle raged. Lee was so uneasy that he at one time thought of ordering Colonel Moultrie to spike his guns and retreat;² but he sent his aide-de-camp, Captain Byrd, to see how the officers and men in Moultrie bore themselves, and when this gallant youth returned, his account of the high spirit in the fort was such that no retreat could be thought of.

The tremendous fire of the fleet did very little harm; the palmetto wood, being soft, did not rend and splinter, and the earth and sand buried balls and shells. The fire of the fort was cool and deliberate and bloodily destructive. An English officer thus describes its effects: "They stuck, with the greatest constancy and firmness, to their guns; fired deliberately and slowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered accordingly; they were torn almost to pieces, and the slaughter was dreadful. Never did British valor shine more conspicuously, and never did our marine in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy experience so rude an encounter."³

¹ Irving's *Washington*, II. 273. Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 220.

² Gen. Charles Lee's letter to Washington. Irving, II. 274. Stephens, 220. Thalheimer's *Elec. U. S.*, 139, (note) 142.

³ *Civil War in America*, An. Register, Dublin, 1779. Irving, II. 275.

One of the ships became disabled ; the admiral ordered that her crew should set her on fire and leave her. The guns were left loaded and the colors flying. But hardly had the crew left before the patriots boarded her, turned her guns on the other ships, and carried off flags and balls and three boat-loads of stores before she blew up.¹

In the hottest of the fire the flag-staff of the fort was shot away, and the banner fell down on the beach. Sergeant William Jasper leaped down, and, exposed to a storm of balls, snatched up the broken staff and flag, and returned with them safely to the inside of the fort, over which the flag was soon again flying. For this heroic deed Governor Rutledge, of South Carolina, presented him a sword, and offered him a commission as lieutenant ; but the brave sergeant, not being able to read or write, with singular modesty and good sense, declined the commission.²

At one time the fire of the fort slackened, and hopes rose in the fleet. But it was only for want of ammunition. General Lee hastened to supply it from the city, and the fort's fire became hotter than before. The fleet drew off with a loss of more than three hundred and fifty officers and men killed and wounded. Captain Scott, of the *Experiment* frigate, lost an arm ; Captain Morris, of the *Actæon*, and Lord Campbell, late governor of the province, who was serving as a volunteer in the fleet, were slain. The American loss did not exceed ten killed and twenty-two wounded. Seven thousand cannon balls were gathered up on Sullivan's Island after the battle.³

The land attack under Clinton was abandoned. The troops re-embarked, and the whole fleet sailed northward. The Southern coast was freed for nearly two years from hostile approach.

As the summer wore on, Washington inferred from many movements that the British fleets and armies contemplated a descent upon New York. He therefore concentrated his forces in and around that city and upon Long Island.

On the 27th of August the decisive advance was made. Sir Henry Clinton was chief in command, under whom were Earls Cornwallis and Percy, General Grant and Sir Thomas Erskine. George III., having been disappointed in his attempts to obtain Russians, had hired from the Landgrave Prince of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Count of Hanau, in Germany, four thousand three hundred Brunswick troops and thirteen thou-

¹ Stephens, 220, 221.

² Goodrich, 207. Stephens, 220. Derry, 112. Thalheimer, 139, (note) 141, 142.

³ Taylor's Centen., U. S., 177. Irving's Wash., II. 276. Stephens' U. S., 220, 221.

sand Hessians, to serve against America. Count Donop commanded a large body of these Hessians, and they, with two battalions of light infantry and six field-pieces, were under Lord Cornwallis, who already manifested the military talent and vigor which afterwards made him so formidable to America. General Greene had been ill and could not render effective service.

The American commanders were Generals Putnam, Sullivan, and Lord Stirling, under whom were Smallwood, Williams and Atlee.

With every disadvantage, the American defence was, for a long time, resolute and effective, and the result of the battle would have been indecisive but for one unfortunate oversight. The roads by which the left of the American position could be approached had not been thoroughly reconnoitered and guarded; consequently, while pressing hard on their front and right with highly disciplined troops, Sir Henry Clinton was enabled to turn their left flank with an overwhelming force. Sullivan, hearing the British cannon, knew that his left was defenceless. He was obliged to leave his redoubt and order a retreat, almost surrounded by De Heister and the Hessians. The battle here was sanguinary and disastrous to the Americans. Hemmed in between British and Hessians, they made a brave fight, but were cut down in numbers. Some broke through and escaped; some were made prisoners, and among them General Sullivan himself.¹

Broken and defeated, the Americans retired behind their line of redoubts at Brooklyn. The British lines were so near to them that their grenadiers were within easy musket range. Washington prepared to meet an attack; but Sir Henry Clinton, thinking the American army now so entrapped that they must fall into his hands, forbore to march on the intrenchments.

In this unfortunate battle the American loss in killed, wounded and prisoners was not less than two thousand out of a total of five thousand engaged. The enemy acknowledged a loss of only three hundred and eighty killed and wounded.²

On the night of August 29th, Washington performed one of the great deeds of the war and of his own patient and self-denying career. A fog on the sound and the broad river aided him. Flat-boats and tow-boats were assembled. As fast as one regiment was embarked another took its place. Silently and securely the whole movement was made. The fog hung on the south, but cleared on the north side so as to facilitate the retreat; the adverse wind died down; the water became so smooth that the row-boats

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 301, 304.

² *Ibid.*, 307, 308.

could be laden almost to their gunwales; a gentle breeze helped the sail and tug-boats. Glover's Marblehead seamen and watermen were more than efficient. Before daybreak the whole army, with artillery, ammunition, provisions, cattle, horses, carts and wagons, were safely in the city of New York. Only a few of the heaviest and most unmanageable guns were left to fall into the enemy's hands. Washington crossed in the last army boat.¹

This retreat was one of the great achievements of the war. The British were amazed. Captain Montresor, aid to General Howe, followed by a few men, climbed cautiously over the works and found them deserted. Advance parties hurried down to the ferry only to catch a sight of the rear boats nearly over. One single boat, still within musket shot, was compelled to return. In it were three vagabond outlaws, who had lingered to plunder. Washington and the American army were safe.

To hold the city of New York was now obviously inexpedient. It would not long have been possible. The British were as strong on the water as on the land. They had only to invest the city and to land a large force on the upper part of the island, and the surrender of the patriot army was a mere question of time. A council of war decided for evacuation. On the 14th of September, Washington, with his army, left the city and retired towards the upper part of the island. General Putnam commanded the rear-guard. He was followed and hard pressed by British and Hessian troops. The day was sultry. A well sustained tradition relates that as they passed Murray Hill, the residence of a family of the religious society of "Friends," the British generals halted their troops and rested for a time. Mrs. Murray set before them cake and wine and other refreshing viands. They were so pleased that they remained for hours. The prey escaped; and always afterwards it was a common saying among the American officers that Mrs. Murray had saved Putnam's division of the army.²

The fate of Capt. Nathan Hale here demands our notice. It is sad, but had its effect at the time and in a critical after-point of American history. He was a native of Coventry, Connecticut; graduated with distinction at Yale College in 1773, in his nineteenth year; was highly esteemed for his manly character, generous qualities, and handsome person; entered warmly into the cause of his country, and was a captain in Knowlton's regiment at the battle of Long Island. After this battle Washington

¹ Irving's *Washington*, II. 313, 317. Scudder's *U. S.*, 209. Goodrich, 212.

² Thatcher's *Military Journal*, 70.

desired Colonel Knowlton to indicate to him some trustworthy officer who might be willing to enter the enemy's lines and bring information as to his positions and strength, and, as far as possible, his plans. Captain Hale volunteered for this hazardous and unenviable work.

Having taught school in that region, he was familiar with it. He passed over safely from the Connecticut shore, penetrated the enemy's lines, took drawings, and made written memoranda in Latin of all the positions and forces. He made his way back to the Long Island shore at Huntington, expecting to meet a boat; but, unhappily, a British guard-ship, at anchor out of sight, had just sent in her boat for water. Mistaking this for his boat, Hale offered to come aboard. He was seized and stripped, and the papers found fatally compromised him.

He was conveyed to New York, where he landed on the 21st of September, the day of a great fire in the city. He was taken to General Howe's headquarters, and, after a brief examination, was adjudged to be a spy and ordered for execution at daybreak the next morning. The provost-marshal, Cunningham, brutally refused him the use of a Bible, and destroyed a letter he had written to his mother, stating afterwards as his reason "that the rebels should never know they had a man who could die with such firmness." Captain Hale met his death on the gibbet with calm resolution. His dying words were: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."¹

Washington was now strongly intrenched in the upper part of Manhattan. The enemy made some attacks on his outposts, which were defeated with spirit. But the times of many of his recruited soldiers would soon expire. He wrote earnestly to the congress, and obtained action from them under which eighty-eight battalions were to be furnished by the separate States according to their respective populations and ability. The pay of the officers was raised, and the troops who volunteered to serve through the war were to have a bounty of twenty dollars and a hundred acres of land and a yearly suit of clothes while in service. Under these and other wise arrangements the efficiency of the army was much increased.²

On the morning after the destructive fire in New York, Captain Montresor, aid to General Howe, came to Washington's camp, under flag of truce, to treat concerning exchange of prisoners of war. The cartel was not then agreed on, but after much

¹ Note in Irving's *Wash.*, IV. 131, 132. Scudder's *U. S.*, 209, 210.

² Irving's *Washington*, II. 343, 344.

correspondence was effected. Lord Stirling and General Sullivan were restored; so was Col. Daniel Morgan, who, at the head of his rifle corps, became more efficient than ever before.¹

New York was sadly neutralized by Tories, at the head of whom was Oliver De Lancey, member of a wealthy family of Huguenot descent. He employed under-officers, of whom Robert Rogers, of New Hampshire, was most notorious, and enlisted royalists on Long Island and in many parts of the interior, and drove away stock and impressed provisions for their support. Hostile encounters, becoming more and more wild and barbarous, resulted.²

On the morning of the 9th October the British frigates *Roebuck* and *Phoenix*, each of forty-four guns, and the *Tartar*, of twenty, got under way, broke through the inadequate barriers, passed the fire of the batteries and drove before them the few galleys and ships carrying supplies for the American army. They were considerably injured in masts and rigging, and lost three officers and six men killed and eighteen wounded;³ but they accomplished their purpose, and obtained command of the river.

Military men now began to fear for the safety of the patriot army, and the congress shared in these fears. Gen. Charles Lee had come on from the South; many held him in exaggerated esteem as a great soldier. He counseled strongly against retaining the army in a position which, however strong and well intrenched, might be isolated by the naval and military forces of Great Britain. A council of war, with the exception of Gen. George Clinton, agreed with him.⁴ Washington moved with his army across the Spyt den Duivel, and occupied the White Plains, twenty-seven miles above New York, where he formed a fortified camp; but by express direction of congress Fort Washington was maintained with a full garrison. It was on a high and rocky part of upper Manhattan Island.

On the 28th of October the British army advanced and attacked the Americans at White Plains. Sir Henry Clinton commanded the right column of the enemy; the Hessian general, De Heister, the left. A hill in the American lines, known as Chatterton's, was important. It was held by General McDougall with a militia brigade. A tremendous artillery fire was opened by the British from twenty field-pieces, under cover of which they advanced. General Leslie attempted to construct a bridge for his attacking troops, but he was severely handled by two cannon on Chatter-

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 344.

² *Ibid.*, 344, 347.

³ Lord Howe's Report to Eng. Admiralty. Irving, II. 348.

⁴ Irving's Washington, II. 358-361.

ton's, managed with great skill by Alexander Hamilton, a young artillery officer for whom Washington had already conceived a high regard. Smallwood's Maryland battalion also kept up a destructive fire; but Colonel Rahl, with his Hessians, by a circuitous move, flanked the militia, and they gave way. Still, Hazlet, Ritzema and Smallwood, from the summit of the hill, kept up a fire which swept many down. The advance of numbers compelled them sullenly to retreat; but General Putnam reinforced them, and the British advance was everywhere arrested. Each army held its ground. In this short, but severe, battle the Americans lost about three hundred in killed, wounded and prisoners. The British loss was fully as great; but they were soon reinforced, and Washington retired with his army to North Castle, five miles from his former position.¹

The British did not pursue him. They were employed in measures to attack Fort Washington. On the night of the 4th of November they began to fall back from White Plains, and in three days had disappeared.

Washington wrote on the 8th of November to General Greene, who commanded in lower New York and the Jerseys, giving him discretionary power to evacuate Fort Washington. On the night of the 5th, a British frigate and two transports, with supplies for Howe's army at Dobb's Ferry, on the Hudson, had broken through the barriers and passed the batteries, "not, however," as Greene wrote, "without having been considerably shattered by the American fire." Washington then wrote: "If we cannot prevent vessels from passing up the river, and the enemy are possessed of all the surrounding country, what valuable purpose can it answer to hold a post from which the expected benefit cannot be had? I am, therefore, inclined to think that it will not be prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington; but, as you are on the spot, I leave it to you to give such orders as to evacuating Mount Washington as you may judge best, and so far revoking the orders given to Colonel Magaw to defend it to the last."²

It would have been well had these prudent views prevailed. But General Greene thought the post could be maintained, and Colonel Magaw was quite confident that it would take the enemy until the last of December to reduce it.³ Meanwhile, if dangerously pressed, the garrison could be withdrawn; but in delay was the fatal error. Washington sent a large part of his army

¹ Goodrich's U. S., 213.

² Letter in Irving, II. 378. Amer. Archives, 5th Series.

³ Greene's Letter, Am. Archives, 5th Series, III. 618.

into the neighborhood of Fort Lee, in the Jerseys; left about seven thousand troops under General Lee at North Castle, and with the rest established strong posts in the Highlands, especially at Fort Montgomery and West Point. He appointed General Heath to command in this region, and went himself to Fort Lee.

The garrison of Fort Washington, having been reinforced by Greene with the regiment of Colonel Rawlings and part of that of Colonel Durkee, was at least two thousand strong. Though most of them were militia, they were spirited and brave. Washington doubted whether Howe's purpose was an attack on the fort; but he was soon undeceived, and more reinforcements were sent, which raised the garrison to three thousand. Only one thousand could be employed in the fort itself; the rest were in the outworks and approaches.

Howe encamped with a heavy force on Fordham Heights, not far from King's Bridge. On the night of November 14th thirty flat-bottomed boats stole quietly up the Hudson and made their way through Spyt den Duivel creek into Harlem river. From them a heavy British and Hessian force landed on the weakest side of the beleaguered fort.

On the 15th General Howe sent in a summons for surrender, with a threat of extremities if he was obliged to carry the place by assault. Colonel Magaw firmly replied, intimating a doubt whether Howe would execute a threat "so unworthy of himself and the British nation," and declaring his purpose to defend the post to the very last extremity.¹

On the 16th of November the attack was made by a simultaneous movement of four powerful attacking columns: on the north by the Hessian General Knyphausen; on the east by four battalions of light infantry and the guards under Mathew and Cornwallis; on the west by a feint of the Forty-second regiment under Colonel Sterling, and on the south by the heaviest column of the English and Hessian troops under Lord Percy.

The defence was obstinate and bloody, but unavailing. Militia could not continue to stand up against regulars and mercenary soldiers. Baxter and Cadwalader made a heroic stand; Baxter fell, but Cadwalader and Rawlings, with Pennsylvanians and Marylanders, continued to fight, cutting down whole ranks of Hessians with their fire, until their guns became foul, and they were assaulted furiously with the bayonet by the Hessians. Washington saw this part of the battle from the opposite side of the Hudson, and wept "with the tenderness of a child" as he

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 394.

looked on the brave conduct of his troops and their butchery by the brutal mercenaries.¹

The outworks were now everywhere in possession of the attacking forces. The Americans, who were able to do so, retreated into the fort, which was so crowded that the guns could not be worked. Shot and shell from the outworks would have been murderous on this crowd. To hold out would have been to lose hundreds of lives without hope of rescue. Colonel Magaw surrendered his garrison as prisoners of war, the men being permitted to retain their baggage and the officers their swords.

This prize cost the British a loss of a thousand men in killed and wounded. The American loss in killed and wounded was about four hundred; but they lost two thousand eight hundred and eighteen prisoners, of whom not less than two hundred were officers.² This was terrible, and disheartening to the patriot cause.

General Lee had been left in command of about seven thousand men at North Castle. Washington wrote, telling him of the disaster of Fort Washington, and instructing him to join him in the Jerseys. Lee answered, and, commenting on the disaster, ended his letter with words characteristic of the man: "Oh, general, why would you be over-persuaded by men of inferior judgment to your own? It was a cursed affair."³

After their success at Fort Washington, the British moved with vigor. Cornwallis advanced to invest Fort Lee; but Greene prudently evacuated the fort, withdrawing in time to save his garrison and most of the armament and stores.

The American cause was now beclouded with gloom. Washington's letters to his brother reflect the depressing shadows. He wrote: "In ten days from this date there will not be above two thousand men, if that number, of the fixed established regiments on this side of Hudson river, to oppose Howe's whole army, and very little more on the other to secure the Eastern colonies and the important passes leading through the Highlands to Albany and the country about the lakes." And it increased his distress to record his own efforts to secure long enlistments and the thorough support of the country, and his failure to do so; but his great heart did not break under this growing pressure.

At the head of his small and discouraged army he retreated across the Jerseys. Cornwallis gave up the pursuit and returned to New York, intending soon to sail for England. Washington

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 398.

² Derry, 117. Goodrich, 213. Irving's Washington, II. 401.

³ Letter in Irving, II. 400.

crossed the Delaware at Trenton, and removed all his baggage and armament to the west of the river. Sir William Howe sought to profit by this period of dismay and despondency by issuing a proclamation, dated November 30th, commanding all persons in arms against his majesty's government to disband and return home, and all congresses to desist from treasonable acts ; and offering a free pardon to all who would comply within fifty days.

Many who had been eminent in the patriot cause hastened to take advantage of this proclamation. Those who had most property to lose were most unfaithful to their country. The middle classes and the poorer people generally remained true.¹

In this dark hour of peril Washington's grand spirit appeared. He looked calmly at the worst, and prepared for it. Gen. Hugh Mercer, of Virginia, was with him. Washington asked him : "If we should retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, would the Pennsylvanians support us?" Mercer replied : "If the lower counties give up, the back counties will do the same." "Then," said Washington, "we must retire to Augusta county, in Virginia. Numbers will repair to us for safety, and we will try a predatory war. If overpowered, we must cross the Alleghanies." Such was the unconquerable spirit, rising under difficulties and buoyant in the darkest moment, that kept the tempest-tossed ship of American freedom from foundering.²

Gen. Charles Lee complied very tardily with Washington's repeated orders to join him with his troops from North Castle. He made various lateral movements, and wrote letters in a tone of evident disparagement of the commander-in-chief. General Heath, in command on the upper Hudson, was steadfast in duty to his country and obedience to Washington. How much mischief Lee might have done had his power continued at this crisis, must be matter of conjecture. He was suddenly halted. After advancing with his troops to Morristown, he had taken up his quarters in a tavern at Baskingridge, about eleven miles from Morristown. A Tory revealed his movements to a British cavalry force about twenty miles distant. On the morning of December 13th Lee lingered late in bed, and did not breakfast till ten o'clock. A party of British dragoons, under Colonel Harcourt, surrounded the house, captured him, and bore him off in triumph.³

Some thought this a heavy blow to America ; others thought differently. Subsequent events have made it clear that these Eng-

¹ Gordon's *Amer. War*, II. 129.

² Irving's *Washington*, II. 420, 421.

³ Wilkinson's *Narrative*, *Amer. Archives*, III. 1201. Irving, II. 432, 435.

lish dragoons did good service to the cause of freedom. The patriot troops whom Lee had commanded promptly joined Washington. The impression gained ground that the British would advance immediately on Philadelphia. The congress thought it best to adjourn, but, fortunately, before doing so passed a resolution that "until they should otherwise order, General Washington should be possessed of all power to order and direct all things relative to the department and to the operations of war."¹ This was a near approach to the power of a dictator; but it was never abused.

Knowing that Trenton was occupied by a force of about fifteen hundred Hessians, a troop of British light-horse and a body of chasseurs under Colonel Rahl, and that General Howe's forces were quartered loosely through New Jersey, not within easy support of each other, Washington planned an attack, to be commenced on Christmas night, December 25th. He was himself to lead the chief movement, but troops under General Ewing and the veteran Putnam were to march simultaneously in co-operation. The night of the 25th was intensely cold; the wind was high, the current strong, the river full of floating ice. Undeterred by all these obstacles, Washington, with his attacking force of twenty-four hundred men and a train of twenty light cannon, assembled at McKonkey's Ferry by twelve o'clock. They began to cross at sunset. A powerful painting of this scene has been produced. That the movement should have been effected at all was a marvel. Colonel Rahl and many of his men are said to have indulged in a high carouse that night; yet he had been warned to expect an attack, and by some events, never fully explained, an attack by a small hostile body had actually been made and had been easily repulsed. Believing this was all, the Germans returned to their revels.²

So bitter was the cold that two men in Washington's force were frozen to death. A storm of sleet and snow beat in their faces; some of the musket locks became wet and useless. General Sullivan, who led the advance, sent back the news to Washington. His reply was a stern order: "Advance and attack." They obeyed.

Rahl and his troops were in a flurry; yet he did not lose courage. The advance of the Americans was led by Capt. William A. Washington and Lieut. James Monroe, afterwards President of the United States. "*Der feind! der feind, herans, herans!*"

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 439.

² Life and Correspondence, Colonel Reed, I. 277. Note in Irving, II. 450. Justin Winsor's Amer., VI. 374-376.

shouted the sentries. The Hessians were caught between two advancing columns; retreat was impossible. Colonel Rahl ordered a charge. He was on horseback, and as he rode forward a fatal bullet struck him and he fell from his horse.

By this time the American artillery had unlimbered in position. Washington urged on the attack; the Hessians, in bewilderment, attempted to escape up the bank of the Assunpink river. Colonel Hand's corps of Pennsylvania riflemen met them, and a Virginia regiment gained their right. They were brought to a stand. Thinking they were forming for battle, Washington ordered a fire of canister; but it was not needed. Colonel Forest exclaimed: "Sir, they have struck." "Struck!" said Washington. "Yes, sir, their colors are down." These soldiers, fighting for hire, knew that the time for surrender had come. The light horse and chas-seurs escaped by reason of General Ewing's inability to cross the Delaware. They thundered across the bridge over the Assunpink, and escaped to Count Donop's command at Bordentown.

The American victory was complete. Washington exclaimed, in the presence of a subaltern: "This is a glorious day for our country."¹ Small as was the force overcome, when compared with Howe's army, the commander-in-chief felt, by intuition, that this victory was decisive for freedom. It was the crisis of the war.

Colonel Rahl died the next day. His body lies buried in the grave-yard of the Presbyterian church. One of his subordinate officers, though he has written a satirical account of his last days, has made a just estimate of the import of his death, and of the American victory. He wrote: "The Americans will hereafter set up a stone above thy grave with this inscription:

"Hier liegt der Oberst Rahl
Mit ihm ist alles all!"²

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 455.

² Tagebuch des Johannes Reuber. Irving, II. 442, 444, 458.

CHAPTER XXXVII

PRINCETON.—BRANDYWINE.—GERMANTOWN.—VALLEY FORGE.

WHEN tidings of the success at Trenton reached the country, universal joy was excited. The people realized that their cause was hopeful; and in proportion as the British king had been hated for employing hired soldiers from Germany, and the Hessians had been hated for their excesses, in the same proportion the triumph over them was an inspiration. Men were recruited; money was raised. The committee of congress wrote to Washington, transmitting resolutions passed on the 27th of December, which invested him with power in all military matters, even more thoroughly dictatorial than that previously noted herein. They wrote: "Happy is it for this country that the general of her forces can safely be intrusted with the most unlimited power, and neither personal security, liberty, nor property be in the slightest degree endangered thereby."¹ Washington's reply was worthy: "I find congress have done me the honor to intrust me with powers, in my military capacity, of the highest nature and almost unlimited extent. Instead of thinking myself freed from all *civil* obligations by this mark of their confidence, I shall constantly bear in mind that, as the sword was the last resort for the preservation of our liberties, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside when those liberties are firmly established."²

The congress had adopted the "Declaration of Independence" of the united colonies on the 4th day of July of this year. It will need more attention when we narrate the "revolution" as distinct from the war. After the success at Trenton, it was hoped that the great monarchy of France might be induced to recognize the thirteen confederated republics as among the sovereign nations of the world. Louis XVI. was on the throne, having become king May 10th, 1774, by the death of his grandfather, Louis XV. Though he had married, in 1770, Marie Antoinette, Archduchess of Austria, all of whose influence and that of her family were in favor of absolutism, yet Louis was moderate and sensible, and was yielding more and more to reforms required by the growing spirit

¹ Amer. Archives, 5th Series, III. 1510.

² Irving's Washington, II. 469.

of freedom. Moreover, American statesmen could not ignore, as an element favorable to their hopes, the long continued wars between France and England, and the seven years' contest which had obliterated New France. The independence of the United States, if established, would be a heavy blow to British pride and power. But the military events following the Declaration of Independence were not immediately encouraging. The new hopes inspired by Washington's decisive success at Trenton determined the congress to make an earnest effort to obtain aid and recognition in France.

Early in 1776, Silas Deane, of Connecticut, had been sent to France to solicit aid for the belligerent colonies. He had done what he could, but had obtained very little direct aid. On the 30th December, 1776, by a resolution of the congress, Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Silas Deane, of Connecticut, and Arthur Lee, of Virginia, were appointed commissioners to represent the United States in Paris, and seek from France recognition and alliance. Thomas Jefferson had been nominated, but had declined. Arthur Lee was so eminent that he has been designated as "the scholar, the writer, the philosopher and the negotiator."¹

The commissioners were informally received, but met with no immediate success. The court and the French nobles regarded the Americans as insurgents against a legitimate government; and France was too much occupied with her own internal ebullitions to desire a war with England. Nevertheless, secret aid was quietly given. A French sloop-of-war of twenty-four guns slipped into an American port and landed eleven thousand stand of arms and a thousand barrels of powder.² Money, in considerable amount, was also advanced. For all this the commissioners agreed that the States would pay, through a mercantile house, by remittances of tobacco and other produce.

The move of Washington on Trenton had created a great stir among the British powers in New York. Howe instantly recalled Cornwallis, who was about to sail for England, and started him with a heavy force to overwhelm and capture the detached American wing that had done this deed. After securing his prisoners and spoils, Washington, reinforced by Cadwalader, had returned to Trenton; and again, early in 1777, by the exercise of great strategic talent and energy, he gained another brilliant success.

As Cornwallis marched towards Trenton he found his flanks and rear constantly beset by the armed militia of the country, who had

¹ Thalheimer's *Eclat*. U. S., 153, note p. 160. D. B. Scott's U. S., 177

² Goodrich's *Pict.* U. S., 218.

been thoroughly aroused by the outrages of the hated Hessians. He was also attacked with inferior forces by General Greene and Colonel Hand¹; but he pressed on, and by the evening of January 2d the head of his army entered Trenton. Washington was now in a critical condition. Seven thousand men faced him on the other side of the little river Assunpink. To retire again across the Delaware was impracticable, because of floating ice and the pressure of the enemy. Cornwallis was quite confident of success. It is said that Sir William Erskine urged him to attack Washington that evening, even after sunset; but his lordship declined the uncertainties of a night battle, assuring Erskine, however, that he would "bag the fox in the morning."²

Washington now conceived and executed a movement which was as masterly as it was successful. He kept his camp-fires burning and his sentries walking and relieving each other regularly all night. He sent off his heavy baggage towards Burlington. A sudden freeze hardened the roads and helped him. On the 3d of January, 1777, avoiding the rear-guard of Cornwallis' army, which, under General Leslie, was approaching, Washington, with the body of his army, marched silently on another road towards Princeton, directing the sentries to retire quietly at day-break.

Three British regiments with three troops of dragoons had been quartered all night at Princeton, under orders to join Cornwallis in the morning. Colonel Mawhood, with the Seventeenth regiment, was already on the march; the Fifty-fifth was to follow. Mawhood had crossed a bridge on his road, when, gaining the summit of a hill, he was surprised to see the glitter of arms on the Quaker road. This was the force of General Mercer, Delawares, Marylanders and Philadelphians, about three hundred and fifty in number, hastening to secure the bridge. Mawhood supposed they were broken parts of the American army flying before Cornwallis. He faced about and made a retrograde movement to cut them off, sending, at the same time, messengers to hurry the regiments in Princeton, so as effectually to pen in the fugitives.

A sharp encounter followed between the forces under Mercer and Mawhood. The Americans gained a rising ground near the house of a Mr. Clark, of the "Friends," and, throwing themselves behind a hedge, opened with their rifles a destructive fire. Mawhood's men, though suffering severely, returned the fire with

¹ Irving, II. 472, 473. Thalheimer, 147, 148. Quackenbos, 235

² Irving's Washington, II. 473.

spirit, and charged with the bayonet. The Americans, having few bayonets, and being pressed by numbers, gave way. Mercer's horse had been crippled by a musket ball. He dismounted, and on foot attempted to rally his men. A blow from the butt of a musket struck him down. He rose and defended himself with his sword until he was surrounded, bayoneted repeatedly, and left for dead.¹

Meanwhile a large force of Pennsylvania militia advanced to the rescue. Washington, seeing Mercer's men retreating and the Pennsylvanians brought to a stand, galloped at full speed from a by-road to the front, waving his hat and cheering his men. His commanding figure and white horse attracted all eyes. The Pennsylvanians, with loud cheers, rallied and pressed forward. The Seventh Virginia regiment rushed on the enemy. Captain Moulder, with his artillery, opened on Mawhood's troops. Colonel Fitzgerald, aid to Washington, seeing him in imminent danger, drew his hat over his eyes to shut out the sight of his fall; but he was not hurt. "Away, Colonel Fitzgerald!" he shouted, "and bring up our troops."²

The day was gained. Mawhood, instead of pressing a flying foe, found his regiment beset on all sides, and with the loss of more than half his numbers in killed, wounded and prisoners, retreated with the remnant on the road to Trenton. The Fifty-fifth regiment, marching rapidly out of Princeton, was encountered by the Americans under General St. Clair, and, after some sharp fighting, broke and scattered with heavy loss, the fugitives making their way towards Brunswick. The remaining British regiment was successfully encountered by the now victorious patriots. Part of them fled towards Brunswick; the rest took refuge in the college buildings. Artillery was promptly brought, and, finding their case desperate, they surrendered.

In these several encounters the American loss was not more than thirty; but among their slain was the heroic General Mercer. He was removed to the residence of Mr. Clark, and died on the 12th of January, nine days after the battle. Dr. Benjamin Rush, afterwards so eminent as a physician, was with him when he died. The British loss was about one hundred killed, two hundred wounded, and three hundred prisoners, fourteen of whom were officers.³

Cornwallis, instead of "bagging the fox," was amazed early the next morning to hear the sound of the cannon and musketry

¹ Irving's Washington, II. 477.

² *Ibid.*, 478, 479.

³ Compare Irving II. 479, with Stephens, 234. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 118.

at Princeton. Erskine instantly grasped the situation. He cried out: "To arms! General Washington has outgeneraled us. Let us march to the rescue of Princeton."¹

But it was too late. Rapidly securing his prisoners and the spoils of war, Washington marched with his army to the heights of Morristown. Here he was soon intrenched so strongly that Cornwallis ventured not to attack him. But the American commander was unceasing in enterprise, sending out detachments and assaulting or driving out the scattered bodies of English and Hessian troops, until only two posts in the Jerseys—Brunswick and Amboy—remained in the hands of the enemy.²

These successes had the happiest effect on the American cause. They encouraged patriot hearts, and satisfied them that in their military leader they had one as courageous and enterprising as he was prudent. The name of "the American Fabius," applied to Washington, originated not in America, but in Europe.³

General Howe had formed the plan of weakening the American cause by destroying their military stores. He sent a force against Peekskill, a point on the east side of the Hudson, which Howe termed "the port of that rough and mountainous tract called the Manor of Courtlandt." Here provisions and stores had been collected; but, fearing an attack, the patriot officers had removed most of them to Forts Montgomery and Constitution, in the Highlands. On the morning of the 23d of March, 1777, a squadron of war vessels and transports, with five hundred British soldiers under Colonel Bird, came to anchor in Peekskill bay. Colonel McDougall, the patriot commander, set fire to the barracks and empty store-houses, and retreated two miles to a strong post commanding the entrance to the Highlands, which Washington had noted as a place where a small force could maintain its stand by hurling down rocks on the assailants. Col. Marvin Willet, at Fort Constitution, hastened to McDougall's assistance.

The British found their object defeated. They advanced towards the Highlands, but were met and roughly handled by Colonel Willet, and driven back with loss. Finding the country people arming in their rear, they hastened back, and the whole force retreated down the river in their ships.⁴

This disappointment only whetted Howe's appetite for destruction of American stores. Ex-Governor Tryon, after losing his power in New York, was commissioned as major-general of provincials (that is, *Tories*) in the British army. He organized a

¹ Note in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 118.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 234

³ Washington, by Irving, II. 486.

⁴ Irving's Washington, III. 29, 30. Stephens, 236. Goodrich, 219.

mongrel force of two thousand—American, Irish and British refugees—from various parts of the country, and, accompanied by General Agnew and Sir William Erskine, sailed in twenty-six vessels for the shores of Connecticut on the sound. Landing on the 26th of April near the mouth of Saugatuck river, he marched upon Danbury, twenty-three miles distant, where a considerable quantity of patriot stores had been collected. General Wooster commanded this department. He was old, but full of fire and daring. The militia were not organized. General Arnold, however, happened to be in the neighborhood. He had been passed over by congress, and several officers junior to him in service had been made major-generals over him;¹ but now, forgetting his injuries, he threw his whole energy into the work of organizing a force to oppose Tryon.

The British force reached Danbury with little opposition, destroyed eighteen houses, eight hundred barrels of pork and beef, eight hundred barrels of flour, two thousand bushels of grain, and seventeen hundred tents intended for the patriot army. A few houses belonging to Tories were spared.²

But on their return they found the road blocked before them by the daring Arnold with five hundred men. The veteran Wooster, with General Silliman as volunteer, attacked their rear, and inflicted severe loss; but while leading and encouraging his men, Wooster received a mortal wound by a musket ball. He fell from his horse, and his discouraged troops retreated.³

Arnold continued to oppose the enemy. His barricades enabled him to hold his position for a time, and to inflict heavy blows; but the flanking parties of the enemy were threatening to gain his rear, and he ordered a retreat. His horse was shot under him, and while Arnold was entangled by the stirrups, a Tory advanced on him with fixed bayonet, exclaiming: "You are my prisoner!" "Not yet," cried Arnold, who had drawn a pistol from his holster, and taking careful aim he shot the Tory dead, and, leaping into the adjoining thickets, escaped. He continued, with increased forces, to harass the wearied foe under Tryon until they were protected by the cannon shot of their ships, and re-embarked.⁴ They lost nearly three hundred men. The patriot loss was small in numbers, but it included General Wooster.

For this raid the Americans speedily devised retaliation. Colonel Meigs, who had accompanied Arnold to Quebec, and had caught some of his unconquerable spirit, set out from Guilford, in

¹ Irving's Washington, III. 46, 47.

² Goodrich's U. S., 219.

³ Irving, III. 49.

⁴ Goodrich, 219. Stephens, 236.

Connecticut, on the 23d of May, 1777, and crossed Long Island Sound with one hundred and seventy men in whale-boats, conveyed by two armed sloops. He carried his boats over the neck of land near the eastern end of Long Island, and, before day, attacked and overcame the British garrison at Sag Harbor, burned a dozen armed brigs and sloops, destroyed all the stores, and carried away ninety prisoners, officers and men. Washington was highly pleased with this feat, and publicly returned thanks to Colonel Meigs. The destruction of forage was very damaging to the enemy, who found it difficult to maintain their cavalry and artillery horses.¹

In July, 1777, the British General Prescott, who had made himself especially hateful by his treatment of Col. Ethan Allen and his arrogance in dealing with Americans, was quartered in Rhode Island at a country house near the western shore of the island on which lies the town of Newport. He was not dreaming of danger, though it was near. Colonel Barton, of the Rhode Island militia, with forty resolute men, embarked at Warwick Neck, and pulled with muffled oars across the bay, undiscovered by the ships of war or guard-boats. Avoiding the guard near the house, they captured the sentry, secured the persons of General Prescott and his aid, and safely returned to Warwick. Washington was glad afterwards to exchange Prescott for Gen. Charles Lee, but whether anything was thus gained for the American cause is doubtful.² Congress voted a sword to Barton, and appointed him colonel in the regular army.

But larger movements were now in progress, requiring all the penetration and caution of the American commander-in-chief in order to meet them successfully. It became evident that a formidable descent in great force was to be made from Canada down the line of the Hudson, and that the British would call to their aid the savage Indians, and use them with no scruples as to their merciless warfare. Washington corresponded with General Schuyler, and detached Morgan with five hundred riflemen for service in the northern patriot army. He also sent all the other troops he could spare, with Arnold in command.

Howe from New York manœuvred to deceive him, but was baffled in every effort.³ It was soon known that a large fleet of war ships and transports, with an effective army, had sailed from New York. To what point they were going was a question which kept the American commander and his officers in perplexity for

¹ Irving, III. 52, 53. Stephens, 236. Derry's U. S., 121.

² Stephens, 236. Derry's U. S., 121. Irving, III. 112, 113.

³ Irving's Washington, III. 76-79.

several weeks, and compelled movements in very hot weather between the Jerseys and the neighborhood of Philadelphia.

Washington and the congress were also troubled as to the proper position to be assigned to a number of European officers who came to America to embrace her cause. Some of them had received injudicious promises from Silas Deane in Paris. Among these, two need special mention. One, Mons. Ducoudray, on the strength of Deane's promises, expected to be commissioned as major-general, and to have the command of all the American artillery. Washington earnestly deprecated this, as it would put the very life of the army in the hands of a foreigner, and would endanger the loss of the invaluable services of General Knox. The congress, therefore, declined to ratify the asserted promise of Deane.¹ Another of his favorites was one Colonel Conway, an Irish officer, who, by his own claims, had been thirty years in the service of France, and wore the decoration of the order of St. Louis. He was highly commended by Deane. He was appointed a brigadier-general, but the only notoriety he ever gained was that of having actively moved in a disgraceful cabal against Washington.²

Very different men from these were Thaddeus Kosciuszko, from Poland; Count Pulaski, from the same brave people; Baron Steuben, from Prussia; the Baron DeKalb, from France; and, above them all, the Marquis Gilbert Motier De La Fayette. He was only twenty years old when he came to America. He had been married nearly three years to a lady of rank and fortune, whom he tenderly loved. His government and nearest relatives opposed his going to America; but such was his enthusiasm for liberty, excited by hearing the Declaration of Independence read, that he evaded all obstacles, and purchasing a vessel with his own means he landed in Charleston and came to Philadelphia.³ Here he was first met by Washington in 1777. A friendship arose between them which was never broken.

The mystery of Howe's movements was solved in August. His objective point was Philadelphia. His shortest water route was by the capes of Delaware. His fleet took a week to reach those capes. There they learned that obstructions in Delaware river and two forts on its banks would oppose their ascent. They, therefore, adopted a longer route of approach; they sailed for the capes of Virginia, and made their way slowly up to the head of Chesapeake Bay.

¹ Irving, III. 41.

² Irving, III. 42. Marshall's Washington.

³ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note 119, 120. Irving, III. 133, 134.

Washington advanced with his army to meet them; he had with him Pulaski, Deborre, Conway and La Fayette. Col. Henry Lee, from Virginia, then in his twenty-second year, had also joined him with his cavalry corps. He was afterwards celebrated as "Light Horse Harry" in the Southern campaigns. General Sullivan had also reinforced Washington with three thousand men.¹

The Brandywine creek has two branches, which unite into one. Flowing from west to east, it empties into the Delaware about twenty-five miles below Philadelphia. It has several fords; the best, and the one in the most direct line from the enemy's camp to Philadelphia, was called "Chadd's Ford." Here Washington expected the weight of the attack. He made it, therefore, the centre of his position, and stationed at it the main body of his army, consisting of the brigades of Wayne, Weedon and Muhlenberg, and the light infantry under Maxwell. A rising ground immediately above the ford was intrenched during the night of September 10th, and occupied by Wayne and Proctor's artillery.

The battle fought September 11th, 1777, has been by some historians called the battle of "Chadd's Ford;"² but this is a palpable misnomer. Had the battle been really fought there, the Americans would have been victorious. A force under General Knyphausen, supposed to be the main body of the British army, did, indeed, advance upon Chadd's Ford, drive Maxwell's light troops from the south side of the river, and, taking its stand on advantageous ground, keep up a heavy fire of artillery and feint of immediate crossing and attack.³

But this was only to conceal the real and decisive move. The main body, under Lord Cornwallis, marched by a circuitous route silently up the river and crossed at a ford far above Chadd's. Washington heard rumors of this march, and sent Col. Theodorick Bland with a troop of horse to reconnoiter the upper fords. Unfortunately, conflicting statements were brought. Washington contemplated a counter-move with his whole force to crush Knyphausen; but he did not know the truth until it was too late. Cornwallis crossed, and fell on the right flank of the American army with terrible energy. The Long Island strategy had been repeated with perfect success. Sullivan opposed Cornwallis with vigor, but could not resist the numbers. La Fayette exposed himself gallantly in this part of the battle, but, receiving a musket ball through his leg, was disabled. Greene marched with his

¹ Irving's Washington, III. 182.

² Ex. Scudder's U. S., 213. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 193. Swinton's Cond. U. S., 132. Prof. Johnston's U. S., its Const. and Hist., 71.

³ Irving's Washington, III. 187-190.

division four miles in fifty minutes to help Sullivan, and together they stemmed the surging tide. But the battle was lost. Washington ordered a retreat. Wayne had stubbornly resisted Knyphausen's attempt to cross, and when he withdrew the British troops were too much wearied to follow. The American loss was three hundred killed, six hundred wounded and one hundred taken prisoners. The British loss was about ninety killed and five hundred wounded and missing.¹

Washington felt keenly the mortification of this defeat. To save Philadelphia to the patriot cause, he prepared, under the advice of congress, to fight another battle on the 16th of September; but an unexpected and heavy rain so moistened the powder in the cartridge-boxes of his troops that he could not hazard an engagement.² Congress retired from Philadelphia, first to Lancaster and afterwards to York, in Pennsylvania; but before leaving they summoned the militia of that and the neighboring States to join the main army without delay, and ordered down fifteen hundred Continental troops from Putnam's command on the Hudson. They also conferred on Washington power to suspend any officer for misbehavior, and to impress provisions or articles needed for the army, paying or giving certificates for them. These extraordinary powers were limited to seventy miles around headquarters and to sixty days in time, unless sooner revoked by the congress.³

Washington was too wise to shut up his army in the intrenchments of Philadelphia, where he would have soon been surrounded by the British army and the Tory forces, and starved into a surrender, which would have lost the patriot cause. Such military blunders had been made before his day, and have been made since. He abandoned Philadelphia for a time, and retreated under a cold and pelting rain to Warwick, on French creek.

Here General Wayne was detached with his division to get in the rear of the enemy, form a junction with Smallwood and the Maryland militia, and, keeping themselves concealed, watch for an opportunity to cut off Howe's baggage and hospital trains. Wayne marched at night, and, by a circuitous route, reached a point near Paoli, within three miles of Howe's left wing. The British were encamped—kept quiet by the inclement weather. Wayne mistook their quiet for supineness and incaution, and wrote to Washington: "The enemy are very quiet, washing and cooking. I expect General Maxwell on the left flank every moment, and as I lay on the right, we only want you in their rear to

¹ Compare Quackenbos, 249. D. B. Scott's U. S., 282. Swinton, 132.

² Goodrich, 221. Irving, III. 198.

³ Irving, III. 195.

complete Mr. Howe's business. I believe he knows nothing of my situation, as I have taken every precaution to prevent any intelligence getting to him, at the same time keeping a watchful eye on his front, flanks and rear."¹

But at this very time Sir William Howe had received through Tories accurate information as to Wayne's position and force, and sent General Grey with a strong British force to make a night attack. Late in the evening of September 20th a countryman informed Wayne of the meditated assault. He doubted it, but strengthened his pickets and ordered his men to sleep on their arms.

At eleven o'clock the attacking column under Grey drove in Wayne's pickets, and rushed on with the bayonet. Colonel Hampton, second in command under Wayne, was tardy, and absurdly paraded his men in front of their fires, so as completely to expose them to view. Without firing a shot the British regulars charged with deadly steel. Nearly three hundred of Hampton's men fell, killed or wounded. The Americans fired some damaging volleys, and then, under Wayne's orders, retreated, and formed again ready for defence. The enemy, however, content with the severe loss they had inflicted, retired with eighty prisoners and eight baggage wagons heavily laden.²

Wayne, as daring as he was efficient, was deeply mortified by this affair, which was a subject of severe criticism in the army. He demanded a court of inquiry, which pronounced his conduct everything that was to be expected from an active, brave and vigilant officer, and laid any blame involved in the matter on the tardiness and unskillful dispositions of his second in command.

On the 26th of September, 1777, the British army occupied Philadelphia. Here they remained for nine months, feasting, dramatizing and carousing during the winter, spring and part of the summer, and so dissipating their time and energy, and doing so little towards the conquest of the country, that Dr. Benjamin Franklin afterwards truthfully remarked that "though Howe and his army claimed to have captured Philadelphia, in fact Philadelphia had captured Howe and his army."

Sir William Howe had encamped the larger part of his forces at Germantown, about seven miles from Philadelphia. Anxious to open the Delaware for the war ships of his brother, the admiral, he detached, early in October, a large part of his force to

¹ Wayne to Washington, 1777. Irving, III. 200.

² Art. Wayne, Amer. Encyclop. Irving's Washington, III. 201.

³ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 191. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., (note) 120. Washington to Congress, Sparks, V. 71.

operate in the Jerseys, and, if possible, reduce the forts on the river. Being informed of this weakening of the force at Germantown, Washington formed a plan of attack. Germantown was then a straggling village of a single street, with a large and strong dwelling-house of stone a little outside of the town, the residence of Benjamin Chew, Chief-justice of Pennsylvania previous to the Revolution. It had ornamented grounds, statues, groves and shrubbery.

The American plan of attack was somewhat elaborate, involving the necessity for concert of several large bodies and on several roads. Nevertheless, it came near to being an entire success. About dusk on the 3d of October the army of Washington left its encampment at Matuchen Hills by the different routes indicated in orders. The march of fifteen miles, though wearying, was cheerfully borne. Wayne opened the battle by throwing his troops upon the light infantry who formed the enemy's advance. They broke and retired, but soon formed again, and a well directed fire was sustained on both sides. Wayne's men pressed forward impetuously, and the ranks of the foe were again broken. The grenadiers came to their aid. Sullivan's division and Conway's brigade joined in the attack. The British infantry were routed, and retreated, leaving the artillery behind. Wayne hotly pursued them. His troops remembered the bloody work at Paoli, and fully retaliated it. In the language of Wayne: "They pushed on with the bayonet, and took ample vengeance for that night's work." The whole of the enemy's advance troops were driven from their camping-ground, leaving their tents and all their baggage. But Colonel Musgrave, with six companies of the Fortieth regiment, threw themselves into "Chew's house," barricaded the doors and lower windows, and took post above stairs. Part of Wayne's division passed them, pursuing the flying foe towards the village.¹

But as the rest of the division came up, Musgrave's men opened a fire of musketry on them from the upper windows. This halted them; and here commenced the fatal error of the battle. Some of the officers were for pushing on, leaving a few companies and some light artillery to deal with Musgrave should he attempt to pursue; but General Knox insisted on the old military canon (not applicable in this case) of never advancing into a hostile country leaving an unreduced fortress behind. His advice prevailed. A young lieutenant, Smith, of Virginia, went forward under a flag to summon the garrison to surrender; he received

¹ Irving's Washington, III. 262, 263.

a mortal wound. Artillery was opened, but it was too light to make much impression on the massive stone walls. A patriot soldier made an attempt to set fire to the basement; he was shot dead from a grated window. Thus an hour of precious time was lost. Finally a regiment was left to watch the garrison, and the rest of the division pressed on; but the delay of nearly half the American army was never recovered from.

Sullivan, with Nash's North Carolina troops and Conway's brigade, broke the left wing of the enemy and pushed them a mile beyond Chew's house. Green and Stephen pressed sternly upon the right wing, drove the light troops before them, and took a number of prisoners. The impetuosity of their attack caused the enemy to waver. Forman and Smallwood, with the Jersey and Maryland men, were just pouring in on the right flank. Everything indicated a rout of the British troops.

But at this moment a panic, never fully explained, spread through the patriot army. Sullivan's troops had expended their cartridges, and saw the enemy gathering on their left. Wayne's men had pushed all before them for nearly three miles, but were alarmed by the approach of a large body of Americans, whom they mistook for foes. They retreated, and disordered Stephen's men. All was confusion; the fog was so thick that movements could not be clearly discerned; no concert of attack could be secured.

The British General Grey rallied their left wing and advanced. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a squadron of light-horse from Philadelphia and joined in the pursuit. The battle, after being gained, was lost. The Americans retreated, but carried with them all their cannon and their wounded. They lost one hundred and fifty killed, five hundred and twenty-one wounded, and about four hundred prisoners. General Nash was among the killed. The British loss was stated by them at seventy-one killed, four hundred and fifteen wounded, and fourteen missing. Their General Agnew was killed.

In this battle Washington exposed himself and encouraged his troops amid the hottest fire. General Sullivan rode up to him, and implored him to take a safer place. He yielded for a time, but was soon again in the midst of the combat.¹

Though this battle of Germantown was not a complete success, it was encouraging to America and depressing to her enemies. A contemporary British historian said: "In this action the Americans acted upon the offensive, and, though repulsed with loss,

¹ Irving's *Washington*, III. 263-266. Taylor's *Centen. U. S.*, 191.

showed themselves a formidable adversary, capable of charging with resolution and retreating with good order. The hope, therefore, entertained from the effect of any action with them as decisive, and likely to put a speedy termination to the war, was exceedingly abated."¹

Howe removed all the troops from Germantown to Philadelphia; but he persevered in his efforts to capture the American forts on the Delaware river. The most important of these were Fort Mifflin, on a low, green, reedy island below the mouth of the Schuylkill and a few miles below Philadelphia, and Fort Mercer, a strong work at Red Bank, on the Jersey shore. Chevaux-de-frise, difficult either to be weighed or cut through, were planted in the channel between the forts, and floating batteries, galleys and fire-ships, under Commodore Hazelwood, were stationed under the forts for further defence.

The Red Bank fort was garrisoned by four hundred of General Varnum's Rhode Island Continentals. Col. Christopher Greene, a brave officer who had accompanied Arnold through Maine to Quebec, was in command. He was efficiently aided by Col. Mauduit Duplessis, a young French engineer of much merit.

On the 22d October, 1777, a body of twelve hundred Hessians approached, under command of Count Donop. Greene kept his men out of sight as far as practicable. The outworks were yet unfinished. Thinking the garrison weak, Donop sent a drummer and a flag, and summoned them to surrender, with a threat of no quarter if they resisted. Greene replied that the fort would be defended to the last extremity.

Donop's men advanced gallantly in two columns under the fire of their artillery. They were severely galled as they approached by a flanking fire from the American galleys, and artillery and musketry from the outworks; but with heavy loss they pressed forward on two points. By previous order from Greene and Duplessis, the outworks were now abandoned, the men retiring within the deep moat and intrenchments of the fort.

Thinking their success certain, the Hessians cheered loudly and advanced on the inner works. A tremendous discharge of grape-shot and musketry burst from the embrasures in front and a half masked battery on the left. The slaughter was horrible; the attacking columns were driven back in rout. Count Donop, at the head of one column, had actually passed the abattis when a similar tempest of artillery and musketry burst upon them. They fell like leaves before the storm. Donop was wounded and fell.

¹Civil War in America, I. 269. Irving, III. 267, 268.

His second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Minigerode, was also dangerously wounded. Linsing, the senior officer remaining, tried to withdraw the troops, but in retiring they were again cut to pieces by a merciless fire.¹ The survivors retreated.

In this short assault the defeated Hessians lost four hundred men killed and wounded; the American loss was eight killed and twenty-nine wounded. Count Donop was drawn by Duplessis out of a bloody heap of the wounded. He was humanely cared for, but died in three days. He was but thirty-seven years old. His last words were: "I die the victim of my ambition and of the avarice of my sovereign."²

At the same time an attack by water was made on Fort Mifflin. The naval force attacking was the *Augusta*, of sixty-four guns, the *Roebuck*, of forty-four, two frigates, the *Merlin*, sloop of eighteen guns, and a galley; but though they broke through the lower line of chevaux-de-frise, they could not capture the fort. The *Augusta* and *Merlin* got fastened on the second line. The American batteries opened, and a red-hot shot set the *Augusta* on fire. The flames could not be extinguished, and she blew up, with her second lieutenant, chaplain, gunner and many men yet aboard. The *Merlin* was set on fire and abandoned. The other ships retreated. The attack had failed.³

These repulses greatly cheered the country. Congress voted thanks and a sword to Colonel Greene, Colonel Smith, of Maryland, who commanded at Fort Mifflin, and to Commodore Hazelwood.

But Howe, though slow, was persistent. The forts on the Delaware had already cost him dearly in lives and means. They were to be captured at any cost. In November he succeeded in arraying against them such naval and military forces that first Fort Mifflin was abandoned and the garrison retired to Fort Mercer, which was in like manner evacuated on the 17th of November, 1777. The works were destroyed. Part of the American galleys escaped up the river in a fog; part were set on fire by their crews and abandoned.

Thus the Delaware was open to the enemy. They could not immediately remove the obstructions, but they opened a sufficient channel for transports and vessels of moderate burden to bring provisions and supplies for their army in Philadelphia.

Resisting all rash advice from General Wayne (Mad Anthony, as he was familiarly called), Lord Stirling and other high American officers, to attack the British in their intrenched camps around

¹ Irving, III. 272, 273.

²De Chastellux, I. 266.

³Irving, III, 274.

that city, and resisting the daring impulses of his own nature, which seconded such advice, Washington prepared for his dreary march and winter encampment at Valley Forge, in Chester county, Pennsylvania, on the west side of the Schuylkill river, about twenty miles from Philadelphia.

Hungry and cold, the soldiers, who had been so long keeping the field, marched along roads sometimes marked with blood from their wounded feet. Provisions were scant, clothes worn out, shoes worthless; yet at that very time the commissariat was so deranged by the depreciation of the Continental money that we are told, "hogsheads of shoes, stockings and clothing were lying at different places on the roads and in the woods, perishing for want of teams, or of money to pay the teamsters."¹

The American army reached Valley Forge on the 17th of December. Winter had set in with severity; yet they were obliged to shelter themselves only in tents till they could cut down trees and construct the huts of their camp. Here Washington remained with his men during this sad and gloomy winter. We need not be surprised that sometimes a spirit approaching mutiny appeared among the men, which could only be quelled by his commanding influence.² The Pennsylvania legislature complained to congress because Washington went into winter quarters; and some of the Pennsylvania farmers withheld food and forage, preferring to sell for gold to the English army.³

The sufferings of his men, the derangement of the public finances, and the depression of the patriot cause were not the only burdens bearing on his heart. A disgraceful conspiracy had been gradually formed, to which high officers of the army and a few members of congress were parties, to injure his reputation and displace him from the chief command. With this conspiracy the names of Gates, Conway, Mifflin and Wilkinson are inseparably connected.⁴ It was exposed and defeated, and it brought out from Washington no expression of impatience—nothing, in fact, save the grand words which embody his sublime character: "But it is to be hoped that all will yet end well. *If the cause is advanced, indifferent is it to me where or in what quarter it happens.*"⁵

It was while he was enduring these multiplied burdens that we find him seeking strength for himself and for his country from Divine Power and Providence. He had his headquarters in the

¹ Gordon's Amer. War, II. 279.

² *Ibid.*, 309-311. Irving's Washington, III. 307.

³ Irving's Washington, III. 308-312.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 276-283.

⁵ Letter of Washington to Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, quoted in Irving's Life of Washington, III. 282, 283.

house of Isaac Potts. One day, when Potts was making his way through a wood up the waters of a creek, and near to a secluded spot, he heard a voice of one evidently in prayer, and yet prayer intended to be secret prayer. Drawing silently nearer, he discovered Washington on his knees, saw his signs of deep emotion, and heard his words as he prayed for the success and freedom of America. Potts retired to his home, and, narrating what he had seen and heard to his wife, said, with earnest feeling: "If there is any one to whom the Lord will listen, it is George Washington; and under such a commander our independence is certain."¹ God was on his side.

Mrs. Washington visited his camp and remained for some time, sharing all the privations of his life. His dinner consisted often of a few potatoes and some salted herring, and his dessert was a plate of hickory nuts.²

It was during this winter that Baron Steuben, of Prussia, rendered invaluable service to the American cause by drilling and manœuvring the army according to the best methods of his own warlike country. The effects of his labors were permanently favorable.

¹ Ellis' Prim. U. S., 115. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, p. 126.

² Scudder's U. S., 219.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

GENERAL BURGOTNE'S CAMPAIGN.

WHILE Washington was yet striving to make successful resistance to Howe and save Philadelphia, he had felt himself compelled to weaken his forces in order to strengthen the patriot army on the Hudson that was resisting the advance of Burgoyne. To these movements we must now attend.

King George III., Lord George Germain, and General Burgoyne had concocted a military plan by which they hoped to separate New York and New England from the Middle and Southern colonies, and speedily to reduce all to submission.¹

This plan involved the advance of a large army of English, Germans and Indians from Canada and the lakes; the capture of all posts held by the patriots; the progress of this army under Burgoyne down the Hudson, aided by loyalists and Tories under Sir John Johnson; the simultaneous advance of British forces from New York, and thus the complete subjugation of all this part of the united colonies.

General Burgoyne left St. John's on the 16th of June, 1777, with one of the finest armies ever gathered in America. He had about three thousand eight hundred British, rank and file; three thousand Germans, chiefly Brunswickers; two hundred and fifty Canadians, and four hundred Indians, besides four hundred and seventy-three artillerists, with their fine brass cannon—in all, nearly eight thousand men. Under him were General Phillips, of the artillery, who had gained much reputation in the German wars; Brigadier-Generals Fraser, Powel and Hamilton, and Major-General the Baron Riedesel, a Brunswicker, who commanded all the German troops.

General Schuyler commanded all the American troops in the department. He was indefatigable in fortifying and reinforcing weak points, blocking roads, and impeding water passages in the way of the enemy, and in preparing to contest the progress of Burgoyne. Washington corresponded constantly with him; sent him General Arnold as one of the most efficient of his subordinates, and also Morgan and his riflemen to meet the Indians in

¹Irving's Washington, III. 86.

their own modes of warfare, and remove the dread of them felt by the ordinary American militia. He also advised that the "Green Mountain boys" of New Hampshire and the Vermont regions, under Stark and other officers, should be assembled as soon as possible to assail Burgoyne's flanks, cut off his detached parties, and threaten his rear as he advanced. Coming events proved the wisdom and sagacity of those counsels of the commander-in-chief.¹

Burgoyne's plan contemplated a separate movement of Colonel St. Leger, with a motley force of about seventeen hundred men—British, Hessian, Royalist, Canadian and Indian—embracing a corps who had gained notoriety as "St. Leger's Rangers," and a body of Tories called "Greens," under Sir John Johnson, and their savage allies, under the famous Brandt. They were to march by way of Oswego to capture Fort Stanwix (afterwards called Fort Schuyler), push down the Mohawk valley, carrying terror into all that region, and join Burgoyne before he reached Albany.²

On the 21st of June, Burgoyne encamped at the river Boquet, a few miles north of Crown Point. Here he gave a war feast to his Indian allies, and made them a speech full of poetic flights. He sought to excite their ardor, but also to restrain them from barbarous warfare—a double task never yet accomplished, and in which Burgoyne was soon made conscious that he had failed.³ The savages were led by St. Luc, and when they saw the well-equipped British army they were loud in their enthusiasm.

Gen. Arthur St. Clair commanded in Ticonderoga and its outworks with a force of three thousand five hundred men, of whom nine hundred were militia. He was a native of Scotland, brave and devoted to the patriot cause, but not far-seeing or fertile in military ideas. His troops were not well equipped, but he believed he could hold the fort, and so informed General Schuyler; but as Burgoyne's large force drew near and began to invest him he became discouraged, and evidently neglected vital points. Maj. Henry Brockholst Livingston, aid to General Schuyler, was with St. Clair at Ticonderoga, and sought to keep up his confidence.⁴

The extreme left of Ticonderoga was weak, and a post had been established for more than a year to strengthen it. St. Clair neglected to secure it. Burgoyne sent a strong force under Phillips and Fraser, who seized it, mounted heavy guns and turned them on the works. But this was not the worst oversight.

¹ Irving's *Washington*, III. 118, 119, 132-134.

² Scudder's *U. S.*, 215. Taylor's *Centen. U. S.*, 189. Irving, III. 150.

³ Stephens, 236, 237. Irving, III. 90.

⁴ Compare Art. Saint Clair, *Amer. Encyclop.*, XIV. 264, with Irving III. 94, 95.

Sugar Hill, a rugged height south of Ticonderoga, was the end of the mountain range which separates Champlain from George, and was six hundred feet high. If gained, it commanded the fort; and Colonel Trumbull, aid to Washington, had, a year before, proved its importance by throwing a shot from a six-pounder in the fort nearly to the summit, and by climbing with Arnold and Wayne to the top and ascertaining that a road practicable for artillery could be readily made. On this hill a small, but strong, fort, with twenty-five heavy guns and five hundred men, would be as efficient as one hundred guns and ten thousand men in the works of Ticonderoga;¹ but General St. Clair had wholly neglected it.

The British General Phillips promptly saw its importance, and took measures to occupy it. A road was cut and prepared, and during the night of the 4th of July, guns, ammunition and stores were carried up. The next morning the Americans were amazed to see the new work (Fort Defiance) frowning with guns and filled with British soldiers.

General St. Clair immediately evacuated Ticonderoga. Part of his forces went with a flotilla up the lake towards Skeensborough, now Whitehall. The main body, under St. Clair, was to push for Skeensborough by a circuitous route through the woods on the east side of the lake. Both of these retreating bodies were attacked by the enemy and subjected to heavy loss.

On the 5th of July, Burgoyne took possession of Ticonderoga. On the 20th he reached Fort Edward, which was abandoned by the Americans at his approach. No sufficient force seemed now in his front to contest his march to Albany.

Meanwhile St. Leger was moving, but not with the same success. As he drew near to Fort Stanwix (Fort Schuyler) he was encountered by a militia force under General Herkimer, a resolute veteran of Dutch descent, under whom were Colonels Cox and Paris. A fierce battle took place near Oriskany on the 6th of August. General Herkimer received a musket ball in the leg just below the knee, but, requiring his men to place him on his saddle, supported by the trunk of a tree, he continued to give his orders.

The few regulars in St. Leger's force attempted to charge with the bayonet, but were steadily repelled by the New Yorkers, who ranged themselves in circles, back to back, and drove back the assailants with bloody loss. The patriot woodsmen met the Indians with their own methods. They supported each other in

¹Trumbull's Autobiography, 32. Irving, III. 102.

pairs and trios. When one fired and a savage dropped, another Indian would rush forward hoping to find an easy victim, but only to fall himself by the fire of the covering party. The Indians began to retire. Johnson's "Greens" came up, and the sternest contest of the day came on—a strife in which personal hatreds gave the character of separate duels to the battle, and duels fought to the death. "The bodies of combatants were afterwards found on the field, grappled in death, with the hand still grasping the knife plunged in a neighbor's heart."¹

A combat so deadly could not be long. The Indians gave way first, crying "*Oanah! Oanah!*" and retreating through the woods. The "Greens" followed, carrying off some prisoners to their camp. The Americans did not pursue, but putting their wounded on litters made with the branches of trees, returned to Oriskany. Each side lost about three hundred in killed, wounded and prisoners.

General Herkimer, against his own judgment, had been precipitated into an advance by the taunting urgency of Colonels Cox and Paris. Cox and a son of Paris were shot down in the first volley; Paris was taken prisoner, and was slain by a chief afterwards known as "Red Jacket." Herkimer himself was borne to his residence on the Mohawk, and, nine days afterwards, sank under the effects of an unskillful amputation, and died with Christian composure and with his Bible open before him.²

The fort was an old square work, with bastions and bomb-proof magazines, built originally in 1756, but repaired by General Schuyler, whose name it received. It was commanded by Colonel Gansevoort, of Dutch descent and of the New York line.

By his sanction, Colonel Willet made a spirited and successful sally, attacking the camp of Johnson and the Indians when many were absent on ambuscades, routing the defenders and carrying off prisoners, camp equipage, clothing, blankets and stores.³

St. Leger, coming up with all his force, resorted to threats of extermination and Indian massacre to induce Gansevoort to surrender, but in vain. Colonel Willet, at great personal hazard, bore a message to General Schuyler from Gansevoort, asking for aid. Arnold was sent, with all the men that could be spared, eight hundred in number. This daring and efficient officer showed as much skill and stratagem as vigor in action. He sent on before him small swarms of emissaries, who reached St. Leger's camp in succession, and spread such alarming reports of the number and

¹ Irving's Washington, III. 154.

² Narrative of Mrs. Paris. Irving, III. 155, 156.

³ Irving, III. 156.

nearness of Arnold's troops that, before he was near, St. Leger's army was utterly disheartened. He had been throwing up intrenchments and working with the spade, which the savages hated. They deserted in numbers. Those who remained seized the spirituous liquors of the officers, and soon the camp was like a mad-house. St. Leger and Sir John Johnson had no longer control of their men. They retreated in hurry and confusion, leaving tents, artillery, ammunition, baggage and stores to fall into Arnold's hands. A detachment from the garrison pursued them and harassed them almost to Onondaga Falls.¹

In the meantime General Burgoyne had left Fort Edward and was marching upon Albany, but very slowly because of the obstacles which Schuyler had skillfully thrown in his way. Still hoping that St. Leger would capture Fort Stanwix and join him at Albany, he desired to press rapidly on. But how was this possible when he was deficient in horses, wagons and forage? It was just then that the royalist Colonel Skeene, in whose knowledge of the country and the people Burgoyne had great confidence, advised him to detach an expedition against Bennington, twenty-four miles east of the Hudson, where the Americans had a great depot of horses, vehicles, forage and supplies of all kinds, intended for their northern armies. Skeene assured Burgoyne that these were guarded by only a small militia force, and could be easily captured.²

Burgoyne sent out a detachment of five hundred men, under Colonel Baum, to seize this prize, and scour all the adjoining country for horses, forage and provisions. They had two hundred light dragoons, Captain Fraser's marksmen, all the Canadians, one hundred Indians and two light cannon. This seemed an ample force.

But Washington had sent General Lincoln to organize the patriot forces in that region; and the veteran Stark was at hand. He had thought himself slighted in the distribution of military honors by the congress after the battle of Bunker's Hill, and had retired to his home; but, learning of this attempt on Bennington, he was energetic in rousing the "Green Mountain boys" for defence.

He was already at the threatened point with eight hundred men in good spirits, but with no artillery and few bayonets. During the night of the 15th of August, Colonel Symonds, with a small force of Berkshire militia, joined Stark. Among them came a

¹ Irving's Washington, III. 172, 174.

² Irving, III. 149. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 689. Goodrich, 225.

fighting preacher, named Allen, perhaps related to Ethan Allen. He said to Stark: "General, the people of Berkshire have been often called out to no purpose; if you don't give them a chance to fight now, they will never turn out again." It was dark and raining. Stark said: "You would not turn out just now, would you?" "No, not just now," was the reply. "Well," rejoined Stark, "if the Lord should once more give us sunshine, and I don't give you fighting enough, I'll never ask you to turn out again."¹

Colonel Baum soon learned from retreating Indians that he had a resolute enemy between him and Bennington. He halted and began to intrench, and sent back to Burgoyne for reinforcements. Stark also prudently sent a message to General Lincoln, who promptly detached Col. Seth Warner with his militia regiment to aid him. They marched all night in a drenching rain. Stark ordered them to stop in Bennington, dry their clothes, sleep, refresh themselves with food, and get their ammunition in good order. These wise precautions told on the result.²

The morning of August 16th was bright and clear. Stark's dispositions were all made. Without cannon and almost without bayonets, he yet intended to attack the intrenched foe. He sent two hundred men, under Nichols, to attack the rear of the enemy on their right, and three hundred, under Herrick, to assault their rear on the left; Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred men, were to occupy their attention in front, while he advanced with his remaining force. His words have been often quoted, and though a question has been raised about them in modern times,³ their substance is authenticated: "Now, my men! there are the red-coats! Before night they must be ours, or Molly Stark will be a widow!"⁴

When the men under Nichols and Herrick were seen emerging from the woods in the rear, right and left, the infatuated Tory, Colonel Skeene, assured Baum that they were royalist people flocking to the king's standard. But the Indians were not deceived; they cried out, "The woods are full of Yengese!" and began to retreat.

Immediately the attack was made on all sides. For two hours the discharge of cannon, muskets and rifles was incessant. Stark, in his dispatches, compared it to a "continued clap of thunder." It was the hottest fight he had ever been in. The Americans

¹ Irving's Washington, III. 165, 166.

² *Ibid.*, 164, 168.

³ By Prof. Holmes' School U. S., note, p. 123.

⁴ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 123. Derry, 124. Thalheimer's Eclectic U. S., note, p. 159. Irving's Washington, III. 167.

fought with resistless impetuosity ; they drove the royalist troops upon the Hessians ; they pressed up within eight paces of the loaded cannon to shoot down the artillerists. The pieces were captured. The Tories and Canadians took to flight. The Germans fought bravely till their ammunition was exhausted ; then they surrendered. Baum, with his dragoons and infantry, tried to cut their way out with sabres and bayonets, but in vain. Baum was wounded, and his men were made prisoners.

While Stark's men were scattered and intent upon spoils, Colonel Breyman, who had been sent in haste by Burgoyne to reinforce Baum, with five hundred Hessian grenadiers and infantry and two six-pounders, arrived on the field at four o'clock in the afternoon. Most fortunately for Stark, Colonel Warner's regiment had arrived—the men dry, comfortable, refreshed and ready for fight. The new battle did not last long. Breyman's troops began to retreat, and the combat was fought from wood to wood and hill to hill until sunset. At Van Schaick's mill the Hessians, having expended all of the forty rounds of ball cartridge brought by each man, broke and retreated in disorder, leaving their two field-pieces and all their baggage in the hands of the Americans. Stark declared that another hour of daylight would have enabled him to capture them all.

But his victory was sufficiently complete. Four brass field-pieces, nine hundred dragoon swords, a thousand muskets and rifles, and four ammunition wagons were his spoils. His whole loss had been only a hundred killed and wounded. The enemy lost about two hundred in killed and wounded and five hundred and ninety-six prisoners, of whom thirty-two were officers. Colonel Baum died of his wounds in a few days.¹

This was a fearful blow to Burgoyne ; but nearly at the same time came another, which, although of a different kind and apparently local and limited in its sphere, was really one of the most efficient causes of his final overthrow.

Near Fort Edward had lived a family, consisting of the son and daughter of a deceased Presbyterian minister, named McCrea. The son was a stanch American patriot ; the daughter, Jane McCrea, was a well-known and beautiful girl, with rich auburn hair, falling in waves and curls. In the neighborhood was a family named Jones. Young David Jones had become attached to Jane McCrea, and they were engaged to be married. When the war came on, David Jones espoused the royalist side, and had received the appointment of lieutenant in one of the royalist com-

¹ Schlozer's *Briefwechsel*, Th. III., Heft. XIII. Irving, III. 168. Stephens, 238, 239.

panies in General Fraser's division of Burgoyne's army. When the Americans retreated from Ticonderoga and the British advanced, young McCrea made preparations to withdraw his sister from the dangerous neighborhood of Fort Edward to the safety of Albany. He urged her to join him; she hesitated and delayed, under conflicting emotions. Had she complied with his urgent requests her life might have been spared for happier times for her lover and herself; but she was with a lady, Mrs. O'Neil, who was a royalist in sentiment, and who probably influenced her to remain.

Before Fort Edward was occupied by the British troops, prowling bodies of Indians were around it. One of these burst into the house of Mrs. O'Neil and carried off her and Jane McCrea as prisoners, but by separate parties. In a mood of fright and bewilderment, Miss McCrea promised to some of the savages a large reward if they would spare her life and take her to the British camp. They consented, and took her with them; but, halting at a spring, a quarrel arose among them as to the reward. They were already inflamed with intoxicating liquor, and in a paroxysm of fury one of the savages slew the unhappy girl. He completed his fiendish act by cutting her scalp, with its luxuriant tresses, from her head and bearing it away with him!¹

The accounts which represent Lieutenant Jones as having sent these Indians to bring her to Burgoyne's army are untrue;² equally false were the statements of the savages that, the party who carried off Jane McCrea being pursued and fired on by Americans, she had been undesignedly killed by one of these shots, and that the Indians had scalped her only to obtain the reward offered for white scalps! Some writers give apparent credence to this savage fiction, but its incongruity is fatal.³

What is certain in history is that when the scalp, with its tresses of hair, was seen by Mrs. O'Neil, she recognized it as cut from the head of Jane McCrea, and when this gory trophy was exhibited in the camp of Burgoyne, horror was excited in the soul of every white officer and man, from the commander-in-chief to the private in the ranks.

Now was the time for prompt action on the part of Burgoyne. Had he caused the murderer to be arrested and, after proper trial, to be capitally executed, he would at least have saved himself from execration. That this was his first impulse we know from history.⁴ He summoned a council of the Indian chiefs and demanded that the culprit should be given up.

¹ Irving's *Washington*, III. 142, 143.

² *Ex. Goodrich's U. S.*, 225.

³ Compare *Holmes' School U. S.*, (note) 123, *Quackenbos*, 241, with Irving, III. 143.

⁴ Irving, III. 143, 144.

This caused an intense excitement. The murderer was not only a great warrior, but a chief of high name. His brother sachems rallied to his side. St. Luc, the commander of the Ottawa and other tribes most reliable for fighting, was a French partisan officer who had been notorious for his unscrupulous modes of warfare in the war of 1756, had been a terror to English colonists, and was even reported to have in his possession a great store of "old English scalps."¹

He took Burgoyne aside and entreated him not to push matters to extremity as to the murder of Jane McCrea, assuring him that the Indians would abandon his army if he did. Strange to tell, British officers also interfered, representing the danger which would come if the Indians should quit them with their wrath awakened, and return to Canada, or go over to the Americans.²

And so the fated Burgoyne yielded, and spared the murderer. All he did was to issue general orders that no party of Indians should be permitted to go on a foray except under command of a British officer, or some known leader, who should be responsible for their conduct.³

Even this slight limitation gave great offence to the Indians. Their theory of war was the theory really suggested by the unrenewed depravity of human nature; and they claimed the right to plunder, torture, kill and scalp men, women and children as opportunity offered. They soon began to desert Burgoyne's army secretly, but in such numbers that before the fatal crisis came he had no Indian allies to help him.

Lieut. David Jones was a broken-hearted man. He never recovered even a common level of cheerfulness. He tendered his resignation; the British war authorities refused to accept it. He secretly retired. He had obtained the scalp with the locks of hair of his betrothed. He went to Canada and became a recluse, sad and silent, and never relinquishing the memories awakened by the relic in his possession.⁴

But Jane McCrea did not die in vain. From her blood, shed by Indians and unavenged by Englishmen, American armies sprang up and took the field against Burgoyne. The facts went far and wide through the land. Men theretofore neutral, or even inclined to the king, instantly threw aside their Toryism and rushed to the field in defence of home and civilization. Soon the patriot forces were surrounding the English army on every side, and ready to fight to the death.

¹ Burgoyne's Reports. Irving, III. 141, 163.

² Irving's Washington, III. 144.

³ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁴ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., (note) 121, 122. Irving, III. (note) 145. Stephens, 238.

General Schuyler had organized victory, and was ready to reap the fruits for which he had toiled so patiently and amid so many disappointments and reverses ; but just at this time his opponents in the congress induced that body to displace him, and call him and St. Clair to answer before them for the loss of Ticonderoga and the attendant disasters.

Gen. Horatio Gates was appointed to command the army against Burgoyne, and reached the American camp early in August. With patriotic self-denial, Schuyler offered all the information in his possession.¹

Under Gates was Gen. Benedict Arnold. He had been so dealt with by the congress that his rank was doubtful, and Gates had some cause for not assigning him to the command of a division ; but such was his daring and enthusiasm that he inspired the army, and became its soul in the battles at hand. Morgan was there with his riflemen, and Lincoln had been appointed to urge on the New England men.

Burgoyne began to feel the pressure of the dark cloud enveloping him. He wrote to his government : "The great bulk of the country is undoubtedly with the congress in principle and zeal, and their measures are executed with a secrecy and dispatch that are not to be equaled. The Hampshire Grants, in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm upon my left."²

With his rear already endangered, his left beset by a swarm of "Green Mountain boys," and his front opposed by an army fast growing in numbers and efficiency, he might well pause. Had any discretion been left to him, he would have fallen back to Fort Edward and re-established his communications through Lake George ;³ but his orders were definite. He was to push on with his army to Albany, where he was to be joined by British forces from New York sent up the valley of the Hudson by Sir William Howe to co-operate with him.

This movement from below had been delayed by the slow sailing of Dutch ships across the Atlantic with reinforcements. Meanwhile General Putnam, in command of the defences of the Hudson, had made some preparations to meet them. Sir Henry Clinton had assumed command in New York.

Spies had been sent up the river to ascertain the American positions and forces. One of these, named Edmund Palmer, had

¹ Irving's Washington, III. 122, 129, 159, 160.

² Burgoyne's dispatches, Irving, III. 205.

³ Irving, III. 206.

been captured within Putnam's lines at Peekskill, and after due trial, in which his guilt was fully proved, had been condemned to death as a spy. A British sloop-of-war came up the river in great haste, and, under flag of truce from Verplanck's Point, sent to Putnam a missive from Sir Henry Clinton, claiming Edmund Palmer as a lieutenant in the British service. General Putnam replied in a brief note as follows :

"HEADQUARTERS, 7th August, 1777.

"Edmund Palmer, an officer in the enemy's service, was taken as a spy lurking within our lines. He has been tried as a spy, condemned as a spy, and shall be executed as a spy; and the flag is ordered to depart immediately.

"ISRAEL PUTNAM.

'P. S.—He has accordingly been executed."

Sir Henry Clinton thus learned that a foe not to be cajoled or daunted would oppose his movement up the Hudson. He made no move until early in October. Then he moved with some vigor and success. Forts Clinton and Montgomery were in the Highlands of the Hudson, near the Dunderberg. Col. George Clinton had special charge of their defences, but thought them safe, and was attending the New York legislature at Kingston (then Esopus), in Ulster county, in his official character as governor of the State.²

On the 4th of October, 1777, Sir Henry Clinton came up the river with a large force. He landed first at Tarrytown, and afterwards made demonstrations from Verplanck's Point. All this was to deceive General Putnam and conceal his real movement, which was to march, with a heavy force and by difficult mountain defiles, around the Dunderberg, and approach Forts Clinton and Montgomery in the rear, where they were weak and assailable. He captured both forts on the 6th of October, but not without considerable loss. Governor Clinton had come to his military post, and did what he could to save the fort bearing his name, but the garrison was weak, and it was carried by assault. Some escaped, and among them Clinton himself, who leaped down the rocks to the river's side, crossed the Hudson in safety, and by midnight had joined General Putnam at Continental village.³

Sir Henry Clinton had completely outmanœuvred the American commanders. The loss in the two forts was two hundred and fifty in killed, wounded and prisoners. The enemy's force was not less than two thousand. They lost Colonel Campbell,

¹ Thalheimer's *Eclat*. U. S., 132. Irving's *Washington*, III 131.

² Irving, III. 222.

³ *Ibid.*, 228.

their commander. He was succeeded by Col. Beverly Robinson, of the American loyalists. Major Grant was killed, and Count Gabrouski, the Polish aide-de-camp of Sir Henry Clinton, was mortally hurt. He received his death-wound at the foot of the ramparts. Lord Rawdon saw his first American service in this assault. When Gabrouski fell, he sent his sword to Rawdon with the message that "the owner died like a soldier."¹ In private the British loss was severe.

The patriot forces evacuated Forts Independence and Constitution; the chevaux-de-frise in the river were removed, and the Hudson was open to the enemy. Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, leaving the expedition to be prosecuted by Sir James Wallace and General Vaughan, with a large body of troops and a squadron of light frigates.²

From Fort Montgomery, Sir Henry Clinton wrote, October 8th, on a slip of thin paper to Burgoyne: "*Vous y voici* (here we are) and nothing between us and Gates. I sincerely hope this little success of ours will facilitate your operations."³ This slip was put in a small silver bullet, and taken by a man who tried to make his way through the American lines. He was captured, and, being seen to swallow something, Colonel Clinton ordered an emetic to be administered to him. The bullet was vomited, and the slip discovered and read. The man was tried and convicted as a spy, and was afterwards hung on an apple-tree in sight of the burning town of Esopus.⁴

The enemy, under Wallace and Vaughan, made their way rather slowly up the Hudson, often pausing to send off marauding parties into the country. They destroyed the residences of conspicuous patriots at Rhinebeck, Livingston Manor and other places, burned the home of the widow of General Montgomery, ravaged the country, and finally drove before them a small body of about one hundred and fifty militia, who disputed their march to Esopus, the capital of the State. They burned the town, consuming a large quantity of stores, and then retreated to their ships, expecting to make their way up to Albany and there unite in triumph with General Burgoyne. Evidently they did not regard his army as in danger, for they made no hurried movements for his relief; but on the way up they received tidings which turned their triumph into ashes, and caused them to retreat to New York as fast as possible, having accomplished nothing for the help of Burgoyne, the reduction of the country,

¹ Stedman's Amer. War, I. 364.

² Irving, III. 230.

³ Letter from Gov. Clinton to N. Y. Council of Safety. Prov. Cong. Journal.

⁴ Journal of Prov. Cong., I. 1064.

or the establishment of their own reputation as soldiers and men of honor.¹

On the 11th of September, 1777, General Burgoyne, having thrown a bridge of boats across the Hudson, passed with his army to the west side of the river to fight his way to Albany. His movements were cautious and silent, made without morning or evening guns, beat of drum, or the usual stir of military animation; but his advance was soon known in the camp of General Gates, and preparations were made for stern battle. As the British were obliged to make the attack, the Americans chose their own ground for receiving it. General Arnold, with the Polish engineer, Kosciuszko, selected the ridge of hills called "Bemis Heights," which begin abruptly from the flat bordering the west side of the river. This flat was intrenched, as were also the ridges of the hill, and even some elevated spots east of the river, which is quite narrow at that point.²

Gates commanded on the right, next to the river, with Glover's, Nixon's, and Patterson's brigades. The centre, on the ridge, was held by New York and Massachusetts troops. Arnold commanded on the left farthest from the river. He had Poor's New Hampshire brigade, Van Courtlandt's and Livingston's New York militia regiments, Connecticut troops, Dearborn's infantry, and Morgan's riflemen.

Arnold was the hero of this day. The British and Hessians advanced slowly, being obliged to repair bridges. Arnold met them with fifteen hundred men, and fought them pertinaciously. A Hessian officer wrote: "The enemy bristled up his hair as we attempted to repair more bridges. At last we had to do him the honor of sending out whole regiments to protect our workmen."³

On the morning of September 19th, Burgoyne advanced with his army to give battle. His plan was to occupy Gates with a serious demonstration on his front, while Riedesel, Phillips, Fraser, and Breyman, with a large body of picked troops, marched to the left and sought to penetrate to the rear of that part of the American line. But here they encountered the daring and indefatigable Arnold. With difficulty he obtained, about noon, permission from Gates to detach Dearborn's light troops and Morgan's riflemen to meet the Canadians and Indians and other advancing parties of the enemy. They soon encountered them, and drove them back with loss; but Morgan's men, following up their advantage too eagerly, were met by a strong reinforcement of royalists, and, in their turn, were compelled to give way.

¹ Irving's Washington, III. 233, 256, 257.

² *Ibid.*, 209-211.

³ Schlozer's Briefwechsel.

Arnold now came up with all the troops he could obtain. Finding Fraser's front too strong for direct assault, Arnold made a movement through the woods, and fell on the British line with a boldness and impetuosity which threatened to break it in twain and divide their army. Their grenadiers and Breyman's riflemen hastened to the support of the hard pressed line. Phillips broke his way through the woods with artillery, and Riedesel came up with his heavy dragoons. But Arnold's force now numbered about three thousand men, and with these he fought, almost hand-to-hand, the whole right wing of the enemy. The American sharp-shooters, having the advantage of the woods, did fearful execution. Burgoyne ordered a charge with bayonets. His troops rushed forward with huzzas; but the Americans, dropping back into their intrenchments, repelled the charge with a rolling fire. But when they advanced into the plain they were again driven back, and thus the surging lines continued to assault and repel each other, but with manifest advantage to the Americans.

Arnold sent courier after courier to Gates, begging for reinforcements; but, fearing to weaken his own lines, the commander-in-chief declined to send them. Night put an end to the battle. The British army remained on the field, but their attack had failed. Their purpose was defeated; their advance was stopped.¹

In this battle, the most stubbornly fought of the war, and in which veteran officers of the British and Hessian army declared that "they had never seen so hot a fire continued so long," the loss of the enemy was about five hundred, and that of the Americans about three hundred and nineteen in killed, wounded and missing.

Probably, in either army, none endured more of heart-suffering than the group of women, now well known in history, who were accompanying the British army. They were Lady Harriet Ackland, daughter of the Earl of Ilchester and wife of Major Ackland, of the grenadiers; the Baroness de Riedesel, wife of the Hessian general, and the wives of Major Harnage and Lieutenant Reynell, of the British army. At the time the battle opened they were in a small hut in the rear, of which the surgeons were soon obliged to take possession. Writing of Lady Ackland, Burgoyne said: "She had three female companions—the Baroness of Riedesel, and the wives of two British officers, Major Harnage and Lieutenant Reynell; but, in the event, their presence served but little for comfort. Major Harnage was soon brought to the sur-

¹ Stephens, 239, 240. Barnes, 123, 124. Derry, 126. Goodrich, 228. Quackenbos, 244, 245. Irving, III. 212-215.

geons very badly wounded, and in a little time after came intelligence that Lieutenant Reynell was shot dead. Imagination wants no helps to figure the state of the whole group."¹

Arnold was indignant at Gates' refusal to send him reinforcements in the crisis of this battle. He wished to renew the action the next morning, but Gates again refused, not then disclosing his reason. He afterwards stated as his reason the deficiency of powder and ball in the camp. He properly kept this a secret until he obtained a full supply from Albany.² But a feeling of coolness and hostility arose between these officers, and showed itself in the shameful omission by Gates of the heroic conduct and even of the name of Arnold in his dispatches to the government.³ And Wilkinson, Gates' adjutant-general and sycophantic follower, withdrew from Arnold's division Morgan's riflemen and Dearborn's light troops, which were its arm of strength!

From the 20th of September to the 7th of October both armies remained so near to each other that firing was frequently exchanged. Gates was reinforced by two thousand New England troops under General Lincoln. Burgoyne's condition was becoming daily more desperate. His army was dwindling by desertions; his forage was failing; his artillery and cavalry horses were beginning to suffer; his hopes of a successful diversion from the south by Sir Henry Clinton were fading away.

He determined on a grand movement on the 7th of October on the left of the American army, with the hope of breaking it and pressing through, or of securing a safe line of retreat, and, above all, of obtaining forage for his horses.⁴

His plan was an advance of fifteen hundred of his best troops with two twelve-pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders, all led by himself, with Phillips, Riedesel and Fraser to second him. His camp was to be guarded on the heights by Brigadiers Hamilton, Specht and Gall.

His advance was concealed by forests, and he sent a large body of rangers, provincials and Indians to skulk through the woods and gain the rear of the American left. But this movement was discovered; the American drums beat to arms. Morgan was soon out with his riflemen, and Poor, with his New York and Hampshire troops, hastened to assault the British left.

Instead of surprising his enemy, Burgoyne was astonished to hear a roar of artillery and a rattling fire of rifles on his left. Although Gates had deprived Arnold of his command, and had

¹ Burgoyne's letter, in Irving, III. 215.

² Irving's Washington, III. 215, 216.

³ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁴ Irving's Washington, III. 235. Civil War in Amer., I. 302.

even forbidden him to leave the camp, he could not keep that warlike spirit within bounds when battle was at hand. Mounting his horse, Arnold galloped at full speed to the front. He seemed like one inspired, shouting to the men, rallying them to the point of danger, and leading them in furious charges. Wilkinson afterwards asserted that he was intoxicated; but if he was, it was not with liquor, but with the frenzy of battle.¹ The men caught his spirit.

Poor's troops fought with resistless courage. They charged first on Ackland's grenadiers, who resisted steadily; but as detachment after detachment rushed on them they were broken, and could not protect the artillery. Ackland was wounded in both legs, and taken prisoner. The Hessian artillerists afterwards spoke with amazement of the daring charges of the Americans, who ran upon the guns at the very moment when they were pouring out torrents of grape-shot. The guns were taken and retaken several times, but at last remained with the patriots. Colonel Cilley leaped upon a gun, which had changed sides five times, and, shouting that it was dedicated to the American cause, wheeled it round and fired upon the enemy with their own ammunition.² Their best officers were down, and the British gave way.

But in the meantime General Fraser with his division had fallen upon the American flank. It was here that the brunt of the combat took place. Arnold and his men met and returned every charge; for a time the result wavered in the balance. Mounted on an iron-gray charger, and wearing the full uniform of a field officer, Fraser was everywhere, encouraging his men and maintaining his attack. Now occurred an event which has been thought to bring something of discredit upon the chivalrous courage and magnanimity of Col. Daniel Morgan; but it was in strict accordance with the stern laws of war, and brought prompt victory to the Americans.

Calling aside several riflemen known to be dead shots, Morgan pointed out to them General Fraser, and said: "That officer is General Fraser. I respect him as a brave man, but he must die. Take your stands and do your duty!"³ In a short time a rifle bullet cut the crupper of Fraser's saddle; another bullet grazed his horse's mane. "You are singled out, general," said his aide-de-camp; "I beg you will shift your ground." "My duty is here," was the reply. In a few moments a bullet, sent by a rifleman posted in a tree, inflicted a mortal wound. Two grenadiers

¹ Irving's *Washington*, III. 238. Quackenbos, 247.

² Quackenbos, 247.

³ Taylor's *Centen. U. S.*, (note) 191, 192. Barnes, (note) 124. Quackenbos, 247.

bore him to the camp. His fall was the death-blow to Burgoyne's hopes. His troops began to waver everywhere, and, to avoid a rout, he ordered a retreat and the instant occupation of his intrenched lines. Arnold had received a severe wound and had been borne from the field; but the American victory was complete. They had routed the enemy: killed, wounded and captured nearly eight hundred men, with a loss of one hundred and fifty to themselves; had taken nearly all the field artillery brought against them, and had gained possession of a part of the British works, which laid open the right and rear of their camp.¹

While exultation was prevailing in the American lines, sad scenes occurred on the other side. In the house where the Baroness De Riedesel was quartered, Generals Burgoyne, Phillips and Fraser were that day to dine with her and her husband. As the day passed and the lady was sitting with her children, she observed large movements of troops, but was told it was only a reconnaissance; but soon she saw Indians, painted and with arms, and shouting "War! War!" And then came the ominous roar of cannon and rattling fire of small arms. The din increased, and she was, in her own words, "more dead than alive." At one o'clock came one of the generals, Fraser, not to dine, but to die. He was borne on a hand-barrow, mortally wounded. She tells of the scene: "The table, which was already prepared for dinner, was immediately removed, and a bed placed in its stead for the general. I sat terrified and trembling in a corner. The noise grew more alarming, and I was in a continual agony and tremor while thinking that my husband might soon also be brought in, wounded like General Fraser. That poor general said to the surgeons: 'Tell me the truth—is there no hope?' There was none. Prayers were read; after which he desired that General Burgoyne should be requested to have him buried on the next day at six o'clock in the evening on a hill where a breastwork had been constructed."²

Lady Harriet Ackland was in a tent near by. She soon heard that her husband was mortally wounded and a prisoner. Baroness Riedesel sought to comfort her, and advised her to seek permission to join him in the American lines. This kind German lady divided the night in attentions to her friend and the wounded general. He died at eight o'clock in the morning.

Burgoyne abandoned his camp, and took a stronger position during the night. He waited only long enough to comply with General Fraser's dying request. A sad group assembled around

¹ Irving, III. 240.

² Baroness Riedesel's Memoirs. Irving, III. 240, 241.

the indicated spot at six o'clock. Seeing this assemblage in the twilight, the American artillerists opened on it, and cannon balls tore up the ground close by. General Gates afterwards declared that if he had known what was going on he would have stopped the fire immediately.¹

Lady Ackland's request for permission to pass within the American lines and nurse her husband was promptly granted by General Gates. She was courteously received. Her husband recovered, and together they returned to England. They carried back with them a deep sense of American kindness and courage. Some time afterwards, at a dinner party, a British officer made disparaging remarks concerning the American character for courage. Major Ackland retorted, and warm words ensued, resulting in a duel, in which Ackland was killed. Distress for a time deprived his widow of her sanity; but she recovered, and some years afterwards married Rev. Mr. Brudenell, who had officiated at General Fraser's funeral, and had afterwards been the companion and protector of Lady Ackland in the time of her deep distress before she joined her wounded husband.²

But General Burgoyne and his army had no time for private sorrows after the decisive defeat of the 7th of October. He abandoned his camp, his sick and wounded, and several bateaux of baggage and provisions. In a dismal night of rain, and over roads deep and broken, with half-starved horses, and weary and discouraged men, he made his way back to Stillwater (near Saratoga), closely beset all the way by the American army.

Before Burgoyne reached Stillwater, enemies were there. He found himself encompassed on every side, unable to advance or to retreat. He called a council of war, and plans to extricate the army were proposed and attempted; but they were promptly defeated by the patriots, whose army, augmented by militia and volunteers from all quarters, now held both sides of the Hudson, and extended three-fourths of a circle around the British position.

Nothing remained but negotiations for surrender. The articles of capitulation were signed after the night of the 16th of October, 1777. They had been agreed on, and reduced to writing; but before they were actually signed, a British officer made his way into Burgoyne's camp with dispatches from Sir Henry Clinton, stating his successes and the approach of his force. Burgoyne submitted to a council of his officers "whether it was consistent with public faith, and, if so, expedient, to suspend the execution of the treaty and trust to events." The majority de-

¹ Riedesel's Memoirs. Irving, III. 242.

² Note in Irving's Washington, III. 244-257.

cided that the public faith was fully pledged. He signed the articles of surrender on the 17th of October.

The terms were generous and honorable. The British troops were to march out with artillery and the honors of war, and pile their arms at the command of their own officers. They were to have a free passage to Europe, and not to serve again in America during the present war. The words "in America" afterwards gave rise to misunderstandings so serious that Burgoyne's surrendered troops were detained as prisoners of war. The officers were paroled and retained their side arms. All persons pertaining to or following the camp were included in the surrender.

The army surrendered amounted to only five thousand seven hundred and fifty-two men. The army of Gates present for duty was ten thousand five hundred and fifty-four strong. The Americans gained a fine train of artillery, seven thousand stand of arms, and a great quantity of clothing, tents and military stores of all kinds.¹

But these were small gains when compared with the moral impression and advantage produced by this signal success. Every patriot heart was exhilarated, and all felt that independence was secured.

The surrender of Burgoyne's army furnished the prevalent argument by which Benjamin Franklin and his co-commissioners in Paris turned the policy of France. On the 6th of February, 1778, France acknowledged the independence of the United States of North America, and entered into a treaty of amity and alliance with them. One article provided that, should war ensue between France and England, it should be made a common cause by the contracting parties, in which neither should make truce or peace with Great Britain without the consent of the other, nor either lay down their arms until the independence of the United States should be established.² This treaty was ratified by the congress on the 4th day of May following it. The event contemplated soon followed. Great Britain regarded the very making of the treaty as a declaration of war against her by France, and both nations prepared for the new contest.³

¹ Compare Quackenbos, 248. Goodrich, 230. Irving, III. 251, 252.

² Terms of treaty, in Irving's Washington, III. 370.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 244.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

BRITISH EFFORTS AT CONCILIATION.—A WAR OF MARAUD AND DEVASTATION.

THE capture of Burgoyne's army produced a profound impression on the public mind of England, and soon reached even the king, the ministers of state, and the Parliament; and when it became evident that France was moving favorably towards the American cause, Lord North hesitated no longer. He believed he could bring the war to a close, and yet retain British supremacy in the colonies by a "plan of conciliation."

His conciliatory bills introduced into the Parliament were promptly enacted. One of them regulated taxation in America in a manner intended to obviate all objections. Another authorized the appointment of commissioners, with power to negotiate with the existing governments, to proclaim cessation of hostilities, to grant pardons, and to adopt measures for peace; but no power to acknowledge independence was granted.

Had such measures been adopted at the beginning, hostilities might have been averted and the colonies retained by England, at least for a time.¹ But now it was too late. This attempt was one of the many fatal blunders of the British king, ministry and Parliament. It worked the very contrary effect to that intended. Ex-Governor Tryon had copies printed and scattered through the country. With blind impertinence, he even sent some copies to Washington, requesting that they should be communicated to the officers and privates of the army.²

Washington calmly ignored the discourtesy, and though he declined to distribute them, he sent some of the copies to congress, with a letter, in which he said that the time to entertain such overtures was past, and that, in his judgment, nothing short of independence could be thought of.³ His views were approved. Congress unanimously resolved that no conference could be held nor treaty made with Great Britain or her commissioners until she should have withdrawn her fleets and armies, or acknowledged in express terms the independence of the United States.

¹ Stedman's Amer. War.

² Irving's Washington, III. 368. Stephens, 243. Thalheimer, 154. Quackenbos, 256. D. B. Scott's U. S., 190, 191.

³ Washington's letter, in Irving, III. 368, 369.

It is a curious fact that even the British officers and soldiers in America felt something like contempt and indignation at this weak proceeding of the mother country, which was so manifest a departure from the stern prosecution of the war that had been enjoined on them.¹ The loyalists and Tories were struck with dismay, and the true patriots were so far from being lowered in spirit that the people of Rhode Island burned under a gallows copies of the conciliatory bills which had been distributed.

When the decisive action of France was known in London, early in February, 1778, the British war department sent out orders that their troops should evacuate Philadelphia, as they knew that the Delaware would soon be blockaded by a French fleet, and the army invested and probably lost.

Nevertheless, the peace commissioners (as they were called) were sent out, consisting of Frederick Howard, Earl of Carlisle, an amiable and intelligent, though somewhat effeminate, young nobleman; William Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland), brother of the last colonial governor of Maryland; and George Johnstone, generally known as Governor Johnstone, because he once held that office in Florida. Dr. Adam Ferguson, an Edinburgh professor and author of a history of Rome, was secretary to the commissioners.

They arrived in Philadelphia on the 6th of June, and were amazed to find Sir Henry Clinton (who had succeeded Sir William Howe in command) preparing to withdraw his army from the city, under orders of which the peace commissioners had never been informed! All was confusion and grief among the loyalists, three thousand of whom, in miserable plight, were hastening to get away in the British fleet and ships from the just resentment of the patriots.² Johnstone afterwards declared that if he had known of the orders for evacuation he would never have gone on the mission: yet one historian has stated that the order for the evacuation was brought by the commissioners.³

But now they felt obliged to do what they could. On the 9th of June, Sir Henry Clinton, by letter, informed General Washington of their arrival and objects, and asked a passport for their secretary to the congress at York. Washington sent the letter to congress, but did not feel at liberty to grant the passport. So the commissioners forwarded by the ordinary military mail their letter, with copies of the conciliatory acts. Their letter was addressed to "His Excellency, Henry Laurens, the president, and others, the members of congress."

¹ Irving, III. 371, 372.

² Lord Carlisle's letter, in Irving, III. 380, 381.

³ Seudder's U. S., 221.

But the letter contained expressions disrespectful to France, charging her with being the insidious enemy of both England and her colonies, and of pretending friendship to the latter "only to prevent reconciliation and prolong this destructive war." As it was read murmurs of indignation arose in the congress, and with some difficulty the further reading was allowed;¹ yet no hasty action was taken.

On the 17th June their answer, signed by the president, was dispatched. They said that nothing but an earnest desire to spare further effusion of blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his most Christian majesty, or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honor of an independent nation: and, in conclusion, they expressed a readiness to treat as soon as the King of England should demonstrate a sincere disposition for peace, either by an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the States, or by the withdrawal of his fleets and armies.²

This put an end to all present hope from congress. The next move was one only too much in accord with English precedents, but as fatally disgraceful as it was unsuccessful. Governor Johnstone caused to be conveyed to Gen. Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania, then an influential member of congress, a plain intimation that effectual services on his part to restore peace and the former union between England and the colonies would be rewarded by ten thousand pounds sterling and any office in the colonies within his majesty's gift. Reed's brief and noble reply deserves to be permanently recorded: "I am not worth purchasing; but such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to buy me."³

Johnstone made a similar, though more cautious, approach to Robert Morris, the great financier, who was then also a member of congress; and in his tempting letter to Morris he ventured even to throw out what he intended to be an inducement to Washington himself to aid in his scheme for reconciliation. These transactions and letters were laid before congress, and brought out from that body a resolution of scathing and contemptuous rebuke to the commissioner involved.⁴

Washington's character and reputation rose into the serene light which has ever since invested his name. The "Conway Cabal" went to pieces. Gen. John Cadwalader, of Philadelphia, challenged Conway, and in the duel inflicted on him a wound which threatened to be fatal. Believing himself to be dying,

¹ Irving's Washington, III. 382.

² Letter from the congress, in Irving, III, 382.

³ Compare Quackenbos, 256. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., (note) 126. Irving, III. 383.

⁴ Irving, III. 383.

Conway, on the 23d July, 1778, wrote to Washington a letter expressing grief for what he had done against him, and ending: "You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues." He recovered from his wound, but, finding himself without rank in the army, covered with opprobrium, and his very name a by-word, he abandoned America.¹

The surrender of Burgoyne and its sequel apparent in the treaty with France, the failure of the British plan of conciliation, the firm stand of the American congress, and the contempt visited on the efforts at corruption made by Commissioner Johnstone, ought to have ended the war, as they really did end all reasonable hopes that the independence of the United States could be overthrown. Henceforth the war as prosecuted by Great Britain was chiefly one of maraud, wasting and depredation, and deserves little more than a condensed record.

On the 18th of June, Sir Henry Clinton with his army evacuated Philadelphia and marched overland for New York. Washington followed him, and delivered battle on the 28th of June at Monmouth Court-house, in New Jersey, with every prospect of inflicting a disabling blow; but Gen. Charles Lee was in command of the advance division of the American army, on whom the attack devolved. His attack was feeble, and he soon ordered a retreat. Washington rode forward with anger in his face and all his frame. His aspect, as La Fayette afterwards described it, was terrible.² "What is the meaning of all this?" he asked. Even Lee, proud and self-confident as he was, for a moment quailed before that eye, and failed to answer. "I desire to know the meaning of this disorder and confusion," again came vehemently from the lips of the commander-in-chief. Lee had recovered himself somewhat and made a reply, which has been so variously reported that its exact form cannot be given in history; but it assuredly imported disrespect, as well as an insufficient excuse for disobedience of Washington's positive orders for attack.³

Thus it became necessary to reconstruct a plan of battle in the very crisis of retreat and disorder. Washington succeeded in doing this, aided by Lord Stirling and La Fayette, and by the batteries of Oswald, Stewart and Ramsey. Lee himself again led his division to battle, and did something to reinstate himself.

¹ Letter in Irving's Washington, III. 367 (note).

² Irving's Washington, III. 396. ³ *Ibid.*, 396.

The day was intensely hot, and some of the soldiers fainted on the field. It was in this stubbornly fought battle that a private named Pitcher, of one of the American artillery companies, fell, and his wife Molly, who had been bringing water to the almost exhausted gunners, took his place and worked at the gun through all the subsequent battle. When her conduct was reported, Washington sent to her an honorary commission, and she bore the rank of Captain Molly afterwards. Mrs. Helen W. Pierson has recorded the war in words of one syllable, and her book bears on its cover a spirited pictorial representation of this scene.¹

The British army continued its retreat, and the patriots slept on the field. Washington, wrapped in his cloak, lay at the foot of a tree with La Fayette beside him, talking over the conduct of Lee, which had nearly cost the army a disaster.² The American loss was sixty-nine killed and one hundred and sixty wounded. The British lost two hundred and forty-nine left dead on the field, and one hundred prisoners, which included some of their wounded not carried off.

General Lee was tried by a court-martial upon three charges: *First*, Disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy; *second*, Misbehavior before the enemy by making an unnecessary and disorderly retreat; *third*, Disrespect to the commander-in-chief in two letters, dated respectively 28th June and 1st July. After a protracted examination he was found guilty of all the charges and sentenced to be suspended from all command for a year. The approval of congress was required.

During the delay Lee talked and wrote and abused Washington and the members of the court in unmeasured terms. On the 5th of December, 1778, the sentence was approved in a thin meeting of congress—fifteen members voting in the affirmative and seven in the negative.³

Lee retired to his estate in Berkeley county, Virginia, and spent his time among his horses and dogs, and in a mode of life very little above them. As the year approached its end he wrote a letter to the president of congress so insolent that he was promptly dismissed from the service. He took no further part in public affairs, and died during a temporary visit to Philadelphia in 1782. He lived and died a soldier, and his last words heard were: "Stand by me, my brave grenadiers!"

Early in July came one more of those scenes of massacre and horror which have led to Indian extermination, and made the

¹ U. S. in words of one syllable. Quackenbos, 257, 258.

² Irving, III. 399.

³ Marshall's Life of Washington. Irving, III. 408, 409.

very name of loyalists and Englishmen hateful in America. The valley of Wyoming lay along the Susquehanna river, below the junction of the Lackawanna, and was beautiful and tranquil with its sweet homes and rural people. In its early settlement it had been claimed by men of both Connecticut and Pennsylvania, and bloody feuds had arisen between them.¹ These were remembered, though they had long ago passed away, and nearly all of the men fit for war had gone from this lovely valley to join Washington's army.

The British post of Niagara was the nest where the serpents were nursed that crept, with venom and death, into this earthly paradise. Here Tory refugees from the valley concocted a scheme of destruction, and here Brandt, the noted Indian chief, was lurking after his discomfiture under St. Leger, and gathering savages of the "Six Nations" to engage in murderous warfare against Wyoming.

This Brandt enjoys the advantage of having two faces and two characters in history. The Scottish poet Campbell, in his beautiful creation entitled "*Gertrude of Wyoming*," certainly gave the portraiture of the man drawn by many deeds of blood:

"Scorning to wield the hatchet for his bribe,
'Gainst Brandt himself I went to battle forth!
Accursed Brandt! he left of all my tribe
Nor man, nor child, nor thing of living birth;
No! not the dog, that watched my household hearth,
Escaped that night of blood upon our plains!
All perished! I alone am left on earth
To whom nor relative nor blood remains,
No, not a kindred drop that runs in human veins!"

And yet Campbell was afterwards convinced by a son of Brandt that he had done the father injustice; that he was not even present at the worst scene in the valley, and that "it is unhappily to Britons and Anglo-Americans that we must refer the chief blame in this horrible business."²

Rumors of the preparations against them had reached the families left there, and had been sent forward to Washington, who gave orders to detach a force to aid them. Col. John Butler led the invaders, consisting of his own rangers, Johnson's "*Royal Greens*," and Brandt with his savages.³

A hasty organization of some three hundred and sixty, chiefly old men, boys and invalids, took place. Col. Zebulon Butler, a

¹ Holmes' U. S., 132. Irving, III. 432, 433. Stephens, 246.

² Note 19 of the author of "*Gertrude of Wyoming*," Phila. ed., pp. 91, 121.

³ Stephens, 246. Irving's Washington, III. 433.

Continental officer, was in command. He occupied a stronghold named Forty Fort with his weak force. His true policy was to remain on the defensive until the promised reinforcements from Washington's camp reached him; but the invaders began to maraud, burn and murder. Anxious to arrest these outrages, Zebulon Butler determined to give battle, and led out his men. The fight took place near Wintermoot Fort on the 3d of July. The patriots fought bravely while they could see their foes; but the Indians crept through a marsh and attacked them in flank and rear. An order to change position was misinterpreted as an order for retreat. The retreat became a rout. The savages, throwing aside their emptied rifles, rushed on with knife and tomahawk. A frightful massacre ensued. Some escaped to Forty Fort; some swam the river; some plunged through the swamp and climbed the mountain near it, but the greater number were slaughtered without mercy.

The work of desolating the valley was now carried on with merciless completeness. Men, women and children were slaughtered, fields were laid waste, houses burned. Upwards of four hundred men were slain. Some women and children were spared, and, in the language of a British narrator, "desired to retire to their rebel friends."¹

It is estimated that five thousand helpless people fled from their homes, seeking refuge on the Lehigh and Delaware. The tortures inflicted by the Indians had never been exceeded in atrocity. Captain Bidlack was thrown alive on a bed of burning coals, and kept there with pitchforks until he died. Six were held, while Queen Esther, an old Indian demoness, walked around them chanting their death song, and striking each on the head with a club until death relieved them.² On the approach of the troops sent by Washington this band of murderers—Britons, Tories and savages—fled hastily back to Canada. In November, Brandt led another band of Indians to desolate Cherry Valley, in New York.

Vengeance did not sleep on these transactions, though her movements were slow. In the summer of 1779, General Sullivan, with three thousand men, was sent to western New York. He was joined by Gen. James Clinton, with two thousand more men, and the combined force advanced into the very heart of the "Six Nations," and inflicted a punishment which broke their power for the rest of the war. A battle took place at Newtown, near Elmira, on the 29th of August, in which Sullivan routed the

¹ Narrative in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1778, p. 515. Irving, III. 435.

² Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 247.

army of Indians and Tories led by the two Butlers, Johnson, Brandt, Red Jacket and Cornplanter. The Americans then laid waste the Indian settlements as far as the Genesee river, destroying orchards and corn-fields, burning villages, and desolating the country with intent to starve out the savages. These Indians found their attacks upon the patriots a losing game to them. They fled towards Niagara. Yet their British instigators merited the chief odium. Sullivan returned in triumph, and congress voted him thanks.¹

France and England were at war almost from the time of the recognition by France of American independence. A large French fleet, under Admiral D'Estaing, with four thousand French troops on board, was too late to shut up the British Admiral Howe in the Delaware. It was then determined that a combined attack of the French ships and soldiers and the American land forces, ten thousand strong, under General Sullivan, should be made on the British army in Rhode Island, then commanded by Gen. Sir Robert Pigott.

The French fleet arrived in Narragansett Bay, off Point Judith, five miles from Newport, on the 29th of July; but, unfortunately, the patriot army was not ready to co-operate, and the attack was postponed to the 10th of August. This delay proved fatal to the plan of attack. Admiral Howe came into the sound with his fleet to relieve Newport. D'Estaing stood out to meet him; but hardly had the hostile fleets approached within cannon shot of each other before a violent storm arose, which scattered them, with much damage to hulls, spars, rigging and sails. D'Estaing sailed to Boston to repair his injuries; Howe sailed to New York for a similar purpose. Thus, part of the plan failed.

Sullivan crossed over with his force to Rhode Island, prepared for the attack. He implored the French admiral to remain, or, at least, to land the French troops, in order to aid in the attack; but D'Estaing declined to comply. Thus the Americans were left to their own resources.²

A severe encounter took place at Quaker Hill on the 29th of August, in which the advantage was with the Americans; but Sullivan, receiving information of the approach of a British fleet with land troops to reinforce General Pigott, thought it safest to retreat from the island, which he did without loss.

The very next day Sir Henry Clinton arrived with a light squadron and four thousand land troops. With these and Pigott's

¹ D. B. Scott's U. S., 199. Irving's Washington, III. 456, 457. Thalheimer's Ecce. U. S., 156.

² D. B. Scott's U. S., 194. Irving's Washington, III. 422-424.

forces he could have cut off Sullivan's retreat had it been delayed for a single day.

But though his strong enemy had escaped, Sir Henry determined to use his force in doing all the damage in his power to the American shipping towns which had naval and army stores, and which also sheltered numerous privateers that preyed effectually on British merchantmen.¹ For this marauding work he selected that same rough General Grey who had dealt so mercilessly with Wayne's men at Paoli. He sailed with a heavy force, destroyed seventy vessels in Acushnet river, some of them privateers with their prizes, some peaceful merchant ships. He made stern havoc at New Bedford, Fairhaven (where he met with a sharp repulse), and Martha's Vineyard, burning and demolishing deposits of stores, wharves, rope-walks, mills and private houses. He laid a heavy contribution, in sheep and cattle, on the people of Martha's Vineyard, and returned to Newport with such a mass of spoils that the fleet was burthened with them as it made its way back to New York.²

The British commanding officers, finding their armies shut up in New York and Newport, and all of the northern territory held by the States substantially independent already, began now to turn their thoughts to a conquest of the Southern States as their last hope for reducing the country to submission. In the South the white population was comparatively sparse; the Tories and loyalists abounded in some regions, especially in the Carolinas, and the negro slaves were very numerous, and, as they could never be used as patriot soldiers, were regarded by the English as a source of fatal weakness to the Southern rebels.

But before they transferred the seat of war they sought to do what they could to ravage and weaken the North. Ex-Governor Tryon was always eager for this work. Sir Henry Clinton sent him forth with two thousand six hundred troops and a fleet of transports and tenders.

On the 5th of July, 1779, they landed near New Haven, and, after a bold resistance by a few militia, they captured the town, dismantled the fort, destroyed all the vessels in the harbor, and, of course, all the artillery, ammunition and public stores that they could not carry away. They also plundered several private houses.³

At Fairfield they encountered a more bloody resistance, and, therefore, with a spirit the reverse of chivalrous, not only de-

¹ Irving, III. 428.

² Irving, III. 428. Scott, 194. Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 242.

³ Irving, III. 462.

stroyed the military stores, but reduced the town to ashes, burning ninety-seven dwelling-houses, sixty-seven barns and stables, forty-eight store-houses, three churches, a court-house, jail and two school-houses.

They landed at Norwalk on the 11th of July, and there they burned one hundred and thirty dwellings, eighty-seven barns, twenty-two store-houses, seventeen machine shops, four mills, two churches, and five vessels which were in the harbor. All this was private or sacred property, and its destruction was a disgraceful violation of the laws of war. Atrocities and outrages attended these marches which made the very name of "Englishman" hateful in all that region.¹

General Putnam was in the neighborhood, and busied himself in rallying the militia and making resolute stands against the marauders. Five miles west of Stamford he was so hard pressed by a body of British cavalry that he instructed his men to save themselves by dispersing. He himself performed a feat of unparalleled daring. He rode at full speed down a long flight of stone steps, known as "Horse-Neck Stairs," which were intended for pedestrians only, and on which a single misplanted leap of his horse would have hurled both steed and rider to destruction. The British troopers gazed at him with amazement, and, firing their pistols, sent a bullet through his hat, but, not daring to follow him, retired to their main body.²

The people of that part of New England were tempted to complain of Washington for not detaching troops to their succor.³ He was not in condition to weaken his defences at White Plains and in the Highlands above New York, and he had received no advices as to Tryon's movements, so secretly where they planned; but he had sent out an expedition which was perfectly successful, and which instantly operated to stop Tryon's career and induce Sir Henry Clinton to arrest his march on New London, and recall him to New York.

Feeling severely the loss of Stony Point, on the Hudson, Washington proposed to General Wayne that he should undertake its capture. "Mad Anthony" seized on the idea at once and made his preparations. By Washington's suggestion the assault was to be at midnight, instead of at daybreak, the usual time, when a vigilant commanding officer would be on the alert.

Wayne's troops were all picked men. They were to advance with unloaded muskets, and to carry the work by the bayonet.

¹ Irving's Washington, III. 462, 463.

² Barnes, 130. Holmes, 107. Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 252.

³ Irving's Washington, III. 464.

On the night of the 15th of July they drew silently near. Fortunately, they had obtained the countersign, which was "The fort is our own," from a negro, who frequently carried fruit for sale to the garrison, but was in sympathy with the American cause. He led the way, accompanied by two stout men disguised as farmers. There was severe skirmishing with the pickets, but the patriots were instantly in the work and using the bayonet. Wayne commanded. Major Stewart and Lieutenants Gibbon and Knox led the men. The struggle was short. The muskets fired by the pickets roused the garrison. The drums beat. Stony Point was roused, and a heavy fire opened; but all in vain. The Americans pressed irresistibly forward, and the lines were carried. Major Posey sprang on the ramparts, shouting: "The fort is ours!" Wayne received a wound on the head from a glancing musket ball. He said: "Carry me into the fort and let me die at the head of my column." But he soon recovered. The attacking columns carried all before them. The garrison surrendered at discretion."¹

This was a daring and brilliant success for the patriot cause. The American forlorn hope lost seventeen killed or wounded out of twenty-two; yet the whole patriot loss was only fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded. Of the garrison sixty-three were killed and five hundred and fifty-three were made prisoners.

Sir Henry Clinton, on hearing of this capture, instantly recalled Tryon, made a forced march on Dobb's Ferry, sent transports with troops to relieve Fort Lee, and marched himself with a heavy force, hoping to draw Washington into a general battle. But the American Fabius disappointed him. After removing all the cannon, ammunition and stores from Stony Point, Washington caused the works to be destroyed, and made himself strong at West Point and in the Highlands.

It is worthy of note that nearly coeval with the time when England transferred her serious military operations to the Southern States, one of those States made a decisive movement which confirmed her territorial claims, and greatly enlarged the subsequent power of the American Union.

Hamilton, the English governor at Detroit, was a firm man, but cold and cruel. He sought by every means to rouse the Indians to murderous attacks on the patriots, and paid a tempting price for white scalps.² Virginia determined, if possible, to strike him a blow.

Early in the fall of 1778 two expeditions were planned. One was commanded by General McIntosh, who led nearly a thou-

¹ Irving, III. 467, 468.

² Withers' *Border Warfare*, 185. Gordon, II. 390.

sand men against the Sandusky towns of the Indians ; yet he accomplished very little, and failed entirely at last.¹ The other was led by Col. George Rogers Clark, of western Virginia, a man so cool in danger, so heroic in combat, so prompt in difficulty, so untiring in toil, that John Randolph of Roanoke bestowed on him the title of "The Hannibal of the West."²

He placed himself at the head of about two hundred and eighty men, raised by authority of the legislature and of the governor, Patrick Henry. They were of the very bone and sinew of the west. Descending the Ohio in boats, they left it about two hundred and forty miles from its mouth, and, taking on their backs as much food as they could carry, plunged into the forests north of the river. In three days their provisions were exhausted, and they fed on roots and mast in the woods ; yet they pressed on. At midnight they came upon the town of Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi, one hundred miles above the mouth of the Ohio. So skillful were Colonel Clark's dispositions of his force, that when they advanced and demanded surrender, not one of the enemy escaped. Refreshments and fleet horses were obtained, and the Virginians surprised and captured three other towns, reducing the whole region, taking prisoner Philip Rocheblane, the Governor of Kaskaskia. He was sent to Virginia, together with the written instructions he had received from the British authorities of Quebec and Detroit, urging him to rouse the Indians to their work of massacre and blood.³

The legislature of Virginia received with joy the tidings of these events. They voted warm thanks to Colonel Clark, his officers and men, for their "extraordinary resolution and perseverance."⁴ Learning that the people of the conquered region had willingly transferred their allegiance from England to the United States, the Virginia assembly passed an act erecting the territory into a county called Illinois, and establishing a provisional government ; but a stern struggle was yet needed to hold it.

Governor Hamilton, excited to wrath by Clark's success, raised six hundred men, chiefly Indians. About the middle of December, 1778, he arrived at Vincennes, on the Wabash, repaired the fort, and, reserving one company, sent the rest of his force to attack the white settlements on the Ohio, and, if possible, to ravage west Virginia.

Happily, a Spanish trader from Vincennes informed Clark how small was the force there. Quick as lightning he caught the

¹ Withers, 185, 187, 191-193.

² Girardin, 321. Howe, 116.

³ Withers, 186, 187. Gordon, II. 390. Girardin, 312, 313.

⁴ Resolution in Girardin, 319.

opportunity. He sent a galley filled with men and armed with two four-pounders up the Wabash, while he marched at the head of one hundred and thirty of his best men. They encountered frightful hardships; five days were spent in crossing the sunken lands of the Wabash. The men once marched six miles up to their waists in ice and water. Fortunately, the season was mild, and they were not frozen. They arrived in front of the town nearly at the same time with the galley by the river. The people of Vincennes made no opposition; on the contrary, they joyfully transferred their allegiance to Virginia. They even aided in reducing the fort; but Hamilton made a brave resistance. For eighteen hours a fire almost incessant on both sides was kept up; but on the night of February 23d Colonel Clark caused an intrenchment to be thrown up which overlooked the fort. His riflemen picked off every man who showed himself. Hamilton asked a parley, and the next evening the fort and all its stores were surrendered, and the governor and his men became prisoners of war.¹

They were sent to Virginia. Thomas Jefferson had been elected governor on the 1st of June. Proofs of Hamilton's dealings with the Indians and offering rewards for scalps having been given, the council of war of Virginia advised retaliation. Governor Jefferson, acting under this advice, caused Hamilton and two other officers to be confined in the dungeon of the jail, fettered with iron shackles, deprived of pen, ink and paper, and forbidden all converse except with their keeper.²

But such rigor was unworthy of a generous people, and did nothing but harm. The British General Phillips, then commanding the "Convention troops" of Burgoyne's army, who were prisoners of war in Albemarle county, made a solemn protest against this treatment of Hamilton and his associates. Much indignation also prevailed among the British officers in New York. Governor Jefferson wrote to Washington, who promptly advised leniency and generosity. The officers were released on parole, and the next year Hamilton was permitted to go to New York.³

The expedition and success of Colonel Clark in thus conquering and bringing to allegiance the Northwest was entirely the work of the State of Virginia. The Continental troops and resources had no share in it. There cannot be question that this military occupation was afterwards recognized as the true basis of the claim of the United States to a northern boundary on the lakes;

¹ Judge Burnet's Notes on N. W. Territory, 77, 78. Withers, 189, 190. Girardin, 321.

² Tucker's Jeff., I. 129, 130.

³ Notes A and B, Jefferson's Works, I. 450-459. Letters 164, 167.

for, in the negotiations for peace, England insisted on the Ohio as the boundary, and the Count de Vergennes, in behalf of France, was disposed to assent; but the American commissioners urged the success of Clark with so much force that their claims were at last admitted.¹

Like many other self-sacrificing patriots, George Rogers Clark had cause to complain. He served afterwards under Steuben and against Arnold, and was made a general in 1781. He had become heavily involved in debt for expenses of his expedition. Virginia was tardy in relieving him. His debts were sued to judgment, and his property was wrested from him. Virginia voted him a sword. He accepted it, but only to strike it into the ground and break the blade, with the bitter words: "Tell Virginia to pay her debts, and then vote honors to the men who served her."² Virginia afterwards voted to him and his men thirty thousand acres of land within the bounds of the present State of Indiana; but its value was then nominal, and it did little to relieve Clark. He fell into intemperate habits, and sought to drown care in the bowl, dying at last near Louisville, Kentucky, in 1808.³

How far her successful move upon the Northwest worked to draw the vindictive attention of the British officers to Virginia, we have no distinct record; but it is certain that on the 9th day of May, 1779, Admiral Sir George Collier, with a fleet of armed ships and transports, carrying two thousand men, under General Matthew, entered Hampton Roads. No adequate force was at hand to meet them. A fort, strong on the water side, but weak in the rear, had been built on the west side of the Elizabeth river to protect the Gosport ship-yard and the town of Norfolk. The British brought up the *Rainbow*, sloop-of-war, to batter it in front, while land forces marched upon its rear. Finding he could not hold it, Maj. Thomas Matthews, the commandant, sent off his ammunition, spiked his guns, hoisted his colors, and retreated with his men into the fastnesses of the Dismal Swamp. General Matthew took possession of the fort, and detached marauding bodies of troops to Norfolk, Portsmouth and Suffolk.

Cruel and wanton devastation marked their progress. They burned dwelling-houses, destroyed live stock, ruined furniture, and carried off private property as booty. Defenceless women were outraged, and seven Frenchmen found at the Great Bridge were inhumanly put to death. As the British advanced on Suffolk, Colonel Riddick, with about one hundred and fifty militia,

¹ Burnet's Notes on N. W. Territory, 77.

² Holmes' U. S., 133, note.

³ Burnet's Notes, 80, 81. Art. Clark, Amer. Encyclop., V. 288.

made some fight, but could not long resist six hundred regulars. The enemy set fire to the town, and, to increase the conflagration, staved in the heads of hundreds of barrels of tar, pitch, turpentine and rum, which had been stored near the wharves. The flaming mass set fire to dry herbage, and not only the town, but the country around, was desolated. After their ravages the troops re-embarked and sailed to New York about the last of May.¹

¹ Colonel Lawson's letter. Girardin, 334.

CHAPTER XL.

THE WAR TRANSFERRED TO THE SOUTH.

MEANWHILE the military movements intended to subjugate the Southern States had made considerable progress. We have seen that, by the treaty of Paris, England acquired title to Florida. She divided it into two provinces, East and West Florida, and sought to avail herself of its position and advantages for attacking the Southern colonies. Florida has the longest coast line of all the North American States, having four hundred and seventy-two miles on the Atlantic and six hundred and seventy-four on the Gulf of Mexico ; but her good harbors are not numerous, and frightful storms and tornadoes sometimes scourge her coasts.

Sir Henry Clinton sent orders to General Prevost, who commanded the British forces in Florida, to advance into Georgia. At nearly the same time, in November, 1778, in accordance with the plan of the British cabinet, he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with two thousand troops, in a fleet of ships of war and transports under Commodore Hyde Parker, to attack Savannah and carry the war into Georgia.

Savannah was defended by Gen. Robert Howe with six hundred regulars and about three hundred militia. On the 29th of December, 1778, Colonel Campbell landed his troops about three miles below the town. Howe's little army was on the main road, a causeway through swampy ground, with the river on his right and a morass in front. But a negro gave information to Campbell of a road through the swamp by which Howe's rear could be reached. By this road Sir James Baird was sent with light infantry, while Campbell advanced in front. The result might have been foreseen. The Americans, assailed in front and rear, gave way, and were routed with a loss of one hundred killed or drowned in the swamp, and thirty-eight officers and four hundred and fifteen privates taken prisoners. The rest retreated up the Savannah river and crossed into South Carolina.¹

Savannah, with cannon, military stores and provisions, was captured by the British with a loss of only seven killed and nine-

¹ Compare Irving, III. 443. Stephens, 247. D. B. Scott, 195. Derry, 131.

teen wounded. Colonel Campbell acted with moderation and prudence, protecting persons and property, and proclaiming security and favor to all who would return to their allegiance. Numbers flocked to the British standard.

General Prevost marched through sands, swamps and forests, reached the southern frontiers of Georgia, captured Sunbury, the only remaining fort of importance, on the 9th of January, 1779, and, joining his forces to those at Savannah, assumed command of not less than three thousand men. He sent Colonel Campbell against Augusta, which was soon taken. By the middle of January all of Georgia seemed reduced under British rule.¹

But many there had not bowed the knee. In October, 1778, Washington, having information of the plans of the enemy against the South, sent General Lincoln to assume command in that department. He had arrived and was straining every nerve to oppose the advance of the British forces. His forces consisted chiefly of militia, and, though not wanting in courage, needed the firmness coming from discipline.

The first attempt of the enemy was at Port Royal Island. Here they were met by the veteran Moultrie and driven off with severe loss.²

The British Colonel Boyd, at the head of about eight hundred Tories, was at Ninety Six, in South Carolina. He undertook to march through Georgia, intending to take Augusta into his route and to join the British army near Savannah. But at Kettle Creek, in Wilkes county, Georgia, he was intercepted by Col. Andrew Pickens and Lieut.-Col. Elijah Clarke, with Carolina and Georgia militia. A fierce encounter took place on the 14th February. The loyalists were completely routed, losing one hundred and fifty men. Seventy were taken prisoners. Colonel Boyd was mortally wounded. His dying requests were chivalrously carried out by Pickens. The American loss was thirty-two killed and wounded. Five of the Tories, whose crimes of treachery and cruelty were aggravated, were hung.³ Thus commenced an ugly feature in the Southern campaigns.

Pickens, Dooly and Clarke followed up their success with vigor, attacking and defeating bodies of British and Tories on both sides of the Savannah river. General Prevost ordered Campbell to retire from Augusta. He fell back to Hudson's Ferry, fifty miles above Savannah.

Encouraged by these successes, Lincoln sent General Ashe with two thousand troops to take post at Brier Creek where it empties

¹ Irving, III. 444. Derry, 132. Stephens, 247.

² Stephens, 247, 248. Derry, 132.

³ D. B. Scott, 196. Derry, 133. Stephens, 248.

into the Savannah. Ashe had two thousand more troops within supporting distance; and yet, by his incompetent management, he permitted himself to be surprised by General Prevost, and was defeated with the loss of three hundred and forty killed, wounded and prisoners.¹ This serious disaster wrecked all of Lincoln's plans for the relief of Georgia; yet he did not despair, but was indefatigable in calling for the militia of that State and South Carolina.

Prevost was so far elated by his success against Ashe that he marched, with a considerable force, upon the rear of Charleston to demand its surrender; but Lincoln, who now had a force of nearly five thousand, followed him so promptly that Prevost was forced to abandon his attempt on Charleston and retreat to the island of St. John, opposite the main-land. At the crossing to the island, called Stono Ferry, a redoubt was thrown up by the British. On the 20th of June, Lincoln rashly assaulted it. His troops were repulsed with severe loss.² Soon afterwards Prevost made good his retreat, and returned to Savannah. The hot and sickly season came on, and both armies were compelled to suspend active movements for several months.

On the 9th of September, Count D'Estaing, the French admiral, having met with successes in the West Indies, in which he had taken St. Vincent and Grenada, appeared off Savannah with his fleet and four thousand land troops. Lincoln promptly opened communication with him, and effected a junction of his forces with the French. The capture of Savannah was an object readily agreed on. Its accomplishment was assuredly within their reach had prudence and skill ruled the French counsels. An augury of success came in the form of a daring enterprise by Capt. John White, of the Georgia line, who, with a small force, by a skillful stratagem, captured five British vessels, one hundred and eleven prisoners, and one hundred and thirty stand of arms.³

The combined French and American force was sufficient for the complete investment of Savannah. The siege opened on the 23d of September, and for three weeks was carried on with vigor by a daily fire of bombs and solid shot from the fleet, and regular approaches by land. The result must soon have been a success, as the place would have become untenable and the supplies of the garrison would have failed; nor was there any prospect of a favorable diversion from New York in favor of the beleaguered garrison. But just in the crisis, before the works of approach

¹ Compare Derry, 133. Scott, 196, 197. Stephens, 248.

² D. B. Scott, 197. Derry, 134. Stephens, 249.

³ Derry, 136.

were complete, or any practicable breach had been made, D'Estaing declared that his fleet and army could stay no longer. This count was the evil genius of those times, when America hoped so much from the help of France.

In a sad hour, Lincoln yielded to the pressure for an immediate assault on the British works. It was made with heroic courage on the 9th of October, 1779, by the combined forces of the French and Americans. They vied with each other in efforts to carry the works. Some of them actually gained the redoubts and planted their standards; but all in vain. The repulse was bloody and decisive. Six hundred Frenchmen and four hundred Americans fell, killed or wounded. D'Estaing himself was among the bravest of the brave, and was wounded; Sergeant Jasper fell mortally wounded just as he leaped on the Spring Hill redoubt and fastened there the flag presented by Mrs. Elliot; the undaunted patriot of Poland, Count Pulaski, fell in the thickest of the assault. He was carried, mortally wounded, on board the United States brig *Wasb*, died on the 11th of October, and was buried at sea. A monument to his memory has been erected at Savannah by her people, of which the corner-stone was laid in 1825 by the Marquis De La Fayette.¹ Another monument there commemorates the simple heroism of Jasper.

D'Estaing, with his fleet and troops, withdrew. The Americans recrossed the river into South Carolina.

On the very day on which the siege of Savannah commenced a naval combat took place off Flamborough, on the northeast coast of England, which startled the world by its exhibition of desperate courage, even unto death or victory. The American naval ships in regular commission were few in number during the Revolution; yet they fought bravely under such officers as Manly, Saltonstall, Barry, and others equally as distinguished. But of all the naval leaders who espoused the American cause, John Paul Jones was the one whose name rose highest. He was a native of Scotland, but enlisted, heart and soul, in the cause of freedom. By the influence of Dr. Franklin in France, Jones obtained the command of a small squadron of five ships, of which his flag-ship, the *Bon-Homme Richard*, of forty-two guns, was the largest. She was named in honor of Franklin's wit and wisdom shown in his "Poor Richard's Almanac."

On the 23d of September, 1779, she encountered the British frigate *Serapis*, of forty-four guns, in a naval fight unparalleled in obstinacy and bloodshed. It commenced in the evening and

¹ Stephens, 250, 251. Irving, III. 482. Derry, 136, 137.

continued into the darkness of the night. By order of Jones, his ship was lashed to the British ship, so that the combat was deadly. Both ships were on fire; their decks were slippery with blood. A brief pause in the fire of the *Richard* brought a summons from the *Scrapis*: "Have you surrendered?" The reply came: "I have just commenced fighting." Yet her condition seemed desperate. She was blazing, and leaking so rapidly that she could not long be kept above water. To add to the horrors of her condition, the American frigate *Alliance*, by mistake in the dark, fired a broadside into the *Richard*. But, quickly discovering the mistake, the *Alliance* turned her guns on the *Scrapis*. She surrendered in time to enable Paul Jones to transfer his crew just before the *Richard* sunk. The British commander (Captain Pearson) was afterwards knighted for his gallantry. Another English ship was captured, and Paul Jones brought both his prizes into a port of Holland. Out of three hundred and seventy-five men on the *Richard*, three hundred were killed or wounded.¹

Early in the year 1780, it became evident that a serious attempt was to be made by the British to capture the city of Charleston, and subjugate South Carolina. Governor Rutledge, having almost dictatorial powers, ordered the militia to join General Lincoln, and aid in defence of the city. The citizens were patriotic, and were exceedingly averse to the British rule. They implored Lincoln not to desert them. Against his better judgment he yielded to their entreaties, and, instead of keeping his army in the field, and thus saving it for defence of the country, he brought all of his troops within the lines of the city, except his cavalry and two hundred light infantry, who were left outside to hover about the enemy and check them in their marauding expeditions.¹ This was a grave error of Lincoln; and yet it has, since his day, been often repeated.

Sir Henry Clinton sailed early in January for the coast of South Carolina with a large fleet and army. He had a tempestuous voyage. His ships were dispersed; some of them fell into the hands of the Americans. He specially regretted the loss of transports with cavalry horses. These were to be made available by two cavalry officers, Bannastre Tarleton and Patrick Ferguson, each already renowned for his fitness for partisan warfare. Ferguson was thought to be the best shot in the world with the rifle. He had invented one which could be loaded at the breech and fired seven times in a minute.³ Tarleton, in a maraud, supplied

¹ Goodrich, 233. Stephens, 252. Scott, 200. Seudder, 222.

² Irving's Washington, IV. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 47.

himself with horses very soon after the scattered ships of the fleet re-assembled at Tybee Bay, on the Savannah river, about the end of January.

The British troops disembarked February 11th on St. John's Island, thirty miles below Charleston. While Admiral Arbuthnot, with his strong fleet, took position off the coast so as to blockade the harbor, Sir Henry Clinton advanced by land with his forces to invest Charleston in the rear. His approach was cautious and slow, fortifying intermediate posts, so as to keep open his communications with the fleet. On the 12th of March he made good his tenure of Charleston Neck, a few miles above the town.

It had been believed that no ships of the line could pass the bar below Charleston; but the American Commodore Whipple, who had a small squadron of nine ships of war of various sizes, from a forty-four gun ship down to a schooner, to co-operate with Fort Moultrie in defending the passes from the ocean, ascertained by soundings that the water near the bar was much deeper than had been supposed, and that his ships could not anchor within less than three miles of it.¹

When General Washington was informed of these facts he wrote to his aid, Colonel Laurens, who was in Charleston: "The impracticability of defending the bar, I fear, amounts to the loss of the town and garrison." And he wrote to Baron Steuben expressing the same opinion, but adding: "At this distance we can form a very imperfect judgment. I have the greatest reliance in General Lincoln's prudence, but I cannot forbear dreading the event."²

His fears were increased by tidings that two thousand five hundred British and Hessian troops, under Lord Rawdon, had sailed from New York to reinforce Sir Henry Clinton behind and on the flanks of Charleston; yet even then the investment was not complete, and Lincoln might have marched out with his army; for on the 7th of April, General Woodford, with seven hundred Virginia troops, after a forced march of five hundred miles in thirty days, crossed from the east side of Cooper river by the way still open, and threw himself into Charleston.³ This reinforcement was welcomed with joy by the beleaguered people, but only added to the ultimate loss.

Admiral Arbuthnot, leading in the *Roebuck* a squadron of eight ships of the line and two transports, availing himself of a high

¹ Whipple's report, Irving, IV. 28.

² Washington's corres., Irving, IV. 28.

³ Irving, IV. 45.

spring tide and a fresh southerly breeze, ran across the bar on the 20th of March, and past the batteries of Fort Moultrie on the 9th of April. The fort kept up a tremendous fire, and the ships of war replied. The smoke was so thick that their movements could hardly be followed. They passed with a loss of only twenty-seven men killed and wounded. One of their store ships ran aground, was set on fire and abandoned and soon blew up. The British ships took position near Fort Johnston, just beyond the range of the American guns.

Colonel Pinckney, with part of his garrison, withdrew from Fort Moultrie. Commodore Whipple landed some of his heaviest guns to aid in the defence of the city, sent some of his ships up Cooper river, and sunk the rest as obstructions to Arbuthnot's fleet.¹

Anxious to keep open his communications by the Cooper river, Lincoln sent General Huger to Monk's Corner, at the head-waters of that river, about thirty miles above Charleston. Huger had a brigade of militia and some Continental cavalry, under Col. William Washington, a brave and dashing partisan officer, who had distinguished himself at Trenton, and had with his own and Bland's light-horse and Pulaski's hussars, given the English troopers a sharp defeat at Rantoul's Bridge.²

Sir Henry Clinton detached Colonel Webster, with fourteen hundred men, to break up the American outposts. Tarleton made the attack on Monk's Corner on the 14th of April. By a night march he drew near. A negro was seen trying to avoid notice. He was seized, and on him was found a letter describing Huger's position and force. A few dollars sufficed to gain this negro for the British side. He guided Tarleton's force. The surprisal of Huger's camp was complete and disastrous. Some officers and men defending themselves were killed. Huger, Washington and many others escaped in the darkness and through the swamps. One hundred prisoners were taken. Four hundred horses and fifty wagons, laden with arms, clothing and ammunition, fell into Tarleton's hands.³

An incident creditable to the English officers then occurred. Some dragoons maltreated and attempted outrage upon ladies in a dwelling-house near Monk's Corner. They reported the facts at headquarters. The offenders were identified. Ferguson was in favor of putting them to death at once as an example; but Colonel Webster did not feel at liberty to punish them capitally.

¹ Irving, IV. 43, 45.

² Gordon, III. 352. Tarleton's Campaigns, 8.

³ Stedman's Am. War, II. 183. Irving, IV. 48.

They were sent to the British army around Charleston, tried, and severely punished by flogging.¹

The fate of Charleston was now sealed. Every way of escape was closed, and the siege was pressed by resistless approaches. The defensive works were ruins, the guns almost all dismantled, the provisions nearly consumed. On the 6th of May the feeble garrison at Moultrie surrendered that fort. On the 12th of May, 1780, General Lincoln signed terms of capitulation, by which all adult males in Charleston became prisoners of war. The militia and citizens were paroled and were to return to their homes with protection so long as they observed their parole. The officers of the American army and navy were to retain their servants, swords and pistols, and were permitted to sell their horses, but not to remove them from the town. The land prisoners taken numbered five thousand six hundred and eighteen, but most of them were citizens and militia. The Continental troops surrendered did not exceed two thousand in number. The British loss in the siege was seventy-six killed and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. The American loss was about the same.

These were dark days for the patriot cause. The financial troubles had risen to high-water mark. The Continental currency was so depreciated in purchasing power that the pay of a colonel for a month would hardly provide food for his horse for a week. Connecticut troops, having received no pay for five months, broke out into open mutiny, threatening to go home or to gain subsistence with the bayonet.² It required all of Washington's personal influence, with financiering help from Reed and Morris, to keep the army efficient. Nature seemed to frown. A day of actual gloom came on the 19th of May, when the heavens became so dark at ten o'clock in the morning that lights were needed in the houses, and the fowls went to roost. The legislature of Connecticut was disposed to adjourn because of the darkness. Some thought the day of judgment was at hand. A motion in the council of war was made to adjourn. Colonel Davenport, a bold patriot, opposed it, saying: "If the day of judgment be not at hand there is no cause for adjourning; if it be at hand, let us be found doing our duty. I move that candles be brought, and that we go on with the business." On the night of the 20th the abnormal vapor passed away. A clear day came, and hope revived.³

After capturing Charleston, Sir Henry Clinton sent out detachments into the interior of South Carolina, under Cornwallis, Cru-

¹Stedman, II. 183. Irving's Washington, IV. 48.

²Irving's Washington, IV. 38.

³Stephens' Comp. U. S., 253.

ger and the royalist Thomas Brown. Tarleton was also indefatigable. He pursued Colonel Buford, who, having been too late to enter Charleston, was retreating towards North Carolina with three hundred and eighty troops of the Virginia line, and Colonel Washington, who had joined him with a few of his lately scattered cavalry. Tarleton had only one hundred and seventy dragoons, one hundred mounted infantry and a three-pounder. He might, therefore, have been resisted with hopes of success; but Tarleton was strong in threats and bullying. He sent forward a letter saying to Buford that he was surrounded by seven hundred light troops on horseback and by troops with cannon, and that Earl Cornwallis was within reach with nine British regiments, offering terms of submission, and warning against the temerity of refusing them.¹ Although Buford rejected his proposal, it seems evident that Tarleton's threats had wrought their effect.

The encounter took place on the 29th of May, on the banks of the Waxhaw, a stream on the border of North Carolina. At the first fire of Buford's men several British dragoons fell. Tarleton himself was unhorsed. His men attacked furiously, and the patriot lines were broken. Many threw down their arms and begged for quarter, but were cut down without mercy. One hundred and thirteen were killed on the spot, and one hundred and fifty so mangled and maimed that they could not be removed. Colonels Buford and Washington, with a few of the cavalry and about one hundred of the infantry, escaped. Fifty prisoners were taken.

The whole British loss was five killed and fifteen wounded. Why, then, did they thus butcher men who were helpless and had surrendered? Tarleton felt the bloody stain of this transaction, and endeavored to remove it by the explanation that he was dismounted, and his men were exasperated to frenzy with the idea that he had fallen. Lord Cornwallis had no censure to pass on the useless massacre, but praised Tarleton unstintedly and commended him specially to royal favor.² A day of retribution was soon to come to both of them.

Sir Henry Clinton believed South Carolina to be restored to British rule. He issued a proclamation calling on the people to return to their allegiance. Many were willing. The negro slaves of course deserted their masters in thousands. Tarleton wrote as follows: "All the negroes, men, women and children, upon the appearance of any detachment of king's troops, thought themselves absolved from all respect to their American masters and entirely released from servitude. They quitted the plantations

¹ Letters in Irving, IV. 52, 53.

² Irving's Washington, IV. 54.

and followed the army."¹ Yet the lesson of this fact seemed forgotten in eighty years.

But the true patriots of the Carolinas and Georgia continued resolute. Under Sumter, Marion, Pickens and Clarke they maintained the warfare in the only mode left open to them at that time. They resorted to the partisan and guerrilla modes, and with admirable success. No detached post of the enemy was ever safe. Marion was as rapid in his movements and fierce in his onsets as Tarleton, and far exceeded him in resources for escape and concealment. He and his men became so skillful in disappearing and saving themselves, when hard pressed, in the dark recesses of the swamps and forests, that Tarleton and his followers called him "The Swamp Fox" by way of derision. On Sumter, who was more open in his daring movements, they bestowed the title of "The Game Cock." But all these traits were exhibited with ceaseless efficiency in the warfare now waged on the English and Tories. Neither Georgia nor Carolina was a subdued province while these partisans were abroad.

Nevertheless, Sir Henry Clinton felt that the South was sufficiently restored to royal authority to justify him in returning to New York. He embarked on the 5th of June with a part of his forces, leaving the larger part under Lord Cornwallis, who was to carry the war into North Carolina and thence into Virginia.²

Meanwhile the patriot cause in the South was cheered by the presence and movements of Lieut.-Col. Henry Lee with his effective body of well-equipped cavalry. He was in the regular service, but appreciated highly the deeds of the guerrilla officers and their men, saying of them: "Their combats were like those of the Parthians, sudden and fierce."³ He co-operated with them in every promising enterprise. The South hoped also much from the coming of General Gates, the conqueror of Burgoyne, who had been ordered to the supreme command in the South. He was marching from Virginia with a considerable force. Washington had recommended General Greene for this command, but the congress, with unbecoming precipitancy, gave the command to Gates on the 13th of June. Before he left Fredericksburg, on his way from his country home in Virginia, he had an interview with the eccentric ex-Gen. Charles Lee, who gave him an ominous charge in parting: "Beware that your Northern laurels do not change to Southern willows."⁴

¹ Tarleton's Campaigns, 89.

² Stephens, 254, 255. Derry, 140. Irving, IV, 55.

³ Lee's Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department.

⁴ Compare Weems' Marion, 99, 100. Irving, IV, 69.

Baron De Kalb had come with reinforcements from the North, and was in command of the Southern army when Gates arrived in the camp on the 25th of July, 1780. He promptly issued orders by which the army was put in motion, marching through a barren region of pines, sand-hills and swamps. He had relied on supplies from a train of wagons which never came. His army had to subsist itself on lean cattle roaming in the woods, and to supply the want of bread with green Indian corn, apples and peaches. Dysentery was the result. On the 13th August they had reached Rugeley Mills, twelve miles from Camden, and the next day they were reinforced by a brigade of seven hundred Virginia militia under General Stevens.

Lord Rawdon had been in command of the British army concentrating at Camden, in Kershaw district, South Carolina; but Cornwallis, learning that the crisis approached, hastened from Charleston, and, arriving on the 13th, assumed the command.

The British force was about two thousand, including very effective regular troops and five hundred Tory refugees from North Carolina. The army under Gates was three thousand and fifty-two fit for duty; but more than two-thirds of them were untried militia. The fatal error of Gates was in seeking battle with a force which, in its reliable material, was not half as strong as the enemy.

By a strange coincidence, each army marched at about the same time to surprise the other. About two o'clock on the morning of August 16th the advance, on each side, collided near Sanders' creek. A sharp skirmish occurred. Colonel Porterfield, of Virginia, was mortally wounded; prisoners were taken on both sides.

Gates had expected to encounter only Rawdon, and was surprised to learn that Cornwallis was in command with a force represented at three thousand. Calling a council of war, he asked what was best to be done. For a moment or two there was blank silence. Then General Stevens broke it by the pregnant question: "Gentlemen, is it not too late *now* to do anything but fight?"¹ Nothing more was said; the officers were ordered to their posts of duty.

The First Maryland, including the Delawares, were on the right, commanded by De Kalb; Caswell, with the North Carolinians, formed the centre; the Virginia militia were on the left, under Stevens; the artillery was in battery on the road. Each flank was covered by a marsh. The Second Maryland was in reserve a few hundred yards in rear of the line of battle.

¹ Irving's Washington, IV. 87.

At daybreak the enemy were dimly seen advancing in column, and apparently displaying to the right. The American artillery opened on them. Gates issued the ill-timed order that Stevens should advance rapidly with the Virginia militia and attack them while they were in the act of displaying. Stevens promptly obeyed; but, knowing the risk of panic to his raw men, he sent a few sharp-shooters to run forward and draw the enemy's fire; but the expedient failed. The British lines, now fully displayed, rushed forward shouting and firing. Stevens called to his men to stand firm, deliver their fire, and then be ready with their bayonets. His brave words fell on unheeding ears. The Virginia militia, dismayed by the rush of the enemy, threw down their loaded muskets and betook themselves to headlong flight. The North Carolinians caught the panic, broke and fled. Part of them made a short stand, but Tarleton and his troopers were upon them, and the flight was for life.

Gates, seconded by his officers, made an effort to rally the militia, but in vain; he was borne in the flying crowd from the field.

But the regulars of the American army did not give way. They stood their ground and fought with unflinching courage. Though several times broken, they rallied, reformed and met the enemy with the bayonet. At length they were almost surrounded, and a charge in flank by Tarleton drove them into the woods and swamps. The hero, De Kalb, fought on foot with the Second Maryland brigade, and fell pierced by eleven wounds. His aide-de-camp, De Buysson, supported him in his arms, and was repeatedly wounded in protecting him. He announced the rank and nation of his general, and both were taken prisoners. De Kalb died in a few days.¹ A nobler patriot never fell.

This sad disaster to the American cause was soon followed by another. General Sumter had gained brilliant successes at Pedee and Hanging Rock, and had been in correspondence with Gates, and proposed to join him after attacking the enemy at Wateree. He was completely successful in this attack; captured one hundred prisoners, and forty wagons loaded with stores, and was marching off with his spoils and prisoners.

Cornwallis sent Tarleton, with three hundred and fifty cavalry and light infantry, to attack him. Sumter had occupied a strong camp at the mouth of Fishing creek, and, utterly unconscious of danger, he had thrown off part of his clothes because of the heat, and he and his men were resting—their arms stacked, and some bathing, some lying on the grass, some asleep.

¹ Irving's *Washington*, IV. 88, 89.

By a silent move and a sudden rush on the 18th of August, Tarleton's men actually pushed themselves in between Sumter's men and the parade-ground, where their arms were stacked. The result was, of course, a complete rout. Some fought for a while from behind baggage wagons, but soon all who could save themselves by flight did so. About three hundred and fifty were killed or wounded. All their arms and baggage and two brass field-pieces fell into the enemy's hands, as well as the prisoners and booty taken at Wateree. Sumter galloped off without saddle, hat or coat, and effected a retreat with nearly four hundred of his men.¹

Gates reached Charlotte, in North Carolina, and continued his retreat to Hillsborough, one hundred and eighty-two miles from Camden, where he sought to gather up his scattered troops and make a stand. He found he had barely a thousand men. The Virginia and North Carolina militia had made their way to their homes, with help in food and shelter from the farmers along the roads.

To displace Gates and appoint in his place General Greene, whom Washington had so earnestly recommended, was a duty which the congress speedily performed. The unfortunate Gates returned to Virginia depressed with grief and mortification. As he passed through Richmond the legislature was in session and generously sought to soothe him by a vote passed on the 28th December. They assured him of their high regard and esteem, and that the memory of former services could not be obliterated by the late reverse, and that Virginia, as a member of the Union, would always be ready to testify to him her gratitude.² He retired to his country estate, and did not leave it again during the war.

Meanwhile events of grave importance were occurring in the Northern States. The capture of Stony Point by Wayne had not only discouraged the enemy, but roused the patriot spirit and incited other American officers to like attempts. The British post of Paulus Hook, on the Jersey shore, nearly opposite to the city of New York, was held by a garrison under Major Sutherland, who had become somewhat negligent and careless under sense of security. Major Henry Lee, of the cavalry service, obtained Washington's permission to attempt a movement on this post, but with the express injunction that he was "to surprise the post, bring off the garrison immediately, and effect a retreat."³

¹ Irving, IV. 90-92. Derry, 142. Stephens, 256. Quackenbos, 275.

² Resolution in Girardin, 416.

³ Washington's instructions, Irving, III. 474, 475.

The movement was performed on the 18th of August, 1779, by Major Lee, with three hundred men of Lord Stirling's division and a troop of dismounted dragoons under Captain McLane. Lee passed the creek and ditch at about three o'clock in the morning, and mastered the post while most of the garrison were asleep. Sutherland, with about sixty Hessians, escaped into a block-house and opened an irregular fire. Alarm guns sounded in New York. To delay would have been ruin. Major Lee carried off three officers and one hundred and fifty-nine men as prisoners, with a loss to his force of only two killed and three wounded. Congress voted to him a gold medal. This *coup de main* was in character with his subsequent successes in the South.

When Sir Henry Clinton sailed to attack Charleston, he left General Knyphausen in command in New York. Washington had provided for the safety of the Highlands and West Point, and held, with his immediate army, the strong defiles in and about Morristown, in New Jersey. Knyphausen received exaggerated accounts of the mutinous movements of Connecticut and Pennsylvania troops in Washington's camp. He conceived the idea that the people of New Jersey were generally disaffected to the American cause, and that nothing was needed to develop this feeling into a return to British rule except a military expedition for the support of the supposed royalists.¹

Two marauding expeditions had been sent by him on the 25th January, 1780, to New Jersey. One penetrated as far as Newark, captured a small company there, set fire to the academy, and returned without loss. The other, consisting of one hundred dragoons and more than three hundred infantry under Colonel Bessirkirk, advanced on Elizabethtown, surprised the picket guard, captured two majors, two captains and forty-two privates, burned the town-hall, the Presbyterian church and a private residence, and plundered the private effects of the people.

This sacrilegious outrage was supposed to have been in revenge for the patriotic exertions of the pastor of the church, Rev. James Caldwell, who had been full of enthusiasm for his country's cause, and had made his church-bell a tocsin of summons when danger threatened, and from his pulpit had often made ardent, eloquent and pathetic appeals for union and courageous effort against the British, while his loaded pistols had just been laid aside from his person. He had drawn upon himself the especial hatred of the English and loyalists, who denounced him as a "frantic priest" and a "rebel fire-brand." The torch had been

¹ Passages in Hist. of Elizabethtown, by De Hart. Irving, IV. 56, 57.

applied to his church by a virulent Tory, who, when he saw it wrapped in flames, "regretted that the black-coated rebel, Caldwell, was not in the pulpit."¹

Knyphausen made his serious descent upon New Jersey early in June, with a force of about five thousand men and some light artillery. The vanguard, led by the British brigadier Sterling, was challenged at the fork of a road outside of Elizabethtown by a single sentinel, who fired his musket and mortally wounded General Sterling. He was borne to the rear, and Knyphausen took his place.

Instead of finding a people disaffected to the patriotic cause, the advancing British columns were stubbornly fought at every favorable point for resistance by the New Jersey militia under Dayton, and the brigade of the State under General Maxwell. A fight like that of Concord and Lexington was kept up from behind fences and extemporized intrenchments.

At Connecticut Farms the hatred against Rev. James Caldwell manifested itself in a cruel and cowardly murder. He had removed his family to this place. He, as chaplain, was with his regiment in the American army. His wife, with her young children, remained in her home, trusting that the enemy, if they came, would respect the laws of war and of ordinary humanity.

While she sat in silent prayer on the side of her bed, holding by the hand one of her children, three years old, and while, on pretence that the people had fired on them from their upper windows, some of Knyphausen's men were pillaging and setting fire to the houses, suddenly a musket loaded with two bullets was fired through the window. She received both balls in her breast and fell dead. The house and adjoining church were set on fire, and it was with difficulty her body was rescued from the flames.²

The news of the murder soon spread through the country, and excited intense feeling against the invaders. Although the attempt was afterwards made to attribute the act to a servant who had malignant hatred to Mr. Caldwell, yet few doubted that the shot had been fired by one of the marauding soldiers. The wife was connected with the best people of New Jersey, and was much beloved. The American papers afterwards vehemently assailed Knyphausen; and in his march he found the people universally excited against him, and running to arms.

The most serious encounter was at Springfield, which was approached by the British troops on the 23d of June, and when General Greene, with Maxwell's and Stark's brigades, Lee's

¹ De Hart's Elizabethtown. Irving, IV. 6, 7.

² Irving, IV. 58, 59.

dragoons, and Dayton's Jersey militia, made a strong resistance, in which Colonel Angel, of Rhode Island, with two hundred picked men and one piece of artillery, most stubbornly defended a bridge over the Rahway, west of the town. Finding all his purposes defeated, and every step of his way bloodily contested, Knyphausen abandoned his enterprise and returned to New York.

In Knyphausen's movements, in 1778, the British General Grey had rendered himself more notorious than ever by his stealthy marches and cruel use of the bayonet. He gloried in the name of "no-flint" Grey. A false tradition prevailed, even to 1891, that he was killed and buried near Flemington, New Jersey. On the contrary, he was raised to the English peerage.¹

We come now to one of the most painful episodes in the war, because it involved the treachery and fall of one who had been eminent in chivalrous and daring devotion to the American cause; yet it proves nothing more clearly than the doctrine of Holy Scripture, confirmed by history and experience, that the germs of all moral evil are in all human hearts.

General Benedict Arnold had been highly esteemed by Washington for his courage and soldierly qualities. He had been soured by the injustice of the congress as to his rank in the army, and had deeply resented the ungenerous conduct of Gates, which we have noted. His wounds, for a time, unfitted him for field duty, and after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the enemy, in June, 1778, he had been appointed to the military command of that city.²

He lived extravagantly and far beyond his means. He contracted debts so heavy that, in seeking to arrange them, he used public property and funds in such unscrupulous forms as to draw upon himself the suspicions of the council of Pennsylvania.³ They complained to the congress, who ordered that Arnold should be tried by a court-martial. He was acquitted of the gravest charges, but found guilty of irregularities as a military officer, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. Washington carried out the sentence with the utmost delicacy and forbearance.⁴ Arnold had gained the affections of Miss Margaret Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen, of Philadelphia, afterwards Chief-justice of Pennsylvania. The lady remained true to him through all his troubles, and was united in marriage to him five days after the 3d of April, 1780, the date of the act of congress ordering the court-martial. And though this lady had be-

¹ Compare Irving, III. 441, with Hunterdon Hist. Soc. Records, May, 1891.

² Seudder, 224. D. B. Scott, 206.

³ Scott, 207. Irving, IV. 16, 96.

⁴ Report of M. De Marbois, Sec'y of Fr. Leg. Irving's Washington, IV. 20.

come acquainted with Maj. John André in Philadelphia, and occasionally exchanged letters with him afterwards, yet nothing dishonoring to her character as an American woman has ever been disclosed.¹

But Arnold now transferred his rage against Pennsylvania to his whole country, and secretly formed a purpose to strike her a deadly blow when opportunity should come, and at the same time to retrieve his own necessitous circumstances. Soon after resigning his command in Philadelphia he opened a clandestine correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton in New York, signing himself "Gustavus." He did not then disclose his name and rank, but represented himself as a person of importance, who, being dissatisfied with late proceedings of congress, and particularly the alliance with France, was desirous of joining the cause of Great Britain, could he be assured of safety and indemnity.

At first Clinton knew not who his secret correspondent was, and even when he identified him, Arnold was without command and damaged in reputation and influence; and he was deemed hardly worth buying.² Therefore, Arnold sought an important post, and applied for command of West Point, which was justly regarded as the "Gibraltar of America." His treachery was long meditated, and profoundly deliberate.

He was appointed to this command, and early in August, 1780, fixed his headquarters at Beverley, a country seat on the east side of the river, a little below West Point. It was commonly called the "Robinson House," having been the dwelling of Col. Beverley Robinson, who, though an early friend of Washington, had espoused the British cause, and was then in New York. He, with a Mr. Joshua Hett Smith, of the White House, in Haverstraw Bay, took active part in the meditated treason.

On the 10th of July, a French fleet of seven ships of the line, two frigates and two bombs, under the Chevalier De Ternay, arrived off Newport, convoying transports with five thousand land troops, under the Count De Rochambeau. La Fayette had successfully pleaded at the French court for these, and other forces, land and naval, were to follow them. An attack on New York was projected, and Arnold's plan was ingeniously contrived to counteract Washington's and turn it into ruin. It was, that when Washington had drawn down the main body of his army towards King's Bridge, and the French troops had landed on Long Island, a flotilla with a large land force, under Admiral Rodney, should ascend the Hudson, and Arnold, with just enough

¹ Irving, IV. 101, 102.

² *Ibid.*, 97.

of show of resistance to cloak his treason, should surrender West Point and the Highlands. Thus the attack on New York would be paralyzed, the American States dismembered, and their cause ruined.¹

The details of this dark plot could not be arranged by mere passage of cautious and enigmatic letters. Thus far, Maj. John André, adjutant of Sir Henry Clinton, had conducted the correspondence on the British side. He was of Swiss descent, a young man of pleasing manners and accomplishments, which had done more to secure him promotion than any deeds of stern war. His record was wanting in such deeds. And his whole conduct in the preliminary stages of the plot exhibits him as a man ready to foment and abet an infamous treason, of which he was himself to be, finally, the most conspicuous victim.

He had assumed the name of John Anderson. He came up the Hudson with his uniform concealed by a heavy blue overcoat. Just at this time Washington also passed by West Point on his way to Hartford to hold a conference with Count Rochambeau and the French admiral. The treasonable meeting was postponed until he should depart. Arnold proposed to hold the meeting at the Robinson House—his own headquarters; but André objected positively to passing within the American lines, knowing well its consequences if he was detected.²

A series of circumstances led him to depart from his resolve. The British sloop-of-war *Vulture* had come up the Hudson and anchored a few miles below Teller's Point. Aboard of her was Beverley Robinson, pretending to be making application for the return of his confiscated estates, but really to aid in Arnold's plot. André came up the river September 20th and went aboard the *Vulture*. A boat with a flag of truce came down from Arnold. André returned in it; Smith accompanied him. A little after midnight of September 21st, at a lonely place at the foot of a shadowy mountain called the Long Clove, the first interview took place between the traitor and the British emissary and spy.³

Evidently the terms of the foul transaction were not easily agreed on. This interview, in the haunts of the owl and the bat, was protracted for hours. Smith came from his boat and warned them that the day would soon break. Arnold was afraid that the sight of the boat returning to the *Vulture* would arouse suspicion. He persuaded André to remain until the following night. Mounted on the servant's horse, André rode with Arnold to

¹Irving's Washington, IV. 98, 99.

³Smith's statement, Irving, IV. 105.

²*Ibid.*, 102.

Smith's house. But as they passed on, the voice of an American sentinel challenged them, and demanded the countersign.¹ It was given, and they passed. André knew that his complicity with the treason was consummated, and his guilt, by military law, complete. They reached Smith's house about daybreak.

After breakfast the terms of the treason were agreed on. It is now known that they were that Arnold should betray West Point and the Highlands into the hands of the enemy, and should receive ten thousand pounds sterling and the rank of brigadier-general in the British army.²

While they were conversing the roar of cannon startled André, and with only too much cause. Colonel Livingston had opened fire on the *Vulture* from Teller's Point, and with such effect that she had dropped down out of gun-shot range. Arnold was not willing to risk the suspicions which a boat sent down to a British war ship would have awakened. He persuaded André to return by land. Plans of the works at West Point and explanatory papers were placed between his stockings and his feet. He promised Arnold to destroy them if danger threatened; but it was otherwise decreed. A passport was given to André in the following words:

"Permit Mr. John Anderson to pass the guards to the White Plains, or below, if he chooses; he being on public business, by my direction.

"B. ARNOLD, *M. General*."

Smith was to accompany him at least part of the way, and was furnished with passports to proceed either by water or land.

André set out, believing that Smith would accompany him in a boat to the *Vulture*; but that person, fearing for his own safety, refused to do so. He persuaded André to lay aside his uniform coat and put on a citizen's coat which belonged to Smith. Thus the ill-starred British spy added disguise to the other evidences of his guilt.³ Smith also induced André to attempt the return by land, and crossed with him from King's Ferry to Verplanck's Point. He continued with him to a point about two and a half miles above Pine Bridge on the Croton river. There he took leave of André and returned home.

André had now entered the region known as the "Neutral Ground," which was raided over by the irregular forces of both armies. He began to feel more cheerful and secure. He had reached a fork of the road six miles beyond Pine Bridge, and he took the route nearest the Hudson. Suddenly a man stepped out

¹ Irving's Washington, IV. 106.

² Stephens, 260. Scott, 208.

³ Irving, IV. 108.

from the trees, leveled a musket and brought him to a stand. Two others, similarly armed, rose up from a game of cards, and joined their comrade in the arrest.

The thoughtful student of history can hardly fail to be impressed with the conviction that a protecting Providence was now guiding the course of events to save American freedom. Had André quietly presented his passport, signed by the well-known Arnold, these men would have permitted him to pass. But these men were John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart and David Williams. They had been roused to vigilance by late outrages in the "Neutral Ground." Paulding was a stout-hearted young man, who had already been captured and had experienced loathsome imprisonment, first in the North Dutch church and afterwards in the noted Sugar-house in New York. His captor had stripped him of his good yeoman garment, and forced on him his own *refugee* coat. He wore this when he stopped André.

Acting upon sudden impulse at the sight of the coat, André exclaimed eagerly: "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party." "What party?" was the reply. "The lower party," said André. "We do," was rejoined. André dismissed all caution, and announced himself to be a British officer on special business, and who must not be detained a moment. He drew out his gold watch, which confirmed his statement, for few Americans then wore gold watches.¹ They immediately informed him that they belonged to the American army, and that he was their prisoner.

Astounded, yet making effort to recover safe ground, he then sought to pass off his previous avowal as a subterfuge, and stated that he was a Continental officer, and produced Arnold's pass; but it was too late. Their suspicions were thoroughly aroused, and were increased by his falsehoods. They proceeded to search him. Nothing suspicious appeared in his vest and coat. Van Wart and Williams were inclined to let him pass, but Paulding said: "Boys, I am not satisfied; his boots must come off." André said his boots came off with difficulty, and even threatened them with the consequences of delay. But in vain.

He was compelled to sit down. His boots were pulled off. The drawings and papers were found. Hastily scanning them, Paulding exclaimed: "My God, he is a spy!"²

André then attempted to bribe them. He offered his horse, saddle, bridle, and a hundred guineas to be sent to any place that might be fixed on. Williams asked if he would not give more. He said he would give any reward they would name, either in

¹ Irving's Washington, IV. 110.

² *Ibid.*, 112.

money or goods, and would remain with two of them while the other went to New York and brought it. Here Paulding broke in with an oath that if he would give ten thousand guineas he should not be released.¹ This put an end to his offers.

They guarded him to North Castle, the nearest American post. Colonel Jameson, commanding there, recognized Arnold's handwriting on the passport, and, suspecting something wrong, though not suspecting Arnold, sent off all the writings and drawings by express to Washington at Hartford.

Yet, with unaccountable want of judgment, this officer, after a conversation with André, sent him under a strong guard and with a letter to *Arnold*, stating the circumstances of the arrest, and that he had forwarded the suspicious documents to Washington.²

Fortunately, Major Tallmadge, next in command to Jameson, and much clearer in head, arrived, and, hearing the facts, suspected treachery in Arnold. By his persuasion an express was sent ordering the guard back to North Castle with André; but, with an obtuseness or perversion of judgment never adequately excused, Jameson permitted his letter to go on to Arnold.

The traitor, on receiving it at the breakfast table, rose hastily, and, beckoning his wife to him, informed her in her private room that he was ruined and must fly. She fell senseless under the shock. He paused not to aid her, but hurried down, made a hasty excuse to his guests, galloped to a landing place by a route, since known as "Arnold's Path," threw himself into his six-oared barge, and was rowed to Teller's Point. Thence he made his way to Verplanck's and to the *Vulture*. As if to cap the climax of his infamy, he surrendered his coxswain and six bargemen as prisoners of war! This perfidy excited the scorn of the British officers, and when the facts were made known to Sir Henry Clinton, he promptly ordered their release.³ Under a passport from Washington, Mrs. Arnold went to her father's home in Philadelphia.

André was tried by a court-martial consisting of six major-generals—Greene, Stirling, St. Clair, La Fayette, Howe, and Steuben—and eight brigadiers—Parsons, Clinton, Knox, Glover, Paterson, Hand, Huntingdon, and Stark. Greene was president, and Colonel John Lawrence judge-advocate. The trial commenced on the 29th September, and was eminent in thoroughness and in tenderness to the prisoner. His own full and frank state-

¹ David Williams' testimony. Irving, IV. 113.

² Sparks' Arnold. Note in Irving, IV. 114. Scott, 208. Quackenbos, 278, 279.

³ Irving's Washington, IV. 123, 124.

ment was the principal evidence. The court returned its unanimous judgment that Major John André, adjutant-general of the British army, ought to be considered a spy from the enemy, and, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, ought to suffer death.¹

He had laid aside all affectation, and now bore himself like a brave man. He wrote to Washington, imploring only that he might be shot rather than die on a gibbet; but on this point nothing could be yielded. If he was a spy, he must die as one. The British authorities were estopped from appeal by Capt. Nathan Hale's case, which we have noted. Washington felt deep sympathy and compassion for André, and went so far as to authorize Capt. Aaron Ogden, of the New Jersey line, to pass under flag of truce to New York, and to intimate to the British authorities there that if Arnold should be delivered up to the American power, André's life would be spared; but Sir Henry Clinton instantly rejected the suggestion as incompatible with honor and military principle.²

Washington then entered cordially into a plan proposed by Col. Henry Lee, and made very nearly effectual by Sergeant John Champe, of his dragoons, to seize and carry off Arnold from his quarters in New York to the American lines, and thus at once save André's life and punish the traitor; but, by a change in Arnold's residence and habits, this bold scheme was defeated.³

Thus all hope for André failed. He was executed on a gibbet at Tappan, near the Hudson river, on the 2d day of October, 1780. His remains were buried near the place of execution; but in 1821, under the direction of the British consul at New York, they were removed to Westminster Abbey, in England, where a mural monument has been erected to his memory. The highest British authority had approved the sentence and the death and the conduct of Washington therein.⁴

Yet the weakness of earthly affection has blinded many eyes to justice and right. Anna Seward, the daughter of Canon Seward, of Lichfield, England, was so well known for her poetic and lyric powers that she was called "The Swan of Lichfield." She was intimate with the beautiful Honora Sneyd, who was her father's ward, and who was warmly loved by André. The young English officer had often made one of their circle at home. After his military crime and his execution, Anna Seward wrote a monody

¹ Quackenbos, 280. Irving, IV. 135.

² Quackenbos, 280. Irving, IV. 137.

³ Lee's Narrative. Memoirs of War, 391-411. Irving, IV. 153-155.

⁴ Col. Mackinnon, Coldstreams, II. 9.

of twenty pages on his life and fate, part of which was in these words :

“ Oh ! Washington, I thought thee great and good,
Nor knew thy Nero-thirst for guiltless blood ;
Severe to use the power that fortune gave,
Thou cool, determined murderer of the brave ! ” ¹

The American congress recognized the merit of the three faithful soldiers, Paulding, Williams and Van Wart, by voting to each a silver medal and an annual pension for life of two hundred dollars.

Arnold had his reward, though his plan of treachery failed utterly, and he was regarded with suspicion and contempt in the British army. He was employed in two expeditions of rapine and murder.

After the defeat of Gates at Camden, Cornwallis had hoped to subjugate Virginia, and had urged Sir Henry Clinton to co-operate with him. Accordingly, a British fleet entered Chesapeake Bay about the last of October, 1780, giving convoy to three thousand troops under General Leslie. They disembarked at various points, but were soon concentrated at Portsmouth. Governor Jefferson was filled with anxiety, and made some insufficient preparations to meet them ; but after a brief period of mystery, and after committing some devastations for which their officers were not responsible, they suddenly re-embarked on the 22d of November, and sailed for Charleston. The defeat of Colonel Ferguson at King's Mountain and the total overthrow of Cornwallis' plans furnished the explanation.²

¹ Ch. Union, N. Y., Feb'y 19, 1891.

² Jefferson's Works, I. 194-198. Girardin, 424.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE WAR IN THE SOUTH.

BUT the movement against Virginia, though delayed, was not abandoned. Early in January, 1781, a hostile fleet entered James river, with about one thousand six hundred troops under Arnold. They included many deserters from the American army.¹ No adequate preparations had been made to meet them, though Washington had warned the Virginia authorities early in December. A mortifying want of courage and decision paralyzed the efforts of the really vigorous men then in Virginia. Thus the traitor was enabled to land at Westover, twenty-five miles below Richmond, at two o'clock on the 4th of January, and to march with only nine hundred men, almost unopposed, on the capital, which then consisted of about three hundred houses. Governor Jefferson, with his family, retired in time to escape captivity. Arnold detached Colonel Simcoe, with rangers and infantry, who made a dash on Westham, burned the foundry, boring-mill, magazine, and other houses, threw five tons of gunpowder into the canal, destroyed all the papers of the auditor's office and council of State, and returned to Richmond without the loss of a man.²

Arnold destroyed great quantities of private stores, including many casks of ardent spirits, which were rolled out and staved. The liquor ran in streams down the gutters, and cows and hogs drinking freely were seen staggering about the streets. The enemy burned all public and many private houses. They destroyed or carried off five brass cannon, three hundred muskets, three wagons, and a store of engineering tools. They then retired, striking on the way, at Charles City Court-house, a body of one hundred and fifty militia, of whom one was killed and eleven were captured. On the 10th of January they re-embarked and sailed down the river. Arnold established himself at Portsmouth, and threw up intrenchments.

On the 26th of March, 1781, the British General Phillips arrived at Portsmouth with two thousand men, and assumed command. He came up the James again, and after a sharp fight with

¹ Lee's Memoirs, 297-298.

² Morse, in Howe, 307. Girardin, 454. Henry Lee, 133.

Baron Steuben, at the head of one thousand militia, he took possession of Petersburg and sent Arnold out to maraud. But by this time the Marquis De La Fayette, by orders from Washington, had taken command in Virginia, and, bringing on a body of Continental troops from Annapolis, entered Richmond on the 29th of April. His presence and spirit wrought an instant change, and restored confidence. Phillips was on his march to leave, when, on the 6th of May, he met a boat with dispatches, which caused him immediately to return to Petersburg. Cornwallis was advancing from North Carolina, and had sent the dispatches; but General Phillips died in Petersburg on the 13th of May. The command again devolved on Arnold. He was soon superseded and returned to New York, much to the relief of the British officers.¹

His last active service was in many respects his deepest infamy. When Sir Henry Clinton, in September, 1781, discovered that Washington had outgeneraled him, and was on his way to invest Cornwallis at Yorktown, he sought to effect a counter diversion by a movement against Connecticut.² He selected Arnold as a fit instrument to head a murderous attack on his native State. His objective point was New London, on the west bank of the Thames, defended by Fort Trumbull on the west and Fort Griswold on the east side of the river. Arnold appeared in the Thames on the 6th of September with ships and transports, carrying two thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, made up in great part of American royalists and refugees and Hessian yagers.³

Arnold divided his forces about equally. He commanded on the west, and met with little opposition. Colonel Eyre commanded on the east, and Arnold had ordered him to carry Fort Griswold by assault, believing it to be weak; but the garrison of Fort Trumbull abandoned it, and retreated to Fort Griswold. Here they were commanded by Col. William Ledyard, a brave officer, brother of him afterwards so renowned as a traveler and explorer. His men were not adequately armed; some had only spears; but in the assault a gallant defence was made. Colonel Eyre fell mortally wounded. Major Montgomery took his place, but was thrust through with a spear by a resolute negro. Major Bromfield, a New Jersey Tory, succeeded to the command. His men were furious at the death of their officers and the destruction in their ranks. After a deadly contest they carried the fort.

¹ Jefferson, I. 220, 221. Girardin, 469.

² Irving's Washington, IV. 312.

³ Irving, IV. 312, 313. Goodrich, 271. Scott, 215, 216.

They gave no quarter. It is said that Colonel Ledyard yielded his sword to Bromfield, who instantly plunged it into his breast.¹ The Tories, refugees and Hessians showed special rancor. Seventy of the garrison were slain and thirty-five wounded. The enemy paid dearly for their conquest. Forty-eight were killed and one hundred and forty-three wounded.

Arnold took possession of New London, and perpetrated the most wanton destruction in and about the town, hardly distinguishing between public and private property. The destruction was immense. Many families once in affluence were rendered homeless and reduced to poverty and want.²

Leaving the town burning behind him, Arnold retired to his ships. The exasperated yeomanry pursued him and inflicted some loss on his force.

This closed his career in America. He retired to England. His wife, after reaching her father's house in Philadelphia, had decided to separate from him; but this course was not open to her. The executive council, learning that letters had passed between her and André, ordered her to leave the State in fourteen days. No indignity was offered to her, though everywhere burnings in effigy and execrations showed universal popular odium against her traitor-husband. After going with Arnold to England, she returned in about five years to the United States, but was treated with such coldness and neglect that she left America, never to return.³

Arnold received from the British treasury six thousand three hundred pounds sterling as the money reward of an infamy in which British officers actively participated. He lived sometimes at St. John, New Brunswick; sometimes at Point Petre, Guadeloupe, but chiefly in London. All the more honorable and sensitive people shrank from him with disgust and horror. His wife was more kindly received, being regarded as innocent; but she died in 1796.⁴ Arnold was once in the gallery of the House of Commons. A prominent member rose to speak, but, seeing Arnold, he pointed to him and said: "Mr. Speaker, I cannot go on while that man is in the house." George III. tried once to introduce Arnold to the Scottish Earl of Balcarras, but the proud noble turned away, refusing his hand and saying: "I know General Arnold, and I hate traitors." When the noted Frenchman Talleyrand, driven from France, was about to embark for America

¹ Quackenbos, 293, 294.

² Irving, IV, 314. Goodrich, 271. Thalheimer's Eclectic U. S., 172.

³ Irving's Washington, IV, 149-151.

⁴ Art. Arnold, New Amer. Encyclop., II, 149.

from Falmouth, England, he was informed by the keeper of the tavern in which he was a guest, that an American general was in the house. He immediately sought his society, and endeavored to enter into conversation with him, especially about America, but found him reserved and unwilling to talk on that subject. Finally Talleyrand asked him for letters of introduction to his friends in America. The answer came sadly: "No; I am, perhaps, the only American who cannot give you letters for his own country; all the relations I had there are now broken; I must never return to the States." He dared not reveal his name to Talleyrand. He was Benedict Arnold.¹

Arnold died in London June 4, 1801. He was the only military officer of prominence who ever proved a traitor to the cause of American freedom.

We come now to the closing events of the war of Revolution. Cornwallis hoped to subjugate North Carolina with the aid of his active subordinates, Tarleton and Ferguson, and the uprisings of Tories at Cross creek and in Tryon county and other parts of the Carolinas.²

He had detached Colonel Ferguson with a strong force, consisting of about twelve hundred effective men without artillery or baggage, and having also a large number of supernumerary muskets and rifles with which to arm the Tories as fast as they rose. He was to occupy the western counties, rouse the loyalists, help the Tory leader Lieut.-Col. Thomas Browne at Augusta, and join Cornwallis at Charlotte.³

As the British forces approached Charlotte, Colonel Davie with a small force vigorously opposed them. At Wahab's plantation he surprised a body of British and loyalists, and drove them in rout, killing and wounding sixty and capturing ninety-six horses with their equipments and one hundred and twenty stand of arms. Captain Wahab, the owner of the place, was able to spend a few minutes with his wife and little ones. But soon the sound of the trumpet heralded the approach of a large body of the enemy. Davie was compelled to retreat, and the British officer in command, yielding to unmanly rage, ordered the torch to be applied and burned the home of this patriotic family.⁴ But every such deed added to the American forces.

At Charlotte, Davie contested every inch of ground. Tarleton was sick and Major Hanger took his place. Again and again he

¹ Compare Talleyrand's account, *Century*, January, 1891. Note in Barnes U. S., 136, 137-Quackenbos' U. S., 281.

² Lee's *Memoirs*, 194.

³ Compare Irving, IV. 169 with Lee's *Memoirs*, 197-201.

⁴ Lee's *Memoirs*, 195, 196.

was repulsed in his advance on the town. Cornwallis personally reproached the dragoons for their failure, and, bringing up overwhelming forces, Davie was compelled to retire, and the British took possession of Charlotte.¹

Cornwallis adhered to his prior proclamations, and invited all to seek the protection of the British standard; but with most inconsiderate severity, he caused a number of patriot prisoners who, in moments of fear and weakness, had received British papers of protection, which they put into their pockets, and who afterwards took up arms for their country, and were captured with these papers on their persons, to be hanged as traitors!² This cruel course soon reacted against him.

Maj. Elijah Clarke, of Georgia, had collected around him a number of refugee patriots from Georgia and the Carolinas. Learning that the English, with the aid of the Tory Col. Thomas Browne, had accumulated at or near Augusta large supplies of arms, ammunition, blankets, salt, liquors, and other articles to be used in bribing the Indians to take up the hatchet against Americans, Clarke encouraged his followers to make an attack. After some indecisive movements, Clarke was completely successful, and on the 5th of June, 1781, compelled Browne to surrender three hundred men and large supplies and munitions.³ But at the time of Ferguson's movements, Clarke had been arrested in his attempts against Browne by the advance of Colonel Cruger towards Augusta. Cornwallis directed Ferguson, if practicable, to intercept and master the force under Clarke.⁴

But this bold British partisan leader was now himself sorely threatened by the advance of a large body of patriots, not "chiefly of Carolina and Georgia militia," as has been erroneously stated,⁵ but from the borders of Kentucky, Tennessee, the Carolinas, Georgia and the western parts of Virginia, under Colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Williams, Sevier and Shelby. These men were very different from the ordinary militia of the Carolinas and Virginia who had so ingloriously fled at Camden. They were hardy, resolute men, each skilled with the rifle, and each mounted on his own horse. Their first object was to aid Clarke against the guards and supplies at Augusta; but, finding Ferguson in their way, they turned their forces upon him.

With all his courage he was not indifferent to this mustering cloud of dangerous foes. He knew how formidable they were, for he was himself a practiced rifleman. He retired from Gilbert-

¹ Lee's Memoirs, 197.

² Irving, IV. 169. Lee's Memoirs, 193, 194.

³ Stephens, 254.

⁴ Lee's Memoirs, 199, 200.

⁵ By Stephens' Comp. U. S., 256.

town, and took up a strong position on "King's Mountain," a height in what is now York district, South Carolina, near a village bearing the same name in Gaston county, North Carolina. It was a narrow, stony promontory, with sloping sides, except on the north, and with an open cover of lofty trees, free from undergrowth, interspersed with boulders of gray rock.¹ Here was fought, on the 7th of October, 1780, a battle almost unique in warfare, and deeply instructive to a people resolved to retain their freedom.

Ferguson's position was so strong that he is said to have boasted that "if all the rebels out of hell should attack him they would not drive him from it."² His force was nearly twelve hundred; he was on a height, with natural means of intrenchment. He had no artillery, but he had a superabundance of muskets and rifles, and his muskets had bayonets.

The patriots came together without any recognized commanding officer; but as Col. William Campbell, of Virginia, had marched farthest, he was, by common consent, acknowledged as leader. They resolved to select nine hundred of their best men, and to attack Ferguson on his mountain post. When they drew near the foot of the mountain they dismounted from their horses and picketed them in the woods, leaving a small squad to guard them. They looked well to their rifles and ammunition.

They then formed themselves into three bodies, to attack simultaneously on three sides. Campbell, with Shelby, was to lead the centre; Sevier, with McDowell, the right; Cleveland, with Williams, the left. The general orders were simple. Each man was to fight for himself, but with reference to the whole plan. They were not to wait for the word, but to take good aim and fire as fast as they saw an enemy within rifle range. When hard pressed they were to seek the shelter of trees, or even of short retreat, but never to retire while the battle was hopeful.

Campbell gave time for the two other divisions to reach their positions and begin to ascend; then he pushed directly up in front with his men. His force was soon within range of the crest, and a rapid fire of musketry was opened by the enemy. He instantly deployed his men, posted them behind trees, and began a deadly fire. At nearly the same time, the same manœuvres followed the advance of the other two divisions.

Ferguson was chafing and raging like a lion in the toils. He did not hesitate long; but, leading his regulars, rushed on Camp-

¹ Compare Amer. Encyclop., Art. "King's Mountain," X. 170, 171, with Irving, IV. 175.

² Irving, IV. 175.

bell's men with the bayonet. They, of course, gave way, but only to seek shelter and open rifle fire again; and before Ferguson's men could re-form a flanking fire, mortal in its rapidity and accuracy, compelled them to face about and again attempt a charge, only to be picked off again with frightful effect by foes on their flanks and rear. The nature of the ground favored the rifle and not the bayonet. The elevated position from which the British were obliged to advance also favored the Americans, who were able, by cross-fire, to bring down foes without danger to friends. Thus Ferguson found his men formidably beset on every side and falling in numbers around him. Yet he stood bravely at bay, and even when his lines broke and his troops began to retreat in confusion along the ridge, he sought to rally them, and galloped on his white horse from point to point, shouting his orders, waving his sword, and seeking to make head against the triple line of advance, from which a ceaseless and killing fire was coming into his disheartened force. Suddenly a rifle bullet brought him to the ground (he is said to have been struck by seven balls), and his horse, without a rider, was seen rushing down the mountain.

This was the signal for the end. Hemmed in on every side, and finding a man falling at every crack of the American rifle, the British officer second in command hoisted a white flag, beat a parley, and sued for quarters. One hundred and fifty had fallen, nearly two hundred were wounded; while on the American side only twenty were killed (but among them was Colonel Williams, of South Carolina), and about a hundred wounded. Eight hundred and ten of the enemy were taken prisoners, and the patriots also secured not only all the arms used by their foes, but the extra muskets and small arms intended for Tories.¹

Immediately after the battle a court-martial was held, and ten Tories, who had committed special crimes of treachery, cruelty and constructive murder, were tried, found guilty, and hanged. This severe proceeding has been criticised as against the laws of war, but it was needed in those times, and it instantly stopped Cornwallis' executions of captured patriots who had weakly accepted British protection papers.²

The resolute men who fought and won this noted battle had come together of their own accord, without special order either from the congress or the American commander-in-chief or any State government; and after turning over their prisoners and captures into proper hands, they dispersed in like manner to their

¹ Compare Irving, IV. 175-177. Lee's Memoirs, 200, 201. Amer. Encyclop., 171.

² Scott's U. S., 204. Goodrich, 264. Holmes, 143. Quackenbos, 282. Stephens, 257.

homes. Evidently they had no adequate conception of either the importance or the results of the victory they had won.¹

The destruction of Ferguson's force instantly put an end to Cornwallis' plan for subduing North Carolina. He began to fear even for the safety of his own immediate army, and to call in all his detached expeditions. He put a stop to General Leslie's move on Virginia, and took measures to fall back to Camden.

Sumter, Marion, Clarke and Pickens were roused to new enthusiasm by the American success at King's Mountain; and they were greatly strengthened by the coming of Col. Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry") with his mounted legion, composed of three troops of horse and three companies of infantry, in all about three hundred and fifty men, who were ordered to the Southern department, and were quickly in most efficient service.² On the 22d of October, 1780, Washington wrote a letter to George Mason, of Virginia, informing him of the appointment of Gen. Nathaniel Greene to the command of the Southern armies, and introducing to him that brave and prudent officer.³

Tarleton was still indefatigable in pursuing the bands of patriotic partisans. He followed Marion into the swamps with all the ardor of a huntsman; but, though he succeeded in his artifice of breaking up his force into small parties, and sometimes drew Marion into conflict and inflicted on him some loss, he never succeeded in arresting his agile and harassing attacks. Marion had the unlimited love and confidence of his hardy and abstemious men.

We have a well-authenticated account of a visit paid to him in his swamp recesses by a British officer, who came under a flag of truce to arrange some matters as to exchange of prisoners. Marion received him with courtesy and dignity, and invited him to dinner. The officer accepted the invitation; but he was amazed to see set on the rude plank table nothing but a shingle with some roasted sweet potatoes. "Surely, General," he said to Marion, "this is not your ordinary fare?" "Indeed it is," was the reply; "but as we have to-day the honor of your company, we have rather more than usual." "But your pay is good." "Neither I nor my men have ever received a dollar of pay." "For what, then, do you fight?" "For the freedom of our country." The officer returned to the British camp thoughtful and sad. He told to his comrades what he had seen and heard, and remarked that America could never be conquered while such a spirit and such

¹ Irving, IV. 177. Derry, 143, 144.

² Lee's Memoirs, 212.

³ Washington's letter, Lee's Memoirs, 210, 211.

men upheld her cause. He is said to have resigned and returned to England.¹

Sumter, not cast down by his surprise and loss at Fishing creek, had recalled his scattered men, and was beating up the enemy's quarters wherever he could see a prospect of success. On the 12th of November the British, under Major Wemys, attacked him at Fishdam Ferry, on Broad river. Sumter defeated and routed them, and captured Wemys. Cornwallis sent for Tarleton, who had failed to bag the "Swamp Fox," and instructed him to go after the "Game Cock" until he had destroyed him; but at Blackstocks, in Chester district, South Carolina, on the 20th of November, Tarleton encountered Sumter, and, after a fierce conflict, was decisively defeated, and fled from the field, leaving his wounded to the mercy of the victor. Sumter received a wound in this encounter, and was not able for nearly three months to return to active duty.²

But larger movements were now at hand. General Greene, on assuming command, found only about two thousand troops, poorly armed, clothed and fed. He lost no time in reorganizing and re-inspiring his army, and Gen. Daniel Morgan efficiently aided him. Col. William Washington had also just performed a feat that greatly encouraged the patriots and subjected the loyalists to merited ridicule, which is often more effective than blows. Thirteen miles from Camden was Clermont, the county seat of Colonel Rugeley, a declared Tory. He had collected a considerable body of loyalists, and had them at his place in a large barn built of logs and fortified by a slight abattis.

Colonel Washington came up with a small troop of cavalry; but to attack intrenched infantry with mounted men was not to be thought of. He dismounted part of his men, obtained a pine log, shaped and painted it like a cannon, mounted it on two wagon wheels, brought it to bear on the barn, displayed his men, and sent in a flag, demanding instant surrender on pain of having the barn battered to pieces. The garrison, one hundred and twelve in number, with Colonel Rugeley at their head, gave themselves up as prisoners of war. Even Cornwallis could not suppress a feeling of grim humor, which appears in his letter to Tarleton telling of this affair, and adding: "Rugeley will not be made a brigadier." The unlucky colonel never again appeared in arms.³

¹Thalheimer's *Ecler. U. S.*, 164, 165. Simms' *Life of Marion*, 176-180. *Art. Marion, Amer. Encyclop.*, XI. 195. Barnes & Co.'s *U. S.*, note, p. 134.

²*Art. Sumter, Amer. Encyclop.*, XV. 185. Stephens, 257. Derry, 144.

³Irving, IV. 188. Lee, 221, 222.

Small as his force was, General Greene felt that it was all-important that he should not abandon South Carolina to be terrorized by Tories upheld by detached bodies of British troops. He therefore sent General Morgan, with about one thousand men of various arms, to pass the Catawba and take post near the confluence of the Pacolet and Broad rivers in South Carolina.¹

Cornwallis had formed his plan for an advance upon Virginia; but, learning of Morgan's move and knowing it would not be safe to leave so formidable a body in his rear, he sent Colonel Tarleton with eleven hundred choice troops, embracing three hundred and fifty of the famous cavalry, a corps of legion and light artillery and two royal artillery companies with their field pieces. He did not doubt that with these Tarleton would defeat Morgan disastrously and overwhelm his force.² Cornwallis moved so as to intercept the expected fugitives.

Morgan had been joined by some recruits from North Carolina and Georgia, so that his force was about equal in numbers to Tarleton's, though inferior in cavalry and discipline. Moreover, he learned that Cornwallis was moving on his left and might get in his rear. Therefore he prudently relinquished the temptation to dispute the passage of the Pacolet, crossed that stream, and retreated towards the upper fords of Broad river.

Tarleton pressed after him with impetuous haste. At ten o'clock on the night of January 16, 1781, he reached a camp which had evidently been occupied only a few hours previously, for the fires were still smoking and half-cooked provisions were found. Feeling now sure that he would strike Morgan in the confusion of a headlong flight, Tarleton allowed his already wearied troops only a brief rest. Leaving his baggage under a small guard, he resumed his exhausting march at two o'clock at night, tramping through swamps and rugged, broken grounds. A little before daylight he captured two videttes, and was somewhat startled to learn from them that, instead of being in confused flight, Morgan had given his troops rest and refreshment, and was standing at bay ready to meet him in battle.³

It was at the spot known as Hannah's "Cowpens," being part of a grazing farm of a man of that name. Nothing less than the high resolution and self-confidence of the American general would have induced him to offer battle in such a position, with a river behind him cutting off retreat, his flanks unprotected, and an open wood around him admitting the operations of cavalry.

¹ Lee's Memoirs, 222. Irving, IV, 215.

² Cornwallis to Lord George Germain, March 17th. Irving, IV, 216.

³ Lee's Memoirs, 226. Irving, IV, 218.

But Morgan always afterwards defended his judgment by the following characteristic reasons: "Had I crossed the river, one-half the militia would have abandoned me. Had a swamp been in view, they would have made for it. As to covering my wings, I knew the foe I had to deal with, and that there would be nothing but downright fighting. As to a retreat, I wished to cut off all hope of one. Should Tarleton surround me with his cavalry, it would keep my troops from breaking away and make them depend upon their bayonets. When men are forced to fight they will sell their lives dearly."¹

He had the advantage of two moderate eminences in his field. He ranged his troops in three lines. The first consisted of the Carolina militia, under Pickens, with some volunteer rifle skirmishers in advance. This line was to wait till the enemy were within dead shot, then fire two volleys with good aim, and fall back. The second line were Colonel Howard's light infantry and the Virginia riflemen. They were informed of the orders given to the first line. The third line was on the slope of the rear eminence. It consisted of Colonel Washington's cavalry and about fifty mounted Carolina volunteers, armed with sabres and pistols, under Major McCall.²

One element of uncalculated power entered into the coming battle and really decided it. The Americans were rested, fresh and strong from sleep and food; Tarleton's troops were haggard and worn down in body and spirit by forced marches, without sufficient sleep or food. Nevertheless, with his overweening confidence and vanity, he ordered an instant attack.

He led on his first line, who rushed forward with shouts. The advanced patriot riflemen delivered their fire steadily and with effect, and then fell back. The first line obeyed orders, waited till the British were within range, and then made a destructive volley. Being pushed with the bayonet, they obeyed orders and retreated to the rear. The enemy pressed forward upon Howard's line, and were received with a stern resistance and deadly volleys. A bloody conflict here took place; but, seeing his flank assailed by cavalry, Howard ordered a change of front. His orders were misunderstood, and some confusion ensued. Morgan rode up and ordered Howard with his men to retreat over the hill and re-form, and ordered Colonel Washington's line to advance to their relief.

The British troops, seeing the Continentals retiring over the hill, thought their victory complete, and rushed forward in broken

¹ Morgan's report in Irving, IV. 218, 219.

² Lee's Memoirs, 227. Irving, IV. 219. Annual Register (British), 1781, p. 56.

and irregular order in pursuit; but they were astounded when Washington's dragoons and mounted volunteers spurred furiously upon them; and at the same time Howard's troops faced about, formed rapidly, delivered a deadly fire, and then charged resolutely with the bayonet.

The enemy were thrown into hopeless confusion. Some artillerymen attempted to defend their guns, but they were cut down or captured, and the cannon and colors seized. A panic now took possession of the British, aided, no doubt, by previous fatigue and exhaustion. Tarleton sought to bring his reserved cavalry into action; but, infected by the same panic, they turned their backs on their commander and galloped off through the woods, trampling down the flying infantry. Fourteen officers and forty dragoons rallied to Tarleton's side. For a time he made fight, but in the fierce *mêlée* with Washington's troopers the British were worsted, and Tarleton, giving up all for lost, spurred away with a few faithful comrades at full speed. It is said that he looked not behind him, and thus failed to see Colonel Washington, who, with his dragoons, was in swift pursuit, and who inflicted a wound on Tarleton's hand.¹

The American victory was complete. They lost only twelve killed and sixty wounded. The British loss was one hundred and ten officers and men killed, two hundred wounded, and nearly six hundred rank and file made prisoners. They lost, also, two field-pieces, two standards, eight hundred muskets, one traveling forge, thirty-five wagons, one hundred dragoon horses, seventy negroes, and all of their baggage which they did not have time to destroy.² Great as were the material results thus gained, they were exceeded by the exhilaration and resolution of spirit roused among the people of the South by this signal victory. Tarleton's prestige was gone, never to return.

On the seventeenth day of January, 1781, Cornwallis was in his camp on Turkey creek, expecting to hear that Tarleton had routed Morgan, when towards evening some of his dragoons came straggling into camp, haggard, forlorn, nearly dead with fatigue, but able to give some account of the terrible blow received by the British army. The next day came Tarleton himself, who, however crestfallen, put the matter in the best light he could by representing that Morgan's force was two thousand strong!³

Cornwallis became cautious, and kept his camp several days until he was joined by the fugitives from Tarleton's force and

¹ Stephens, 262, 263. Barnes, 137. Quackenbos, 285. Lee's Mem., 229.

² Morgan's Report, Irving, IV, 221, 222. Cornwallis to Sir H. Clinton, Lee, 229, 230.

³ Irving, IV, 223.

by General Leslie with between two and three thousand troops. Then he commenced his march to overtake and destroy Morgan's force. He moved by forced marches, and such was his zeal and determination that, believing Morgan to be incumbered with prisoners and spoils, he detached a part of his force, without baggage, in pursuit, while he followed with the remainder of his army.

But the American general proved himself to be as adroit and prudent in retreat as he was terrible in battle. He sent on before him his prisoners towards Charlottesville, in Virginia, under a small guard, while he pushed on, day and night, with his main body towards the crossing of the Catawba. On the evening of the 23d of January he safely passed the river just two hours before the head of the pursuing detachment appeared.¹ A heavy rain began to fall, and continued during the night. The next morning the river was impassable, and so continued for two days. Morgan was safe.

Cornwallis came up by the 25th of January to Ramsour's Mills, on the south fork of the Catawba. He had been greatly incumbered by his enormous baggage, and the necessity for transporting it over roads of deep red clay cut up by streams and morasses. He adopted a policy worthy of a self-denying soldier, though finally of no service to his king. He began with his own baggage and stores, clothing, wines, liquors and provisions, and spent two days at Ramsour's Mills in destroying everything that incumbered his army, and that could be spared without destroying its immediate efficiency. An American soldier has praised him highly for this sacrifice.² An English soldier has censured it even with ridicule, declaring it to have been "something too like a Tartar move."³ It certainly brought Cornwallis' army to light marching order.

Greene's heart had been gladdened, and he gladdened Washington's heart by the news of the "Cowpens." Leaving his troops on the Pedee, he rode on horseback, with a small suite, a hundred miles, joined Morgan north of the Catawba, and assumed command. His plan was the Fabian policy, which he had learned under his beloved commander-in-chief. It was to draw Cornwallis on to a harassing and vain pursuit, to tempt him far away from supplies, to fight no battle unless reasonably sure of a favorable result, and to avail himself of General Hunger's advance from the south with his division of American troops. And this plan

¹ Stedman, II. 326. Cornwallis to Clinton, Remembrance, 1781, I. 303.

² Henry Lee, *Memoirs*, 232.

³ Sir Henry Clinton, Irving, IV. 225. *Annual Register*, 1781, p. 58.

was carried out with consummate skill by a general who "won no battle, but saved the South."¹

As soon as the river had fallen sufficiently, Cornwallis prepared to cross. Colonel Webster, with one division, was to march by the main road to Beattie's Ford, while Cornwallis, with the rest of the army, moved down to McCowan's, a distant and private ford, where no opposition was expected. But it had not escaped the vigilance of Greene, who had detached Brigadier Davidson with three hundred North Carolina militia to do what they could to retard the enemy.

The night was dark and rainy. The road was in some places a quagmire; but Cornwallis pressed on, fearing that the rain would again swell the river. As it was, he found it five hundred yards wide, three feet deep, with rapid current and a bottom of moving stones; but the light infantry entered the water, supporting each other as they waded, and with orders not to fire till they reached the bank. Colonel Hall led them, but Cornwallis and General O'Hara quickly followed on horseback.

An American sentinel challenged three times, and, receiving no answer, fired and roused the picket guard. The man who was guiding the British turned and fled. Colonel Hall, not knowing the true ford, led his men directly across. This carried them through deep water, but gave them the advantage of landing at an unguarded spot. But the militia behaved gallantly and received them with a fire under which Colonel Hall fell mortally wounded and many of his men went down. O'Hara's horse stumbled and rolled over him in the water. Cornwallis' horse was wounded, and barely carried his rider to the shore, when the brave animal sunk dead. The British infantry lost many killed and wounded; but, forming rapidly on the bank, they charged and broke Davidson's men, killing and wounding about forty and putting the rest to flight. Davidson himself fell just as he was mounting his horse.²

Tarleton pressed after the fugitives, and killed, wounded and captured some of them. General Greene spurred forward over deep, miry roads to rejoin Morgan. He detached his aids to gather the scattered militia. At mid-day, weary and travel-stained, he stopped at the inn at Salisbury. The army surgeon asked how he was. "Fatigued, hungry, alone and penniless," was the reply. The landlady, Mrs. Elizabeth Steele, a noble-hearted, patriotic woman, entered the room where the sad com-

¹ Prof. Alex. Johnston's *U. S., Hist. and Const.*, 74.

² Compare Lee's *Memoirs*, 233-235. Irving, IV. 230, 231.

mander of the Southern armies sat at his meal, and, drawing from under her apron two bags heavy with coin which she had hoarded, said to him: "Take these; you will want them, and I can do without them." This was most opportune, not only in furnishing money greatly needed, but in rousing hope and forbidding despair.¹

Greene, refreshed and encouraged, joined his army and continued that memorable retreat which did more to save the American cause than a successful battle would then have done. Cornwallis waited for his wagons and artillery. On the 1st of February he was five miles from Salisbury. Eager to overtake Greene, he mounted infantry on baggage horses and sent them forward with the rest of the cavalry under O'Hara and Tarleton. But Greene crossed the Yadkin on the 2d of February and secured all the boats. The pursuers captured a few wagons with the teamsters, but no soldiers. A heavy rain had fallen during the day, and the enemy found the fords impassable.²

As soon as he could pass, Cornwallis was again in pursuit, hoping to cut off Greene from the upper fords of the Dan, force him to battle, and destroy his army before he could reach Virginia; but Greene had divined his plan and provided for every contingency. He sent forward Kosciuszko with a select corps to secure all the boats on the Dan. He formed his rear guard under Col. Otho G. Williams (Morgan being disabled by ague and rheumatism), and placed with him the ever-active cavalry and light troops under Howard, William A. Washington and Henry Lee. Never was rear-guard service better done.

The pursuit was keen and relentless. The retreat was masterly and perfectly successful. On the 11th of February, Greene, with his main army, reached the Dan, and, finding boats enough, crossed at Boyd's and Irwin's ferries without difficulty. He sent back word to Williams to manœuvre in front of the enemy, and then cross and rejoin him as soon as possible. These orders were skillfully performed. Several sharp encounters between the cavalry of the two hostile armies occurred. On the 13th, Williams, having encamped a wary distance in front of the enemy, keeping them at bay, left his camp-fires burning, and, marching forty miles in a night and part of a day, crossed the Dan in safety, landing on the Virginia shore just as the astonished troops under O'Hara came in sight in pursuit. They have left on record an account of their grief and vexation, "that all their toils and exertions had been in vain, and that all their hopes were frustrated."³

¹ Irving's *Washington*, IV, 231, 232.

² Lee's *Memoirs*, 235 and note. Irving, IV, 232.

³ *Annual Register*, 1781. Irving, IV, 235.

Greene expected to be further pursued ; but Cornwallis did not then venture into Virginia, knowing that the patriot army would soon be strongly reinforced, and that North Carolina was far from being subdued to the British rule. He therefore withdrew by nearly the same lines on which he had advanced. Arriving at Hillsborough on the 20th of February, he rested for a few days, and, setting up the royal standard, sent out printed proclamations inviting the people to return to British rule.¹

These proclamations had some effect, and might have widely spread injury to the patriot cause but for General Greene's prompt measures. He detached Pickens and Lee, with light infantry and cavalry, to recross into North Carolina, hover about Cornwallis, cut off foraging parties, repress Tories, and cheer patriot spirits. Having been reinforced by six hundred Virginia militia under Stevens, he prepared to re-enter North Carolina with his army. On the 23d of February, 1781, he broke up his camp, recrossed the Dan, and marched towards Guilford Court-house.

Meanwhile, the indefatigable Pickens and Lee were in hot pursuit of a detachment under Tarleton ; but, instead of coming up with him, on the 18th of February they came upon a body of four hundred mounted Tories armed with rifles, and commanded by Colonel Pyle, a zealous loyalist. Lee's cavalry and accompaniments were always kept up to a high point of efficiency. Some of Pyle's men mistook Lee for Colonel Tarleton. Pickens's infantry were ordered to keep out of sight, and a plan was formed by which, it was hoped, the whole Tory force would be compelled to surrender without bloodshed.²

But some of Pyle's men discovered the concealed infantry under Pickens, and began to fire on them. This, of necessity, brought on a conflict, in which the American cavalry attacked the mounted Tories, cut down ninety of them in a few minutes, wounded nearly two hundred, and dispersed and routed all who could fly for their lives. No attempt was made to pursue them. Some British historians have characterized this as "a massacre," and even an American author, of high and genial fame, has apparently admitted the justice of the charge ;³ but it was only a bloody blow given to a corps of armed Tories, and brought on by their own attack. When compared with some of Tarleton's butcheries, it was clemency itself.

The rapid and effective movements of Lee and Pickens, and the advance of Greene, effectually destroyed Cornwallis' hopes of a

¹ Lee, 251. Irving, IV. 238.

² Lee's Memoirs, 256, 257.

³ Ex. Stedman, Amer. War. Irving, IV. 240.

general movement of the Carolina people towards reconciliation with Great Britain. He therefore decided again to take the field and to endeavor to destroy the forces under General Greene.

The hostile armies met about two miles south of Guilford Courthouse, now Greensborough, North Carolina. The army of General Greene had been further reinforced by a brigade of Virginia militia, under General Lawson: two brigades of North Carolina militia, under Generals Butler and Eaton, and four hundred regulars, enlisted for eighteen months. His whole force amounted to four thousand two hundred and forty-three foot, including artillery and one hundred and sixty-one cavalry.¹ Numerically, his force nearly doubled that of Cornwallis, which did not exceed two thousand four hundred men of all arms. In artillery the two armies were about equal; but Greene had only one thousand six hundred and seventy Continentals; the rest were raw militia; and the Second Maryland regiment had just been mustered in, and had never been under fire. Cornwallis' troops were all veterans, schooled in warfare, and knowing that their only safety was in standing by one another.

The two opposing commanders deliberately prepared for battle. Cornwallis sent his heavy baggage and wagons to Bell's Mills, on Deep river; Greene sent his to the Iron Works, on Troublesome creek, ten miles in his rear.

As Cornwallis marched towards the chosen battle-field, his advance of cavalry, infantry, and yagers, under Tarleton, came into severe collision, near New Garden, with Lee's partisan legion and some Virginia mountaineers and militia. The fight was bitter and bloody, but Lee's horses were superior, and Tarleton, finding his troops borne down by a charge in close column and a number of them killed, dismounted or prisoners, sounded a retreat. Lee pursued until the appearance of the whole British army admonished him to retire.²

Early on the morning of the 15th of March, 1781, the armies drew near each other for battle. Cornwallis could only deploy into a single line. He had no reserves; he trusted the issue to the superior discipline and fighting power of his troops. Greene, knowing his weakness in these respects as to the greater part of his force, had established three lines: first, the North Carolina militia, volunteers and riflemen, posted behind a fence, with an open field in front and woods on the flanks and in the rear; second, about three hundred yards in the rear, the Virginia militia,

¹ Compare Lee's Memoirs, 283, with Irving, IV. 243.

² Irving, IV. 244, 245. Lee's Memoirs, 273, 274.

under Generals Stevens and Lawson, drawn up across the road and covered by a wood; third, about four hundred yards in the rear, the Continentals, the Virginians on the right, under Huger, the Marylanders on the left, under Williams. Colonel Washington, with his dragoons, Kirkwood's Delaware infantry and a Virginia militia battalion, covered the right flank; Lee's legion, with Campbell's Virginia riflemen, covered the left. Two six-pounders were in the road in advance, and two field-pieces with the rear line.

When the enemy came within artillery range, Singleton opened with his two guns and was answered by the British cannon under McLeod. Very little execution was done by this cannonade. The British advanced in three columns—Hessians and Highlanders on the right, under Leslie; Royal artillery and guards in the centre; Webster's brigade on the left.

The North Carolina militia held a position so strong and well-protected that it was hoped they would stand and fight firmly;¹ but as the British line approached in full martial array, these raw troops became visibly agitated. Some fired when the enemy were yet beyond musket range; some fired without aim; some fired with wavering effect, and then nearly all dropped their guns and took to flight. The second line opened to let the fugitives run through without disorder.

The British rushed on with shouts, assured of success; but they were met by a destructive fire and a firm resistance by the Virginia line. General Stevens, warned by the experience of Camden, had posted forty riflemen in rear of his militia, with orders to shoot down every man who left his place and attempted to fly. Moreover, these men had braced their souls up to a stand. The enemy were resolutely resisted by the second line until General Stevens was wounded in the thigh by a musket ball, when, finding his lines sorely pressed, he ordered a retreat, which was accomplished without disorder.²

The British now advanced with ardor on the third line. Here they met a determined resistance. Colonel Webster attacked the First Maryland regiment, but, seconded by Kirkwood's Delawares and some Virginian troops, they stood his shock gallantly, and finally drove him, with the remnant of his troops, across a ravine. Colonel Stewart, with a battalion of the guards and a company of grenadiers, impetuously attacked the Second Maryland. Being raw troops, they faltered and gave way, abandoning two cannon, which were seized by the enemy. But the First Maryland came

¹ Lee's Memoirs, 277.

² *Ibid.*, 278, 279.

up with fixed bayonets, and Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, rushed to the rescue. A bloody contest occurred; Stewart was slain; the guards gave way; even the grenadiers were routed and fled; the two field-pieces were recaptured, and nothing seemed at hand but the fatal rupture of the whole British line.

But at this crisis of the battle Cornwallis adopted a course never before ventured on by a British general in America. He ordered his artillery to open a fire of grape-shot on the confused lines of his own flying guards and grenadiers and the American troops who were fiercely pursuing them.¹ In vain did General O'Hara remonstrate, saying that the fire would strike down their own men. "True," was the stern reply, "but it must be done to save us from destruction." The fire of grape was rapid and terrible. It slew British and Americans; but it stopped the advance of Howard, Kirkwood and Washington, and compelled them to retreat with their troops. Meanwhile Webster had again appeared on the field, and General Greene, in pursuance of a fixed policy not to sustain a defeat, ordered his army to withdraw. This was done in good order. The enemy soon relinquished all purpose to pursue.

This battle was sanguinary and obstinately fought by those who fought at all. Had the Carolina troops behaved well, the defeat of the enemy would have been certain.

A dismal night of rain and darkness followed the battle, and depressed the victors by the cries and groans of the wounded of both armies who could not be gathered from the field.²

It was soon apparent that, though the British held the ground they had before held, they had really sustained a disastrous defeat. They had lost five hundred and thirty-two in killed and wounded—nearly a third of their army. Colonel Stewart of the guards, Lieutenant O'Hara of the Royal artillery (brother of the general), and many other officers were killed. General O'Hara was severely wounded. General Howard, Colonels Webster and Tarleton, and Captains Stuart, Maynard, Schutz, Peter, Dundas, Wilmonsky and Eichenbrodt, were wounded. Maynard, of the guards, had had a premonition of his own fall, and died in a few days.³ The heavy loss in officers could not be repaired. Charles Fox exclaimed in the House of Commons: "Another such victory will destroy our army there."⁴

¹ Irving, IV. 247. Lee's Memoirs, 280, (note) 283.

² Stedman, II. 346. Lee, 286. Irving, IV. 247, 248.

³ Lee's Memoirs, 284, 285.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 286.

CHAPTER XLII

THE WAR ENDED.

CORNWALLIS' condition was too distressing and precarious to be long endured. His army was reduced to about eighteen hundred. Some of his best officers were dead or disabled. His provisions were daily diminishing, and no supplies coming. His foraging was fearfully hazardous because of the ceaseless movements of Lee, Pickens and Washington. No risings of Tories were taking place; no recruits filling up his meagre ranks. In short, he found it necessary to retreat, and he left his own wounded, as well as the American, in the New Garden church building with a flag of truce.

On the third day after the battle he marched for Cross creek. Greene, whose army had been filled up and inspirited, followed him, presenting the curious anomaly of an army supposed to have lost a battle pursuing the victor. Cornwallis found it necessary to continue his retreat to Wilmington in order to obtain supplies.

Greene pursued him as far as Deep river over roads deep in mud and mire. Cornwallis had broken down the bridge behind him, and decamped so hastily that he had left several quarters of fresh beef, on which the half-famished patriots seized and ravenously fed.¹

General Greene did not pursue him further. It was unnecessary, as he was now driven bodily from North Carolina to a post near her extreme eastern border. The militia of Greene's army had sustained great hardships, and, as their periods of service had expired, they claimed a discharge. Greene dismissed them to their homes; and, having cleared North Carolina of invaders, determined to march to the relief of South Carolina.²

He advanced to a point near Camden and took position at Hobkirk's Hill. Here he was attacked by Lord Rawdon on the 25th of April. This young British general took with great promptness and vigor the only course that promised him any relief. His outposts were attacked and were falling, and his position at Camden would soon be untenable. He marched upon

¹ Irving's Washington, IV. 251.

² Irving, IV. 253. Lee's Mem., 320-325.

Greene, and made his attack just when a welcome supply of food had reached the camp and the men were eating or washing their clothes.¹ But he was met vigorously, and would have been signally defeated but for an unaccountable panic which invaded the First Maryland regiment, under Colonel Gunby, at a critical moment. Greene was obliged to retreat with a loss of two hundred and sixty-eight killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was two hundred and fifty-eight. Rawdon derived no benefit from his success, and was soon obliged to shut himself up in Camden.²

Meanwhile the movements of the patriot partisans, under Lee, Sumter, Marion, Hampton, Horry and Clarke, were crowned with a series of decisive successes. Fort Watson was captured by Lee and Marion. Fort Motte, the middle post between Camden and Ninety Six, was next besieged by them. The siege was pressed with all the more vigor, because Rawdon was seeking to relieve the post by a diversion. Fort Motte was the chief depot of the convoys from Charleston to Camden and Fort Granby. It had a garrison of one hundred and fifty, and was surrounded by a deep trench, on the inner bank of which was a strong parapet. Within the enclosure was a large and costly wooden dwelling belonging to Mrs. Motte. She was a devoted patriot and had been driven from her house. She occupied a small cottage within the American lines. If her house could be burned to the ground the surrender of the fort was inevitable, as the American cannon commanded the whole interior. Colonel Lee, with visible agitation, communicated to Mrs. Motte the necessity. The patriot lady smiled, and said she was rejoiced by such a sacrifice to help her country's cause. She gave to Lee an Indian bow and arrows to aid in the work of destruction. A summons was sent to Captain McPherson, the commandant, demanding surrender. He refused. It was now mid-day. The burning sun had prepared the shingles for ignition. An arrow with flaming combustibles was sent from the bow to the roof; then another, and another. The flames caught and spread rapidly. McPherson sent his men on the roof to strike off the burning shingles, but they were instantly driven down by a fire of grape from the American guns. The house burned to the ground. McPherson surrendered immediately. Lee admonished him somewhat gravely as to the loss of time he had cost him. But Mrs. Motte invited them both to dine with her, and they fared sumptuously.³ The British officers were permitted to go to Charleston on parole.

¹ Lee's Memoirs, 336.

² Lee's Memoirs, 338, 339. Irving, IV. 296.

³ Lee's Memoirs, 347, 349.

Fort Granby was the next post to fall into patriot hands. After it came the capture of Forts Galphin and Grierson. And on the 5th of June, 1781, Pickens, Lee and Clarke were successful in their siege of Augusta, and compelled the Tory Col. Thomas Browne to surrender with three hundred men and a large amount of munitions of war.

General Greene was so much encouraged by some of these important successes that he determined on an attack on the post of Ninety Six; but this post was very strong, and had an adequate garrison. His attack was made on the 18th of June, and, after gaining the outworks and suffering severe loss, he was obliged to relinquish his effort and withdraw. On the 13th of July he crossed the Saluda, and posted his army on the high hills of Santee. Here he passed the heated and sickly season, giving his men the benefit of pure and breezy skies and excellent water and healthful food to prepare them for the fall campaign.¹

He had had many evidences of the patriotism of the people of South Carolina, especially of the women. Soon after retiring from Ninety Six, it became very important for him to communicate with General Sumter; but the intervening country was filled with British troops and Tories, and no man would volunteer. A young girl of eighteen years—Emily Geiger—volunteered. She received from Greene a letter and a verbal message, and, mounting a swift horse, set out on her perilous journey. She was stopped by two Tories, but in a moment when unobserved she swallowed General Greene's letter, and, nothing suspicious being found on her, she was permitted to proceed. She reached Sumter's camp and delivered the message. The effect was so to concentrate the movements of all the American forces in South Carolina that Rawdon was obliged to evacuate Camden and Ninety Six and retreat upon Charleston.²

This English lord found all power in South Carolina and Georgia wrested from his hands. He was preparing to leave America and return to England because of ill health. His family name was Francis Rawdon Hastings. He belonged to a line of noblemen, and ere he died, in 1826, he became, by the death of his father, in 1793, Earl of Moira, and in 1816 was created Viscount Loudon, Earl of Rawdon and Marquis of Hastings.³ But notwithstanding the privileged blood running in his veins, his name is destined to bear a foul and indelible stain in the eyes of every person, in every land, who can justly claim to be a lover of his country.

¹ Irving, IV. 299. Quackenbos, 291.

² Quackenbos, 290, 291.

³ Art. Hastings, New Amer. Encyclop., VIII. 758, 759.

Isaac Hayne was a native of South Carolina, a descendant from an English family from near Shrewsbury, in Shropshire, who had migrated to America about the year 1700. He was a planter, with large possessions in the districts of Beaufort and Colleton, and was part owner in extensive iron works in York district.

He was warmly patriotic, and had served in an American cavalry regiment, which kept the field during the siege and up to the capitulation of Charleston. Being considered as in the forces commanded by General Lincoln, he was included in the surrender, and partook of the benefits and disabilities of its terms.

One article provided that the militia of the surrendered forces should be permitted to return to their homes as prisoners on parole, which parole, as long as observed, should secure them from being molested in their property.¹ Under this Hayne returned to his home, and was quietly pursuing his domestic avocations when Captain Ballingall, a British militia officer of his district, went to him and communicated orders from Sir Henry Clinton, under which persons situated as he was were required to become British subjects or to return instantly to the commandant at Charleston. Hayne's family were ill—one of his children had died and his wife was dying. He urged these facts, as well as his rights under the terms of surrender; but all he could obtain was the privilege of remaining temporarily with his family upon his signing a written stipulation, by which he engaged "to demean himself as a British subject so long as the country should be covered by the British army."²

Anxious to obtain permission to remain with his family, he went to Charleston, exhibited his agreement with Ballingall, and asked leave to return to his suffering wife and children. It was peremptorily refused, and he was told that he "must either become a British subject or submit to close confinement." This brutal injustice and bad faith placed him in a torturing dilemma, which he commented on in an affecting letter to his friend, Dr. Ramsay, who was then also a prisoner in British hands. In this letter, in speaking of his needed presence and support for his family, he said: "I request you to bear in mind that, previous to my taking this step, I declare that it is contrary to my inclination, and forced on me by hard necessity. I never will bear arms against my country."³

He received from General Patterson and from Simpson, intendant of police in Charleston, assurances that military service

¹ Art. Fourth, Lee's Memoirs, 449.

² Lee's Memoirs, 450.

³ Hayne to Dr. Ramsay, Lee, 451.

against his country would never be required of him, with the statement added that "when the regular forces cannot defend the country without the aid of its inhabitants, it will be high time for the royal army to quit it." He then made a formal acknowledgment of allegiance to the British crown, openly excepting, however, the clause which required his support of government with arms.

He hastened back to his home, but only in time to witness the death of his wife and of another of his children. He continued in private life, resisting several solicitations to join the American military forces, on the ground that duty and honor forbade it while his status remained unchanged.

But his status did not remain unchanged. The successes of the American forces gradually drove in all the British and Tory forces who remained unkilld, unwounded or uncaptured by the patriots. The British army was closely shut up in Charleston; they ceased to give either military control or protection to the district in which Hayne lived; and by a pressure severe indeed, yet not adequate to justify a breach of faith, they were driven to demand military service from all British subjects whom they could reach. They broke their promise to Hayne, and required him to serve in their army.¹

These facts changed radically the status of Hayne. He was obliged to take up arms; of course, he took up arms for his own country. He entered the field with mounted militia as his followers. One Williamson, of Scottish descent, had become exceedingly obnoxious to the patriots; he was active and influential in resisting the British rule up to the fall of Charleston. After that event he became recreant to his former faith, espoused the English cause, and exerted himself malignantly against American independence. Hayne's first expedition was for the capture of Williamson, which he succeeded in effecting by penetrating the neck of Charleston. It was afterwards asserted by Lord Rawdon that Hayne's object in this incursion was one "of singular malignity," and that he openly participated in "the insulting triumph with which Mr. Williamson was told that the purpose in capturing him was to have him hanged in the camp of General Greene."²

It is certain that this capture created great excitement among the British and Tories in Charleston. Colonel Balfour, com-

¹Art. Hayne, *New Amer. Encyclop.*, IX. 1, 2. Quackenbos, 292. Derry, 152. Stephens, 266. Barnes & Co.'s *U. S.*, 134.

²Letter from the Marquis of Hastings (formerly Lord Rawdon and then Earl of Moira) to Henry Lee, dated 24th June, 1813. *Lee's Memoirs*, Append. U., p. 618.

manding there, sent out a strong detachment of cavalry to pursue the Americans and recapture Williamson. They were met and sharply repelled by Colonel Harden with his mounted militia; but, unfortunately, Hayne had gone to breakfast with a friend two miles from the camp. He was surprised by a squad of the enemy, and, in endeavoring to escape, his horse fell at a fence which he attempted to leap.¹ Hayne was captured and carried to Charleston.

He was never properly tried, never given the opportunity of summoning witnesses and exhibiting the facts of his case. He was simply brought before a body of four staff-officers and five captains, who were not sworn, and before whom he had neither counsel nor witnesses.² On the 29th of July, he was informed by the town major "that in consequence of the court of inquiry, held as directed, Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour had resolved on his execution on Tuesday, the 31st instant, at six o'clock, for having been found under arms and employed in raising a regiment to oppose the British government after he had become a subject and accepted the protection of government at the reduction of Charleston."³

Earnest efforts to save him from a death of ignominy were made. A respite of forty-eight hours was granted, stated to have been by reason of a petition from Governor Bull and many others, and of the humane treatment by Hayne of British prisoners who had fallen into his hands.⁴ Availing themselves of this interval, his sister, Mrs. Peronneau, and his children, all in deep mourning garments, waited on Lord Rawdon and implored him to spare the life of the brother and father. His lordship had the power to do this. A word from him would have arrested the execution; but his "resolve was fixed and unchangeable."

Colonel Hayne resumed his serenity and calmly prepared for the death which awaited him. He embraced his motherless children, and said to his son, a fine boy, in his fourteenth year: "Go to the place of my execution, receive my body, and see it decently interred with my forefathers."⁵

On the 4th of August, 1781, he was led out to the place of execution. On seeing the gibbet he paused. A friend by his side whispered: "You will now exhibit an example of the manner in which an American can die." He replied, "I will endeavor to do so"; and he died firmly. But it is related that his son, when he saw his father faintly writhing in the agonies of suffocation,

¹ Lee's Memoirs, 452, 453.

³ Lee's Memoirs, 453.

⁵ Lee's Memoirs, 456.

² Hayne's letter, in London Political Mag. Lee, 453, 454.

⁴ Town Major of Charleston to Hayne. Lee's Memoirs, 455.

uttered a bitter cry : " Oh, my father ! " and never afterwards, in a life of many years, was heard to utter a connected sentence.

This execution was not justified by law, civil or military, nor by any usage of civilized nations. Hayne was not in the status of a prisoner who had broken his parole and taken up arms against the government that paroled him. The utmost that could be maintained against him was that he had re-assumed the position of a British subject ; but he had become such with the express promise that he was not to be required to take arms against America, and that when the British army ceased to control and protect his home his obligation of fealty to Great Britain ceased. Both of these conditions had failed, in his favor, before he re-entered his country's service.

The subject of his execution was brought up in the British House of Lords, and the Duke of Richmond denounced the course of Rawdon therein as " illegal," " barbarous " and " impolitic." It is worthy of note that Rawdon, in the elaborate efforts he afterwards made to clear himself of the blot on his fame affixed by this transaction, made no allusion to his own course in ordering into British military service the class of subjects which included Hayne, and sought to shift from his own shoulders to those of Colonel Balfour the responsibility of the policy pursued ; and Balfour, in like manner, sought to throw the responsibility back on Cornwallis !¹

The explanation is that the British cause was waning even to extinction in South Carolina, and that a desperate and barbarous measure, as illegitimate as it was vain, was used with the hope of discouraging American hearts and stopping the tide that was sweeping English influence from the land.²

General Greene threatened retaliation especially upon British army officers ; and, by a singular course of providential direction, the ship in which Lord Rawdon sailed for England was captured by a French cruiser and brought into Chesapeake Bay ; and, on the 19th of October, 1781, Cornwallis fell under the power of Washington ; but the war was then, in substance, closed, and a policy of peace drove out thoughts of bloody retaliation. But the blot on Lord Rawdon's fame has never been removed.

He left behind him Colonel Stuart, of the guards, as commander of the British forces in South Carolina. On the 22d of August, General Greene, having sufficiently refreshed his men, left the hills of Santee and marched cautiously towards Charles-

¹ Letter of Earl Moira, 24th June, 1813. Letter of Balfour to General Greene, September 13, 1781. Lee's Memoirs, 457, 613-620.

² Earl of Moira's letter, with answer, in " Southern Review," Feb., 1828, by Ro. Y. Hayne.

ton. He was joined by reinforcements under Marion, Sumter, Malmedy and Henderson, until his force was about two thousand three hundred in number, and especially strong in cavalry under Lee and Washington. Colonel Stuart fell back before him until he reached the Eutaw Springs, a small affluent of the Santee river, and about sixty miles northwest of Charleston.

Here occurred, on the 8th of September, 1781, the last battle of the war in the Carolinas. A reconnoitering body of the enemy were defeated and driven back with some loss early in the day. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers—about two thousand three hundred each—but the Americans were superior in cavalry.¹ The attack was made by the patriots, who advanced with alacrity and fought with signal courage and effect, the militia of North and South Carolina and Virginia actually vying with the regulars in the courage and constancy of their advance and the destructive accuracy of their fire. The enemy's lines were swept back with heavy loss. The Americans even penetrated to their camp, and, in the confidence of victory, began to feast on the food and delicacies and drink the liquors there found.²

But Stuart was not slow in discovering their want of caution. His grenadiers and light infantry under Major Majoribanks occupied a strong position in a covert thickly wooded with "black-jack" and other small trees. Upon this the cavalry under Washington had made repeated assaults. Unable to penetrate the covert they suffered severely under the steady fire from within, and were compelled to withdraw. Colonel Washington's horse was shot under him, and he was wounded and taken prisoner. Majoribanks now advanced his line and began to sweep with his fire the unprotected flanks of the Americans. A strong brick house and enclosures was Stuart's rallying point. Into this he threw all the troops he could collect, and from it poured out a ceaseless fire. Greene made efforts to capture this stronghold, but, finding he could not carry it by assault without heavy loss, and knowing that the British could not long hold their position, he gave orders for withdrawing his army, and left the enemy in possession of his regained camp.³

In this strange battle the British lost one hundred and thirty-three killed and wounded and five hundred prisoners. The Americans lost five hundred and thirty-five in killed, wounded and missing; but among their killed was the brave Colonel Campbell; among their wounded were all the commandants of

¹ Compare Lee, 465, 466. Irving, IV. 334-336. Art. Eutaw Springs, Amer. Encyclop., VII. 341.

² Irving, IV. 338.

³ Irving, IV. 338, 339. Lee, 472.

regiments, except Williams and Lee, and including Washington, Howard and Henderson.¹

As Greene expected, Colonel Stuart could not hold his post at Eutaw Springs. He broke up his camp immediately after the battle and retired to Charleston, from which no further efforts were made to possess the country. Greene's work was done, and the congress thanked him and his men, presenting him with a British standard and a gold medal emblematic of the battle.²

The current of history now turns to the fated and final march of Cornwallis to Virginia. He had long contemplated it. Calling in all his outlying forces, he left Wilmington in April and marched towards the border. On the 25th of April he was approaching Halifax, with Tarleton in the van scouring the country with one hundred and eighty dragoons and light troops. At Roanoke occurred an incident creditable to Cornwallis. A sergeant and private of Tarleton's troop during the night had forcibly outraged an unhappy girl in the country and robbed her home. The next morning Cornwallis came up with six dragoons of his guard, overtook Tarleton, and directed him to draw up his men in line. The two delinquents were pointed out. They were seized, tried by martial law, and instantly put to death. This stopped disorders. On the 20th of May, Cornwallis entered Petersburg, and united the troops there with his command.³

The Marquis De La Fayette was in command of the patriot forces in Virginia, and covered himself with honor by his prudence and skill. He had about three thousand troops, Continental and militia, but they were imperfectly armed, because eleven hundred expected muskets had not arrived. Cornwallis crossed the James at Westover, fully convinced that "the boy" could not escape him. He was specially anxious to prevent the junction of La Fayette and General Wayne, who, with about nine hundred Pennsylvania Continentals, was rapidly approaching from the north. But as he came nearer the Marquis retreated, keenly watching his adversary, and detecting every stratagem practiced to ensnare him. Finding that he could not bring him to battle, Cornwallis changed his plan, and determined to play havoc with the resources of Virginia, and, if possible, to seize the persons of her leading men. He encamped on the North Anna river. On the 10th of June, at the Raccoon Ford, in Culpeper county, Wayne, with his troops, joined La Fayette.⁴ He again cautiously advanced.

¹ Lee's Memoirs, 472.

² Resolutions of Cong., Oct. 29th, 1781.

³ Tarleton's Campaigns, 289, 290. Stedman, II. 385.

⁴ Stedman, 385. Girardin, 489.

At Point of Fork, between the Rivanna and the south branch of the James, the Virginians had gathered a quantity of military stores. Baron Steuben, with six hundred raw militia, guarded them. Cornwallis detached Colonel Simcoe, with five hundred picked men, to advance on Steuben, and at the same time sent off Tarleton, with his cavalry and light troops, to pursue the governor and the law-makers of Virginia.

With proper caution Steuben had retired across the south branch, carrying with him all the important stores. Simcoe's troops appeared on the heights of the Rivanna so suddenly that thirty of the Virginia militia fell into his hands. Determined, if possible, to seize the stores, the British partisan resorted to a stratagem, and the honest old Prussian officer fell into the snare. Simcoe spread his camp far and wide over the hills, lighted a large number of fires, and used every sign to indicate the presence of the *whole British army*. Hearing of Tarleton's approach on his left, and fearing he would be crushed, Steuben abandoned all the heavier stores and retreated thirty miles during the night. Simcoe destroyed the stores and rejoined Cornwallis.¹

Tarleton pushed at speed for Charlottesville, capturing and destroying, on the 4th of June, twelve wagons loaded with clothing for the Southern army. At the residences of Dr. Walker and Mr. John Walker he captured John Simms, a Virginia senator, and William and Robert Nelson, brothers of General Nelson, who succeeded Thomas Jefferson as Governor of Virginia. This little diversion saved the legislature, which was in session at Charlottesville. Hearing of Tarleton's approach, they adjourned to meet in Staunton on the 7th of June, and the members dispersed and fled. Tarleton detached Captain McLeod with a party to seize Governor Jefferson and his family at his country-seat, Monticello; but, by a well-timed movement, they escaped. McLeod committed no violence to books, papers or private effects at Monticello. Tarleton destroyed a thousand new fire-locks, four hundred barrels of powder, and a stock of soldiers' clothing, and, having secured as prisoners seven members of the legislature, he rejoined the main army.

Cornwallis advanced as far as the Point of Fork. He took possession of Elk Hill, one of Mr. Jefferson's estates, and on this and other plantations in Virginia a system of wanton and barbarous devastation was pursued. The cattle were slaughtered or driven off, all horses fit for use were seized, and the throats of the young horses were cut; the growing crops of grain and tobacco

¹ Stedman's Amer. War, II. 389. Girardin, 497, 498.

were destroyed, and every barn and fence was burned. In the various British incursions under Matthew, Arnold, Phillips and Cornwallis, the design seemed to be to break the very sinews of Virginia. Thirty thousand slaves were carried off, of whom twenty-seven thousand are supposed to have died of small-pox or camp fever in six months. Property estimated at three million pounds sterling was destroyed or carried off.¹

Cornwallis was anxious to destroy a large depôt of valuable military stores collected by the Virginians at Albemarle Old Court-house; but La Fayette, having now about four thousand men under his command, opened a disused road, since known as the "Marquis' Road," and occupied an impregnable position just between the stores and the British army.² Being again baffled by "the boy," Cornwallis grew wary, and having, just at this time, received instructions from Sir Henry Clinton in New York, turned his front and marched slowly towards the eastern coast.

La Fayette, having been reinforced by Steuben and his troops, followed cautiously, not deceived by this show of retreat. On the Chickahominy, not far from Williamsburg, a sharp encounter occurred between Simcoe, with his rangers, who had been sent out to maraud, and a part of Colonel Butler's Pennsylvania line, under McPherson. As infantry could not march fast enough for his purposes, McPherson mounted fifty of them, with their arms and ammunition, behind fifty of his dragoons, and pushed forward to a farm where the British rangers, under Captain Shank, were busy in free pillage. The collision was severe. McPherson was wounded and unhorsed; but his men continued the fight with success. Simcoe left a drove of cattle and came up with his infantry. Butler's riflemen also arrived and took part in the *mêlée*. It was bloody and well sustained on both sides. Alarm guns were fired, and it was thought the whole armies on both sides would engage; but Simcoe retired, and the Americans were encouraged by their part of the contest.³

After a halt of nine days at Williamsburg, on the 4th of July Cornwallis prepared to cross the James, having selected Jamestown Island as the best place for his purpose. La Fayette had formed a plan to attack the rear of his army after the van had crossed to the island; but Cornwallis had sagaciously penetrated this plan, and he availed himself of it so skillfully as to endanger the American army. During the 5th and 6th a great display of

¹ Girardin, 503, 504, with notes. Tucker's Jefferson, I. 148. Gordon, III. 389.

² Gordon's America, III. 210. Girardin, 506, 507.

³ Irving, IV. 290, 291.

crossing was made; wheel carriages of every sort, baggage, bat-horses, everything *except troops*, went over under escort of the Queen's rangers. But Cornwallis, with the great body of his army, remained. His camp was concealed by a skirt of woods and covered by an outpost.

La Fayette was for a time deceived, and the deceit was confirmed by a negro and a trooper employed by Tarleton, who pretended to be deserters, and informed the American advance that the great body of the king's troops had crossed, and that only a small rear-guard remained.¹

Wayne was eager for battle; La Fayette gave the command. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th, the riflemen, under Call and Willis, advanced on a causeway leading from Greenspring towards Williamsburg, and opened the attack; the cavalry, under Armand and Mercer, came next; then followed the Continentals, under Wayne; and Baron Steuben, with the militia, formed a reserve. Cornwallis had drawn his troops into a compact mass, ordering his pickets and outpost guards to make a show of resistance and then retreat. Wayne drove them all before his riflemen. He had three field-pieces, which began to fire with effect; but suddenly two thousand British infantry emerged from their masked camp; the whole army of the enemy was in array; Yorke attacked on the right, Dundas on the left. The American riflemen stood firmly. Wayne discovered his error, but, with the instincts of a soldier, retrieved it by ordering a charge, and threw himself, horse and foot, with shouts upon the enemy. The contest was sanguinary, but the enemy were too numerous and were outflanking Wayne. La Fayette, discovering the truth in time from the heaviness of the British fire, ordered a retreat of Wayne's troops to the cover of General Muhlenberg's brigade, which had just arrived. Wayne regained the causeway and retired in good order, leaving, however, his three field-pieces in the enemy's hands.² The horses were killed, and he could not bring them off.

Cornwallis forbade pursuit. The impetuosity of Wayne's attack, and his sudden and orderly retreat, made the British commander believe that La Fayette's army had been largely reinforced, and that a feint was practiced to draw him across the morass by the narrow causeways. He withdrew to the island and continued his retreat to Portsmouth. The American loss in this brief, but stern, battle was one hundred and eighteen killed, wounded and

¹ Stedman, II. 394, 395. Girardin, 512, 513. Irving, IV. 292.

² Stedman, II. 395. Girardin, 513. Irving, IV. 293.

prisoners. The British lost five officers and seventy-five privates killed and wounded.

It was soon known that Cornwallis' movements were the result of orders from Sir Henry Clinton. The French admiral, Count De Grasse, with a fleet of twenty-five ships of the line, and carrying three thousand land troops, was on the American coast. Everything indicated to Sir Henry Clinton a purpose on the part of Washington and the French commanders to make a combined attack on New York. This threatened so seriously that Sir Henry expected to need all the troops he could summon to his aid. He had, therefore, ordered Cornwallis to take a position with his army at some point on the deep waters of Virginia, from which he might, if needful, detach a part of his force to aid the British in New York.¹

In pursuance of these instructions, Cornwallis selected York and Gloucester Points, at the mouth of York river, and by the 22d of August had occupied them with his army and thrown up strong forts and intrenchments. Here was to be enacted the final scene of the war.

Washington had really contemplated an attack on New York, and had, with the French naval and military commanders, concerted plans for that object. But he kept his eye on the whole field, ready to operate on the point on which he could hope for most decisive success. A modern statesman and historian has given strong reasons for the belief that the battle of Guilford Court-house and the subsequent retreat of Cornwallis to Wilmington had been the efficient cause of directing the attention of Washington to his move for final success at Yorktown.²

Learning that the Count De Grasse was in position and spirit to aid him, Washington gave the decisive orders by which the combined French and American armies under his command left the Jerseys and turned south on that memorable march to invest Cornwallis in his trenches at York. Before he joined La Fayette, Washington heard with joy that De Grasse had entered the Chesapeake with his fleet and land forces, thus intercepting all avenues of retreat by sea for Cornwallis or of succor to him. The American commander-in-chief and the French commanding officers, De Grasse, Rochambeau and St. Simon, were now in daily communication of the most cordial character, and vied with each other in pressing on the siege. Twenty-five war ships and sixteen thousand soldiers hemmed in Cornwallis at Yorktown and

¹ Irving, IV. 294. Prof. Johnston's U. S., 74, 75.

² Thomas H. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View." Stephens' Comp. U. S., 264.

Tarleton on Gloucester Point. Not a moment was lost in landing mortars and munitions, and in preparing to open lines of trenches for attack.

The first fire was opened on the 7th of October, and from that day the besieged army knew not a moment of repose. Mortars poured a ceaseless storm of shells upon the outworks and the town, tearing down the defences and often throwing the bodies of the British artillerists into the air.¹ Heavy cannon pierced the houses with solid shot and dismounted the guns in the batteries. The fire of the engineers was terribly accurate and effective. Often their shells struck within three feet of the point aimed at and exploded within a few seconds of the intended time. At one discharge, during the night, a red-hot ball from a French battery passed entirely over the town and fell amid the rigging of the *Charon*, a British forty-four-gun ship lying in the harbor. Instantly masts, shrouds and running gear were a sheet of flame; two other ships near her caught fire, and all burned to the waters' edge. Even from the first parallel, the fire was so destructive that the enemy's batteries were nearly silenced and much of the town was reduced to ruin.²

Governor Nelson had joined the army with all the militia he could obtain by his calls. He had an aged and infirm uncle, Secretary Nelson, in the town, who had two sons in the American army. Washington applied to Cornwallis, who humanely permitted the old man to withdraw, to the great joy of his nephew and sons. The governor owned the most prominent dwelling-house in Yorktown, and, seeing that the gunners refrained from aiming at it, he earnestly insisted that two heavy guns should be trained upon it, knowing that it was occupied by British officers. At the first fire, two officers, then at table, were killed, and the house was soon cut to pieces. The tenable part of the town was rapidly narrowed. The besiegers were soon ready with their second parallel; but, in approaching it, they had been severely annoyed by two redoubts thrown in advance of the intrenchments, and Washington resolved to carry them by storm.

A high spirit of generous emulation was now in the combined armies. To the Americans was assigned the duty of capturing the redoubt on the right. La Fayette commanded them, and Maj. Alexander Hamilton led them to the assault. It was made with conspicuous impetuosity. The men did not wait for the sappers to demolish the abattis in the usual manner, but pushed or

¹ Dr. Thatcher's narrative.

² Girardin, 527. Thatcher's narrative, Howe, 525.

pulled them aside with their hands, and scrambled over like bush-fighters. Hamilton was the first to mount the parapet, with the aid of a soldier's shoulder. The redoubt was carried at the point of the bayonet, with the loss of forty-one killed and wounded.¹

The French were to capture the redoubt on the left. It was stronger and better garrisoned than the other. The Baron De Viomesnil led the assaulting force. It was composed in part of the grenadiers of the regiment of Gatinais, which had been formed out of that of Auvergne. Rochambeau had once been its colonel, and by its brave and honorable conduct it had gained as its title, "*D'Auvergne sans tache*." Rochambeau reminded them of this as they took their places to head the assault.²

The attack was successful, but the redoubt was not carried without severe loss. The French killed and wounded numbered one hundred and twenty.

Washington, in a near and exposed position, witnessed these two attacks with an interest not to be described. A musket ball struck very near him. One of his aids ventured to observe that the position was dangerous. "If you think so," was the grave reply, "you are at liberty to step back." When both forts were captured, Washington drew a long breath and said: "The work is done, *and well done*." Then he calmly called to his servant: "William, bring me my horse."³

Hardly were the redoubts carried before they were included in the second parallel, and the fire was opened with destructive effect. Cornwallis had maintained his position, hoping for aid from Sir Henry Clinton; but it came not. He began to contemplate his almost desperate situation. On the Gloucester side Tarleton could render him no help. Indeed, that redoubtable partisan had suffered severely in an encounter with General De Choisy's troops, under Lauzun and Weedon, and could not venture out even for forage to save his starving horses.

The defences of Yorktown were battered to pieces. An assault by fourteen thousand French and American troops upon less than six thousand effectives was an event the responsibility of which Cornwallis could not face; but his haughty spirit writhed under the very thought of surrender. He looked around him on every side for an avenue of escape. One expedient of utter desperation suggested itself: he might leave his sick, wounded and weak, his baggage and heavy artillery, and, crossing with his effective men to the Gloucester shore, might overpower the besiegers there,

¹Otis' Botta, II. 399. Girardin, 523. Irving's Washington, IV. 346.

²Irving, IV. 345. Otis' Botta, II. 399.

³Irving's Washington, IV. 348.

seize horses, mount his men, and burst away towards the north like a lion escaped from the toils of the hunter.

On the night of October 16th boats were made ready, troops were embarked. The first division had crossed. Hope began to come to his spirit; but Heaven fought against him. A furious storm of wind and rain beat him back. With difficulty his men in the boats were saved. Daylight disclosed his attempt.¹ The fire of the besiegers became more furious and destructive than before. The last resource of Cornwallis had been tried and failed.

He was a brave man, and it would have been unworthy of a brave man to attempt longer resistance. On the 19th of October the articles of capitulation, the heads of which had been previously agreed on, were signed by Cornwallis. By these the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester Point were surrendered to General Washington as commander-in-chief of the combined armies; and the ships of war, transports and other vessels to the Count De Grasse as commander of the French fleet. The land forces were to be prisoners of war to the United States; the seamen to the King of France.

At two o'clock the garrison marched out and laid down their arms. Cornwallis could not personally face the event. Upon the plea of indisposition, he remained at his quarters, overwhelmed with grief and vexation. General O'Hara acted for him, and surrendered his sword to General Lincoln, whom Washington deputed to act for him. It is said that many of the soldiers were seen to throw their muskets violently down, as if in a rage, and when Colonel Abercrombie's corps laid down their arms, he covered his face and turned aside, biting the hilt of his sword.²

The total number of prisoners was seven thousand and seventy-three. During the siege the British loss was five hundred and fifty-two in killed, wounded and missing; the combined armies lost three hundred killed. The besiegers' forces amounted to sixteen thousand, of which seven thousand were French, five thousand five hundred Continentals, and three thousand five hundred militia.³

By one article of the agreement, Cornwallis was permitted to send the *Bonetta*, sloop-of-war, *unsearched* to New York. He thus secured the safety of many Tories, who deserved the fate of traitors from their countrymen. On her return, the *Bonetta* was to be the prize of the French. The Americans had the field artillery. They gained eight mortars and one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, most of which were of brass.

¹ Otis' Botta, II. 401. Irving, IV. 350, 351.

² Dr. Thatcher, in Howe, 528.

³ Holmes' Annals, II. 333. Irving, IV. 352, note.

But all material gains sunk into insignificance when compared with the moral effect of the surrender of Cornwallis. It ended the war of the Revolution, and was recognized as the end by both nations.

On the side of the Americans the news of this decisive event was received everywhere with profound thankfulness and joy. On every lip the words were: "Cornwallis is taken." The door-keeper of the American congress is said to have been so overcome with emotion when he first heard the tidings that he fell back in a swoon and was taken up dead.¹

The congress gave way to transports of joy. They voted thanks to Washington, to De Grasse, to Rochambeau, to all the officers and men of the allied forces. Two stands of colors were voted to Washington, two pieces of field ordnance to the French admiral and commanding general. It was decreed that a marble monument should be erected commemorative of the alliance of France and America and of the victory. And this congress forgot not the duty of thanksgiving to the God of all the earth. The same evening they went in solemn procession to the Lutheran church to engage in services of thanksgiving, and by proclamation they appointed a day to be observed by all people throughout the country for thanks and prayer in acknowledgment of this signal favor of Divine Providence.²

On the side of Great Britain the emotions of disappointment and vexation were equally as great. When Lord George Germain announced the tidings to the premier, Lord North, at his office in Downing street, they produced an effect which Germain afterwards described. "How did he take it?" was the inquiry. Germain answered: "As he would have taken a ball in the breast. He opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment, 'O God! it is all over!'"³

Sir Henry Clinton's emotions of chagrin were among the deepest felt. On the very day of the surrender he had actually dispatched from New York the lingering armament intended for the relief of Cornwallis. It consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, two fifty-gun ships, and eight frigates, with seven thousand of Clinton's best troops. He accompanied them himself, and in his fleet sailed a midshipman, who was afterwards King William IV. of England. Arriving off the capes of Virginia on the 24th, Clinton heard of the surrender, and returned to New York.⁴

¹ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 141.

² Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 141. Irving's Washington, IV. 356.

³ Wraxall's Histor. Memoirs, II. 99. Irving's Washington, IV. 356.

⁴ Prof. Holmes' U. S., 154. Irving, IV. 355.

George III. and Lord North would fain have continued the war ; but the English people had long been weary of it, and they made known their sentiments through the House of Commons, who, early in March, 1782, passed strong resolutions against the war, one of which declared those who favored its continuance to be enemies of their country.¹

Lord North resigned, and a ministry favorable to peace was formed. Early in May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived in New York to succeed Sir Henry Clinton, who had asked leave to retire. Sir Guy brought pacific news ; commissioners to negotiate terms of peace had been appointed by Great Britain and France.

The war of the Revolution was ended. In truth, the people had long enjoyed practical independence except at the few points controlled by the enemy.² We are now to treat of the Revolution itself, which the war was only the means of confirming.

¹ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 112. Quackenbos, 299.

² Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 75.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE REVOLUTION ITSELF.

THE universal historic consensus which has affixed the name of "the Revolution" to the changes wrought in the colonies between the years 1775 and 1789, has had a deep foundation. If a revolution be so complete a turn of the wheel of events that those things are brought down which were formerly paramount, and those things are brought up to the top which were formerly at the bottom, then these changes were indeed a revolution.

It will be sufficient for our purposes to note these changes under four heads. They will embrace all that was essential in the Revolution. They were :

First. The rejection of kingly government.

Second. The destruction of all privileged orders, feudalities and entails.

Third. The separation of church and state.

Fourth. The establishment of independent self-government.

As to kings, the early colonists had been educated under the same system which had brought the Old World to believe that the only government proper for man was a kingdom. So nearly universal had been this form that the brief exceptions in the ancient patriarchal governments, the governments of the elders, the Hebrew commonwealth and judges, the Greek and Roman republics, were looked upon more as myths and legends than as realities.

Even students of Holy Scripture had found little to encourage hopes for a republic. They realized that the only perfect government in the universe—the government of God—was a pure monarchy, and they had not reflected sufficiently on the fact that the fall and universal depravity of the human race had forbidden man to expect safety in intrusting sovereign power to a king in the person of one of this fallen and criminal race. Yet it now seems strange that those who studied the Old Testament scriptures and professed to believe them to be inspired of God should not have drawn from them the lesson against kings and kingly government, taught by these infallible oracles in such passages as the eighth chapter of the First Book of Samuel and all the inspired histories of the kings of Judah and Israel.

But, as a matter of fact, kings have been submitted to by men in the earlier ages of the world, because earthly government was a necessity arising from the passions and vices of mankind, and men were too ignorant and too wicked to be capable of self-government. Our earliest records of the uprising of kings give us the picture of a hero—a man taller and stronger and more agile than his fellow-mortals, or else men intellectual and domineering in mind and disposition.¹ And when once a king was established, the claim of hereditary right of succession was certain to follow, not only from the king's own selfishness and ambition, but from the ignorance and indolence of the people.

Thus it happened that when the English colonies began to take root in America a king had reached the throne who had brought himself to believe that he reigned by immediate grant of right from God, and that any attempts to restrain his power or limit his prerogative were usurpations against Divine right. He believed in demons, demonstrated with erudition the reality of witchcraft, and successfully urged his Parliament to make it a capital offence. He undertook to show "why the devil doth work more with auncient women than with others"; and afterwards*not a year of his reign passed without the infliction of the penalty of death for alleged witchcraft, and generally on old women!² He hated religious as well as civil freedom. When the Puritans humbly sought reasonable concessions he replied: "You are aiming at a Scot's presbytery, which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, It must be thus; then Dick shall reply and say, Nay, marry! but we will have it thus; and, therefore, here I must once more reiterate my former speech and say: '*Le roi s'avisera*'—'the king alone shall decide.'" Turning to the bishops, he avowed his belief that the hierarchy was the firmest support of the throne. Of the Puritans he added: "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else worse—only hang them, that is all." This closed the day's debate.³

Happily for the cause of English freedom, the doctrines and usages of James were followed up so faithfully by his wretched son, Charles, that the people rose in their inherent right, and, after defeating him in arms, put him to death upon the scaffold. This was done deliberately and justly, to teach kings that they are

¹ See First Samuel ix. 1, 2; x. 21-24; xvi. 6-13.

² Bancroft, I. 293.

³ Barlow, 79. Neal's Puritans, II. 43, 44. Lingard, IX. 30. Hume, C., xlv. Bancroft, I. 296, 297.

not sovereign nor supreme, and that "the king *can do wrong*," and so wrong that he incurs the death penalty. This lesson has been repeated since that time, and will continue to be repeated, in forms regular or irregular, until kings shall disappear from the earth.

The New England colonies, having been largely formed from those Puritans who had been most oppressed by those kings, rejoiced in the execution of Charles I., and protected some of the regicides. We have seen that the Virginia and Maryland colonies sympathized with Charles, and recognized his son as king even before England recalled him.

But let not the student be led astray by a hasty inference from those facts. In the heart of those Southern colonies, in their few and scattered towns, and on the great plantations bordering on the rivers—the Savannah, the Ashley and Cooper, the Roanoke, the York, the James, the Rappahannock and the Potomac—there were men who had begun to think and to study upon the problems of human rights and governments. They were favored by the conditions of culture, ease and independence by which they were environed.

They began to discover from history that kings and kingly governments had been nuisances and oppressors to the race of man in every age of the world; that good kings, if such beings had ever lived in the world, were the rare exceptions to an experience so nearly universal as to be the true teacher and rule; that of the kings of Judah and Israel the best were adulterers, murderers, robbers, liars, idolaters, men of unrestrained foulness and debauchery—one of them with seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines¹—kings, in short, who reigned only to gratify their own unbridled lusts, and to make the people the subservient tools of their selfish desires; that the kings of heathen nations contemporary with Judah and Israel had been even worse than theirs; that the kings of the East—of Assyria, Babylonia, China, India, Persia, Egypt—had been rather demons in human form than men; that the kings who succeeded Alexander, after his conquests, had vied with each other in cruelty, corruption and pollution; that the ancient kings of Rome had grown worse and worse, until they became so intolerable that the people drove them away; that the later sovereigns of Rome, known as emperors, had consisted of such men as "the dark, unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius, the timid, inhuman Domitian,"² and

¹ First Kings xi. 1-13.

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*.

the incarnate fiend Commodus, who was so given up to every hateful vice that can dominate man that a modern soldier and author has urged insanity as the only explanation of the horrible phenomena of his life;¹ that the best of them, represented by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and the two Antonines, were darkened by bloody and inhuman persecutions of innocent followers of Christ; that the kings of England had been made notorious by every vice and every weakness degrading to humanity; and that George III., descended from a race of German princes, had all the worst faults of both lines of parentage from which he came.

These thoughtful men in the colonies began naturally to ask themselves: Are kings necessary for the best government? Are not the people of these colonies so situated that they can throw off a government of kings and govern themselves by their own chosen representatives?

And to encourage these inquiries a benign disposing of providential events had enabled each colony to try the experiment of self-government by charters, which authorized elections by the people of representatives in houses of burgesses, town councils and other bodies having legislative powers.²

The usual division of the colonies as to their government status has been into three classes—charter, proprietary and royal. The charter governments originally were those of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. The proprietary governments were those of New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania (including Delaware), Maryland, Carolina and Georgia. Virginia, which commenced her career under the charter of the London Company, became a royal colony in 1624; New York became one as soon as the Duke of York became James II.; others became royal as fast as their proprietaries, growing weary of controversies, surrendered to the Crown. The charter of Massachusetts was vacated by *quo warranto* in 1684; and under her new charter, in 1691, so much power was reserved to the English crown that her government became as nearly royal as that of Virginia. The royal colonies were commonly called provinces; the governors were appointed by the Crown, and, with their councils, they had a veto on legislation, as well as power to dissolve a house of burgesses or other colonial legislature.³

Thus, at the close of the colonial period, three colonies were proprietary, eight royal, and two charter colonies.

¹ Gen. Lew. Wallace, Notes to Commodus, Harper's Mag., Jan., 1889.

² Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 13, 14.

³ *Ibid.*, 8, 9.

But all had their own representative governments. The proprietaries had always granted this, and encouraged free assemblies, knowing that immigration and the settlement of their vast tracts of land would thus be greatly promoted. The royal colonies all had houses of representatives, and the governors seldom ventured to exercise the veto power; and the two charter colonies—Connecticut and Rhode Island—specially prided themselves on their government franchises.¹

Each colony was practically a republic long before the Revolutionary war. It was the special blessing of these people that they brought into the rich wilderness of America the principles and institutions of English freedom, and left behind them, in the Old World, all those intrenched and petrified traditions which have kept her people in the slavery of kingly governments.

Thomas Jefferson, in Virginia, was the student and statesman who had most completely made his own the wisdom of the past on the subject of human government, and who was best prepared to propose the bold step of abolishing every vestige of kingly rule.

It is true that the British *Parliament* had enacted the most oppressive laws under which the colonies had suffered. It might, therefore, have been supposed that the chief odium of these measures would have fallen upon the Parliament, and that the hatred of the colonists would have been chiefly directed against the British Houses of Lords and Commons; but this was not so. An attempt has been made to explain this fact by advancing the theory that the colonies did not recognize the two houses of legislation who sat in London as having any legitimate relation to them; and that "the subject of Massachusetts knew the king only as King of Massachusetts, and the Parliament of Great Britain not at all."²

The attentive men who directed colonial thoughts and policy knew the history of Great Britain and her laws too well to indulge in any such hallucination. In fact, the colonists were so sorely pressed that nearly all became students of the past, and especially of English law. When, in June, 1768, John Hancock's sloop, *Liberty*, was seized by Crown officers for alleged breach of the navigation laws, and when her cargo of wine was taken away, and when the people openly resented these acts, they yet proceeded with so much caution and keen knowledge of law that the British attorney-general was compelled to say: "Look into

¹ Articles "Connecticut" and "Rhode Island," New Amer. Encyclop.

² This is Prof. Johnston's view—U. S. Hist. and Const., 36-40.

the papers, and see how well the Americans are versed in the Crown law ; I doubt whether they have been guilty of an overt act of treason, but I am sure they have come within a hair's-breadth of it."

Therefore, the colonists were sufficiently well read and sagacious to know that all these obnoxious laws, the navigation laws, trade laws, stamp acts, taxes on imports, Boston port bills, and similar oppressions, although ostensibly passed by the Parliament, really emanated from the king and his ministers. Therefore, they wasted no indignation on the Parliament, but concentrated their efforts upon the purpose of breaking the chains which had bound them to the British crown, and of abrogating all kingly government.

This purpose was not consummated without delay and opposition. Many in the colonies were loyal lovers of the Crown, and continued so during the war and took up arms for King George III. Even after the war commenced few had realized to their own souls the purpose of independence. Washington himself had the year before declared his views as follows: "I think I can announce it as a fact that it is not the wish or interest of that government (of Massachusetts) or of any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence ; but this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of their valuable rights and privileges, which are essential to the happiness of every free State, and, without which, life, liberty and property are rendered totally insecure."²

The resolutions of Patrick Henry adopted by Virginia in 1765 contained the germ of independence. They did not declare a purpose to throw off the British yoke, but they declared that Virginia *would not submit* to a claim asserted by the British king and Parliament. Hence the widely-spread effect of these resolutions. The charm of loyalty was dissolved ; yet men moved slowly up to the idea of independence. Early in 1775 no voice had openly declared a wish to cast off all rule of the mother country. The earliest approach to a declaration of independence was in the resolutions of the people of Fredericksburg, in Virginia, on the 29th April, 1775, which we have noted.³

Beyond all reasonable doubt, the first actual declaration of independence was made by the people of the county of Mecklen-

¹ Goodrich's U. S., 174. Prof. Johnston's U. S., 44, 45.

² Washington's letter to Capt. Robert Mackenzie, of the British army, Sparks, II. 899. Irving's Washington, I. 371, 372.

³ Chapter XXXVI.

burg, in North Carolina, on the 20th of May, 1775. Col. Thomas Polk called together the people, who, with simple hearts and deep religious principles, had a love of freedom which rose above all past traditions. They adopted a declaration pronouncing their country independent of Great Britain, and using terms so nearly similar to some afterwards used in the immortal instrument of July 4th, 1776, that Mr. Jefferson is supposed to have been aided by this Carolina declaration.¹ It must also be conceded that Thomas Paine's pamphlet entitled "*Common Sense*," published in January, 1776, by its plain, strong thoughts and simple language potently aided the cause of independence.

As the war waxed in intensity, all hopes of reconciliation faded out from all patriot souls. In May, 1776, Washington wrote from the head of his army in New York: "A reconciliation with Great Britain is impossible. When I took command of the army, I abhorred the idea of independence; but I am now fully satisfied that nothing else will save us."²

The congress was now prepared to act decisively, and on the 4th day of July, 1776, adopted the "*Declaration of Independence*" by a unanimous vote, not only of all the colonies, but of all the delegates in the congress. The committee who prepared and presented it consisted of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; John Adams, of Massachusetts; Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston, of New York.

No doubt now exists that this writing, in all its material elements, was from the pen of Thomas Jefferson, although a few modifications and omissions of the matter of the original draft were made. It is herein given in full as adopted and signed, because it is a document in history that has changed the thoughts of the world, has already converted many monarchies into republics, and is destined to banish kingly government from the earth.

It is as follows:

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure

¹ So. Lit. Messenger, IV. 209, 210. Foote's Sketches of N. C., Cap. I. I. Seawell Jones' Memorials of N. C., 26-33. Stephens, 223, 224.

² Letter quoted in Stephens' Comp. U. S., 225.

these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *Free and Independent States*; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain

is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as *Free and Independent States*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which *Independent States* may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

John Penn John Hancock John Hart
Wm Lloyd Wm Hooper Saml Adams
Step Hopkins Thos Mendenhall Geo Lyman
Thos M. Keap Roger Sherman Son Wm Huntington
Wm Whipple Wm Thomas Lynch Junr
Geo Taylor Josiah Bartlett Benj Franklin
Wm Williams Rich. Stockton John Morton
Oliver Wolcott Jas Witherspoon Gro. Ross
Thos. Stone Samuel Chase Robt Heat Paule
George Wythe Matthew Thornton
Fran Lewis Jh Jefferson Benj Harrison
Lewis Morris Abra. Clark Cesar Rodney
Arthur Middleton Jas Hopkinson
Geo Walton Carter Braxton James Wilson
Richard Henry Lee Thos Mendenhall Junr
Benjamin Rush John Adams Robt Morris
Symon Hall Joseph Hewes Button Gwinnett
Francis Lightfoot Lee
William Ellery Edward Rutledge Jas. Smith

The student will note that the indictment found in this true and powerful bill is against the king and kingly authority. The Parliament is only alluded to as "a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws," and their "acts of pretended legislation" are only subjects of just complaint because the king had given his assent thereto.

The king is rejected in a few well-chosen words: "A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people." Therefore, all political connection with him is dissolved, the reunited colonies are declared to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

One remarkable passage in Mr. Jefferson's first draft of this Declaration deserves notice here, because it is a confirmation of what we have already stated, viz., that the colonial legislatures, especially in the South, had sought to stop the slave-trade to North America, and had been prevented by the veto of the English king. The clause is as follows: "He (the king) has waged cruel war against human nature itself. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce."¹

This clause was stricken out, because it was doubtful whether George III. was chargeable with this form of veto, and because there was not unanimity of opinion, either North or South, that the slave-trade was an "execrable commerce."

Thus did the United States of America solemnly repudiate all kings and kingly government. It has been said that, at two points of their subsequent history, the idea of a restoration of monarchy was entertained by some minds, and with it naturally came the idea of making George Washington the first king.

These notions had originated in the weakness of the bond of confederation for the exercise of the most needful purposes of finance, for the support of the army, and for other ends essential to the welfare of the people. Early in January, 1781, a mutiny broke out among the Pennsylvania troops, which General Wayne vainly tried to suppress by threats and acts looking to mortal punishment. The mutineers, in the face of his cocked pistol, aimed at him a hundred muskets, with the cries: "We love you, we respect you, but if you fire you are a dead man." British emissaries got among them, and sought to fan the flames of discord; but the soldiers seized them and delivered them up to the American officers. The complaints of the mutineers were just. The congress admitted this, and by temporary financial measures raised money and satisfied them. A similar movement and result occurred with the New Jersey troops a few weeks thereafter.²

¹ Prof. Johnston's *U. S. Hist. and Const.*, 26.

² Irving's *Washington*, IV. 196-204. Scott's *U. S.*, 209, 210.

But by far the most serious insurrectionary movement was threatened by the patriot army as the war drew near its close. The men had borne all manner of hardship and suffering, had been unpaid, or paid in frightfully depreciated currency, and were now menaced by a prospect of disbandment with none of their just claims allowed or provided for.¹

On the 10th of March, 1783, when negotiations for peace were approaching a conclusion, an anonymous address, very strongly written and full of plausible appeals to the dissatisfied in the army, made its appearance, and was circulated through the camps.² It made a passionate allusion to the self-denying sufferings of the men, and asked: "Can you, then, consent to be the only sufferers by this Revolution, and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt?" The object intimated was to clothe Washington with the powers of a dictator or a king, and force from the country a full recognition and satisfaction of their claims.³

Washington never rose to a grander height than on this occasion. He immediately, in general orders, condemned the address in its spirit and intent. He called a meeting of the general and staff officers for the 15th of March, and at that meeting delivered to them an address replete with wisdom, patriotism and conciliation. He rejected, with strong aversion, all the suggestions of the address, and assured the officers of his belief that the congress would do full justice to the army. Congress met his assurances in the right spirit, made provision for the immediate wants of the soldiers, and kept the army together until the British army was withdrawn from New York, on the 25th of November, 1783. Thus Washington saved his country in a crisis when an ambitious man, without principle or patriotism, might have made himself a king.

And when it became evident that the first plan of confederation had failed, and must be substituted by a form of government more stable, and giving more power over persons to its departments and officers, then, again, there were many statesmen in America who preferred the forms and strength of a monarchy; and again they looked to Washington as one of such commanding influence and virtue that the people would easily be brought to elect him as a king. The views of Alexander Hamilton in favor of kingly government may have been theoretical and speculative,⁴

¹ Stephens, 269, 270.

² It is given quite fully in Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 270-272. Marshall's *Washington*, II. 42, *et seq.*

³ Stephens, 270-273. Prof. Johnston's *U. S.*, 77.

⁴ Irving's *Washington*, V. 57-59. Art. Hamilton, *Amer. Encyclop.*, VIII. 675, 676.

but they were not the less real, and would have led him far in that direction could he have found support in Washington; but that great soul was never led astray by a false ambition. He gravely and sternly opposed every attempt at a monarchic form for the government of his country.

Second. None of the early colonists were averse to titles of nobility as represented by the privileged orders of England. They had been born and educated under that system, and it had many charms arising from tradition and outward dignity. Noblemen from the mother country came freely to the colonies up to the beginning of the revolutionary movements. They generally held high offices, but many of them conducted themselves with so much prudence and kindness that the people cherished earnest love for them. But others, such as Berkeley, Loudon and Dunmore, so signalized their administration by acts of oppression, cruelty or weakness that they did much to alienate the people, and to produce a strong impression against hereditary titles.

Among the very last of the nobles in any of the colonies was Lord Fairfax, of Virginia. He was a great landed proprietor, having inherited the lands known as the "Northern Neck," between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, and running up originally from Chesapeake Bay to the headwaters of those rivers in the valley of the Shenandoah. He had been very friendly to Lawrence Washington, the brother who married into the Fairfax family, and from whom George Washington received by devise the estate of Mount Vernon. The old lord had employed the young surveyor, afterwards to become so eminent, in surveying and laying off in maps parts of his immense landed possessions. One branch of the Fairfax family lived at Belvoir, not far from Mount Vernon, and the relations between the two clans were intimate and genial. It is not to be wondered at that a county of Virginia in that region should bear the name of the old earl.

But the Fairfaxes were strongly loyal to England all through the struggle. George William Fairfax, owner of Belvoir, had not concealed his opinions, and his words and acts were such that he had been obliged to seek refuge in England and to remain there during the war. Part of his property was confiscated; yet he continued to correspond in a friendly spirit with Washington and his family.¹

The old Lord Thomas Fairfax was known to be an inveterate Tory; but no disposition was felt to disturb him. He lived at his princely residence, Greenway Court, in the valley, in what

¹ Irving's Washington, IV. 418.

is now Frederick county, not far from Winchester, in Virginia. He was gratefully remembered for his zeal and courage in defending this region from early incursions of the Indians.¹ He was devoted to fox-hunting and other out-door recreations, and, being in his eighty-sixth year when the war of Revolution began, he was not expected to be actively hostile to America; but he rejoiced in every British success, and, in his pride of country, believed the arms of England to be sure of final success; and so, when Lord Cornwallis surrendered, in October, 1781, and the news came to this old noble, in his ninety-third year and in his country home, his spirit broke; he retired to his bed and talked no more to the time of his death. A historian well known to young Americans of an age just past has thus recorded the facts: ²

"When old Lord Fairfax heard that Washington had captured Lord Cornwallis and all his army, he called to his black waiter: 'Come, Joe; carry me to bed, for it is high time for me to die!'

"Then up rose Joe, all at the word,
And took his master's arm,
And thus to bed he softly led
The lord of Greenway farm.

"There oft he called on Britain's name,
And oft he wept full sore,
Then sighed, 'Thy will, O Lord, be done,'
And word spake never more."

The soil of America proved ungenial to the birth and growth of privileged orders. Men who, by their own thews and sinews and the power of indomitable personal will, felled the forests, subdued the soil, built their rough houses, met and overcame the merciless savages who disputed their progress, would not be apt to admit any hereditary rights to rank or power. Hence we have noted how insufferable were the "landgraves" and "caciques" of John Locke's scheme of government, and how soon it was overwhelmed by public odium.

Each of the thirteen colonies assumed the status of a sovereign commonwealth at a very early period of the Revolution. Virginia adopted her constitution, including the "Bill of Rights," written by George Mason, on the 29th of June, 1776; and her position was recognized as that of each State formerly a colony or province of Great Britain.

One article of the Virginia Bill of Rights abolished all titles of nobility and privileged orders by providing that "no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or

¹ Irving, I. 195, 196.

² Weems' Life of Washington. Irving, IV. 418, 419.

privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services, which not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator or judge to be hereditary.”¹ The other States adopted the same radical policy, by which all possibility of privileged order and titles of nobility in the United States of North America was forever destroyed. The “Articles of Confederation” afterwards adopted contained the express limitation: “Nor shall the United States, in congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.”²

And when these articles were abrogated by the adoption of the permanent constitution of 1789, that constitution declared that “no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign State.”³ And among the inhibitions to the States are the following: “No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.”⁴

The studious reader will note the evil company in which privileged orders are ranked, and the determined purpose to free the republic of the Western Hemisphere from the hateful abuses to which they had given rise in the Old World.

The system of feudal tenures of land had been adopted all over Europe after the overrunning of the Roman empire by the Goths, Vandals and Huns. Men, for their own protection from robbery or death, were obliged to submit to a system in which they received their lands, and were protected in their cultivation and enjoyment by the strong arms and gauntleted hands of their feudal lord and his followers, on condition of their rendering him agreed rents and services.

But before the English colonies had gained a firm footing in America, the worst elements of the feudal system had either been destroyed, or, by a happy alchemy, had been transmitted into more healthful forces.

The nearest approach to feudality, in its more sinister forms, did not come into America from England, but from Holland. It was in the grants made to Killian Van Rensselaer and a few other

¹ Art. VI., Va. Bill of Rights. Code, etc., 1873, p. 68.

² Art. VI., Stephens, Append., 919.

³ Art. I., Sec. 8, Const. U. S.

⁴ Art. I., Sec. 9, Const. U. S.

similar grantees, of vast tracts of land in New York upon tenures and for purposes which enabled them to attain all the worst powers of feudal barons. We have already noted how deeply this system planted itself in the domain covered by it—how difficult it was to deracinate it by law, how it sheltered itself in evasions, how it was defended by Fenimore Cooper, how much of civil war and bloodshed it caused, and how complete has been its overthrow.¹ England cannot be justly visited with the odium of these grants; they were not made under her authority.

But there were two systems as to the landed property introduced into the colonies, one of which was the direct result of the feudal principles, and the other the outcome of the habits and prejudices produced by them. These were the principle of primogeniture, by which the eldest son inherited all his father's lands to the exclusion of the other children; and the system of entails, under which estates were so bound up by a written settlement that, from generation to generation, they passed to the first and other sons, without any possibility of sale, or application to payment of debts, or any other mode of alienation or distribution, except by a cumbrous proceeding in court, founded on a consent of parties, very rarely obtained. These principles were highly prized by those in the colonies, and especially in Virginia, Maryland and New York, who prided themselves on family descent and influence. Gradually slaves on the plantations came to be considered as quasi real estate, and passed to the oldest son or by the terms of entail.

But the yeomanry of the colonies were always opposed to these systems as being artificial invasions on the inherent rights of mankind; and so, when the struggle with the mother country began, efforts to break down these two strongholds of feudality were promptly made, and were perfectly successful.

Thomas Jefferson was the great leader of the measures which perfected the Revolution in America and established self-government. On October 12th, 1776, he introduced into the legislature of Virginia a bill to convert all entailed estates into fee-simple, so that the owner might sell, devise, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of them as he pleased.² This was an assault upon the very fortress of family pride, and did not prevail without stern opposition.

Edmund Pendleton led this opposition. He was a patriot, but he was cautious and cool. He had drank so deeply of the fountains of English lore that he did not relish the revolutionary

¹ Chapter XVII. ² Jefferson's Works, I. 29. Tucker's Jefferson, I. 92.

springs. With consummate art he proposed an amendment to Jefferson's bill, to the effect that the tenant in tail might convey in fee-simple *if he thought proper so to do*. This amendment came within a few votes of success. It would have left the evil almost untouched; for family pride would have preserved the entail in nine cases out of ten. But the friends of true freedom were not deceived. The amendment was rejected; the bill was passed.¹ The tree was uprooted and felled. Other States adopted the same policy; and yet from the torn roots there sprang up, in after times, many scions of evil, which were not destroyed without diligent and scrutinizing pursuit by American law-makers.

Mr. Jefferson was equally successful in his attack on the law of primogeniture. Here, again, he encountered the strenuous opposition of Edmund Pendleton, who, finding a strong current of feeling against the law, sought to preserve it, to some extent, by urging that the Jewish rule should prevail, which gave to the eldest son a double portion.²

But Mr. Jefferson was not to be defeated either by false interpretation and application of Scripture, or false reasoning. He urged that unless the oldest son required a double portion of food, or could do a double amount of work, there was no justice in giving him a double share of property. The Jewish rule, though given by inspiration, was temporary and local, being intended for their peculiar status. The dispute was ended; natural right prevailed.³ The law of primogeniture was abolished throughout all the American States.

Third. But on no subject was the revolutionary movement in America more radical and more salutary than on the subject of religion. This subject, in its true relations, rises above all other forces affecting man in this world; for it influences him for weal or for woe, not merely in reference to a brief, fleeting life here, but for all eternity.

We have already seen enough to satisfy us that none of the colonies brought from the Old World safe ideas on the subject of religion. William Penn came nearer to the truth on this subject than any other colonizer. Lord Baltimore confined his principles of toleration to those who deserved to be called Christians—a limitation which admitted of wide persecution of savages, or even of colonists, who did not profess to be Christians. Roger Williams, though himself a victim of religious intolerance, yet so shaped the institutions of Rhode Island that a connection of church and

¹ Henry Lee on Jefferson, 123. Jefferson's Works, I. 30. Tucker's Jeff., I. 93. Judge Tucker's Com., I. II. 155.

² Deuteronomy xxi. 16, 17.

³ Tucker's Jefferson, I. 93, 94

state was hardly to be avoided; for, though he provided for free exercise of conscience and confined legislation to *civil things*, yet, by giving effect to the will of the majority, he left open a loophole for the entrance of religious oppression.

The Roman church, in all ages from the time of the Emperor Constantine to the present day, has asserted the Divine right of the union of church and state, and the supremacy of the church in this union.¹ Hence have come all the persecutions carried on under her authority.

The Church of England originated in the reign of King Henry VIII., and upheld the same principles as to the connection of church and state which the Roman church had taught. Hence the persecutions which filled the mountains and glens of Scotland with people suffering for conscience's sake every form of cruelty, oppression and death that intolerance could invent, and which drove tens of thousands of the persecuted to America.

Nevertheless, such was the effect of education and tradition that most of the colonists brought over the principle of a union of church and state to the New World and established it in the forests and virgin soils of America. The Puritans, who fled from persecution in England, established in Massachusetts a religious commonwealth, which permitted no true freedom of conscience, and which made it possible to drive out Roger Williams, to fine and chastise Quakers, bore their tongues with hot irons and put them to death, and to give full sway to such men as Cotton Mather, Samuel Parris, and Noyes of Salem, in torturing and hanging men, women and children for the alleged religious crime of witchcraft.² It was a happy day when the advance of light and the restrictive charter of 1691 put an end to this pretended reign of the saints on earth.

In the Virginia colony and the colony of New York, after the full establishment of English rule therein, the Church of England was established by law, and the governors, rulers and many of the people united in suffocating all freedom of conscience. Fines and imprisonments were inflicted for want of conformity to the requirements of civil law concerning the church.

It cannot be reasonably supposed that the common people of these two colonies looked with favor upon these persecutions; yet no decisive move for religious freedom took place until the opening of the Revolution. Then Thomas Jefferson was again the leader.

¹ *Syllabus Errorum* by Pius IX., Dec. 8, 1864. Decree of Vatican Council, July 18, 1870; III. 15, 18; V. 23, 24, 27, 29, 32, 37; VI. 42, 45, 47, 53, 55; VII. 62, 63.

² See Chapter XXV.

He has been accused of skepticism concerning the Divine origin of Christianity and the Divinity of Christ. Probably his views on these subjects have never been fully disclosed, for, like all great souls, he was reserved as to his communion with God ; but if the spirit of Christ has ever been potent in this world it was so in the active exertions of Jefferson for the establishment of perfect religious liberty, by severing forever the unhallowed union between church and state.

The overthrow of British authority and the adoption of the State constitution and "Bill of Rights" of Virginia in 1776 did, indeed, put an end to all violations of conscience by the government. The final clause of the bill declared that religion can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are entitled to its free exercise according to the dictates of conscience ; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love and charity towards each other.¹

This clause constituted a distinct recognition of Christianity by the fundamental law of the State ; but, in many respects, long rooted evils arising from the previous connection of church and state still existed in the shape of glebes, tithe laws, assessments for the clergy of the Church of England, marriage laws and iniquitous preferences. Therefore the ministers of other Christian denominations continued to urge upon the minds of the law-makers the duty of establishing complete religious freedom and equality.

It came at last in Jefferson's "act for establishing religious freedom," passed into law December 26th, 1785.² The preamble is long and argumentative, declaring that "to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical ;" that "to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty ;" and that "truth is great and will prevail if left to herself ; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist of error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate : errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them." Then it is enacted, "that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested or burdened in his body or

¹ Art. XVIII., Bill of Rights, Code 1873, page 69.

² Rev. Code, I. 77, 78. Lit. and Evang. Mag., IX. 48, 49.

goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.”¹

This is substantially the law of all the States of the American Union. The third clause of the “Articles of Confederation” bound the States to assist each other against all force offered to or attacks made upon them or any of them on account of *religion*, sovereignty, trade or any other pretence whatever; and the constitution of 1789 provided that “no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States;”² and by an amendment, promptly adopted and having all the force of the original instrument, it is provided that “congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;”³ and by a series of enactments and of judicial decisions in conformity thereto, the unjust accretions of property in the form of glebe lands or otherwise by the former church establishments have been appropriated to the support of the poor.⁴

Fourth. On the subject of self-government the colonists had enjoyed wide privileges long before the coming of the Revolution. The happy conditions arising out of their willingness to leave the comforts of the Old World and face the hardships of the wilderness and the unplowed fields of America had naturally brought freedom to an extent never known in Europe. Kings, lords and commons in England felt alike indifferent to the granting of liberty to govern themselves to people who were willing to separate themselves from all that made life pleasant and cheering to a society which had become intensely artificial even in the days of James I. Hence all the early colonies were permitted to choose their own law-makers and to a large extent their rulers. But as their numbers increased and their products multiplied and their commerce extended and their influence on the mother country grew wider and wider, their liberties were restricted and their rights abridged. The kings learned to deny to them the power of making laws for themselves and to nullify the acts of their assemblies. The colonists were reminded, by a thousand forms of restriction, that they were not independent. They bore those constraints as long as they were tolerable; but when England claimed the right to transport a native colonist from one province

¹ Code of Virginia, 1873, 659-661. ² Art. VI., Sec. 3, Const. U. S. Code of 1873, p. 49.

³ Amendment I. Code of 1873, p. 56. ⁴ Rev. Code of Va., I. 79-81.

to another, or even to the soil of the mother country, for the purpose of trying and punishing him for alleged crime, and sent fleets and armies to support her claim, then all thoughtful men in America began to seek real independence and self-government.

The dawning of independence was dim, and its progress gradual. We have seen that individuals had reached it before the people at large were ready for it, and that it had been assumed and declared by assemblages of private people before the representatives in congress were prepared to announce it in solemn form; but the Revolution would have been dwarfed and incomplete without it, and therefore it hastened on.

The Boston "Port Bill" was the English measure which first opened the eyes of the colonists to the fact that they were not *free*. The New York "Sons of Liberty" had been among the first organized after the great speech of Barré. They had not embraced the landed gentry to any wide extent, for these were loyalists and Tories, and many of them continued untrue to their country during the whole war; but these "Sons of Liberty" embraced the merchants, and many of the lawyers and professional men, and the mechanics and laboring classes generally. They are entitled to the credit of having first proposed "a general congress" of delegates from all the colonies.¹ The "Port Bill" was rapidly circulated, sometimes on paper with a mourning border. The people of Providence, Rhode Island, on the 17th of May, 1774, in full meeting, urged the "general congress"; declared "personal liberty an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," and expressed a desire to prohibit the importation of negro slaves.²

It is worthy of note that the earliest inhibition of the importation of slaves came from a Southern colony. The cultured men of those colonies had found nothing in all their studies which enabled them to reconcile African slavery with the inherent rights of man. Jefferson and Washington were both opposed to slavery. In July, 1774, Jefferson sent from his sick bed a paper, substantially adopted by the Virginia convention, which said: "The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state; but previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importation from Africa; yet, our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his majesty's negative, thus preferring the

¹ Bancroft, VII. 40-42.

² Resolutions, May, 1774. Bancroft, VII. 42.

immediate advantage of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States, and to the rights of human nature deeply wounded by this infamous practice."¹

The convention thereupon adopted a resolution to this effect: "After the first day of November next, we will neither ourselves import nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person, either from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place."

The people of Baltimore, in Maryland, were among the first in the colonies to speak out in favor of independence and self-government. Early in May, 1774, they advocated suspending commerce with Great Britain and the West Indies, recommended a continental congress, appointed a numerous committee of correspondence, and sent cheering words to the Boston people.²

Several of the colonies assumed the sovereign position of States before any advice to that end was given by the congress. It has been stated as history that New Hampshire led in this grand movement, having declared herself a State and erected a State government in December, 1775.³ But South Carolina had preceded her by some months in forming a provincial congress in August, 1775, and afterwards in adopting a State constitution and assuming State sovereignty.⁴ And Massachusetts had, in substance, taken the position of an independent State when, in October, 1774, her general assembly, after waiting in vain two days for the governor (Gage) to appear, passed judgment on his unconstitutional proceedings, and resolved themselves into a "provincial congress" and adjourned to Concord. From that time they exercised every power of a State; appointed a committee of safety, of which Hancock and Warren were members; mustered the militia, of whom one-fourth were to hold themselves ready to march at a minute's notice; took measures to raise ninety thousand dollars and to provide ordnance, small arms, ammunition and military stores.⁵ Yet, in fact, Massachusetts did not adopt her State constitution until 1780.

In May, 1776, the congress, in view of a declaration of independence, recommended that each former colony which had not already done so should erect herself into a State. This request was promptly complied with by Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Then, for the first time, the connection, in a common governor, between Pennsylvania and Delaware was severed.⁶

¹ Jefferson's paper, in Baneroft, VII. 84.

² Resolutions of City and County of Baltimore. Baneroft, VII. 50.

³ Eggleston's Household U. S., 194.

⁴ Art. South Carolina, Amer. Encyclop., IV. 466. Stephens, 224.

⁵ Baneroft, VII. 153-155. ⁶ Art. Delaware, American Encyclop.

Georgia became a State, but did not adopt a State constitution till 1777. New York showed the enthusiasm of her people for liberty by pulling down the leaden statue of King George III. in the Bowery as soon as they heard of the declaration of independence, cutting it to pieces and moulding it into bullets; but as her chief city was quickly occupied and her territory threatened on every side by the enemy, she assumed very quietly the functions of a State. Her first State constitution was adopted in March, 1777, and was revised and changed in 1801, 1821 and 1846, each change making the government more truly democratic.¹ She was weakened during the war by the large element of *Toryism* among her people; yet no State furnished more heroic officers and soldiers. Her chief city, in the prevalent sentiments of her population, retained her love of freedom and her fidelity to the patriot cause even through the long British military occupation; and this was the more remarkable inasmuch as the charter of the city had been granted originally by James II. in 1686, and simply amended and enlarged by Queen Anne in 1708, and by George II. in 1730. It was so wise and liberal that it was confirmed by the provincial general assembly in 1732, and specially affirmed after the Revolution by the State legislature. It is still in substance the city charter, although in 1830 an amended charter was adopted.

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations assumed State existence in 1776; yet her charter, obtained by John Clark in 1663, from Charles II., was regarded as so good, and enlisted so thoroughly the affections of the people, that it was not superseded by a new constitution until 1842, and then after the throes of a local rebellion, in which Thomas Wilson Dorr led a large and influential party. He had studied law under Chancellor Kent, some of whose centralizing views he at first adopted; but he became a democrat in 1837, and convinced a majority of the people of Rhode Island that their charter (under which the elective franchise was limited to holders of real estate and their eldest sons, and only one-third of the mature citizens were voters) was wrong. He was overcome by arms, wielded not only by the State militia, but by United States troops. He fled to Connecticut. The authorities of Rhode Island offered four thousand dollars for his apprehension. He returned of his own accord, was arrested, tried, convicted of high treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life; but he was pardoned in 1847, and in 1853 the legislature of his State restored his civil rights, and ordered the record of his conviction to be expunged. He lived to see Rhode Island adopt

¹ Art. New York, New American Encyclop., XII. 268.

a constitution in which all he had contended for was embodied, and his party were in full possession of the State government.¹

The "Bill of Rights" adopted by Virginia as part of her State constitution in 1776, and substantially repeated in every colony, established the independence and right of self-government of every man in the United States of America, placing them upon a ground planted by God himself, and therefore never to be shaken. This great charter of liberty was adopted on the 12th of June, 1776, twenty-two days before the "Declaration of Independence" was adopted by the American congress.²

The natural rights of man are first declared; all power is said to be vested in the people, and magistrates and rulers are merely their responsible trustees. The several departments of government are distinguished; and it is declared that law-makers and law-enforcers should descend, from time to time, among the common mass of society, that they may feel their burdens and sympathize in their calamities. Trial by jury in criminal cases is guaranteed; excessive bail cannot be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted; the freedom of the press is guarded from restraint; standing armies in time of peace are declared dangerous, and the militia system is commended for public defence; uniform government is provided for; and the *imperium in imperio*, the dangerous and insidious doctrine of the Roman church, is forever banished by the provision that no government separate from and independent of that of the State ought to be established within her bounds. The final clause declares the freedom of religion.³

But however well established independence and personal freedom may have been in theory, they would soon have been overthrown but for the fortunate providential conditions which led to the uprising in North America of separate free and sovereign States, and the final union of those States into a stable confederated government of limited powers, and yet with power and authority to act directly on individuals for national purposes. To this we must now turn our attention.

Some writers have adopted the crude and baseless view that the congress, as it existed in the early stages of the Revolution, was a body with powers practically unlimited, and that it might, if it had thought proper, have exercised powers which would have converted the confederated government into a great centralized sovereignty, which would have ruled the people at its will

¹ Art. Dorr, New American Encyclop., VI. 578. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 473, 474.

² R. C. Va., I. 31, 32. Original MS. Draft, State Lib. Va. Wirt's Patrick Henry, 143, 144.

³ Clauses 12-14, R. C. Va., I. 32.

and have shaped the future government as it chose. This is the view of the German publicist Von Holst, and has been, in substance, adopted by an able and thoughtful writer on the public history and constitution of the United States.¹

But it has no foundation, either in theory or fact. The early congresses were purely voluntary bodies, without any authority or power, except such as the people chose to recognize. We have seen how limited was the power of the second congress, which met on the tenth day of May, 1775, the day that Ticonderoga was captured by Ethan Allen.² This congress was merely the creature organized by the delegates from the various colonies who were preparing to become States. The union, therefore, which existed before the "Articles of Confederation" were adopted was purely a voluntary union of chosen representatives. It was not a government at all, being absolutely dependent on the voluntary submission of the people for the accomplishment of every measure it recommended. So far was it from being "limited by no law, and by nothing else but by its success in war," or from having "the energy and recklessness of a French revolutionary body," as stated of it by Prof. Johnston, it had not even power to raise the money needed to pay for a suitable hall in which to hold its deliberations. The sovereign power was in the people of the colonies considered separately, who, for just cause, were preparing to cast off the shackles of the British government and to assume among the powers of the earth the position of independent and sovereign States.

Each colony assumed this position for herself. The concert of action for general defence, which they had shown by sending delegates to the congress, was entirely informal, and had imparted none of the powers of government. They knew this perfectly well, and therefore one of the first measures of the congress of 1776, which adopted the "Declaration of Independence," was to appoint a committee to devise and report a formal plan of union which would be a *compact* between the States and binding upon all.³

The committee reported "Articles of Confederation" as early as the 12th July, 1776; but they were not entirely satisfactory, and much quiet debate and proposed amendments occurred before they were finally adopted by the congress on the 15th day of November, 1777.⁴ They were then referred to the several States

¹ Prof. Alexander Johnston, late of the chair of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Princeton College. See his U. S. Hist. and Const., 56, 57.

² Chapter XXXV. Bancroft, VII. 333, 351.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 226. Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 79.

⁴ Compare Stephens, 226. Prof. Johnston, 79. Arts. of Confed., Stephens, Append. C, p. 919-922.

All of them adopted them promptly in 1777, except Maryland, who did not ratify them in full until 1781.

These "Articles of Confederation" were the first constitution of the United States of America, and did really form a general government; but nothing is more striking than the care exhibited in them to recognize each State as sovereign and as retaining all the powers of a sovereign except those delegated to the United States.

They are declared to be "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia."

The first article provides that the style of this confederacy shall be "The United States of America."

The second article is in these words: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in congress assembled."

Our purposes herein do not require a review of all the separate articles of this important constitution of government. It contains many provisions so wise that they have found a place in the subsequent and more permanent constitution. So far from feeling surprised that this plan did not accomplish all that was hoped for from it, our wonder should be that it accomplished so much. It was an experiment unprecedented in all the past history of the world.

Evidently the sages and patriots who constructed it looked upon it as a plan of union never to be departed from; for the the thirteenth and last article declared that, "every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States in congress assembled on all questions which, by this confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the United States and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State."¹

This was an attempt to do what is impossible to man. No compact between sovereigns can be so enduring that it may not be dissolved if the reasons for dissolution be so potent as to command the assent of a majority in number and power of those

¹ Art. XIII., Stephens, Append., 921, 922.

sovereigns. This very plan of confederation was abrogated and laid aside, without the consent of several of the States who originally formed it; and the more permanent constitution that succeeded it very wisely omitted all provisions for perpetual union. Its originators and adopters knew well that such provisions are useless, and serve only to entrap weak consciences; for if reasons for dissolution exist, so strong and exacting that they are recognized as sufficient by a majority in number and force of the States, a dissolution will certainly take place in spite of all opposition.

The separate sovereignty of each of the thirteen original States received a crowning confirmation in the treaty of peace by which the war was formally ended and the United States of America introduced into the family of nations.

The commissioners from America were John Adams, John Jay, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and Henry Laurens. They met at Paris peace commissioners of Great Britain, France and Spain, and, on the 30th of November, 1782, signed a provisional treaty of peace. The full and final treaty was signed in Paris on the 3d of September, 1783.

The first article was in these words: "His Britannic majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and independent States; that he treats them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claim to the government, proprietary and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof."¹

Early in 1783, news of the treaty of peace reached America; on the 23d of March, the war-ship *Triumph*, belonging to the fleet of the Count D'Estaing, arrived at Philadelphia, bringing a letter from La Fayette to the congress, formally communicating these happy tidings; and a few days thereafter Sir Guy Carleton, in New York, informed Washington that he had received from his Britannic majesty's government orders to proclaim a cessation of hostilities by sea and land.² On the 19th of April, 1783, just eight years after the battle of Lexington, a proclamation of peace was issued by the United States.

Washington did what he could to pacify the discontented in the American army, and to assure them that congress would

¹ By a curious oversight "Maryland" is omitted in the list in Stephens' Comp. U. S., 268.

² Irving's Washington, IV. 388.

recognize all their claims that were just, and would deal fairly with them. Finding his time in his camp at Newburg, on the Hudson, becoming irksome, he set out with Governor Clinton and made an extensive tour through the northwestern parts of New York and the adjacent territory, by way of Lake George and the other lakes, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Forts Stanwix and Schuyler, and through the beautiful and fertile valley of the Mohawk. His object was to view this country with a special eye to its resources and to its condition after it should be evacuated by the British forces according to the proposed treaty. He returned to Newburg on the 5th of August, 1783, having made a tour of at least seven hundred and fifty miles in nineteen days, and the chief part of it on horseback.¹

On the 25th of November, Sir Guy Carleton accomplished the duty of evacuation by withdrawing his troops from New York and Brooklyn, and preparing to sail for England. He had given notice of his purpose to Washington, who ordered American troops, composed of dragoons, light infantry and artillery, commanded by General Knox, to march from Harlem to the Bowery and take possession on the evening of the 25th, to obviate all possibility of disorder and pillage. A formal entry of the patriot army took place the next day, led by General Washington and Governor Clinton, with their suites, on horseback. An American lady, then quite young, and who had spent some years of the last part of the war in New York, wrote her impressions from this scene. After speaking of the scarlet uniforms, burnished arms, and splendid appearance of the British troops, she writes of the contrast and of her feelings thus: "The troops that marched in, on the contrary, were ill-clad and weather-beaten, and made a forlorn appearance; but, then, they were *our* troops, and as I looked at them and thought upon all they had done and suffered for us, my heart and my eyes were full, and I admired and gloried in them the more, because they were weather-beaten and forlorn."²

On the 4th of December, 1783, at Fraunces' Tavern, near the ferry to Paulus Hook, in the city of New York, the principal officers of the American army assembled to take leave of their commander-in-chief. On entering the room and seeing himself surrounded by his old companions-in-arms, who had shared with him so much of hardship, difficulty and danger, a tide of emotion passed over the soul of Washington, which for a time deprived him of the power of utterance.

¹ Irving, IV. 399, 400.

² Letter in Irving's Washington, IV. 406, 407.

He filled a glass of wine, and, turning to them a face full of benignant majesty, and yet saddened by the recall of the past, the gravity of the present and the dangers of the future, he said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, most devoutly wishing that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable."¹

All drank to this farewell benediction. Then Washington said: "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand."

General Knox, who was nearest, advanced first. In silence, but with eyes filled with tears, Washington grasped his hand. In like manner each advanced and took leave. Not a word was spoken. Silent and solemn they followed their loved commander as he left the room and proceeded on foot through saluting lines of light infantry to the barge at Whitehall Ferry. Entering the barge, he turned to them, took off his hat and waved a silent adieu.²

He went first to Philadelphia to resign his commission to congress, and to settle his accounts according to the principles of self-denying equity which he had announced on accepting the command to which they had elected him. He then went to his quiet and beautiful home at Mount Vernon, hoping to spend the rest of his days in private and domestic life. But this was not to be his lot; the final crisis of his country's danger had not been passed.

The war left the country in a condition far from prosperous. The public debts, home and foreign, had swelled to an amount near to one hundred millions of dollars. This amount now seems small to the United States, and might be paid by any one of several of her individual citizens without seriously impairing his means of luxurious living; but at that time it was justly considered enormous, and bore heavily on the resources of the people. Hardly could the interest due to France and Holland be raised. This, of course, was to be paid at the gold standard. The officers and privates of the army and navy were unpaid. The Continental currency issued by the congress had become so much depreciated that even the poor soldiers could no longer make it available to supply their pressing wants. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, had helped Washington at several critical financial periods, and

¹ Irving, IV. 407. Thaddeiser, 177, 178. Derry, 157, 158. Scott, 218. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 142. Taylor's Centen., 232, 233.

² Marshall's Life of Washington. Irving, IV. 408. Taylor, 233. Justin Winsor's Amer., VI. 747.

by his own exertions, and upon his own credit to a large extent, had raised money for the necessities of the army, amounting in all to one million four hundred thousand dollars in gold. At one time he had sent to the starving army a thousand barrels of flour.¹ It is sad to reflect that this patriot, not being able to obtain prompt and complete relief from the congress for all of his large advances, and by reason of unfortunate land speculations, afterwards became so much embarrassed that his fine fortune disappeared, and he was for a time a prisoner under process for debt.²

The powers given under the "Articles of Confederation" to the congress were too limited to enable that body to raise money or furnish the relief needed by the public creditors. The congress had no power to levy taxes, direct or indirect. It could do nothing but make requisitions on the several States. Some States *could* not raise the amounts assessed on them; but by far the larger number of them *would* not. They had the power, but not the inclination.³ None of them complied; Rhode Island was specially recalcitrant, and New Jersey, at one time, passed a resolution *expressly* refusing the aid for which congress made requisition; and there was nowhere a coercive power. The congress had no power to operate directly on persons and property in the several States, even for the most pressing federal purposes.

Another evil showing the impotence of the general government arose from the fact that only the States had the power of regulating commerce, foreign or domestic; and the regulations of the States conflicted with each other, imposed different rates of duty, and paralyzed commercial energy. Yet such was the jealousy felt by the States that they were not willing to part with this power and delegate its exercise to the congress.⁴

It was also true that during the long war of eight years a considerable lowering of the standard of public morals had taken place. This has always been the effect of war. And in addition to the loss of home influence, and of the restraints on drunkenness and sensual indulgence which war always causes, there were special deteriorations arising from the influx of infidelity and skepticism by means of the armies and officers of France.⁵

The effect was that many people became unscrupulous and dishonest. Speculators began to grind the faces of the poor, and to take advantage of the misfortunes of the people in order to make profitable bargains for themselves. This soon arrayed against

¹ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., (note) 139.

² Art. Morris, Amer. Encyclop., XI. 748.

³ Stephens, 274-276. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 142, 143. Scott, 220, 221.

⁴ Stephens, 275. Scott, 220. Goodrich, 283.

⁵ Goodrich's U. S., 281, 282.

each other the classes of the poor and the men who had grown rich by usury and heartless schemes of finance.¹

There cannot be a doubt that these discontents, for which there was so much excuse, led to the insurrectionary movement in Massachusetts, in August, 1786, commonly called "Shays' Rebellion," because it was led by Daniel Shays, formerly a captain in the American army. This movement extended through Worcester, Middlesex, Bristol and Berkshire counties, and even spread into New Hampshire. The opposition was to the enforcement of taxes by law, and was founded on the known fact that a large part of the public certificates of debt had passed into the hands of those dishonest and grasping speculators. The insurgents complained also of the governor's high salary, the aristocracy of the senate, and the extortions of lawyers. Fifteen hundred men obeyed Shays' command. The proceedings in the courts were forcibly arrested.²

But the insurrection was put down by the firmness of the State authorities. General Lincoln headed an army of four thousand men. On the 24th of January, 1787, two opposing armies approached each other at Springfield—one of twelve hundred State militia, under General Shepard; the other of eleven hundred insurgents, under Shays. An actual collision took place. After firing over their heads without dispersing them, the State troops fired at the insurgents. Three were killed and one wounded.³ They dispersed, and could not be rallied. Conditional pardons were offered by the legislature of Massachusetts. Seven hundred and ninety persons availed themselves of this offer. Fourteen were tried and sentenced to death; but all were pardoned, one after another. Thus the rebellion ended.

But the impression it made and the distresses of the country did not end. Thoughtful people everywhere felt that a stronger and more efficient federal government was necessary. It came at last, rather by a series of happy providences than by any systematic movement.

One serious difficulty in the way of obtaining the assent of the States to the "Articles of Confederation" was the claim of several States, such as New York and Virginia, to the vast areas of public lands lying westward of their bounds, but within their primitive chartered limits or else claimed by right of conquest. This difficulty was removed by the liberal consent of the States holding these claims to cede them to the United States on

¹ Stephens, 274, 275. Goodrich's U. S., 282.

² Goodrich's U. S., 284.

³ Goodrich's U. S., 284, 285. Art. Shays, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 568.

agreed terms. New York made her cession in 1780 and Virginia in 1784. Thus the congress, though not authorized by the "Articles" to hold or govern territory, became the holder of a tract of land of some four hundred and thirty thousand square miles—nearly equal to the whole area of France, Spain and Portugal united.¹

On the 23d of April, 1784, a committee of the congress under the "Articles of Confederation," of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman, reported a plan for disposing of these public lands, providing for the erection of seventeen States, some north and some south of the Ohio river, and bestowing upon them such eccentric names as Sylvania, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Polypotamia and Pelisipia.² The plan had the following clause: "After the year 1800 there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States other than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." But at that time Mr. Jefferson's plan failed for want of the votes of seven States in its favor. In 1787 an ordinance was adopted upon a plan reported by a committee, of which Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, was chairman. It applied only to the territory north of the Ohio, prohibited slavery therein, but added a clause for the return of fugitive slaves. It provided for not less than three nor more than five States. The States resulting from this "Ordinance of 1787" have been Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.³

The evils arising from the weakness of the Federal government and the contumacy and conflicting action of the States became so great that some remedy was naturally sought. In March, 1785, the Virginia legislature had appointed commissioners to meet similar delegates from Maryland at Alexandria, to form, if possible, a compact as to navigation and trade in the Potomac and Pocomoke rivers and in the upper part of the Chesapeake Bay. While at Mount Vernon, in conference with Washington, the commissioners, knowing that their agreement, even if cordial, would remove only a small part of the evil, resolved to recommend the appointment of deputies from all the States to meet and suggest measures as to trade and commerce for the benefit of the Union."⁴

Virginia acted on this suggestion by appointing deputies on the 21st of January, 1786, under a resolution written by Mr. Madison, but offered by Mr. Tyler; and, in September, 1786, Edmund Randolph, St. George Tucker and James Madison met

¹ Prof. Johnston's *U. S.*, 2, 88.

² *Ibid.*, 34.

³ *Ibid.*, 84, 85.

⁴ Marshall's *Wash.*, II. 105.

commissioners from four other States at Annapolis: but they had not long debated ere they became satisfied that improvement in trade and commerce was beyond their reach so long as the confederate government and the relations of the States thereto remained as they then were. They accordingly recommended that the States should appoint commissioners to form a convention in Philadelphia in May, 1787, and there to devise and suggest such changes and improvements as might be necessary for the articles of union.¹

This resolution was sent to the authorities of all the States and also to the congress. On the 21st February, 1787, that body adopted a resolution as follows:

Resolved. That in the opinion of congress it is expedient that on the second Monday in May next a convention of delegates, who shall have been appointed by the several States, be held in Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union.²

On the 25th of May, 1787, this memorable convention assembled in Philadelphia. Deputies were present from all the States, except Rhode Island. George Washington was elected president.

Their debates were generally held with closed doors. They continued up to the 17th September. They prepared a form of government, which was to be submitted to the people of the several States, who were to act upon it in their capacity as sovereignties. In order to its taking effect, it provided that the ratification of the conventions of at least nine States should be necessary. If so ratified it should go into operation on the 1th of March, 1789, as to the States thus assenting.

Before the close of the year 1788 it had been ratified by the votes of conventions in all the thirteen States, save North Carolina and Rhode Island. Several of the States, however, had proposed amendments embodying the principles of the "Bill of Rights," and all of those which were really important were afterwards adopted. Virginia was prevalently moved to ratification by the example and arguments of Governor Edmund Randolph, who had refused in the Philadelphia convention to sign the constitution, but afterwards became its warm advocate.³ North Caro-

¹ Marshall, II. 122, 123. Madison Papers, II. 607. Stephens 276, 277.

² Life of Edmund Randolph, by M. D. Conway, cited in John Scott's "The Republic as a Form of Government," 154.

³ Stephens 277.

lina, by her second convention, ratified the constitution November 21st, 1789. Rhode Island, with her wonted intractability, refused and delayed to assent until the new government was fully organized, and a bill had actually passed the Senate directing the President to suspend commercial intercourse with this little State, and to demand from her payment of her share of the Continental debt. Newspaper articles had also appeared, proposing that Rhode Island should be divided up between her two nearest neighbors.¹ However she may have looked on the questions of ethics involved in these propositions, it is certain they had their effect on her counsels, for, on the 29th May, 1790, she, in regular form, ratified the constitution.

An exhaustive examination of the forms under which each State sent her delegates to the convention and afterwards ratified their work has shown that the new government was the embodiment of a compact between the sovereign States who made it.² No other view can be taken by competent and candid students of the facts involved. One of the States, in her vote of ratification, took the precaution to use the following words :

"We, the delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected in pursuance of a recommendation from the general assembly, and now in convention, having fully and freely investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal convention, and being prepared, as well as the most mature deliberation hath enabled us, to decide thereon, do, in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known that the powers granted under the constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will ; that, therefore, no right of any denomination can be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by the congress, by the senate or house of representatives, acting in any capacity, by the president or any department or officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the constitution for those purposes."³

This was the express condition on which Virginia entered the great partnership of States, and as she was admitted as an equal partner, without objection to this condition, and as she declared that the condition applied to all, it inured to the benefit, not only of herself, but of the other parties, according to established principles of equity.

¹ Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 123.

² See Stephens' Comp. U. S., 279-362.

³ Va. Debates, 469-470. Calhoun's Works, II. 296. So. Lit. Mess., 1862, 178, 179.

It is not a part of the plan of this work to give an analysis or commentary on the constitution. Students who are aspiring to duty as constitutional lawyers or statesmen need only to be referred to the great sources of light thereon.¹

The congress, after approving the constitution, passed an act providing that the first Wednesday of January, 1789, should be the day of the choice of electors, and the first Wednesday in February for the choice of President and Vice-President, and the first Wednesday in March for the inauguration of the new government at the city of New York. This last date fell on the fourth day of March, which has ever since been the limit of each President's term.

These elections took place accordingly, and when the congress counted the votes it was ascertained that George Washington was unanimously elected the first President of the United States. None were surprised at this result, but all were delighted. Already hope began to revive and business to improve, as confidence was strengthened. John Adams was elected Vice-President.

Washington, with unfeigned diffidence and reluctance, accepted the high trust confided to him. By a delay in counting the electoral votes, he was not officially notified of his election until the 14th of April, 1789.

On the 16th he left Mount Vernon. His own private record says: "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life and to domestic felicity; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."²

His progress was a continual ovation; the ringing of bells and reports of cannon proclaimed his advent; old and young, women and children, thronged the roads and streets to bless and welcome him.³

It was a sunny afternoon when he reached the banks of the Delaware at Trenton. Twelve years before he had crossed amid storm and tempest, with howling winds around his head and fragments of ice threatening his boat with destruction. Now a scene of peace and love awaited him.

On the bridge across the Assunpink the women of Trenton had caused a triumphal arch to be raised, entwined with evergreens and laurels and bearing the inscription: "The defender of

¹ Madison's Papers, Va. Debates, Federalist, Calhoun's Works, Kent and Story, Stephens' Comp. U. S., Prof. Johnston's U. S., Curtis' Const. Hist.

²From Washington's Diary. Irving, IV. 467. ³Irving, IV. 468.

the mothers will be the protector of the daughters." Here the matrons of the city were assembled to welcome him, and, as he passed under the arch, a number of young girls, dressed in white and crowned with garlands, strewed flowers before him, singing an ode expressive of their love and gratitude. Washington was deeply moved.¹

At Elizabethtown Point he was welcomed by a committee of both houses of the congress and many civil officers. A barge of beautiful construction and equipment received him. It was manned by thirteen branch pilots, masters of vessels, and commanded by Commodore Nicholson. The harbor was gay with ships, boats and flags. The Spanish war-ship *Galveston* had shown no signs of honor till the barge carrying Washington was nearly abreast. Then suddenly, as if by magic, the yards were manned, flags fluttered out from every part of the rigging, and the rapid reports of thirteen guns saluted the President and the occasion.²

On landing, Governor Clinton and General Knox received him. An officer, in uniform, stepped up, and, announcing himself as commanding his guards, asked his orders. Washington, with a composure and foresight admirable in a military man, directed him to carry out any directions he might have received, but added that for the future the affection of his fellow-citizens was all the guard he desired.

On the 30th of April the inauguration took place in the hall and balcony of the old "Federal Hall," in New York. The man—the most virtuous and most symmetrically developed in soul and body of any then in the world—took the oath of office administered to him by the Chancellor of the State of New York. Immediately afterwards the chancellor stepped forward, waved his hand, and in a distinct voice cried: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" A flag was run up to the cupola of the building. A roar of artillery sounded the salute. All the bells of the city rang out a joyous peal, and the multitude rent the air with shouts. And so, the new President of the new republic of the New World entered upon his high duties.

The congress of the confederation had long been effete and nearly moribund. It was so impotent for good that its members had ceased to attend its sessions. It is said that nothing but the most earnest entreaties and exertions got a quorum of them together to ratify the treaty of peace with Great Britain.³ Natu-

¹ Irving, IV. 470. Eggleston's Household U. S., 202.

² Irving, IV. 471.

³ Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 88.

rally irritated by the failure of the States to give effect to their requisitions, in 1784 they broke up their session in disgust, and the French minister reported to his country: "There is now in America no general government—neither congress nor president, nor head of any one administrative department." It was surely time to reconstruct. As the new government emerged, the old congress continued to droop and to fade, until, on the 21st October, 1788, its last record was entered, and it died.¹

¹ Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 113.

CHAPTER XLIV.

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S PRESIDENCY.

WASHINGTON, as President, led his country into a part of her career most critical and dangerous, and under a form of government new and untried. His own personal power and influence did much to make it a success.

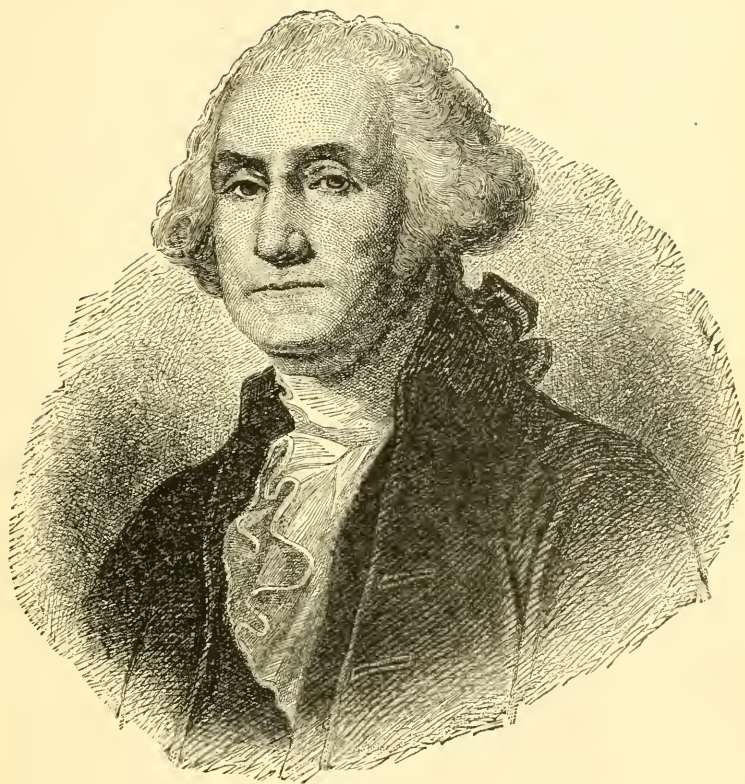
The Congress created four departments, viz. : of Foreign Affairs (since called the Department of State), of War, of the Treasury, and of the government law adviser. Thomas Jefferson was appointed Secretary of State, Gen. Henry Knox of War, Alexander Hamilton of the Treasury, and Edmund Randolph Attorney-General. These, with the President, formed the cabinet, and were all that were then needed ; but the ever-increasing power and extent of the country have caused the Congress to add Departments of the Navy, the Postal Service, the Interior, and of Agriculture ; and by law, in case of the removal, death, resignation or permanent inability of the President and Vice-President, the members of the cabinet become President, respectively, in the following order : Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture.¹

The judges of the Supreme Court nominated by Washington and confirmed by the Senate were : John Jay of New York, chief justice ; John Rutledge of South Carolina, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, William Cushing of Massachusetts, John Blair of Virginia and James Iredell of North Carolina, associate justices.²

The First Congress under the new constitution did not embrace so many men brilliant in oratory and in statesmanship as those in the First Revolutionary Congress had been ; but these later men were suited to the times which they faced. Fisher Ames, from Massachusetts, who was a member of the House of Representatives, thus describes this Congress : " I have never seen an assembly where so little art was used. If they wish to carry a point, it is directly declared and justified. Its merits and defects are plainly stated, not without sophistry or prejudice, but without management. There is no intrigue, no caucusing, little of clanning to-

¹ Act of Congress, 1884, in Goodrich's U. S., 481.

² Irving's Washington, V. 26.



George Washington

gether, little asperity in debate or personal bitterness out of the House."¹

The results of this calm and clear-headed purpose to provide for the wants of the country were soon apparent. Confidence returned, the people grew daily more prosperous, agriculture yielded abundant harvests, manufactures in their ruder forms began to spring up, the exports became larger, and the goods and produce imported yielded in custom payments, flowing daily into the treasury, so much money that ordinary expenses were easily met, and hope began to arise that even the unwieldy debt of the country, in all its forms, would be honorably discharged.

This debt was the subject most pressing on the Congress and on Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury. It was due from the United States and from the States severally; but as very nearly the whole of it had been contracted for the purposes of the war, there was no serious question raised by any statesman as to the equity of casting its whole burden upon the United States.² Yet some opposed this, because they feared it tended to consolidation of the sovereign States into the central government.

The question, as to which counsels were most divided, was whether all the debt ought to be treated alike. Some of it was to France and to Holland, and a full *quid pro quo*, either in hard money or in ships, arms and military stores at fair and agreed prices, having been received, no question could be raised with them. But the larger part of the debt was in the form of unredeemed Continental currency in the hands of at least two distinct classes of holders. One of these classes had paid full value either in services or in money or property; the other class had obtained large face amounts of this currency at rates of enormous depreciation, in some instances by speculation, in other instances by brokerage and exchange, and actual advantages taken of the necessities of the original holders. This last class had in many cases gotten rich during the war or in the years following it. Many, in and out of the Congress, felt that this class ought not to be paid at face value.³

But the Congress had asked that the executive department, through the Secretary of the Treasury, would report a scheme for the settlement of the public debt. Hamilton devoted to this his finest powers, and made a report, the recommendations of which were, in substance, adopted by the Congress of 1790.

¹ Letters of Fisher Ames, in Irving's Washington, V. 27.

² Irving, V. 53, 54. Marshall's Washington, II. Stephens, 368, 369.

³ Irving, V. 52, 53. Goodrich, 289. Prof. Holmes' U. S., 164.

Under this plan the State debts were assumed, and the whole unfunded debt, without distinction as to classes of holders, was to be funded, and certificates of debt issued therefor, the interest to be paid semi-annually. Taxes and customs on imports were imposed, and a determined purpose shown to deal justly with the public creditors. The effects of this policy were soon manifest. Confidence became strong. A part of Hamilton's plan was the negotiation of a loan of two millions of dollars at five per cent. interest, and no difficulty was experienced in obtaining it. The debt to foreign countries was only eleven million five hundred thousand dollars, and, as punctual payment of the interest was provided for, and what was chiefly needed, the creditors were satisfied.¹

A part of Alexander Hamilton's financial plan was the establishment of a national bank with a capital of ten millions of dollars, to act as the depository of the government, and to aid in establishing the public credit. The constitutionality of this measure was earnestly debated in Congress, but finally a charter was granted, to extend to March 4th, 1811. Washington, after mature deliberation, signed the bill.²

During the vacation between the sessions of Congress, in 1789 and 1790, Washington made a tour through the Northern and New England States to inform himself as to the condition of the country, and also to recuperate his health, which had suffered early in the year from acute disease.

Thomas Jefferson had not yet returned from France to assume the duties of the State Department. Leaving foreign affairs in the hands of John Jay, Washington set out from New York on the 15th of October, 1789, traveling in his carriage, with four horses, and accompanied by his official secretary, Major Jackson, and his private secretary, Tobias Lear.

He desired to be private, but the people everywhere welcomed him with ringing of bells, firing of guns, military parades and civic processions.³ As he approached Boston he received an invitation from Governor Hancock asking him to be his guest at his private residence. But Washington declined this courtesy, from the praiseworthy motive of avoiding all appearance of discrimination. A curious question of etiquette then arose between Governor Hancock and the members of the city government as to who were entitled to precedence in receiving the President at

¹ Goodrich's *Piet.* U. S., 289, 290. Stephens, 369.

² Marshall's *Washington*, II. Compare Goodrich, 290, and *Art. Bank*, Amer. Encyclop., II. 579.

³ Irving, V. 38, 39.

Boston Neck, as he entered the city. This controversy was so protracted that two rival lines of carriages were kept waiting, and Washington and his secretary, Major Jackson, were detained on the Neck in a raw and murky day, until the President became chilled, and, when informed of the cause of detention, asked: "Is there no other avenue into the town?" Then the governor and his council gave way, and the municipal authorities took precedence.

Governor Hancock was then fifty-two years old, rich and punctilious, and perhaps unduly sensitive as to his own dignity and importance. He had conceived the idea that, as he was governor, the first visit ought to be from Washington to him. Therefore, he excused himself from calling on the President by the plea of indisposition, and invited Washington to an informal dinner. This the President politely declined, and dined at his lodgings, having the Vice-President, John Adams, as his guest.¹

Again Governor Hancock was obliged to yield. He wrote announcing his coming. Washington wrote him a brief note saying he would be at home until two o'clock, and that he would be pleased to see the governor, but begged earnestly that "the governor will not hazard his health on the occasion."² Governor Hancock came, but he was enveloped in baize, and was borne in the arms of servants into the house.³ In this contest of etiquette he did not appear to advantage. George Washington, almost in boyhood, had written "Rules of Civility" for his own guidance, but never permitted form and ceremony to take the place of duty.

Between March 11th and July 6th, 1791, Washington made a similar tour through the Southern States, traveling one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven miles in his carriage, with one set of horses, and with pleasure to himself and profit for his high duties.

Soon after his return from this tour, he found his country involved in another Indian war. Settlers from Virginia and North Carolina began to penetrate the rich forests and fertile lands of Kentucky and Tennessee, and settlers from the New England States, New York and Pennsylvania advanced to the region north of the Ohio river. Kentucky had been a soil so sternly contested in bloody battles among the savages themselves, and with the whites, that the name means "the dark and bloody ground."

Daniel Boone was the first of the bold spirits from the east who made permanent settlement in Kentucky. He came in 1769,

¹ Irving's Washington, V. 41-43.

² Note in Irving, V. 42.

³ Sullivan's Letters on Public Characters, 15. Irving, V. 43.

with hunting shirt and rifle, and was so pleased with the beauty and native riches of this country, that, notwithstanding daily perils from savages, he founded Boonesborough, and occupied that region with his family. He was followed by a number of men who vied with him in courage and love of adventure, such as Knox, Bullitt, Harrod, Henderson, Kenton, Calloway and Logan. The red men contended in vain against white resolution and skill. Boone, with a little army of one hundred and eighty-two men, gave them a decisive defeat at Blue Lick Springs on the 19th August, 1782. Kentucky was first a county of Virginia, and held her first court at Harrodsburg in 1777. In 1786 she was elevated into a district, and on June 1st, 1792, was admitted as a State to the Union.¹ Vermont, whose people had so distinguished themselves by their heroism during the Revolution, had been admitted as a State on the 18th February, 1791.

The Indians of the Northwest were greatly irritated by the steady advance of the settlers of Kentucky and Ohio, and made frequent and bloody attacks. With the Creeks of Georgia a treaty of peace was made August 7th, 1790, chiefly by negotiations between General Knox, Secretary of War, and McGillivray at the head of thirty Indian chiefs. By this treaty, a considerable territory within the limits of Georgia was relinquished. The State was dissatisfied; but Mr. Jefferson thought the treaty very important for the interests of the country, claiming it as "drawing a line between the Creeks and Georgia, and enabling the government to do, as it will do, justice against either party offending."²

But the Indians of the Wabash and Miami were restless and warlike, making frequent incursions, burning the infant settlements of the whites and destroying their improvements. These savages were well armed, obtaining weapons and ammunition from the posts still retained by the British in violation of the treaty of peace.³

Washington determined to send a military force against them, under authority of an act of Congress obtained for the purpose. This force consisted of three hundred and twenty regulars, with militia detachments from Pennsylvania and the western parts of Virginia, making a total of fourteen hundred and fifty-three men, under command of Brigadier-General Harmer, a veteran of the Revolution.

¹ Horace E. Scudder's U. S., 262, 263. Art. Kentucky, Amer. Encyclop., X. 146. Stephens, 371, 372.

² Compare Stephens, 370. Irving, V. 63, 64. Goodrich's Piet. U. S., 291.

³ Irving, V. 74, 75.

They marched on the 30th September, 1790, from Fort Washington, on the site of the present city of Cincinnati. In seventeen days they came to the principal village of the Miamis. The Indians set fire to their huts and fled. The village was destroyed with large quantities of provisions there collected by the savage warriors.

Now was the time for caution against Indian wiles; but it was not used. An advance of one hundred and fifty militia and thirty regulars was made, headed by Colonel Hardin, of the Kentucky militia. They followed a trail, and, on the 17th October, were decoyed into an Indian ambush, where they were beset on every side by seven hundred warriors, under the great chief Little Turtle. The foes could not be seen, but their rifles poured death upon the whites. The militia broke and fled at the first fire. The regulars stood their ground and fought the Indians with the bayonet. All of these brave troops were slain, except five privates with Captain Armstrong and Ensign Hartshorn. On the 21st of October, about ten miles west of what is now Chillicothe, Colonel Hardin, having collected most of the scattered militia, made an effort to retrieve the campaign. Another bloody battle occurred. The militia behaved well and supported the regulars; but Major Willys was killed, and Colonel Hardin retreated, leaving dead and wounded in the hands of the enemy. The expedition returned to Fort Washington.¹

The President was disturbed by this disaster, although the main purpose of the expedition had been effected, which was the driving of the Indians from their lines of settlement. Another military expedition against them was organized. It was to consist of two thousand regulars and one thousand militia. Gen. Arthur St. Clair was to command. He had been appointed Governor of the Northwest. Notwithstanding his misfortune at Ticonderoga, Washington seems to have felt great regard for him; but, on taking leave of him, he gave him a solemn warning. He said: "You have your instructions from the Secretary of War. I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word—beware of a surprise! You know how the Indians fight. I repeat it—*beware of a surprise!*" With these words sounding on his ear, St. Clair went his way.²

Meanwhile two volunteer expeditions against the savages, commanded by Gen. Charles Scott and General Wilkinson, had accomplished nothing, and were considered failures. Much was expected from the advance of St. Clair.

¹ Irving, V. 75-77. Scott, 234. Goodrich, 291. Butler's Kentucky, 192.

² Rush's Washington in Domestic Life, 67. Irving, V. 84.

His army was not in the most efficient state. Even the regulars were unreliable. Picked up and recruited from the off-scourings of large towns and cities, enervated by idleness, debauchery, and every species of vice, they were little prepared for the stern exigencies of Indian warfare. Desertions were frequent, and indicated their low standard of duty.¹

General St. Clair was suffering with gout, and had to be helped on and off from his horse. As they advanced from Fort Washington, by new roads, cut with difficulty and labor through the swamps and woods, ill omens crowded on them. Part of the Virginia militia claimed their discharge, their time being out. On the 30th of October, sixty of them deserted in a body, intending to plunder the convoy of provisions coming forward in the rear. To stop these outlaws and protect the provisions, Major Hamtranck, with the First United States regiment, consisting of three hundred of the best troops of the army, was detached to the rear.

The rest, consisting of only about one thousand four hundred effective troops, continued their march to a point ninety-seven miles from Fort Washington and about fifteen miles south of the Miami Indian villages. Here they encamped, November 3d, 1791, on a rising ground, with a stream forty feet wide in their front, running westwardly. Their ground was well chosen for defence against regular civilized troops; but, being surrounded by close woods, dense thickets and the trunks of fallen trees, with here and there a ravine, it could not have offered fitter opportunities for an attack after the manner of stealthy Indian warfare.²

And the attack came. Half an hour before sunrise of November 4th, the war-whoops burst forth from the woods like "the jangling of an infinitude of horse bells." The Indians fired from ambush, and the militia broke and fled. St. Clair did all that a brave man could. Carried on a litter, he hurried from point to point, giving his orders. The regulars acted firmly for awhile, and rushed on the concealed Indians with the bayonet, putting many to death; but the deadly fire from the thickets was kept up, and numbers fell. The light artillery, loading with grape and canister, fired into the woods, but with little effect. The artillerymen were exposed to a murderous fire. Every officer and two-thirds of the men were killed or wounded. The slaughter was such as had not been known since the battle on the Monongahela, and the result was the same. A retreat was ordered. Just as it

¹ Diary of Col. Winthrop Sargent, Adj.-Gen. U. S. A., Campaign 1791. Irving, V. 95.

² Irving's Washington, V. 97. Quackenbos, 319. Derry, 170.

commenced, General Butler was shot from his horse. A savage rushed forward, tomahawked and scalped him; but ere this Indian could bear off the bloody trophy he was himself shot down.¹

Colonel Darke, with his regiment of regulars, performed signal service in meeting the enemy and repulsing their advance by the bayonet. But already the combat had continued nearly three hours, and more than half the army were disabled. The retreat was disorderly. Many of the troops threw away their arms, ammunition and accoutrements. Fortunately, the savages did not long pursue, being drawn back by the resistless bait of a camp to be plundered.

The fugitives met Major Hamtranck with his regiment; but this did not re-instate them. The retreat was continued to Fort Washington. The army had met a loss of six hundred and seventy-seven killed, including thirty women, and two hundred and seventy-one wounded.²

When President Washington heard of this great public disaster he became excited beyond what he had ever experienced in all his life. The seat of government had been transferred from New York, and Washington was in Philadelphia, when an officer bearing dispatches from the Western army arrived. Washington was at his dinner-table with a numerous company. The officer was importunate. The President came out, read the dispatches, came back and briefly apologized for his absence, but made no allusion to the frightful tidings. Neither did he lose his composure while Mrs. Washington held her drawing-room that evening. But when, at ten o'clock, he was left alone with Mr. Lear, his secretary, after a few moments of intense agitation, he broke out suddenly with the words: "It is all over! St. Clair is defeated—routed; the officers nearly all killed, the men by wholesale; the rout complete; too shocking to think of, and a surprise into the bargain!"³

He spoke with great vehemence. Then pausing and rising from the sofa, he walked up and down the room in silence, violently agitated, but saying nothing. When near the door he stopped short, stood still for a moment, and then there was another terrible outburst of feeling.

He repeated the words of his warning to St. Clair, and then added: "And yet! to suffer that army to be cut to pieces, hacked, butchered, tomahawked by a surprise—the very thing I guarded him against. O God! O God!" he exclaimed, throwing up his

¹ Irving, V. 99.

² Col. Sargent's estimate, in Irving, V. 101.

³ Lear's narrative, Rush's Washington in Domestic Life. Irving, V. 102.

hands, while his very frame shook with emotion, "he is worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him—the curse of widows and orphans—the curse of Heaven!"

Mr. Lear was awed into breathless silence by the appalling tones in which this invective found words. But the storm passed; the mighty spirit resumed its composure. In a low tone he said: "General St. Clair shall have justice. I looked hastily through the dispatches—saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars. I will receive him without displeasure; I will hear him without prejudice; he shall have full justice."

And Washington kept his word. General St. Clair asked for a court of inquiry upon his conduct; but Washington could not comply with this request by reason of "a total deficiency of officers in actual service of competent rank to form a legal court for that purpose." St. Clair then declared his purpose to resign, and his willingness to give to his successor all the information in his possession as to his field of duty. Washington, in a letter, courteously recognized this as an additional evidence of the goodness of his heart, and of his attachment to his country.¹

But the Congress directed an investigation and report as to the causes of the disaster. St. Clair then wrote to Washington, urging reasons for retaining his commission "until an opportunity should be presented, if necessary, of investigating his conduct in every mode presented by law." Washington replied, reminding him that only one major-general was allowed, and that, as he had signified his intention to retire, his successor ought to be immediately appointed.²

St. Clair resigned. The committee of Congress reported favorably to him, the evidence being distinct that in the battle he had acted with courage and skill; but the people had lost confidence in him as a leader against Indians.³

General Wayne (the "Mad Anthony" of the Revolution) succeeded him in command of the Western army. Various causes of delay prevented him from moving against the Indians until the summer of 1794; then he moved with a caution and skill which indicated anything but rashness in his character, however impetuous it may have been. By the 8th of August he had reached the junction of the rivers Au Glaize and Miami, in a fertile and populous region where the Western Indians had their most important villages. He threw up intrenchments and guarded

¹ Letter of Washington, quoted in Irving, V. 111.

³ Irving, V. 112.

² Letter in Irving, V. 111.

against surprise. The savages called him "the black snake" and "the chief who never sleeps." Little Turtle was so impressed by his warlike caution that he advised peace; but his comrades decided on war, and two of Wayne's scouts, penetrating to the savage camp, actually succeeded in seizing and carrying off an Indian girl, who revealed their purpose to fight.¹

Wayne was joined by eleven hundred mounted volunteers from Kentucky. His force exceeded that of the Indians, which was about two thousand; but the savages held a strong position near Fort Miami, which, though far within the American limits, was still held by a British garrison, from whom the Indians hoped to receive help.² Their position was just north of the Maumee river, which empties into Lake Erie.

Wayne advanced, and his men were eager for the fight; but, remembering his instructions, he restrained them, and offered terms of peace. He received an ambiguous reply. His wily foes sought to lure him on.

But on the morning of the 20th of August, 1794, his advance guard was fired into from ambush. This called out from Wayne an order for an immediate attack. His whole force bore down on the Indians, the mounted men assailing their flanks, while the infantry roused them from their lairs by strokes of the bayonet. They were soon routed and driven at all points, and with heavy loss, at least two miles from the field of battle. The pursuit was continued to the outworks of the British fort.³ Wayne reported: "We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and corn were consumed or otherwise destroyed for a considerable distance both above and below Fort Miami; and we were within pistol shot of the garrison of that place, who were compelled to remain quiet spectators of this general devastation and conflagration."

This decisive overthrow led to a final treaty of peace with the Indians, by which their title was extinguished in extensive tracts of country west of the Ohio river.⁴

The constitution provided that an actual enumeration of the people of the United States should be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as should be provided for by law.⁵ The first census was taken in 1790, and another has been taken at the end of each period of ten years thereafter, the

¹Quackenbos' U. S., 322, 323. Eggleston's Household U. S., 219. ²Irving, V. 207.

³Wayne's Report. Irving, V. 208. ⁴Stephens' Comp. U. S., 375.

⁵Const. U. S., Art. I., sec. 2, clause 3.

subjects inquired into and reported having been constantly added to in species and interest. We are thus enabled to mark the progress of the country.

In 1790 the total population, in round numbers, was three million nine hundred and thirty thousand, of whom six hundred and ninety-eight thousand were slaves. This total had been reached in the period of one hundred and eighty-three years from the first settlement at Jamestown, in 1607, making an average of about twenty-one thousand five hundred for each year. But in 1800 the total population was five million three hundred and six thousand, showing an increase of one million three hundred and seventy-six thousand, or an average of one hundred and thirty-seven thousand six hundred in each year.¹ This proved that the country was beginning to bound forward with a vigor never before known.

In the years 1789, 1790 and 1791, the yearly receipts from duties on goods and products imported did not exceed one million five hundred thousand dollars; but in 1792 these duties on imports reached the sum of three million four hundred and forty-three thousand dollars, showing an advance in business, which resulted from constantly growing confidence and prosperity; and by the year 1800 the duties on imports amounted to more than nine million dollars. The total annual receipts into the treasury of the United States went up from an average of three million four hundred and three thousand dollars for each of the years 1789, 1790 and 1791, to the sum of twelve million four hundred and fifty thousand dollars in 1800.² Such was the result of a good government and faithful administration.

Discoveries and inventions of permanent value to the United States and the world went forward. In 1792, Capt. Robert Gray, in the ship *Columbia Rediviva*, of Boston, Massachusetts, was exploring the northern Pacific Ocean, and on the 11th of May entered the vast mouth of the Columbia river, and went up as far as the expanded bay, seven miles wide, which is thirty miles from the ocean and which is yet regarded as the true mouth of the river.³ This is the largest river that enters the Pacific from the American continent, and its discovery by Captain Gray and subsequent exploration by Lewis and Clark were potent factors in establishing the territorial claims of the United States. In 1793, Eli Whitney, a native of Massachusetts, but long employed in teaching in the Southern States, invented the cotton-gin, by which the work of getting out the seed, once performed by hand and

¹ Tables in Art. United States, Amer. Encyclop., XV. 784. ² *Ibid.*, 816.

³ Art. Columbia River, Amer. Encyclop., V. 513.

with tedious labor and delay, is expeditiously done by machinery. This greatly increased the production of cotton and the value of slave labor in the South.¹

Washington is well known to have been opposed to the slave-trade and the expansion of slavery by importation, and in favor of a system of gradual emancipation ; but he was equally opposed to all illegitimate interference of *pseudo* philanthropists with the recognized rights of slave-holders. He held that no power existed in the Federal government to abolish slavery or to restrict its vested relations.²

Within less than a year after his inauguration the first attempt was made to induce the Congress to overleap the bounds of the constitution on the subject of slavery. This attempt was headed by a man no less eminent than Benjamin Franklin. His name was the first signed to a petition presented to the Congress on the 12th February, 1790, asking that body to adopt measures with a view to the ultimate abolition of African slavery as it then existed in the respective States.³

But, happily, the Congress saw the question of right in its real proportions. After a thorough discussion, chiefly in the House of Representatives, on the 23d March, 1790, the following resolution was adopted :

“That Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them, within any of the States ; it remaining with the several States alone to provide any regulations therein which humanity and true policy may require.”⁴

Benjamin Franklin died on the 17th April, 1790, at the advanced age of eighty-four years. His few errors, leaning to virtue's side, could not neutralize the sentiments of love and veneration which his countrymen cherished for him.

The Northern States found slavery unprofitable and unsuited to their agricultural conditions. This led them to get rid of their slaves by sales to the South and by systems of gradual emancipation. No imperative sense of duty impelled them. They had all held slaves, and their ships had been employed in the importations from Africa and the West Indies. At the opening of the Revolution, in 1775, no State had indicated a purpose to destroy slavery within her bounds.⁵ But Vermont abolished slavery in 1777, before she became a State. Pennsylvania provided for gradual emancipation in 1780. Massachusetts, in her constitution of

¹Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 172 (note).

²Irving's Washington, V. 298, 299.

³Stephens' Comp. U. S., 367.

⁴Annals of Congress, II. 1523-74.

⁵Stephens' Comp. U. S., 367. Art. Slavery, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 710, 711.

1780, adopted a clause which her Supreme Court decided to have destroyed slavery. Rhode Island and Connecticut did the same from 1790 by gradual assumptions of freedom, though Rhode Island had five slaves and Connecticut seventeen in 1840. New York adopted graded emancipation in 1799 and New Jersey in 1804. In the Southern States, in which cotton, rice, tobacco and sugar-cane were cultivated, slavery continued to be profitable, and the white people regarded it as an institution sanctioned by law, Divine and human; but requiring prudence, humanity and forbearance in order to its continuance, in consistency with Christian faith and life.

The presidency of Washington was a time of serious strain to the institutions of his country. It had not been expected that any dangers would come from France, whose king had been the ally exercising a decisive influence in favor of American independence, and whose people had become imbued with desires for civil freedom; but from these very sources came the dangers.

After the French people rose and overthrew the monarchy, they would have prospered under a republic had it not been for the surrounding kingdoms, whose monarchs refused to tolerate a government of the people in their midst. Hence those persistent wars in which the young French republic was forced to embark, and in which she exerted so much of revolutionary fervor and might that she shattered the armies of her enemies on every side; hence came the career of "the man of destiny," Napoleon Bonaparte; and hence came those excesses, chiefly exhibited in Paris and the larger cities, which caused blood to flow in streams, and filled with horror the friends of humanity all over the civilized world. None of these excesses would have been committed by the people of France had they not been lashed into frenzy by the crusade against their liberties systematically carried on by the crowned heads of Europe.

It could not have been expected that a mind born and trained in the school of regulated order, as that of Washington had been, should have looked with any feelings save of aversion and disapproval upon the scenes through which France passed between 1789 and 1793. We cannot censure him for the reserved and prudent course of neutrality adopted by him.

In 1792, under the constitution and laws, another election was held for electors to vote for President and Vice-President. Again Washington received all the votes, and could not refuse to comply with the unanimous call of his country. John Adams was also again elected Vice-President.

It was under gloomy auspices, with a divided cabinet, growing party exasperation, a suspicion of monarchical tendencies, and a threatened decrease of popularity, that Washington entered, on the 4th of March, 1793, upon his second term as President.¹

Very soon came news of the capital execution of Louis XVI., under sentence of the revolutionary assembly of France. Washington remembered this unfortunate monarch with respect, as the sincere friend of his country in her great struggle for independence. Others in America sympathized with the French people, and regarded the republic as best secured by the death of the king.

Early in April came tidings that France had declared war against England, and would soon send a special minister to the United States. Now, indeed, it was needful that the course of the republic of the New World should be such as would be vindicated by the highest wisdom.

Washington was at Mount Vernon when he heard of the war and that preparations were already in progress to fit out privateers in American ports to prey on English commerce. He wrote to Mr. Jefferson: "War having actually commenced between France and Great Britain, it behooves the government of this country to use every means in its power to prevent the citizens thereof from embroiling us with either of those powers, by endeavoring to maintain a strict neutrality."²

On the 19th of April, 1793, the President assembled his cabinet in council, and it was unanimously decided that a proclamation should be issued "forbidding the citizens of the United States to take part in any hostilities on the seas, and warning them against carrying to the belligerents any articles deemed contraband according to the modern usages of nations, and forbidding all acts and proceedings inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation towards those at war."³

When we reflect that Jefferson was, by study, and by long residence in France, deeply imbued with democratic predilections, we cannot but admire the wisdom and self-control which brought him into unison with Washington on the subject of American neutrality. On the 16th of December, 1793, he submitted to Congress, with the concurrence of the President, his celebrated report on the relations of the United States with foreign nations, and her attitude towards them—a report so able and exhaustive that to this day it is the most trustworthy guide on those subjects that can be consulted. On the 31st of December, Mr. Jefferson re-

¹ Irving's Washington, V. 144.

² Washington's letter, Irving, V. 145.

³ Proclamation as resolved, Irving, V. 145.

signed his place in the government, and retired to his home at Monticello. Edmund Randolph succeeded him as Secretary of State, and William Bradford, of Pennsylvania, became Attorney-General.

Meanwhile stirring events were in progress. Edmond Charles Genet, generally called "Citizen Genet" by the Revolutionists of France, had been appointed Minister to the United States. Gouverneur Morris was then the American minister in Paris. He wrote to Mr. Jefferson that the French executive council had furnished Genet with three hundred blank commissions for privateers to be delivered clandestinely to such persons in America as he might find willing to act on them.¹ Morris added: "They suppose that the avidity of some adventurers may lead them into measures which would involve altercations with Great Britain, and terminate finally in a war."

Genet was a young man of attractive person, pleasant manners and excellent education. He had been a bureau clerk of foreign affairs under Vergennes, but had turned republican, and was warm in his new love.

Instead of coming to Philadelphia to present his credentials and take his place as minister, he landed from the French frigate *Ambuscade* at Charleston, South Carolina, on April 8th, 1793. He was cordially received. But he soon manifested his purpose in thus coming into a port near to the West Indies. He began to issue commissions for privateers to be manned by Americans.²

As he journeyed north the newspapers were enthusiastic in comments on the ovations he received. An encounter between the *Ambuscade* and the British frigate *Boston*, in which the latter was worsted, increased the excitement in favor of Genet. But Washington was not led away by a popular current. He received the French minister courteously, though gravely and calmly, and soon caused to be communicated to him the neutral position of America and the duties thus required of himself as President.

Genet immediately took offence, and made an effort to array the people against the President. His first effort was to influence the Congress, upon which he believed that popular excitement would be irresistible; but in a conference with Mr. Jefferson he was greatly astonished to find that Congress had no direct power over the subject, and that the duty of preserving neutrality, having been decided on in the cabinet, threw all power and responsibility in the matter into the hands of the President.³

¹ Letters from Gouv. Morris to Th. Jefferson, Irving, V. 146, 147.

² Stephens, 374. Irving, 147. Goodrich, 297.

³ Irving's Washington, V. 160, 161.

Genet asked, with surprise, if Congress were not the sovereign. "No," replied Jefferson, "they are sovereign only in making laws; the executive is the sovereign in executing them, and the judiciary in construing them, where they relate to that department."

But the French minister had gone too far to undo his own work. Several cases occurred arising from his commissions. Two American citizens were arrested on board a privateer, conducted to prison, and prosecutions commenced against them. Genet was in a rage, and openly defied the government by writing that "the crime laid to their charge is the serving of France, and defending with her children the common glorious cause of liberty."¹

A British merchant ship, the *Little Sarah*, had been captured by a French privateer, brought into Philadelphia, armed and equipped for privateering, manned with a crew of one hundred and twenty, many of whom were Americans, and her name changed to *Le Petit Democrat*. During Washington's temporary absence, she was detained by Governor Mifflin, of Pennsylvania; but, in spite of the remonstrances of Hamilton and Jefferson, Genet succeeded in getting her off to sea.²

Washington hesitated no longer to adopt the most stringent means for arresting these outrages upon the neutral attitude of America. The Congress approved his course, and advised that the recall of Genet be demanded from the French government. Washington made the demand, and in a short time M. Genet's commission was withdrawn, although he continued to reside in America. M. Fauchet was appointed minister in his stead. Citizen Genet afterwards married a daughter of Gov. George Clinton, of New York.³

This subject of anxiety, caused by a foreign nation, was speedily followed by one entirely domestic, and yet of a very dark and perplexing character. The people of northern Europe had invented the process of distilling intoxicating liquors from wine, fruits and grain, and had thus added to the curses afflicting the human race. When the American Congress, upon reports from Alexander Hamilton, began to investigate the subjects on which internal taxes might be imposed with most benefit and least burden to the public, they readily concluded that distilled liquors would be one of those subjects; for the tax finally fell on the consumer, and to the extent that it discouraged consumption of intoxicants as beverage, it would, beyond doubt, benefit the public health and morals.

¹ Genet's letter, Irving, V. 456.

² Irving, V. 159-164.

³ Thalheimer's U. S., 198 (note)

Accordingly, in 1791, the Congress, by an excise law, imposed a direct tax on spirits distilled within the United States. From the time it first took effect this law was obstinately opposed by the people resident in the western counties of Pennsylvania. They raised great quantities of Indian corn, or maize—far more than they needed for their own use; and, as roads were bad and water-carriage limited, they had found it more profitable to distill their grain into whiskey and transport it to market in that form than in bulk as grain.¹ The moral aspects of the question seem to have made little impression on these people—less, perhaps, than in later times. Similar questions have moved distillers and liquor-dealers to abandon a business which yields them money. The law was modified in several points, but the opposition grew until it reached the stage of insurrection.

When the revenue officers attempted to collect the excise tax, riotous opposition was made. In 1794 some of the rioters were indicted by grand juries; but when the United States marshals attempted to serve writs of *capias*, armed men fired on them, and their lives were threatened. The chief marshal was seized and compelled to renounce his duties. The house of General Nevil, inspector of the revenue, was assailed, and the assailants were with difficulty repulsed. Greater numbers of them assembled; magistrates and militia officers shrunk from duty. A few regular soldiers from Fort Pitt were shut up in a house, which was set on fire, and all were compelled to surrender. The law-breakers waxed in numbers. Seven thousand of them were said to be in arms. The marshal and inspector with difficulty escaped out of the insurgent region, descended the Ohio, and, by a circuitous route, reached Philadelphia, and reported the facts.²

Washington was not the man to hesitate in such an emergency, and his action was the more prompt and stern because he verily believed that this insurrection had been increased in its lawless spirit and proportions by organizations called "Democratic Societies," nursed into being by M. Genet and his sympathizers.³ On the 7th of August, 1794, the President issued a proclamation warning the insurgents to disperse, and declaring that, if all attempts to oppose the law by force were not abandoned by the 1st of September, force would be used to compel submission. On the same day he made requisition on the Governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia for twelve thousand armed militia, and soon increased the required number to fifteen thousand.

¹ Eggleston's *Household U. S.*, 220.

² Irving's *Washington*, V. 197, 198.

³ Letter to Gov. ("Light Horse Harry") Lee. Irving, V. 198, 199.

He appointed Gov. Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry"), of Virginia, to command the force, with the rank of general. Gen. Daniel Morgan was roused from his quietude in his valley home, and volunteered to command a division of the Virginia militia. Washington himself made preparations to join the troops at Fort Cumberland, and treated with indifference the point raised by a Mr. Bache, editor of a partisan newspaper, that the President could not constitutionally act as commander-in-chief of the army while the Congress was in session.¹ This cavil was plainly condemned by the constitution itself.²

But his personal presence was not needed. The march of this imposing force under General Lee instantly cowed the spirits of the insurgents. They were alarmed, and, at Lee's approach, hastened to lay down their arms, give assurances of submission, and crave the clemency of the government. Only three men had been killed. A few were tried for treason, but no convictions took place. Morgan, under orders, remained with a detachment of troops during the winter in the disaffected region.³ The insurgents found themselves in the hands of a government able and determined to enforce obedience to its laws. They rose no more; but in modern days the same lawless spirit has exhibited itself in illicit distilling by "moonshiners" in the mountain regions of West Virginia, the Carolinas and Tennessee.

England gave Washington trouble throughout his presidency. She had never appointed a minister to represent her with the United States. She had continued to hold the Northern and Western forts, although the treaty required her to surrender them to the United States, alleging as her reason for this breach of treaty that obstructions were thrown in the way of collections of debts due from Americans to British citizens or subjects; and when the war with revolutionary France broke out, and provisions began to grow scarce in France, England saw her opportunity to increase the distress of her enemies. She instructed her armed ships to stop all vessels bound to France with corn, flour, meal or meat; take them into port, unload them, purchase the cargoes, make a proper allowance for freight, and then release the vessels; or to allow the masters, on stipulated security, to dispose of their cargoes in ports friendly to England.⁴ Moreover, England was driven by her great need of seamen to make frequent impressments from American vessels.

These measures roused renewed indignation against England

¹ Letter in Irving, V. 201. ² Art. II., sec. 2, clause 1.

³ Irving, V. 203. Eggleston, 220. Goodrich, 299, 300.

⁴ Irving, V. 176, 177. D. B. Scott, 236. Goodrich, 298.

in the United States. They were condemned as against the laws of nations; and it was justly believed that England had no excuse for thus using her overpowering strength at sea. Those who sympathized with France (and they were many) industriously fomented these discontents.

But Washington strove earnestly to avoid an open rupture between Great Britain and his own young republic. His government made calm and unanswerable remonstrances with the British State Department. Finally he determined to send a special envoy to represent the United States at the court of St. James, and seek to make a treaty which should keep the two countries at peace.

The party in Congress who claimed to be specially democratic and who favored France were greatly excited by the fear that Alexander Hamilton would be the envoy; but that statesman magnanimously urged the President not to appoint him, and recommended John Jay, who already filled the office next in dignity to that of the President. Accordingly Mr. Jay was nominated, and resigned the office of Chief Justice. A majority of ten in the Senate confirmed the nomination.

Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was acting temporarily as American minister in London. He had written to his government advices that the British ministry had revoked their instructions to their armed ships given 6th November, 1793.¹ Lord Grenville had also explained that no special vexation to American vessels had been intended. Washington hoped that Mr. Jay, as special envoy, would secure permanent peace.

At that time so many and varied were the causes operating in America to engender irritation against England, that no treaty to which the consent of England ministers could have been obtained would have been satisfactory to the malcontents on each side. Jay's duty was, therefore, as trying as it was delicate. Washington's mind was full of anxiety, but his purpose was fixed to preserve the peace of his country if it could be done consistently with her honor and safety.²

On the 5th of August, 1794, Mr. Jay wrote to him, expressing his belief that the English ministry were prepared to settle the matters in dispute upon just and liberal terms. On the 7th March, 1795, a treaty signed by the ministers of the two nations was forwarded to Washington by Mr. Jay.

It was submitted to the Senate, who debated it with closed doors from the 8th to the 24th of June. This treaty was not

¹ Irving's *Washington*, V. 191.

² *Ibid.*, 212.

entirely satisfactory to Washington, though, on the whole, he regarded it as containing the best terms that could be secured. It provided a definite plan for determining the eastern boundary of the United States by ascertaining what was the river meant by the title "St. Croix" in the treaty of 1783; it provided for payment by the United States of the losses sustained by British subjects in consequence of legal impediments to the recovery of pre-revolutionary debts; it provided for an estimate of the losses sustained by Americans from illegal captures by British cruisers, which losses were to be paid by the British government, and, in consequence of this treaty, were afterwards actually so paid to the amount of ten million three hundred and forty-five thousand dollars;¹ it provided that the Western forts and military posts occupied by English troops should be surrendered and vacated by them on the 1st of June, 1796; it provided that fugitives from justice charged with murder or forgery should be surrendered; the list of articles contraband of war was to include all articles serving directly for the equipment of vessels, except unwrought iron and fir plank; no vessel attempting to enter a blockaded port was to be captured unless she had first been informed of the blockade and turned away; neither nation was to allow enlistments within its territories by any third nation at war with the other; nor were the citizens or subjects of either to be allowed to accept commissions from such third nation, nor to enlist in its service; reciprocity was to exist as to inland trade and intercourse between the North American territories of the two nations, including the navigation of the Mississippi; the British were to be admitted into all American harbors, with the right to ascend all rivers to the highest port of entry; but this reciprocity did not give admission of American vessels to British North American harbors or rivers.²

The twelfth article of the proposed treaty caused the warmest debate in the Senate. It provided that direct trade might exist between the United States and the British West India Islands in American vessels not exceeding seventy tons burden conveying the produce of the States or of the islands; but it prohibited the exportation of molasses, sugar, coffee or cotton in American vessels, either from the United States or the islands, to any part of the world.³

This article savored of the worst restrictions of colonial times, and was especially distasteful because another article provided

¹ Art. John Jay, *New Amer. Encyclop.*, IX, 750.

² Sketch of Treaty, *Amer. Encyclop.*, IX, 750, 751.

³ Irving's *Washington*, V, 214, 215. Compare with *Amer. Encyclop.*, IX, 750.

that "British vessels were to be admitted into American ports on the same terms as the most favored nation." The only explanation of Mr. Jay's assent to it was the fact that he considered the admission of vessels of seventy tons sufficient, having no conception of the possible future of cotton culture in the Southern American States.

But the Senate was more far-seeing. On the 24th of June, by a vote of two-thirds, they voted to ratify the treaty, with an express stipulation that an article be added suspending so much of the twelfth article as respected the West India trade, and that the President be requested to open, without delay, further negotiation on that head.¹

After mature deliberation, Washington adopted the treaty as thus modified, and the change was agreed to by the British government. In the light of history it is no longer doubtful that this treaty was the means of keeping the peace between Great Britain and the United States, and of securing to the latter many important advantages.²

But as soon as its terms became known it excited the most bitter opposition from some quarters, and especially from those who sympathized most deeply with France. The partisan newspapers assailed it, and even Washington himself was assailed with abuse and vituperation. He was charged with having drawn from the treasury for his private use more than the salary annexed to his office.³

This injurious charge was promptly met and refuted by a report from the United States Treasury, which proved that the President himself never received or disbursed any part of his salary, the matter being managed by the gentlemen of his household. Sometimes advances were made, but the aggregate always fell within the allowance of the year.⁴

But no character is too sacred to escape the assault of the partisan. In New York, Jay had been elected governor, and a copy of the treaty was burned before his house. In Philadelphia a copy was suspended on a pole, carried about the streets, and finally burned in front of the British minister's house, amid the shouts and hootings of the populace.⁵

The President preserved his equanimity, and never swerved from what he believed to be the right line. His words were: "There is but one straight course, and that is to seek truth and pursue it steadily."⁶

¹Vote of U. S. Senate, 24th June, 1795. Irving, V. 215.

²Stephens, 376. Scudder, 272.

³Marshall's Washington, II. 270. Irving, V. 226.

⁴Irving, V. 226, 227.

⁶Amer. Encyclop., IX. 751. Irving, V. 216.

⁶Washington's Writings, XI. 45-51.

It was amid these inquietudes that a revelation was made by a dispatch sent, in the previous November, by the French minister, M. Fauchet, to his government, which for a time unfavorably affected the reputation of Edmund Randolph, who had succeeded Mr. Jefferson in the Department of State. This dispatch had been captured on a French privateer, and was sent by Lord Grenville, the British Premier, to Mr. Hammond, the English minister in America. He exhibited it to Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, who showed it to the Secretary of War, Mr. Pickering, and to the Attorney-General.

In this dispatch, M. Fauchet, alluding to the insurrection in western Pennsylvania, and the proclamation of the President relative thereto, used the following words :

“Two or three days before the proclamation was published, and, of course, before the cabinet had resolved on its measures, the Secretary of State came to my house. All his countenance was grief. He requested of me a private conversation. ‘It is all over,’ he said to me ; ‘a civil war is about to ravage our unhappy country. Four men, by their talents, their influence, and their energy, may save it. But—debtors of English merchants—they will be deprived of their liberty if they take the smallest step. Could you lend them instantaneously funds to shelter them from English prosecution?’ This inquiry astonished me much. It was impossible for me to give a satisfactory answer. You know my want of power and deficiency in pecuniary means. Thus, with some thousands of dollars, the republic could have decided on civil war or peace. Thus *the consciences of the pretended patriots of America have already their price.* What will be the old age of this government if it is thus already decrepit?”¹

When this intercepted dispatch was brought to Washington’s notice he was surprised and perplexed. In the presence of the other members of the cabinet he gravely and courteously handed it to Mr. Randolph, and asked an explanation. As all the cabinet officers knew of it, and the Secretary of War had brought it before Washington, it was eminently proper and just to Mr. Randolph that, in the presence of all, he should be asked for his vindication ; but that gentleman took serious offence, and complained that Washington had not sought a private interview with him on the subject.²

He tendered his resignation, which was accepted. He wrote a letter to the President, using the following language : “I here most solemnly deny that any overture came from me which was

¹ Irving’s Washington, V. 221, 222.

² *Ibid.*, 223.

to produce money to me or any others for me ; and that in any manner, directly or indirectly, was a shilling ever received by me, nor was it ever contemplated by me that one shilling should be applied by M. Fauchet to any purpose relative to the insurrection."

The hypothesis that Randolph was "ejected" from the cabinet because the President had yielded himself to Northern influence has no foundation.¹

Washington, in accepting his resignation, wrote : " Whilst you are in pursuit of means to remove the strong suspicions arising from this letter, no disclosure of its contents will be made by me."

M. Fauchet was about to sail for France, but, learning that his dispatch had been intercepted and that its contents were known to the President and his cabinet, wrote a declaration, denying that Mr. Randolph had ever indicated a willingness to receive money for *personal objects*, and affirming that he had no intention to say anything in his dispatch to the disadvantage of Mr. Randolph's character.²

Carefully worded as this writing was, it has been always considered as in fatal conflict with the terms of his dispatch. Mr. Randolph yielded so far to his sense of injury and mortification that he published in December, 1795, a pamphlet, seeking to vindicate his own course, but really damaging his cause by the embittered feelings manifested by him, and especially by the asperity and insult with which he wrote of Washington. He lived long enough to regret this, having, in 1810, written a letter to Hon. Bushrod Washington, in which he said :³ " If I could now present myself before your venerated uncle, it would be my pride to confess my contrition that I suffered my irritation, let the cause be what it might, to use some of those expressions respecting him, which, at this moment of indifference to the ideas of the world, I wish to recall as being inconsistent with my subsequent conviction." In our own day an elaborate life of Edmund Randolph has been prepared, which confirms the impression already expressed by a genial historian, that we may "attribute to misconceptions and hasty inferences of the French minister the construction put by him, in his dispatch, on the conversation he had held with Mr. Randolph."⁴

Fauchet was succeeded by M. Adet as French envoy, whose course was almost as objectionable as that of Genet ; but nothing

¹ Life of Edmund Randolph, by M. D. Conway. Note in John Scott's "The Republic as a Form of Government," 200.

² Washington's Writings, Sparks, IX. 90. Irving, V. 224, 225.

³ Marshall's Washington, II. note XX. Irving, V. 228.

⁴ Irving's Washington, V. 228. Life of Edmund Randolph, by M. D. Conway.

could divert Washington from the course of firm neutrality, which he had determined on as the policy of his country.

James Monroe, of Virginia, had been sent as minister to France, and had been specially instructed to explain the views and conduct of the United States in forming the treaty with England, and had been amply furnished with documents for the purpose; but, from causes unexplained, but probably arising from his own dislike to the treaty and sympathy with France, Mr. Monroe had failed to perform this part of his duty. The result was that the French government misconceived the position of the United States and became openly hostile, going so far as to give orders under which an American merchantman was captured by a French privateer. Washington and his cabinet promptly recalled Mr. Monroe and appointed Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, in his place.¹

Tennessee had been settled by a hardy and independent race of men, chiefly from North Carolina. The name is Indian, and means the "river of the great bend." In 1795 the census taken showed a population of over seventy-seven thousand. Organization followed. Fifty-five delegates from eleven counties met at Knoxville. They took action which showed self-denial. They were allowed two dollars each per day; but no provision had been made for a secretary, doorkeeper and printer. The convention thereupon resolved as follows:

"Whereas economy is an amiable trait in any government, and, in fixing the salaries of the officers thereof, the resources and situation of the country should be attended to; therefore, one dollar and a half per diem is enough for us, and no more will a man of us take; and the rest shall go to the payment of the secretary, printer, doorkeeper and other officers."²

They called their State "Frankland." In June, 1796, by act of Congress, of which Washington approved, Tennessee was admitted as a State into the Union.³

One noted fact in modern history is that the piratical powers of the Barbary States, in the north of Africa, bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, should have been tolerated so long by the great war powers of Europe. They had brought piracy to a national system, and such were the facilities afforded for their attacks and impunity, by the almost numberless secret straits and harbors of the inland sea, that nearly every state in Europe whose people sent merchant ships into the Mediterranean had a treaty with

¹ Irving, V, 241, 242.

² Resolution in Scudder's U. S., 264.

³ Holmes' U. S., 159. Goodrich, 331. Derry's U. S., 174, 175.

Morocco, Algiers, Tunis or Tripoli, under which a money tribute was paid to exempt the vessels and cargoes of such state from capture.¹

These facts, taken in connection with the fact that the United States had then no adequate navy, constitute the only excuse for the treaty concluded with Algiers in 1795, by which a large payment in money—no less than eight hundred thousand dollars—and a frigate were given, and an annual tribute of twenty-three thousand dollars was agreed to be paid by the United States; in return wherefor, the Dey of Algiers agreed to release many poor seamen and passengers from America who had been captured by his pirate ships and were held in bondage in Algiers. He also agreed to abstain from future captures of United States ships. We need not wonder that such a treaty did not continue long unviolated by the barbarous outlaw with whom it was made. It must have cost Washington a bitter pang to sign it. His great biographer does not even allude to it.

A more creditable treaty was made with Spain in this year, 1795, being negotiated 27th October, between Thomas Pinckney and the Spanish official at St. Lorenzo, by which the boundary lines between Louisiana and Florida and the United States were definitely settled. Spain also ceded to the United States the right of free navigation of the Mississippi river, and the right, for ten years, to make New Orleans a place of deposit for merchandise upon equitable terms.²

Washington was urged by his friends to permit himself to be voted for again as President; but he steadfastly declined, and thus established a precedent against a *third term*, which has never since been departed from. When his purpose to retire was definitely announced, a farewell address to him was voted by both Houses of Congress, full of expressions of veneration and of regret for his decision. In the Senate the vote was without dissent; but in the House of Representatives, William B. Giles, of Virginia, moved to expunge all those parts of the address which eulogized Washington's administration, and which spoke of his wisdom and firmness, and which expressed regret at his retiring from office. Mr. Giles was an admirer of France in all her revolutionary proceedings, and therefore had no sympathy with the retiring President. He made a speech, concluding by expressing his hope that Washington would be happy in his retirement, and his hope that *he would retire*.³ He believed his retiring would

¹ Stephens, 376. Scudder, 283. Thalheimer, 195. Holmes' U. S., 167. Art. Algeria, Amer. Encyclop., I. 349.

² Derry's U. S., 172. Holmes, 167. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 375.

³ Mr. Giles' speech, in the Aurora newspaper.

not be a calamity, but a blessing ; and that the United States had then “a thousand citizens capable of filling the presidential chair.” Mr. Giles’ resolution to expunge received only twelve votes, including his own ; but among those who voted for it was a young man from Tennessee, named Andrew Jackson, then only twenty-nine years old, but afterwards to fill the civilized world with his fame.¹

Washington sent forth to the people of his country a “farewell address,” full of wisdom and love, and which, if more carefully heeded, would have saved them from suffering theretofore untold.² He then retired to his home at Mount Vernon.

¹ Irving’s Washington, V. 249, 250.

² Appendix II., Irving, V. 330-351.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE PRESIDENCY OF JOHN ADAMS.

IN the election of 1796, the party known as "Federalists" were considered as achieving a triumph. They were not in warm sympathy with the Revolution in France, and were favorable to such interpretation of the American constitution as gave largest powers to the national government. Washington had been held as the exponent of this party, although he had never encouraged any legislation by the Congress which impinged upon the rights and powers of the State governments.

The opposing party were then called "Republicans," and many of their principles were perpetuated by their successors, afterwards known as "Democrats." They thought favorably of the Revolution in France, as a movement tending to establish the rights of the people as against kings. Many of them deeply regretted the bloody excesses and ostentatious atheism afterwards developed by the Revolution; yet, with much reason, they believed that those deplorable phenomena had been the results of the war on republican France made by the kings around her. They believed that the principles of her Revolution were sound, and that her people would yet enjoy the blessings of regulated self-government by their own trusted representatives. Events of our own day seem to vindicate this hope.

The "Republicans" were in favor of a strict construction of the constitution, so as to keep the general government within its own proper limits and prevent any encroachment by it on the rights of the States in their separate capacities. Thomas Jefferson was, with justice, regarded as the exponent of this party. Yet, one strange result of the electoral law as it then stood was, that, in the college of electors, which assembled early in 1797, John Adams, the leader of the "Federalists," receiving the largest number of votes, was elected President, and Thomas Jefferson, the leader of the "Republicans," receiving the next largest number of votes, was elected Vice-President.

It is certain that the framers of the constitution expected the electors in their college to exercise each his own individual choice; but such has not been the tendency of the democratic

sentiment which rules in the United States. Under constitutional amendment, and the party machinery invented under the exigencies that have arisen, the President and Vice-President represent the same political views and policy; yet it has always been, and still is, true that both of these high officers may be elected, although a large majority of the popular vote of the country may be thrown against them. This anomaly in a government claiming to be "of the people" will probably be corrected by another amendment.

In the sixty-second year of his age, and on the 4th of March, 1797, dressed in a full suit of pearl-colored cloth, and with his hair powdered, John Adams was inaugurated in Philadelphia as President of the United States, and Thomas Jefferson was sworn in as Vice-President. The oath was administered by Oliver Ellsworth, Chief Justice, who had succeeded John Jay.

The new President retained Timothy Pickering as Secretary of State; Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, and James McHenry, Secretary of War.

Mr. Jefferson did not always preside in the Senate; but he filled the chair there occasionally. Feeling the necessity for such a work, he compiled "*Jefferson's Manual*," a body of parliamentary law, rules and principles, which has retained its high authority ever since.¹

The new President took the helm when his country was in a prosperous state. Agriculture was yielding abundant harvests; food was plentiful and cheap; wages were high and increasing, so as to keep the laboring classes in good spirits; exports were multiplying; necessary manufactures were springing up; imports and moderate internal taxes, yielding abundant revenues, paid all public expenses and kept down the national debt; the yellow fever, which had desolated Philadelphia in 1793, had disappeared; new remedies and preventives for small-pox had been discovered; the fisheries were bringing in large returns.

But his administration of four years was not to be without its troubles. The first was from France, and led to unexpected results in the development of democratic ideas.² The fierce Revolutionists who governed France in 1796-'98 had taken great offence at the determined neutrality of the United States. They regarded America as the *quasi* ally of Great Britain in the war. Consequently, when James Monroe was recalled and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney sent as minister in his stead, the French government declined to receive him unless assurances could be

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 379.

² Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 429.

given that the treaty with England would be abandoned, and direct aid in the war given to France.¹

In taking leave of Mr. Monroe, Barras, the President of the Directory, had addressed him in terms as complimentary to himself as they were insulting to his country. He said: "The French republic hopes that the successors of Columbus, of Raleigh, and of Penn, ever proud of their liberty, will never forget that they owe it to France. In their wisdom they will weigh the magnanimous benevolence of the French people with the artful caresses of perfidious designers, who meditate to draw them back to their ancient slavery."²

Under orders given by the Directory the rules as to blockade and impressment recognized in the English treaty were perverted, to the oppression of American merchantmen, by the French cruisers. Several vessels from the United States were captured and carried into French ports.

President Adams summoned Congress to meet in special session on the 15th of May. Still hoping to preserve peace, he united John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry with Mr. Pinckney as envoys extraordinary to France to adjust, if possible, the complications under which the two nations were drifting into war.

But in the meantime he urged the Congress, in his message, to prepare for the gravest contingency. Accordingly, on the 28th of May, the Congress passed an act authorizing the President to enlist ten thousand men as a provisional army, to be called into actual service in case of hostilities with France. He was also empowered, if he deemed it necessary, to call out militia and volunteers to the number of eighty thousand men. Taxes by way of stamps on papers and parchments used in business were authorized.³

The President acted promptly in writing to George Washington for aid and counsel. McHenry, the Secretary of War, wrote to him: "You see how the storm thickens, and that our vessel will soon require its ancient pilot. Will you—may we flatter ourselves that in a crisis so awful and important you will—accept the command of all our armies? I hope you will, because you alone can unite all hearts and all hands, if it be possible that they can be united."⁴

He was nominated July 3d, 1798, and immediately confirmed by the Senate as commander-in-chief of all the armies raised or to be raised, under the title of lieutenant-general. His reply,

¹ Goodrich's U. S., 305. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 379, 380.

² Address quoted by Irving, V. 265, 266.

³ Irving, V. 272. Stephens, 379, 380.

⁴ Letter of Secretary of War, Irving, V. 272.

dated July 4th, to the President's letter, stated that in case of *actual invasion* by a formidable force, he would feel bound to accept the command offered to him.

Washington and all other patriots in America might well distrust the revolutionary soundness of France when they saw how indiscriminate and bloody was her proscription of her best men. The veteran Count De Rochambeau, who had so effectively acted with Washington in the final triumph at Yorktown, had fallen under the displeasure of the triumvirate during the Reign of Terror, had been thrown into the *conciergerie* and condemned to the guillotine. When the car came for victims, he was about to mount into it; but the executioner, seeing it full, thrust him back with the rough words: "*Retire toi, vieux maréchal, ton tour viendra plus tard.*" Thus his life was spared that day. A change in the political currents came; he was released, and enabled to retire to his country-seat at Vendome.¹ In 1803 he was presented to Napoleon, who, pointing to Berthier and other generals, said: "Marshal, behold your scholars." He received the grand cross of the legion of honor and a marshal's pension, and died full of years and honors in 1807.

But the meanest spirits had risen during the Directory. When Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry presented themselves in Paris as envoys from the United States, in October, 1797, the talented, but unprincipled and perfidious, Charles Maurice, Prince De Talleyrand Périgord, was at the head of the Department of State. He had been obliged to fly from France in 1793, had been ordered to quit England in twenty-four hours after notice, and had found a land of refuge in America. Here he engaged in speculations, which were so successful that he accumulated a fortune. He carefully studied the institutions of the United States, and yet he never learned the two truths that money is not omnipotent, and that public honesty may exist.

He declined to receive the American envoys officially; but through his agents he entered into correspondence with them, pretending to ignore their real names, and addressing them as X, Y and Z.² M. Bellarni, the secret agent of Talleyrand, visited Mr. Pinckney, and in their conference assured him that his chief had the highest esteem for America and the citizens of the United States, and would secure a full reconciliation and favorable treaty if some offensive passages in President Adams' message of May, 1797, were expunged, and a *douceur* of two hundred and fifty

¹ Irving's Washington, V. 269, and note.

² Scudder's U. S., 275, 276. Stephens, 380.

thousand dollars put at the disposal of M. Talleyrand for the use of the Directory, and a large loan made by the United States to France.¹ Mr. Pinckney's reply to this dishonoring suggestion has become immortal in history: "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute."

Still the conferences went on. Another was held October 20th, when, besides the secret agent, an intimate friend of Talleyrand was present. The expunging was again insisted on, but the burden of the demand was money. "We must have money—a great deal of money," were the words of the agent. On the next day the sum was fixed at thirty-two million francs, or six million four hundred thousand dollars, to be loaned, secured by assignment from Holland, to whom the United States were indebted, and the *douceur* of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

On the 27th October, matters reached their crisis. The secret French agent said: "Gentlemen, you mistake the point. You say nothing of the *money* you are to give—you make no offer of *money*; on this point you are not explicit." The American envoys promptly replied: "We are explicit enough. We will not give you one farthing; and before coming here we should have thought such an offer as you now propose would have been regarded as a mortal insult."²

Yet this wily and pertinacious agent made one more effort by suggesting that the sum for M. Talleyrand was to be considered as simply paid as fees to a lawyer for important services, and that upon its payment they could remain in Paris until they heard from their government as to the loan.³

All this was rejected with scorn; and very soon orders came that Pinckney and Marshall should leave France without delay. Gerry was permitted to remain. This was probably because he was known to be a democrat. The two other envoys were Federalists; but all three retired from a country where bribery, avarice and perfidy were then held as virtues by high officials. Such was not the character of the generous and chivalrous people of France. Talleyrand did not represent them.

The Directory, believing the people of the United States would not sustain their government in a war with France, enacted a law subjecting to capture and condemnation neutral vessels and their cargoes, if any portion of the latter was of British fabric or produce, although the entire property—vessels and cargoes—might belong to neutrals. As the United States vessels, being neutrals,

¹ Report of Envoys, in Amer. State Papers, Vols. III. and IV.

² Report in Irving, V. 270.

³ McHarg's Life of Talleyrand, 160-162. Irving, V. 270, 271.

were then doing the carrying of the civilized world, this unjust law threatened heavy loss. Many merchant ships (estimated as high as a thousand in number) were captured by the French cruisers and privateers.¹

When tidings of these events and the report of the envoys reached the United States, honest indignation against France, or at least against her governing powers, pervaded all classes. War was universally insisted on. "The Federalists at last had the opportunity of riding the whirlwind of an intense popular desire for war with France."²

In truth, although neither nation had formally declared war, it already existed; for the acts of the French cruisers were definitely hostile. But the war lasted only a short time and was confined to the sea.

Capt. Stephen Decatur (father of him of the same name afterwards so distinguished) had acquired reputation during the Revolutionary war by capturing a number of English ships in privateers commanded by him. In view of hostilities with France he was commissioned as captain in 1798, and in the United States sloop *Delaware*, of twenty guns, he cruised for two years on the American coast and in the West Indies. He captured three French privateers—*Le Croyable*, of fourteen guns, the *Marsuin*, of ten guns, and another, which was brought into port, refitted, and armed and sent to sea as a United States war-ship, under the name of *The Reconciliation*.³ Her name ought to have invited France to peace, but her career was then brief.

She was chased and captured by the French frigate *L'Insurgente*, of forty guns and a crew of four hundred and nine men, commanded by Captain Barreault; but this fine frigate was also hurrying to her fate.

Capt. Thomas Truxtun, born on Long Island, had rendered valuable naval service to America in the Revolution. He was appointed captain in 1795, and was in command of the United States frigate *Constellation*, of thirty-eight guns. On the 9th February, 1799, off the island of Nevis, of the British West Indies, he encountered *L'Insurgente*, and fought her for one hour at close quarters. She surrendered, after being much cut up and losing twenty-nine men killed and forty wounded. The *Constellation* was very little injured, and had only three men wounded.⁴

Within one year thereafter, on the 1st February, 1800, Truxtun, in the same American frigate, fell in with the French frigate

¹ McHarg's Talleyrand, 160. Irving, V. 271. Quackenbos, 326. Scudder's U. S., 274, 275.

² Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 128.

³ Derry's U. S., 176.

⁴ Art. Truxtun, Amer. Encyclop., XV. 625. Quackenbos, 326, 327.

La Vengeance, of fifty-four guns, Captain Pitot. The encounter was off Guadeloupe, and was long and severe. Both ships were badly damaged; but *La Vengeance*, finding herself beaten, sheered off, and got into Curaçoa dismasted and in a sinking condition, with a loss of fifty killed and one hundred and ten wounded. The *Constellation* lost fourteen killed and twenty-five wounded. Her main-mast went by the board at the close of the action: but for this, she would have captured her adversary.¹

The Congress voted a gold medal to Truxtun. At one time he was in command of a fleet of ten war-ships. In 1802 he resigned his commission, and afterwards filled important civil offices.

Thus, in these naval operations, the attitude of the belligerents was curiously realized. "*Reconciliation*" failed; the "*Insurgent*" of France was put down, and her "*Vengeance*" was glad to retire considerably worsted!

M. Talleyrand began to regret his wily and avaricious course, which had embroiled the two republics. He wrote a subtle letter to M. Pichon, secretary of the French legation at The Hague, intimating that a plenipotentiary from the United States would be graciously received by France. A copy of this letter was communicated to William Vans Murray, the American minister to Holland, who delayed not to send it to his government.²

President Adams was too much pleased at the prospect of a return of peace to take exception to the indirect and disingenuous mode in which the door was opened. He forthwith sent a message to the Senate with Mr. Murray's letter, and nominating him as envoy to France. Before the Senate acted, the President nominated also Oliver Ellsworth and Patrick Henry; but Mr. Henry declined because of feeble health, and William Richardson Davie, born in England, but from his sixth year a resident of North Carolina, was nominated in his place.³

The Senate promptly confirmed these nominations; yet the President's action had been taken without consulting his cabinet officers. Pickering and McHenry disapproved of his course. Washington, also, was surprised at it, as the government of France had made no direct overture for an opening of negotiations, and his great soul revolted against "the loose and round-about game" played by Talleyrand, "which might mean anything or nothing, as would best subserve his purposes."⁴ Therefore, the conjecture of a modern historian that the President, in

¹ Amer. Encyclop., XV. 626. Quackenbos, 327.

² Irving's Washington, V. 286.

³ Stephens, 382. Irving, V. 287.

⁴ Washington's letter, in Irving, V. 286.

this matter, "acted under the urgent private advice of Washington"¹ is not only without foundation, but is contradicted by the ascertained facts of the case.

But the result was so fortunate that it constitutes the happiest part of Mr. Adams' somewhat beclouded administration. When the three envoys reached Paris they found the Directory overthrown, the Consulate established, and Napoleon Bonaparte, as First Consul, wielding almost the power of a monarch, popular with all classes because of his brilliant military career and successes, and his ability to understand and control men.

This great man regarded England as the inevitable enemy of France, and, with prophetic eye, saw in the United States the germ of a power which would counterbalance the influence of England in the Old and New Worlds. He received the American envoys courteously, and in 1800 concluded with them a treaty of peace and amity, which settled nearly every question then in dispute between the two nations.² It was ratified by both governments.

But before it was made, a greater—because a better—man than Napoleon Bonaparte had passed away from this world. George Washington died on the 14th of December, 1799. He died, not from decay or failure of his powers, but from acute disease of the throat and breathing apparatus, brought on by exposure to snow and rain.³

This event carried an emotion of sadness to the whole civilized world. Napoleon did honor to his memory in an address to the French nation;⁴ and he ordered that all standards and flags should be shrouded in black crape for ten days. John Marshall, in the House of Representatives, delivered a brief eulogy and offered resolutions of love and veneration, which were unanimously adopted; and, by a happy selection, Henry Lee, of Virginia, the trusted companion-in-arms of Washington, was chosen by the Congress to make the funeral oration, and in it he truly described his great chief as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."⁵

This expression, so simple and so impressive, had been used, in substance, by John Marshall in his resolutions adopted by the House of Representatives December 19th, 1799;⁶ but Henry Lee was the author of the expression and the writer of the resolutions, which, in his absence, were presented by Marshall.⁷

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 382.

² *Ibid.*, 382, 383.

³ Irving, V. 293-296.

⁴ In 1800. See Allison's Hist. of Europe, I. 445, 446.

⁵ Derry's U. S., 177. Scudder, 277. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 250.

⁶ Stephens, 383. Swinton's U. S., 166.

⁷ Amer. Encyclop., X. 426.

The Congress at this session passed a resolution that a monument of imposing proportions should be erected to the memory of Washington at the seat of the national government. This resolution—never forgotten, but sometimes neglected—has been carried out; and the marble shaft in Washington city, towering nearly six hundred feet into the air, is the permanent memorial of the great man of America.

By a compromise between North and South the Congress had voted, in 1790, that the seat of general government should be transferred to Philadelphia, and should remain there ten years, and should then be transferred to a site on the Potomac between Maryland and Virginia, the district to be ten miles square, to be ceded by Maryland and Virginia, and to be called "The District of Columbia." The site was to be chosen by Washington, and the capital city called by his name.

The cession of the ten miles square had been made accordingly, though Alexandria county and city were afterwards, in 1847, retroceded to Virginia by act of Congress acquiesced in by her. The city commenced its life "in the woods" in 1792, but grew slowly for some time.

In December, 1800, the government houses and the President's home in the new site were occupied. Mrs. Adams, the President's wife, on her journey during the summer from Baltimore to Washington was actually lost in the woods, and with her escort "wandered for two hours without finding a guide or path." In her own words: "Woods are all you see from Baltimore until you reach this city, which is so only in name."¹

In 1800 it had only three thousand inhabitants, and was then described as lying "in the midst of a wilderness, with here and there a small cottage, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel without seeing any human being."²

For a long period it deserved the witty designation bestowed on it of "the city of magnificent distances;" but it has become a large and very beautiful metropolis, with monuments, capitol buildings, scientific institutes, foreign diplomatic homes, and private residences worthy of the seat of government of a great nation.

The questions arising out of the influx of foreigners, the controversies with France, and the growing licentiousness and vituperation of the public press had kindled warm feeling between political parties. President Adams, though learned and patriotic,

¹Thalheimer's *Ecler*. U. S., 201.

²Quackenbos' U. S., 328.

was quick-tempered and keenly sensitive on the subject of his personal and official reputation. This led him to favor measures in the Congress which found their outcome in the passage of the notorious "Alien and Sedition Laws" in the session of 1798.

The first of these was entitled "An Act concerning Aliens," and was approved by Mr. Adams on the 25th of June. It provided that it should be lawful for the President of the United States "to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States within such time as shall be expressed in such order." Other clauses provided penalties, and one gave the President power, if in his opinion the public safety required a speedy removal, to cause any alien to be arrested and sent out of the country.¹

The Sedition Act received Mr. Adams' sanction the 14th of July. It first forbade any combination or conspiracy to oppose or impede the government of the United States, or to intimidate its officers; but the chief clause was one providing that if any person should write, or cause to be written, uttered or published, any "false, scandalous and malicious" writing against the general government or Congress or the President, with intent to bring them into contempt or disrepute, or to excite against them the hatred of the "good people" of the United States, or to stir up sedition, such person, on conviction in a United States court, should be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years; but in defence, the accused might give in evidence the *truth* of his accusation.²

These acts were odious to the Republicans and to many others who valued the free institutions of America. They were in real conflict with the principles on which the government of the United States rested. They were immediately assailed by the press and in the legislatures of several of the States.

In Virginia, resolutions strongly condemning them, written by James Madison, were passed, and a report was adopted, also written by him, which is so lucid and able in its exposition of the Federal constitution, and of the relation of the States and of the individual citizen thereto, that it has ever since been looked to as the purest fountain of wisdom and light on those subjects.³

¹ Alien Act, Resol. and Debates of Va., 214, 215.

² Sedition Act, Resol. and Debates, 215, 216.

³ Published with the "Resolutions."

The Virginia resolutions declared that the "Alien and Sedition Laws" were unconstitutional. The vote in the House of Delegates was one hundred to sixty-three; in the Senate fourteen to three. In November, 1798, Kentucky, by her legislature, passed even stronger resolutions, penned by Thomas Jefferson, condemning these laws, and declaring that the Sedition Act, "which does abridge the freedom of the press, *is not law, but is altogether void and of no effect.*"¹ But, besides Virginia and her daughter, Kentucky, no other State spoke openly against these laws. The Republicans were contending against fearful odds. All the legislatures, except those of the two States above named, were against them; the executive, legislative and judicial departments of the general government were against them; the office-holders were against them; and of the two hundred newspapers then published, at least one hundred and eighty were against them.² Nevertheless they triumphed, because they stood on true American principles.

These obnoxious laws were not permitted to sleep as *brutum fulmen*—a mere threat. They were enforced with unsparing vigor. In Virginia, one James Thompson Callender, a foreigner by birth, and a man once apprehended under the "Vagrant Law," published on the 1st February, 1800, a pamphlet entitled "The Prospect Before Us," in which he exhausted all the treasures of vituperative language in abusing Mr. Adams and his measures, and even ventured to assail the name and memory of Washington himself.³

Judge Samuel Chase, of the United States Supreme Court, received at Annapolis, Maryland, a copy of the pamphlet from Luther Martin, who had read it and underscored the libelous passages. Judge Chase examined it and said he would carry it with him to Richmond, Virginia, where he was soon to hold a circuit court, and that "if the Commonwealth of Virginia was not utterly depraved, or if a jury of honest men could be found there, he would punish Callender. He would teach the lawyers of Virginia the difference between the liberty and the licentiousness of the press."⁴

He opened his court in Richmond on the 22d of May, 1800, and charged the grand jury specially as to the Sedition Law. They found an indictment against Callender. On this, the judge directed a *capias* to issue. This was a more vigorous process

¹ Resol. and Debates, 64-67.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 386.

³ MS. Indictment, U. S. *vs.* Callender.

⁴ Trial of Judge Chase on Impeachment, evid. of John Thompson Mason and Judge Winchester, 43, 63, 64.

than was customary in Virginia in cases not capital; yet the Senate of the United States afterwards vindicated the judge's course in using it.¹

The marshal went forthwith to Petersburg, and on the 27th of May returned with the author, who was evidently alarmed and not a little concerned at "the prospect before" him.

Three eminent Virginia lawyers, William Wirt, George Hay and Philip Norborne Nicholas, volunteered to defend him; but Judge Chase refused to allow them to argue before the jury the constitutionality of the Sedition Law. He said that was a matter for the court, and delivered an instruction sustaining the law. His course to the counsel was so little acceptable that Mr. Wirt left the court, and the others were greatly embarrassed in their conduct of the case.

The jury consisted entirely of Federalists. The marshal had summoned several Republicans, but, for various causes, they declined to serve. The verdict was "guilty." The sentence was that Callender should be fined two hundred dollars, imprisoned nine months, and give security for his future good behavior.

Thus the law against which Virginia protested in 1798, and condemned as unconstitutional in 1799, was carried into force upon her soil. Yet there was so much in Callender's pamphlet that was offensive to public sentiment and taste, and he was personally so little respected, that no attempt was directly made to nullify the sentence. But the people were more and more incensed against the party in power.

Other trials under the obnoxious laws resulted in signal oppression. Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, was the first victim. He was an Irishman by birth and extreme in his republicanism. His offences were that he called Mr. Adams' speech on the state of the country, delivered at the opening of the session of Congress, "the king's speech"; and in a Vermont newspaper he wrote concerning the Federal executive, that "every consideration of the public welfare was swallowed up in a continual grasp for power, an unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation and selfish avarice." He wrote, also, concerning the day of fasting and prayer appointed by the President, that "the sacred name of religion had been used as a State engine to make mankind hate and persecute each other."²

He was convicted under the Sedition Law, and sentenced to pay a fine of a thousand dollars and suffer four months' imprison-

¹ MS. Papers in U. S. rs. Callender, Trial, 42-64, 268. Appen. 32.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 383.

ment. He was poor and unable to pay the fine. A private lottery of his property was contrived and the fine paid, but the unhappy printer of the paper which proposed the lottery was indicted, convicted and punished under the same revolting law! While Lyon was in prison he was triumphantly elected to Congress; and the fine and costs he had paid—one thousand and sixty dollars and ninety cents—with interest, were refunded to his heirs under an act of Congress of July 4th, 1840.¹

Under a clause of "Jay's treaty" with England, President Adams had surrendered, upon requisition of the British authorities, one Thomas Nash, an English sailor, charged with mutiny and murder, who, when arrested in Charleston, South Carolina, had assumed the name of Jonathan Robbins, and the character of an American seaman illegally impressed by the naval officers of Great Britain. For this act a series of stringent criticisms on Mr. Adams had been poured out by the Republican newspapers.²

Thomas Cooper, born in London in 1759, but who had made Pennsylvania his home, and died in South Carolina in 1840, was eminent as a natural philosopher, lawyer, writer and politician. In a Pennsylvania paper he denounced the action of Mr. Adams, as to "Jonathan Robbins," as being "without precedent, without law and against mercy," and as an act "which the monarch of Great Britain would have shrunk from."³ For this he was indicted under the Sedition Act, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for six months and a fine of four hundred dollars.

Jared Peck, a well-known citizen of New York, was indicted for circulating a petition to Congress for the repeal of the "Alien and Sedition Laws," in which the odious features of those acts were strongly portrayed. The marshal arrested him in the presence of his family, and he was carried to New York for trial. A historian, describing the scene, says: "A hundred missionaries of democracy, stationed between New York and Cooperstown, could not have done so much for the Republican cause as the journey of Judge Peck, as a prisoner, from Otsego to the capital of the State. It was nothing less than the public exhibition of a suffering martyr for the freedom of speech and the press, and the right of petitioning, to the view of the citizens of the various places through which the marshal traveled with his prisoner."⁴

The result of all these causes was an overwhelming tide of public opinion and sentiment against the Federalist party, and

¹ Lyon's Case, Stephens, 385.

² Art. Adams, Amer. Encyclop., I. 97. Art. Marshall, *Ibid.*, XI. 221.

³ Stephens, 385. Art. Cooper, Amer. Encyclop., V. 675.

⁴ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 355, giving quotation as above.

against Mr. Adams and his administration. The mould of the voting power of the United States became then fixedly democratic, and it has never since changed. No party has ever acquired power which sought to restrict the freedom of the press or the rights of the individual citizen.

In the popular vote for electors in the fall of 1800, electors were chosen, who, early in 1801, voted as follows: for John Adams, sixty-five; for Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, sixty-five; for John Jay, one, elected by Rhode Island. For Thomas Jefferson seventy-three votes were cast, and for Aaron Burr seventy-three. As Jefferson and Burr had the same number of votes, the election went to the House of Representatives, who, in February, 1801, threw thirty-five ballots successively without a choice. On the thirty-sixth ballot Thomas Jefferson received the votes of ten States, Aaron Burr of four, and two were in blank. Thomas Jefferson was elected President and Aaron Burr Vice-President for the four years from the 4th of March, 1801.¹

Thus John Adams and his party went out of power. It has by some been stated that the "Alien and Sedition Laws" were "repealed" by the successful party;² but this is an error. By their own terms of limitation they expired—the Alien Law on the 25th June, 1800, and the Sedition Law on the last day of President Adams' term of office.³

On the 31st of January, 1801, President Adams nominated John Marshall as Chief Justice of the United States. He had long confided in his simple grandeur of character, and in his accurate law learning. Moreover, in the "Jonathan Robbins" matter Marshall had made a speech in the House of Representatives defending the President's course, and reasoning on the facts and principles involved with a learning and logic so unanswerable that the great Republican leaders made no attempt to refute it. A high judicial authority has said of this speech, that it was "*réponse sans réplique*—an answer so irresistible that it admitted of no reply."⁴

The Senate promptly confirmed the nomination of Marshall as Chief Justice, and thus for thirty-five years the United States were secure in the possession of a judicial sheet-anchor which held the nation safely to her moorings amid all political storms.

It cannot be denied that, notwithstanding general progress, the prosperity of the country had been unfavorably affected by the events of Mr. Adams' presidency. The taxes were largely in-

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 386. Thalheimer, 204. Quackenbos, 328.

² Ex. Thalheimer's Eclac. U. S., 200.

³ Acts, in Resol. and Debates, 214-216.

⁴ Judge Story, in Art. Marshall, New Amer. Encyclop., XI. 221.

creased, and foreign trade and commerce were seriously injured by the complications with England and France. Foreign immigration was checked by the Alien Acts, one of which extended the period for naturalization to fourteen years! and no new State was added during his term.

But the country was preparing to bound forward with elastic power, all the greater for temporary repression. Anthracite coal had been discovered in Pennsylvania. Its value at first was so little understood that it was used for mending roads;¹ but its concentrated power for heat soon became known. The great "West" began also to be talked about by all, and to attract settlers in thousands. Between 1790 and 1800 the population of Ohio grew from almost nothing to forty-five thousand, that of Kentucky from seventy-four thousand to two hundred and twenty-one thousand, and that of Tennessee from thirty-six thousand to one hundred and six thousand.² The number of post-offices during the same period rose from seventy-five to nine hundred and three; the post-routes from one thousand nine hundred to twenty-one thousand miles, and the postal-revenue from thirty-eight thousand to two hundred and thirty-one thousand dollars.

At the time when Thomas Jefferson prepared to enter the President's house in Washington, John Adams retired to his large estate at Quincy, Massachusetts. These two eminent men had differed widely as to political questions; yet they had been united in patriotic labors for the independence and happiness of their country. If they were estranged for a time, the alienation did not continue; a friendly correspondence occurred between them; and they died on the same day, the 4th of July, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of their country's independence. Jefferson died first, in his home at Monticello. A few hours later Adams uttered his last words: "Jefferson still lives"; and in this belief he died. James Monroe, a subsequent President, died on the 4th of July, 1831.

¹ Thalheimer, 201.

² Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 135.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE PRESIDENCY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON was the living embodiment of the democratic ruler. He had mastered all the learning of the past as to the problems of human government. It is true that during actual invasions of Virginia he had not manifested military talent and vigor.¹ Very few men have united genius for war and genius for wise government. To Jefferson his country is indebted for the philosophy that rises higher than war.

He had noted with regret a tendency to the stately forms and etiquette of monarchy in the manner in which Washington conducted the ceremonial part of his duties.² He discarded such forms as far as possible during his own presidency, and set an example of simple dignity worthy of a young, but growing, republic. He was inaugurated, with as little of parade and ostentation as was possible, on the 4th of March, 1801. Plain and homelike in dress, and affable in manner to all, he became the loved man of the people. Some of the Virginians who recollected the old aristocratic forms of the great landed proprietors, feared that his "leveling doctrines" would result in the marriages of the daughters of gentlemen to "overseers," who were the coarsest leaders of the Southern white people;³ but no descent in real excellence was experienced. It would have been well had his maxims and usages been always observed. He received a British ambassador in dressing-gown and slippers. On first meeting Congress, he rode alone to the capitol, tied his horse to the paling, and entered unattended.⁴

He declined to meet the two Houses of Congress in state and deliver his messages as Washington and Adams had done. He sent them in writing by a messenger; and the precedent of democratic directness thus inaugurated by him has not been departed from since his time.⁵

¹ Girardin, 336, 338, 390, 453. Henry Lee, 140, 143, 144. Jefferson's Works, I. 201, 202; IV. 39.

² Irving's Washington, V. 8-19. And see Dr. J. M. Toner's publication of Washington's "Rules of Civility," pp. 17-19, etc.

³ Art. Jefferson, New Amer. Encyclop., IX. 768.

⁴ Thalheimer's Elec. U. S., 205. Parton in Barnes, 156.

⁵ Stephens, 392. Amer. Encyclop., IX. 767-769.

John Marshall, as Chief Justice, administered to him the oath of office. His inaugural address filled the hearts of nearly all classes with confidence and hope.

He spoke of "this sacred principle that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable. The minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things; and let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions."¹

He added: "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. . . . We are all Republicans—we are all Federalists. . . . If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. . . . I believe this to be the strongest government on earth. . . . Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question."

The people were all enthusiastic in their approval of his ideas. John Leland, a farmer of Cheshire, Massachusetts, sent him a huge cheese weighing sixteen hundred pounds.²

Though the Sedition Law expired with the term of the preceding President, it left some bitter roots behind, because it had provided that prosecutions might still continue for acts committed while it was in force.³ Some of Jefferson's earliest acts were to release all from fines and imprisonment convicted under it, and to forbid all future prosecutions; and under his influence Congress repealed the act requiring fourteen years for naturalization, and reduced the period to five years. They also passed an act applying seven million three hundred thousand dollars annually as a sinking fund to the public debt, and an act reducing army expenses.⁴

¹ Address, quoted by Stephens, 389, 390.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 392.

² Holmes' U. S., (note) 171.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 392.

Under Jefferson, James Madison was Secretary of State, Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General, succeeded by Robert Smith, John Breckenridge and Cæsar A. Rodney. Samuel Dexter, appointed by Mr. Adams, was continued as Secretary of the Treasury, and Benjamin Stoddert as Secretary of the Navy. Albert Gallatin, a native of Switzerland, and a man of great and varied talent, was afterwards Secretary of the Treasury. Jefferson, not feeling entire confidence in the treasury administration of Alexander Hamilton, directed that the records and transactions of his day should be thoroughly overhauled and scrutinized. This was done, and Gallatin reported that all was right; that no improvement could be made, for that Hamilton had "made no blunders and committed no frauds."¹

Jefferson's residence in France and careful study of men and events there enabled him to keep up a secret correspondence, which was of lasting advantage to his own country. In 1802 he received information of a treaty, made in 1800, between France and Spain, not then promulgated, but one article of which ceded Louisiana and all her dependent territories and rights to France. This was an opportunity for securing the free navigation of the Mississippi and a permanent depôt at its mouth, which such a mind as Jefferson's instantly seized on.²

He sent out James Monroe as special envoy to unite with Robert R. Livingston, who was the American minister at Paris. They opened their negotiation in the very crisis of events which made it successful. Napoleon had determined on establishing a formidable military colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, whence he could strike Spain, Great Britain or the United States, as his ambitious plans might require. General Bernadotte (afterwards King of Sweden) was preparing to sail for Louisiana with twenty thousand troops, and the American minister had objected in vain.³

But a change came. On the 3d of August, 1802, Napoleon became Consul for life, and three millions of French votes confirmed his power. He united Elba, Piedmont and the Duchy of Parma to France in rapid succession. England became alarmed, and prepared for war. Napoleon, on the 21st of March, 1803, obtained a *senatus consultum*, which placed one hundred and twenty thousand conscripts at his command. He felt able to deal with his enemy on the land; but he needed money, and England

¹ Thalheimer's *Eclec.* U. S., 205.

² Quackenbos, 329. Holmes, 171, 172. Stephens, 392. Derry, 178.

³ Quackenbos' U. S., 329, 330.

was supreme on the ocean. He knew that she had only to send a fleet to the mouth of the Mississippi, and Louisiana would be lost to France.

Quick as lightning, his powerful mind reached its conclusion. He let the American ministers know that he was willing to sell and to cede Louisiana to the United States. The treaty was concluded on the 30th April, 1803. By it France ceded Louisiana to the United States, in consideration of fifteen millions of dollars, of which amount eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars were paid in money, and three million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars were retained to be paid by the United States in satisfaction of claims of her citizens for previous spoliations of France upon ships, property and commerce.¹ It is not a creditable fact that these "French claims" remained unpaid by the country to her citizens up to the year 1891, though constant efforts have been made to obtain such payment. An act of Congress for their payment has at length been passed.

It was gravely doubted by many acute minds in America whether such a treaty as that for the purchase of Louisiana was within the constitutional power of the executive department, and even whether the Congress could authorize it.² But the advantages were so manifest that these doubts speedily evaporated. The purchase was fair. The Senate ratified the treaty by a vote of twenty-four to seven, and the House concurred in an act for carrying it into effect by a vote of ninety to twenty-five. The acquisition added more than a million of square miles to the territory of the United States, and more than doubled the area of their original limits.

And Napoleon shared the satisfaction of Jefferson and his country. The life Consul said: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have given to England a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride."³

On the 31st of October, 1803, a territorial government for the whole ceded region was perfected. The southern part was called the Territory of Orleans; the other part retained the name of Louisiana. On the 20th of December the United States, by her officers, took formal possession.

Jefferson and his administration became more and more popular. He delayed not to provide for exploring and examining this new world gained by his successful diplomacy. In 1804, he sent out

¹Stephens' Comp. U. S., 393.

²Holmes' U. S., 172. Amer. Encyclop., IX. 765. Prof. Johnston, 139, 140.

³Stephens Comp. U. S., 393. Seudder's U. S., 280.

Capt. Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke, with a small party, and with instructions chiefly drawn up by the President's own hand. They spent two years and four months in their journeyings, ascending the Missouri river, crossing the Rocky Mountains, discovering two rivers which have since borne their names, and which, uniting, form the Columbia, down which they passed to the Pacific. They explored much country beyond even the wide bounds of the Louisiana lands ceded to the United States. They reached the then small village of St. Louis, on the Missouri, September 23, 1806. Their safe arrival was heralded with joy through the country. Congress granted lands to them and their men. Lewis was made Governor of Missouri Territory, and Clarke general of its militia and Indian agent.¹

Their narratives filled the minds of men with wonder at the scenes, soil, prairies, mountains, and rivers explored by them. They met with some Indian tribes so low down in the scale of ethics that their habits could be described only in a dead language. The settlement of the West went on with redoubled speed. Ohio had been sufficiently filled in 1802 with people from New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia to claim the position of a State, and was admitted to the Union on the 19th of February, 1803.²

The policy of the United States towards the Indians was becoming settled. In 1803, in accord with an agreement made the previous year, Georgia ceded to the United States nearly one hundred thousand square miles of territory between the Chattahoochee and Mississippi rivers, being the region now covered by the States of Alabama and Mississippi. The United States agreed to pay to Georgia one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and to extinguish the Indian title in all that portion of the ceded territory occupied by the aborigines.³

At the session of 1803, Congress proposed an amendment to the constitution, requiring electors to designate the person voted for as President, and the one voted for as Vice-President. This was passed by two-thirds of both houses, and ratified by all the States except Connecticut, Delaware and Massachusetts. It prevented, for the future, such danger of anarchy as had manifested itself in the struggle between Jefferson and Burr.⁴

In November, 1804, articles of impeachment were presented by the House against Samuel Chase, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and one of the associate justices of

¹ Art. Lewis, Amer. Encyclop., X. 487, 488. Seudder, 280, 281.

² Stephens, 394. Amer. Encyclop. D. B. Scott inaccurately dates it November 4th, 1802.

³ Stephens, 393. Derry, 179.

⁴ Amendment XII. Stephens, 394.

the Supreme Court, for alleged official misconduct and oppression in the trials of Callender, Fries, and others. John Randolph of Roanoke was the leader in the prosecution. Chase was defended with consummate ability by Luther Martin, Charles Lee, and other counsel. A majority of the Senate voted against him on some points, but no charge was sustained by a vote of two-thirds. Therefore he was acquitted.¹ He was a sincere man, but irascible and overbearing.

The yielding of the United States to the exactions of Algiers, had encouraged others of the piratical Barbary powers. The Pacha of Tripoli was active in outrage, sending out his corsairs, and seizing upon American merchantmen; but, as something like the beginning of a navy had been collected, Jefferson determined, if practicable, to chastise these outlaws. War was declared against Tripoli in June, 1801.²

In 1803, Commodore Preble, with a considerable American fleet entered the Mediterranean. The frigate *Philadelphia*, under Captain Bainbridge, while chasing a pirate ship, ran aground in the harbor of Tripoli. She was surrounded by a swarm of enemies and commanded by the guns of the citadel, and forced to surrender. Bainbridge and his crew of three hundred officers and men were carried ashore and reduced to slavery.³

But the pirates were not long to enjoy the captured ship. Lieut. Stephen Decatur planned an attack, which he accomplished in a small schooner, captured from the Tripolitans and called the *Intrepid*, with seventy-six brave men. Pretending to be crippled and in distress, his vessel was warped alongside the *Philadelphia* on the night of February 15th, 1804. Instantly the assailants leaped aboard, Midshipman Charles Morris leading, and Decatur nearly by his side. The attack was so sudden and impetuous that all the pirate crew who were not killed sprang overboard, and made for the shore. It was impossible to move the *Philadelphia*, one of her masts being down and not a sail ready. She was set on fire with bags of shavings, dipped in turpentine. She was very dry, and burned so furiously that it was with difficulty the captors in the *Intrepid* escaped the flames. Though a heavy fire was opened from the shore, they came off without the loss of a man.⁴ No deed more daring and successful had been done in naval warfare.

Commodore Preble brought up his ships and bombarded Tripoli several times, inflicting severe loss; but it is doubtful whether

¹ Chase's Trial, 172. Stephens, 394.

² D. B. Scott, 242, 419.

³ Scott's U. S., 242. Goodrich, 313. Derry, 180.

⁴ Art. Decatur, Amer. Encyclop., VI. 322.

he could have brought the outlaw Bey to terms but for a danger approaching in another quarter.

Yusef, the reigning Bey, had usurped the throne in violation of the rights of his older brother Hamet, who fled to Tunis. Eaton, the American consul there, promptly sought to aid Hamet in regaining the throne. They commenced their long march of nearly a thousand miles, at the head of a small force of seventy seamen and a body of Egyptian soldiers. They captured the town of Derne on the way. Their numbers increased, and as they approached Tripoli, disaffection to the usurper more and more prevailed. Yusef became alarmed, and offered to treat with the American commissioner, Mr. Lear. Commodore Samuel Barron had succeeded Preble in command of the squadron, and had aided in the capture of Derne, and pressed the war with vigor.¹

In the summer of 1805, a treaty of peace was made, under which Bainbridge and all other American captives were released, and Tripoli agreed to abstain from piracies on American vessels; but she continued her sea robberies until 1816, when a formidable British naval demonstration brought her finally to terms, by which the Bey renounced piracy and agreed to treat all future prisoners according to the most humane laws of nations.²

Thomas Jefferson's first term had been one of signal success. Every department of the country's life had been prosperous. No one else was thought of as President; but Aaron Burr was no longer looked to as Vice-President.

This brilliant, but godless and unprincipled, man had been candidate for the governorship of New York in 1804. Many of the old Federalists supported him; but Alexander Hamilton distrusted him thoroughly, wrote against him, worked against him, and defeated him.³ Burr determined on revenge. He was perfect with nearly ever weapon. The circumstances are said to have been complicated by a temporary love infatuation of Hamilton.⁴ Of course, it was not difficult to find, in what Hamilton had said and written, ground for a challenge to mortal combat. Burr sent such a challenge.

Hamilton disapproved of duelling, and has left behind him a sad testimonial that in accepting the challenge he did violence to his own higher moral convictions, and yielded only to the opinions of the world.⁵ The hostile meeting took place July 11th, 1804, at Weehawken, on the Jersey shore, nearly opposite to New

¹ Holmes' U. S., 172, 173.

² Art. Tripoli, Amer. Encyclop., XV. 604.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 396.

⁴ Art. in "Dispatch," Dec., 1850.

⁵ Thalheimer's Eclee. U. S., 208. Art. Hamilton, Amer. Encyclop., VIII. 677.

York. Hamilton is said to have fired into the air, but Burr's bullet took effect, inflicting a mortal wound.¹

Though no prosecution followed this act, Aaron Burr was a ruined man. He resigned the vice-presidency, and made no effort to secure a renomination.² In the election of 1804 electors were chosen, who elected Thomas Jefferson President and George Clinton, of New York, Vice-President. They received one hundred and sixty-two electoral votes; the opposing candidates, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Rufus King, received only fourteen votes. Jefferson was inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March, 1805.

In April, Burr went to the Southwest, and engaged in enterprises the object and extent of which have never been fully known. He was an able, restless and ambitious schemer. The United States government were informed of his movements, and Mr. Jefferson regarded them with so much of suspicion that he caused him to be arrested at Memphis, now in Tennessee, and carried to Richmond, Virginia, where he was indicted in the United States Circuit Court upon a charge of treason, and also of organizing an armed expedition to violate the neutrality of the United States by overthrowing the Spanish rule in Mexico, and becoming himself the sovereign of that province when erected into a State.

Chief-Justice Marshall presided at the trial. It commenced on the 22d of May, 1807, and was ended by the delivery of an opinion by the judge on the 20th of October, under which the prosecution broke down. The charges could not be proved, and Burr was acquitted.³

The chief interest of the facts centred on the life of Harman Blennerhasset; his beautiful island home in the Ohio river, near Marietta; the intrigues of Burr to inveigle him into his plots; the attempt of a Virginia officer to arrest him; and the brave opposition of his wife, who, armed with a pistol in each hand, drove off the officer.⁴

Blennerhasset escaped to Bermuda, and practiced law there as late as 1836. William Wirt, counsel in the Burr prosecution, made these events the subject of one of the most eloquent and effective passages of his great speech therein. Burr returned to the practice of his profession—the law; but public confidence in him never returned. His life was obscure, and he died in poverty in the year 1836, having reached the eightieth year of his age.

¹ Thalheimer, 208. D. B. Scott, 243.

² Art. Burr, Amer. Encyclop., IV. 138.

³ Amer. State Papers, I. 486-645.

⁴ Quackenbos, 332, 333. Wirt's speech in the trial.

President Jefferson's second term was as troubled and disquieted as the first had been bright and successful. The wars in Europe projected their dark shadows over America, and the two principal belligerents continuously violated her neutral rights and inflicted heavy losses on her commerce and merchant ships.

England asserted the right to search all ships in which she had "probable cause" to believe either that there were British seamen bound to serve her or articles of merchandise made contraband by her own regulations. Each of these exactions led her into conflict with the United States, who steadily and consistently asserted that every subject of a foreign sovereignty had the right to renounce allegiance to such sovereignty and to become an American citizen.

On the 22d June, 1807, the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, of thirty-eight guns, sailed from Hampton Roads for the Mediterranean, under command of Captain Gordon, and having aboard Commodore James Barron, who had command of the squadron. Some correspondence had occurred between the British Vice-Admiral Berkeley, commanding the West India fleet, the American Navy Department, the British consul in Norfolk and Commodore Barron as to several seamen said to be deserters from the British frigate *Melampus* and to be aboard the *Chesapeake*. This ought to have made Barron especially careful to be prepared for any violence, but it seems to have had no effect except to produce the impression that the matter was all settled.

The British frigate *Leopard*, of fifty guns, Captain Humphreys, preceded the *Chesapeake* to sea by a few hours, and, at 3 p. m., came down on her weather-quarter and hailed, stating that she had a message for Commodore Barron. It was noticed that her lower deck ports were triced up, and *the tompions out of her guns*. An officer came aboard the *Chesapeake* and exhibited an order from Admiral Berkeley that his ships should "search for deserters" aboard of her. Barron's reply was that he knew of no deserters, and that his orders forbade him to permit his crew to be mustered except by their own officers.¹

As soon as the boat returned, Captain Humphreys, from the *Leopard*, commenced a heavy fire on the *Chesapeake*. She was utterly unprepared for battle, having a raw crew, her decks littered with cables, stores and furniture, and, though the guns were loaded, rammers, wads, matches, gun-locks and powder-horns were all wanting. The *Leopard* continued to fire. The *Chesapeake* was struck by twenty-one heavy shot. Three of her crew

¹ Art. Barron, Amer. Encyclop., II. 671.

were killed and eighteen wounded. Among the latter was Commodore Barron himself. He ordered the flag of his ship to be lowered. The *Leopard* refused to accept the surrender, but sent a boat aboard and took out of her four men claimed to be deserters. The *Chesapeake*, in a disabled condition, returned to Hampton Roads the same evening.¹

When these events became known, a wave of vengeful excitement passed over the country like an electric storm. Immediate war against England was demanded. An order was promptly issued requiring all British war-ships to leave the ports and waters of the United States. A demand for redress was made upon England. She was deliberate in her reply, taking time to ascertain the facts. She finally answered, in 1811, that Admiral Berkeley had exceeded his authority; that she did not claim the right to search the ships of war of another nation, and that she would make money reparation to the United States for the damage done, and to the families of the men killed, and to those wounded in the affair. Berkeley was superseded and Humphreys was never afterwards publicly employed.²

But, immediately after the outrage, troops were ordered to Norfolk, and the Congress made appropriations for the support of a large land and naval force.³ Commodore Barron was tried by a court-martial, who acquitted him of all defect in firmness and courage, but found against him on the charge of "neglecting, on the probability of an engagement, to clear his ship for action," and sentenced him to suspension for five years without pay or emoluments. These events were the real cause of the alienation between Decatur and Barron, which terminated in a duel between them at Bladensburg, March 22d, 1820, wherein both fell, as was supposed, mortally wounded; but only Decatur died. Barron recovered after months of suffering. He held important commands in the latter years of his life.⁴

To understand the events of the closing years of Jefferson's presidency, the student must bear in mind that they were unprecedented in the life of the world. Europe was convulsed by a war, in which Napoleon bore down all his enemies except Russia and Great Britain. He was specially anxious to disable the British power at sea, where England had been practically supreme, and to cut her down in her commerce and wealth, which were so great that they enabled her to sustain the hard-pressed continental monarchies; and her imperative need of seamen almost

¹ New Amer. Encyclop., II. 671. Stephens, 397. Goodrich, 318.

² Art. Barron, Amer. Encyclop., II. 671. Quackenbos, 335. Goodrich, 319, 321.

³ Goodrich's U. S., 318, 319.

⁴ Amer. Encyclop., II. 671.

forced England to her policy of "press gangs" and her measures of search and impressment.

By "orders in council," the British government had declared all vessels engaged in conveying West India produce from the United States to Europe legal prizes. In May, 1806, further "orders in council" were issued, declaring European ports which were controlled by French power and which extended eight hundred miles along the coast from Brest to the Elbe to be in a state of blockade. These "orders" were intended to work damage to France by cutting off her supplies of food, fruit and needed goods; but they worked the most cruel injury to the United States, whose ships were more largely engaged in the carrying trade than any others.¹

Napoleon did not delay to retaliate, and he was equally unjust to neutrals.

By his "Berlin decree," issued 21st November, 1806, he forbade the introduction of any English goods into any port of Europe, even by vessels of neutral powers, and closed the harbors of all of Europe controlled by him against any vessel that should touch at an English port. The English followed this by "orders in council," November 11th, 1807, declaring the whole coast of Europe in a state of blockade. To this Napoleon rejoined by his "Milan decree," of December 17th, 1807, confiscating not only the vessels and cargoes reached by the previous "Berlin decree," but also all such as should submit to be searched by the English.

Never in modern times and among Christian nations have the maxims that "might makes right" and that "law is silent in war" been carried further. England had led off in this policy of outrage, and, as she commanded the seas, American merchantmen and commerce suffered from her in cases beyond enumeration.²

But what was to be the remedy of the United States? To declare war against the two colossal powers then battling in Europe would have been preposterous. Jefferson may have known that the management of a war was not his element of power; and he knew what war was, and he earnestly desired to avoid it for his country. His policy was not to maintain a large and expensive navy, but to defend the harbors of the United States by "gun-boats" very strong, heavily armed, easily equipped, and manned at small cost.³

¹ Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 143, 144. Stephens, 396. Taylor's Centen. U; S., 255, 256. Holmes, 174. Scott, 419. The dates assigned differ.

² J. Fenimore Cooper, in his "Miles Wallingford" and "Afloat and Ashore," gives a life-like account of them.

³ Enquirer, June 25th, 1813.

He advised, also, as a counter-measure to the "orders in council" of England and "decrees" of the French emperor, the adoption by America of the policy of "embargo." His views were approved by Congress, and sought to be carried out by the act of December 22d, 1807. It was not without precedent; for in 1794 Congress had laid an "embargo" for sixty days on all vessels in American ports to obstruct the supply of provisions to the British forces in the West Indies.¹

But the act of December, 1807, was more discriminating, and intended to have a more lasting effect. It forbade the departure from the ports of the country of all vessels except foreign armed ships with public commissions, or foreign merchant ships in ballast, or with such cargo only as they might have on board when notified of the act. All coasting vessels were required to give bonds to land their cargoes only in the United States.

Mr. Jefferson's policy was that, during these complicated war-troubles in the Old World, the people of the United States should live on their own resources. He knew the abounding natural wealth of the country, the fertility of its soil, the facilities for the primitive manufactures, the ease with which adequate food, clothing and shelter would be obtained by all. He believed that by arresting ship-building and the carrying business for a season in America, the two belligerent powers in Europe, who had so unjustly and unlawfully used their brute force to violate the rights of neutral nations, would be the greatest sufferers by their own outrages; for the United States were really then the only neutral nation having facilities for this business, and England and France both needed the supplies of food, lumber, lead, cotton and other produce from which the "embargo" would cut them off.

But the people of New England refused to give the "embargo" policy a fair trial. Because it interfered with their immediate profits, hoped for in continuing the carrying trade with all its risks, they raised a clamor against it which was not relaxed during the whole term of its existence. They were not willing to submit to the self-denial of keeping their ships at home for a time or employing them only in the coasting trade. The damage of arresting free carrying had already been done by the illegal acts of England and France. They had, in substance, annihilated the trade of America with the best parts of Europe and the West Indies. Her trade with other regions of the world was small.

Jefferson believed, to the last day of his grand and useful life, that if the "embargo" policy had been carried out by the United

¹ Art. Embargo, Amer. Encyclop., VII. 117.

States rigidly and in good faith, England and France would have seen the error of their ways and abandoned their outrages on the rights of neutrals, and that the subsequent war with England would have been avoided.¹

A very able modern historian, detailing the complaints of New England and other malcontents, and the disparaging comments of English authors and their European sympathizers, has devoted a whole volume to the second term of President Jefferson, a large part of which seems to be permeated by the purpose of censuring and depreciating his policy;² but the effort is vain until it can be shown what would have been the effect on the final prosperity of the country and on her relations with foreign states that would have been produced by a faithful and honest upholding and observance of his "embargo" policy.

Such upholding and observance were never accorded to it, although it was "the law of the land." It was broken and evaded whenever the opportunity came; and it was openly abused and vituperated.

Before the expiration of his second term, President Jefferson received information, from a source which he considered entitled to credit, that the dissatisfaction of the New England States with the "embargo" policy was so great that they would withdraw from the Union if it was persisted in.³ He believed in the reserved sovereignty of the States, and in the right of secession for adequate cause; and he earnestly desired harmony. Moreover, Napoleon had intimated willingness to relax his decrees as to American vessels.

The President advised a modification. Accordingly Congress, on the 27th of February, 1809, passed an act repealing the "Embargo Law," but enacting *non-intercourse* with England and France until their policy should be changed. This law was to take effect after the conclusion of the next session of Congress.⁴

Mr. Jefferson had announced his fixed purpose not to be a candidate for a third term. It has been frequently asserted that the Republican party had so dwindled under his second term that he could not have been again elected; but no facts justify this belief. His own convictions as to a third term coincided with those of Washington. The dissatisfaction was confined to New England and some parts of the Middle States. The others, and especially the Southern States, were still strongly Republican, and, in fact,

¹ Art. Embargo, Amer. Encyclop., VII. 117. Jefferson's Writings. Thalheimer's Eclectic U. S., 209.

² Hist. of the U. S. of America during the Second Administration of Thomas Jefferson, by Henry Adams, 1890.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 398. Derry, 182.

⁴ Amer. Encyclop., VII. 117.

contained a great "war party," who desired a declaration of war against England.¹

The prevalence of a strong public feeling favoring this party was manifested in the election of 1808-'9. Electors were chosen, who cast one hundred and twenty-two votes for James Madison as President, and one hundred and thirteen for Clinton as Vice-President. They were the Republican candidates. Only forty-seven votes were cast for Pinckney and King, the opposing candidates; and only five States—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Delaware—voted for them.²

Thus it appears that if Thomas Jefferson was not able to bring to a satisfactory close the troublous questions affecting his country, especially in her foreign relations, and was compelled to leave them to his successor, it was because a condition of war and perturbation existed in Europe entirely unprecedented, and which no human wisdom could either have foreseen or controlled.

He retired to Monticello, and employed himself during the rest of his life in agriculture, in study, in correspondence, and in successful exertions to establish "The University of Virginia."

His terms of presidential service may be considered as substantially covering the decade from 1800 to 1810, and were a period of eminent progress and prosperity to his country. As to her territory, he had added an empire of untold natural wealth. A rich and prosperous State had been brought into the Union. In 1807, Robert Fulton, a native of Pennsylvania, liberally aided by Chancellor Livingston, of New York, had solved the problem of applying the power of steam to navigation. His first steamboat, the "*Clermont*," with rude engine and side wheels, on the 2d of September, 1807, ran from New York to Albany in thirty-six hours! The usual time in sloops had been from six to ten days. For several years the Hudson river could boast of the only steamboat in the world.³ Fulton had furnished the idea and its realization, which have since conquered the rushing torrents of the American rivers, and been applied to thousands of ships, public and private, that navigate all waters of the earth.

During the same decade the population went up from five million three hundred and five thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven to seven million two hundred and thirty-nine thousand eight hundred and fourteen; and although the number of slaves had also gone up from eight hundred and ninety-three thousand and forty-one to one million one hundred and ninety-one thousand three

¹ Holmes' U. S., 175.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 398.

³ Quackenbos' U. S., 337. D. B. Scott's U. S., 244.

hundred and sixty-four, yet Mr. Jefferson's administration is entitled to the honor of finally ending the African slave-trade. In 1808 it was forbidden by act of Congress, to which the President cordially assented.

Notwithstanding all adverse influences, the exports had increased six fold in sixteen years, and had reached one hundred and eight million dollars. Sixty-two million pounds of cotton were exported in a year.

The epitaph placed on the monument which marks the grave of Jefferson states that he was the author of the "Declaration of Independence," of the "statute for religious freedom in Virginia," and the father of the "University of Virginia."¹ The world has known no truer and abler friend of civil and religious freedom than he was.

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 336. Stephens, 398.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE PRESIDENCY OF JAMES MADISON.—SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

THE administration of James Madison, covering two terms—eight years—from March 4th, 1809, to March 4th, 1817, was a very eventful period of American history.

Although, after coming to the helm, he did what he could to steer the ship of state clear of the breakers of war, yet success for his efforts could hardly have been expected. It is true that, in 1811, Mr. Foster, the British minister, made known the final decision of his government in the case of the *Chesapeake* and *Leopard*, which was, in substance, satisfactory, and which did something to allay the war feeling; but England continued her aggressions, searches, impressments and captures. It has been estimated that as many as nine hundred American vessels were seized by her between 1803 and 1811, and that at least six thousand American seamen were impressed by her and forced to serve in her ships of war.¹ She relied on her naval power as irresistible, and used it with unscrupulous persistence until she received a check which has never since been unheeded or forgotten.

President Madison chose as his first cabinet officers: Robert Smith, of Maryland, Secretary of State; Albert Gallatin continued as Secretary of the Treasury; William Eustis, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; Paul Hamilton, of South Carolina, Secretary of the Navy, and Cæsar A. Rodney, of Delaware, continued as Attorney-General.²

Very soon after Madison entered upon his duties, Mr. Erskine, the British minister at Washington, gave assurances that the "orders in council" would be annulled. The President, somewhat hastily, issued a proclamation, April 19th, 1809, suspending, as to England, the "Non-Intercourse Law" after the 10th of June following; but hardly had the people begun to enjoy this good news before the President was informed by the British government that Mr. Erskine had exceeded his powers, and his assurances were unauthorized. Forthwith a second proclamation

¹ Horace E. Scudder's U. S., 289. Thalheimer's Eclectic U. S., 213, 214.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 399.

from the President countermanded the first. Mr. Erskine was recalled, and a Mr. Jackson accredited as minister, who speedily made himself so offensive and obnoxious that President Madison, through his State Department, ceased to hold intercourse with him, and demanded his recall.¹

In contrast with this ungracious course of England and her agents was the conduct of Napoleon. His minister, in 1810, informed the United States government that the "Berlin and Milan decrees" were revoked, and would cease to have effect on the 1st of November of that year.²

There being no doubt in this case, the President issued his proclamation restoring intercourse with France. He urged upon England a revocation of her "orders," in view of the course of her powerful enemy; but upon specious pleas the "orders in council" were continued, and British armed ships were stationed off the coast before the principal American harbors to capture outcoming vessels bound for France.³

These injuries and insults, continued against all efforts to obtain justice, greatly increased the "war spirit" in the United States. An event occurred which operated upon both nations, and with a presage different from that of the *Chesapeake* and *Leopard*.

In May, 1811, Commodore John Rodgers, while lying off Annapolis in his flag-ship, *The President*, of forty-four guns, received tidings that a seaman had been impressed from an American brig off Sandy Hook by an English frigate. He sailed without delay, and on May 16th, when a few leagues south of New York, discovered a vessel of war, to which he gave chase, showing American colors from his own ship. At 8:30 p. m. he came within hail, and made the usual inquiry: "What ship is that?" No answer was returned. But in a short time the same inquiry came from the other ship, followed by a shot, which struck the mainmast of *The President*. Rodgers instantly answered with a broadside. An engagement ensued, but soon ended, it being made evident that the attacking ship was disabled. *The President* ceased her fire, and, again hailing, got an answer that the other was a "British ship of war." Commodore Rodgers gave the name of his own ship, hoisted lights, and remained by till daylight, when he boarded the stranger and found she was the British war-ship *Little Belt*, of twenty-two guns, commanded by Captain Bingham. She was severely cut up, and

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 401.

² *Ibid.*, 402.

³ Stephens, 402. D. B. Scott's U. S., 247.

thirty-one of her crew were killed and wounded; yet she sullenly declined assistance, and the two ships parted.¹

As might have been expected, the accounts of this affair differed, especially as to which ship fired the first shot; but the American version is so corroborated that it must be accepted as history. The war spirit rose higher in the United States.

It was sustained by such men as Henry Clay, of Kentucky; John C. Calhoun, Langdon Cheeves and William Lowndes, of South Carolina. James Monroe, of the State Department (who had succeeded Robert Smith), favored it. Gallatin was opposed to it, and William Pinckney, who had succeeded Rodney as Attorney-General, was of opinion that the country was unprepared for war; but the Democrats assured Mr. Madison that unless he adopted an active war policy he could not expect their support in the next canvass for the presidency.²

He summoned Congress to meet on the 4th of November, 1811. On the 8th April, 1812, Louisiana was admitted into the Union as a State. On the 30th May, Mr. Foster, the British minister resident at Washington, gave the *ultimatum* of his government as to the questions in controversy. This, with all other papers relative thereto, was sent to Congress by the President on the 1st of June, with a message submitting the question whether the wrongs justly complained of should still be borne, or whether the United States should resort to war.³

These papers were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Calhoun was chairman. They reported in favor of a declaration of war. It was discussed for several days with closed doors. An act declaring war against Great Britain was passed by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-nine in the House of Representatives and of nineteen to thirteen in the Senate, and was approved by the President on the 18th of June, 1812;⁴ and so the second war with England commenced. It continued for nearly three years; for, although peace was concluded by a treaty at Ghent on the 24th December, 1814, some bloody battles on land and sea took place after the treaty and before the belligerent forces were notified thereof.

Five days after this declaration England revoked her "orders in council." Had she been more prompt in this simple act of justice, she might have averted the war; but she was engaged in her tremendous struggle with Napoleon, and seemed blind to all else.

¹ Art. Rodgers, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 129. Stephens, 402.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 402.

³ Amer. State Papers, 1812. Stephens, 401.

⁴ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 401. Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 761.

This war, in its prominent facts, naturally falls under two departments, naval and military, although in some movements these departments become mingled with each other. We will give attention first to the naval operations. These were really the most brilliant, most important, and, in their actual phenomena and results, most unexpected.

England had powerful fleets of line-of-battle ships of three decks and ninety guns; but, fortunately for the small American naval force, these great fleets were all imperatively called for in the manœuvres and battles conducted by the British admirals against the fleets of France, Spain and Denmark. All that could be spared for the American war were a few three-deckers and fast frigates and sloops of war. These, however, were thought sufficient, as the American navy had only three frigates of forty-four guns, three of thirty-eight, five of from twenty-eight to thirty-six guns and nine sloops of war, with some small armed vessels, making about thirty in all, at the opening of the contest. The British navy had nearly a thousand ships.¹

The American people had undervalued the skill and prowess of their own war-ships, seamen and officers. Very little was expected from them. The first serious encounter at sea changed all opinions and sentiments on this subject.

Capt. Isaac Hull, a native of Connecticut, had already distinguished himself as a junior officer of the American navy by his courage and skill, by cutting out and capturing a French privateer in 1800 from under the guns of a strong battery in the harbor of Port La Platte, St. Domingo, and afterwards by his efficient services against the pirates of Tripoli.²

In July, 1812, he was in command of the frigate *Constitution*, of forty-four guns. Cruising off New York, he was chased by a British squadron, consisting of a razeed ship-of-the-line of sixty-four guns and the frigates *Shannon*, *Guerrière*, *Belvidera* and *Eolus*. At sunrise on the morning of the 18th July, escape seemed hopeless, as the hostile ships were within five miles and hemming in the American frigate; but just then the wind died away; a dead calm came on. Captain Hull, his officers and men, made almost superhuman exertions to save their ship, and they were successful, although they were nearly worn out with fatigue and sleeplessness.

Towing was first resorted to. The heaviest British frigate had all the boats of the squadron ahead towing her; but Hull, find-

¹ Compare Goodrich's U. S., 328, with Stephens' Comp. U. S., 407.

² Art. Hull, Amer. Encyclop., IX, 340.

ing his ship in twenty-six fathoms of water, resorted to the expedient of *warping*. Nearly all his boats were employed in carrying forward light cables and dropping kedge anchors in succession a long way ahead, and by these he warped his frigate forward faster than his pursuers could be towed. Every advantage was taken of the least puff and flaw of wind. The skillful seamanship manifested attracted the admiration of the enemy. In sixty-two hours the *Constitution* had left her pursuers nearly out of sight, and, a breeze springing up, she was safe.

But during this long chase every man had watched and slept at his gun, except those engaged in kedging, and the officers had only caught a few moments of sleep by throwing themselves on the deck at favored intervals.¹ Such an escape, from such a force, achieved by such means, had not been known.

The British frigate *Guerrière* was one of the chasing ships. She was in fine fighting condition. Her captain was James A. Dacres, of proud English blood. He believed his ship and crew, inspired by his presence, more than a match for any American frigate. He had looked into several harbors on the coast, carrying a broad flag with the name of his ship and the words, "Not the *Little Belt*," displayed on it. He had sent in a written challenge inviting an American frigate of his class to what he called a "*tête-à-tête*" on the ocean.² He was serenely confident of the result.

And so, when, on the 19th of August, 1812, in the Atlantic, latitude 41° 41' north, longitude 55° 48' west, Captain Hull, in the *Constitution*, approached, Dacres gallantly backed his maintop-sail and hove to, as a signal of acceptance of battle. At 5 P. M. the *Guerrière* opened fire at long shot. No return was made. The *Constitution* continued to approach, and the *Guerrière*, having the weather-gage, wore ship and fired her other broadside. Still the American frigate, under her captain's orders, was silent—her officers and men standing to their guns, and obedient to orders, although some were falling under the *Guerrière's* fire. Reaching his desired position, by the skillful manœuvring of Sailing-master Aylwyn, and, being within half pistol-shot, Hull gave the order, and instantly the fire of his ship was delivered with terrible effect, carrying away one of the masts of the *Guerrière* and crashing through her decks with severe loss to her crew. The ships fell foul of each other, but as the sea was heavy and the musketry fire of the marines was constant, boarding was impos-

¹C. B. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 259, 260. Amer. Encyclop., IX. 340, 341.

²Taylor's Centen. U. S., 260. Quackenbos, 348.

sible. Lieutenant Bush, of the American marines, was killed. The *Constitution* continued her fire, and as she passed ahead the foremast of the British ship fell, carrying the mainmast with it, and reducing her to a helpless condition.¹

Captain Hull, in a few words, has told the whole: "In thirty minutes after we got fairly alongside of the enemy she surrendered, and had not a spar standing; and her hull, above and below water, was so shattered that a few more broadsides must have carried her down."²

Yet, even in his dire defeat, Dacres retained his courage and pride. He was wounded, but kept the deck. No flag being left to be lowered, Hull sent a boat with a lieutenant, who asked if the action was to be continued. Dacres answered: "I do not know that it would be prudent to continue the engagement." "Do you surrender?" asked the lieutenant. "I do not know that it will be worth while to fight any longer," answered Dacres. "If you cannot decide, I will return, and we will reopen our fire." "I am *hors de combat* already," said Dacres; "I have hardly men enough left to work a gun, and my ship is sinking." Pride rejected more, and, with this equivocal surrender, the officer returned.³

Hull's humanity forbade delay. The *Guerrière* had lost seventy-nine men in killed and wounded, and was so shattered that she could not be brought into port. Her crew were removed; she was set on fire, and in fifteen minutes blew up. The *Constitution* had lost only fourteen in killed and wounded, and was so little damaged that she was ready for action the next day.

Captain Hull carried his prisoners into Boston. The country was aroused to enthusiasm and joy. It is true the *Constitution* was a heavier ship, and carried five guns more than the *Guerrière*, but this disparity was too small to be predicated as the efficient cause of the American victory. The battle had been won by superior seamanship, manœuvring and energy of action. It was felt at once that here was proof that Great Britain was no longer to rule the seas. Her best ships could be captured by enemies, substantially equal in force, but superior in skill. Congress voted a gold medal to Hull, and a silver one to each of his commissioned officers, and appropriated a sum sufficient to compensate his crew for the necessary destruction of their prize.⁴

¹Taylor's Centen. U. S., 260, 261. Amer. Encyclop., IX. 341. Quackenbos, 348.

²Hull's report, Taylor's Centen. U. S., 261.

³Note in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 161, 162.

⁴Amer. Encyclop., IX. 341. Goodrich's Hist. of U. S.

On the 18th of October, 1812, the American sloop of war *Wasp*, of eighteen guns, under Capt. Jacob Jones, captured the British brig *Frolic*, of twenty-two guns, under Captain Whinyates, in the Atlantic, in latitude 37° north, longitude 60° west. The force on each side was nearly equal. The action was very bloody and destructive to the *Frolic*. She was terribly cut up in her hull, and lost at least eighty of her crew in killed and wounded. Captain Whinyates, in his official report, stated that not twenty of his crew escaped unhurt. The *Wasp* was much injured in her spars and rigging, but very little in her hull. On the same day the British seventy-four-gun ship *Poictiers* came down upon them, and, in their disabled state, captured both ships and carried them into Bermuda.¹ Captain Jones and his officers and crew were soon paroled, and returned to the United States, where deserved honors greeted them. No disparity of force existed in this case. The victory was won by the more deadly and accurate firing of the American ship.

On the 25th of October, 1812, Capt. Stephen Decatur, in the frigate *United States*, of forty-four guns, encountered the British frigate *Macedonian*, of forty-nine guns (but lighter than those of the American frigate), Capt. John S. Carden, near the Azores, and, after a long and sanguinary battle, captured her, and brought her safely into the harbor of New York. A young officer of the American frigate appeared in a public assembly in Washington, bringing the official report of the capture, and presenting the flag of the *Macedonian* to the wife of the President. The guests cheered and wept with feelings not to be controlled, for among them were the young officer's mother and sister, overcome with joy that he had been unhurt in the battle.²

On the 29th of December of the same year the *Constitution*, which had gained the name of "Old Ironsides," and was then commanded by Captain Bainbridge, met the British frigate *Java*, of forty-nine guns, Captain Lambert, off the coast of Brazil, not far from San Salvador, and, after an engagement of one hour and fifty-five minutes, captured her. The *Java* lost one hundred and seventy-four in killed and wounded, and was reduced to a wreck with not a spar standing, and her hull so shattered that it was found necessary to destroy her. The *Constitution* lost nine killed and twenty-four wounded, and was but little injured. The two commanders were both wounded—Bainbridge severely, Lambert mortally. A heroic scene was exhibited on the quarter-deck of the *Java*, where Captain Lambert was lying on his cot just

¹ Art. Jones, Amer. Encyclop., X. 45.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 252.

before he was removed to the victor ship. Bainbridge, supported by two lieutenants, approached the dying officer, and, with words of manly sympathy, restored his sword to him, and they parted with expressions of mutual regard. Captain Lambert died within two days thereafter.¹

The pride of England was deeply wounded by these repeated captures of her finest frigates, under her best officers. When news of the capture of the *Java* reached London, it was commented on in tones of mortified feeling by several metropolitan journals. The *London Statesman*, of March 20th, 1813, thus writes, after announcing the event: "America, however, must be excepted from the expression of 'all our enemies'; she is of us, and of us *improved*. We are neither ashamed nor afraid to say so. We knew it before, and, knowing so much, we have uniformly deprecated the going to war with her. The Americans will be the most terrible warriors we have had to contend with. We have, like fools, despised them as a power in arms."²

Commodore Bainbridge was in command of a small fleet, consisting of his own ship, the *Constitution*, the frigate *Essex*, of thirty-two guns, under Capt. David Porter, and the sloop of war *Hornet*, of twenty guns, under Master-Commandant James Lawrence, a native of New Jersey. Early in 1813, the British sloop of war, *Bonne Citoyenne*, with a large amount of specie on board, was lying in the neutral port of San Salvador, in Brazil. Bainbridge in the *Constitution*, kept far away; the *Essex* had not arrived, and the *Hornet*, being about equal in force to the *Bonne Citoyenne*, appeared off the harbor, and sent a challenge to her to come out and fight; but the treasure war-ship declined the challenge, probably not feeling at liberty to risk her valuable freight.³ The *Hornet* blockaded the harbor for eighteen days, when she was driven off by the British seventy-four-gun ship *Montague*.

She shaped her course for the mouth of the Demerara river, capturing several merchantmen by the way. On the 24th February, 1813, off this river, in the Atlantic, the *Hornet* encountered the British sloop of war *Peacock*, Capt. William Peake, of twenty guns, but somewhat lighter than the *Hornet*. A fierce engagement of fifteen minutes took place, beginning at half-past five o'clock in the afternoon. Furious and repeated broadsides were exchanged at pistol range, when the *Peacock* lowered her flag, and raised signals of distress. She was sinking. Lawrence and his officers and men made instant and earnest exertions to save

¹ Art. Bainbridge, Amer. Encyclop., II. 497.

² London Statesman, March 20, 1813, in Enquirer (Va.), May 21.

³ Art. Lawrence, Amer. Encyclop., X. 370.

her crew. She sank in six fathoms of water, carrying down nine of her own men and five of the *Hornet's*. The *Peacock* lost thirty-three killed and wounded; among the killed was Captain Peake. The *Hornet* had only one killed and two wounded, and was so little injured that by nine o'clock that night she was again ready for action; but, having now two hundred and seventy-seven souls aboard, and being short of water, Lawrence sailed for New York. His treatment of his prisoners was so kind and chivalrous that they published a written statement, saying they had "ceased to consider themselves as prisoners."¹

On the 4th of March, 1813, Lawrence was promoted to the rank of captain, and ordered to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, then lying in the harbor of Boston. The British frigate *Shannon*, Capt. Philip Bowes Vere Broke, had been awaiting the coming out of the *Chesapeake*, and preparing to meet her in mortal combat. The two frigates were about equal in material strength, each mounting forty-eight guns, long eighteen and thirty-two pound carronades. But the *Shannon* was in perfect fighting condition, her commander and officers skillful and resolute men, strung up to a high longing for victory, her crew full and perfectly disciplined and organized for this special encounter. On the other hand, the *Chesapeake* had lately arrived from a cruise, and her men had been indulging freely on shore in the worst forms of sailor dissipations. Lawrence was yet a stranger to them, and he had found them almost in a state of mutiny because of some disaffection about unpaid prize money.²

Moreover, her first lieutenant, O. A. Page, was sick on shore, and died a few days afterwards. Ludlow, the young officer who took his place, was brave and meritorious, but inexperienced. Two midshipmen acted as third and fourth lieutenants.

Under such circumstances of disability, prudence dictated that the encounter should, at least, be postponed until the *Chesapeake* was in better fighting order; but when the *Shannon* appeared off the harbor, Lawrence felt all his soul aroused. He could not delay. He got his ship under way on the 1st of June, 1813, and stood out to sea. At half-past five in the afternoon the two ships were thirty miles from Boston light.

As they came up alongside of each other the *Shannon* opened fire as her guns bore; the *Chesapeake* retained her fire until the ships were fairly yard-arm and yard-arm, when she delivered a well-minuted broadside, which sounded like one report. For several minutes a destructive cannonade was maintained by both ships,

¹ Amer. Encyclop., X. 371, 372.

² Art. Lawrence. Amer. Encyclop., X. 371.

but the *Chesapeake* suffered so severely in her rigging that she became unmanageable, was thrown into the wind, taken aback, and fell foul of the *Shannon*, the waist anchor of which hooked her rigging. She was now exposed to a raking fire, and her upper deck was swept by grape and canister from the carronades of the British ship. The boarders of the *Chesapeake* were called, but the negro bugleman had left his post. Captain Lawrence was wounded; Lieutenant Ludlow had received two terrible wounds from grape-shot. A hand-grenade, bursting in the arm-chest of the *Chesapeake*, spread death all around. Sailing-master White fell dead. Broom, of the marines, Ballard, acting fourth lieutenant, and the boatswain, were all mortally wounded.

Still Lawrence cheered his men to the battle. Its crisis was reached when a shot passed through his body, inflicting a mortal wound. As he was borne below he uttered the words which will never cease to be connected with his name, and which have become the rallying cry of his country: "Don't give up the ship!"

But, by his fall and removal, the upper deck of the *Chesapeake* was left without a single commissioned officer. The boarders of the *Shannon*, under brave leaders, sprang upon the deck of the American frigate. They were met by a fierce, but irregular, resistance, which soon gave way. Captain Broke, in his official reports, stated that after he boarded "the enemy fought desperately, but in disorder."¹ The contest was bloody, but brief. The boarders prevailed, and in fifteen minutes from the fouling of the ships the American flag was hauled down by the victors and the British flag raised in its stead.²

In this bloody naval encounter the *Chesapeake* lost one hundred and forty-eight in killed and wounded; the *Shannon* seventy-nine. Captain Broke was severely wounded. His king was so elated by his victory that he created him a baronet and made him Knight Commander of the Bath; and the guns of the Tower in London were fired in token of triumph.

After the battle both ships went into Halifax. In four days Lawrence died. His remains and those of Lieutenant Ludlow were interred with the highest honors of war, the senior British officers present acting as pall-bearers.

For a brief time it seemed as if England would recover her naval prestige even against America. The brig *Argus*, commanded by a brave Rhode Islander, William Henry Allen, had carried out Mr. Crawford, the American minister to France.

¹ Official report, cited in Amer. Encyclop., X. 371.

² Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 166. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 414, 415, note.

Returning, she cruised in the British Channel and wrought havoc among the merchantmen, capturing vessels and property estimated as of the value of two millions of dollars. Several English war-ships started in pursuit of her. The brig *Pelican*, somewhat superior to her in armament, discovered her August 14th, 1813, by the light of a ship she had captured and set on fire. A warm engagement ensued. Captain Allen received a wound which proved mortal; his brig was captured and carried into Plymouth, where he died.¹

But the tide again turned and favored America. On the 14th of September, 1813, Lieut. William Burrows, commanding the brig *Enterprise*, of fourteen guns, encountered the British brig *Boxer*, of twelve guns, commanded by Lieutenant Blythe. The encounter was in the Atlantic, off Portland, Maine. The *Boxer's* guns, though two less in number, carried as much weight in metal as those of her enemy. She had indulged herself in the somewhat hazardous bravado of nailing her colors to the mast-head. The action was spirited and severe; both commanders fell mortally wounded. The crew of the *Boxer* were compelled to call aloud for quarter, not being able to lower their flag.² Burrows and Blythe were buried in Portland, in graves alongside of each other, and with all the honors of war.

On the 10th of September, 1813, occurred the memorable naval battle of Lake Erie. Both the British and American squadrons had been hastily constructed, chiefly from timber obtained by felling the great trees growing on the shores of the lake. Important military movements waited on this battle, and were decided by its result.

Commodore Oliver H. Perry, a native of Rhode Island, and then only in the twenty-eighth year of his age, was the commander of the American flotilla, and had, by his own ceaseless exertions, forwarded its building, rigging and preparation. To him was assigned the perilous duty of seeking to wrest the command of the lake from the British power. Commodore Barclay, a veteran who had fought under Nelson on the Nile and at Trafalgar, and had lost an arm in his country's service, commanded the British squadron.³ He had six armed vessels, carrying sixty-three guns and five hundred and two officers and men. Perry's fleet contained the flag-ship *Lawrence*, of twenty guns; *Niagara*, of twenty guns; *Ariel*, of four guns; *Caledonia*, of three guns; *Somers* and *Scorpion*, of two guns each, and *Porcupine*, *Tigress*

¹Amer. Encyclop., I. 376. Quackenbos, 358.

²Quackenbos, 358, 359. Amer. Encyclop., IV. 140.

³Quackenbos, 363.

and *Trippe*, each of one gun, making nine vessels in all, carrying fifty-four guns and four hundred and ninety officers and men.

Perry had great difficulty in getting his vessels into the deeper waters from the shores of the lakes where they were built and launched; but, by the use of the mechanical contrivance called the "camel" and indefatigable exertions, he succeeded. He proceeded to Sandusky Bay, where his ships were fully manned by the co-operation of General Harrison.

He then sailed boldly to Malden, and displayed his flags in full view of Commodore Barclay and his squadron. The veteran seemed in no hurry to meet him. The vigor and courage displayed in getting the American flotilla into the deep waters of the lake had amazed him. His hesitation was so manifest that the great Indian chieftain Tecumseh rowed over to Malden in his canoe to remonstrate. He said to the English General Proctor: "You told us that you commanded the waters. Why, then, do you not go out to fight the Americans? There they are, daring you to meet them!" Proctor could make no excuse except that the "big canoes of the great father King George were not quite ready."¹

But the English commanders knew well that unless Perry's flotilla was defeated and destroyed, the lake was no longer in British power. Therefore, Commodore Barclay prepared for battle, and, early on the morning of September 10th, 1813, sailed out to meet his enemy. The day was clear and beautiful, and the battle which ensued one of the most interesting in naval warfare.²

Perry had never seen a battle between squadrons; Barclay had taken part in encounters between naval giants; yet the plan of battle and manœuvres of the American commodore could hardly have been improved on. He so formed his line as to bring the heaviest of his ships alongside of the heaviest of the enemy, ordering the lighter vessels to do execution where they could most effectually cut up the British ships.

The *Lawrence* went into battle with her blue ensign flying and exhibiting the words, "Don't give up the ship." In a short time she was exposed to a terrible fire from the batteries of several of the British ships which concentrated on her. By half-past two o'clock, out of her total crew of one hundred and one persons, only eighteen, including Perry himself, were unhurt; twenty-two had been killed, sixty-one wounded, and every gun dismounted

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 363.

² Amer. Encyclop., VII. 270. Quackenbos, 364, 365. Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 340, 341. Barnes, 164, 165.

or rendered ineffective. In this perilous crisis, Perry decided that he ought to transfer his flag to the *Niagara*, which was half a mile distant to windward.

He left Lieutenant Yarnell in command, and, in an open boat with a brave crew, some of whom were wounded, he made his way to the *Niagara*. He was unhurt, and to show that he was not conquered and to cheer his men he stood erect, waving his sword, until his men forcibly pulled him down. This scene, the crisis of the battle, has been portrayed with graphic power in a painting which now adorns the approach to the United States Senate chamber in the Capitol.

When Perry passed the gangway of the *Niagara*, Lieutenant Elliott, who commanded her, offered to go and bring up the smaller vessels. Perry gladly sent him on this duty; but he himself assumed command of the *Niagara* and caused her to pass into the combat, firing broadsides right and left into the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*, of the enemy's fleet, with such rapid and destructive energy that they were speedily disabled, and, falling foul of each other, were soon compelled to strike their flags. The *Caledonia* and the smaller American vessels now came up and were closely engaging the enemy's vessels to windward, which, being subjected to a heavy cross-fire, were rapidly disabled. Before three o'clock the *Detroit*, *Queen Charlotte*, *Lady Prevost* and *Hunter* had all struck their colors.¹

The *Lawrence* had been compelled to haul down her flag soon after Perry left her side in his boat; but, now finding that victory was being rapidly obtained by the American vessels, she rehoisted her flag, though she was too much disabled to take further part in the battle. The *Chippeway* and *Little Belt*, of the British fleet, endeavored to escape to leeward, but they were closely pursued by the *Scorpion* and *Trippe*, and compelled to surrender.

The British vessels were all greatly injured and their crews had suffered severely. Commodore Barclay was twice wounded; yet he insisted on being helped to the upper deck at last, that he might see for himself whether there was any hope. Finding there was none, he gave the signal for surrender.²

Commodore Perry, four hours after the battle, sent to General Harrison a laconic message as follows: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner and a sloop."³ He treated his prisoners with so much of humanity and

¹ Amer. Encyclop., VII. 271.

² Art. Erie, Amer. Encyclop., VII. 271.

³ Quackenbos, 365. Perry's U. S., 191.

consideration that Commodore Barclay afterwards gave as a toast : "Commodore Perry—the gallant and generous enemy," and declared that, independently of the glory of the victory, "Perry's humanity to his prisoners alone would have immortalized him." The American command of Erie was completely established.

During the next year (1814) naval encounters were not numerous. It has been said that the British admiralty had given secret orders under which the captains of their frigates were to decline battle with the American frigates, except under highly favoring circumstances.

The United States frigate *Essex*, under Capt. David Porter, had entered the Pacific and made many valuable captures. Several British ships were sent in pursuit of her. She was blockaded in the harbor of Valparaiso from the 3d of February to the 28th of March, 1814. She then made an attempt to get to sea, but, in doubling a headland, was struck by a squall, which carried away her maintop-mast and caused the loss of several lives. In this somewhat disabled state she was compelled to anchor three miles from the town and within pistol-shot of the shore. Beyond question, she was in neutral waters, and thus not subject to attack according to international law ; but the opportunity was too favorable to be lost by her enemies.

The force of the *Essex* was thirty-two guns and two hundred and fifty-five officers and men. She was attacked by the British frigate *Phæbe*, Captain Hillyar, of forty-six guns and three hundred and twenty men, and the sloop of war *Cherub*, Captain Tucker, of twenty guns and one hundred and eighty men.

The battle had no parallel. The *Essex* fought for two hours and a half, and did not surrender until she had lost one hundred and fifty-five men in killed, wounded and missing, and was on fire, with a large portion of her guns disabled, and Captain Porter and Lieutenant McKnight the only commissioned officers unhurt.

In August, 1814, another engagement between hostile squadrons took place on one of the American lakes, which was quite as interesting and decisive as that of Erie. It was on Lake Champlain, which had become very important to both belligerents, because the English were attempting a descent, with a large land force under Sir George Prevost, upon New York, by way of Plattsburg. This was then a small town of about seventy houses, on Plattsburg Bay, into which the Saranac river discharges itself. Success on the water would have compelled the American army, of only one thousand five hundred men, under General Macomb,

to evacuate Plattsburg, and retire before the twelve thousand commanded by Prevost.

Capt. Thomas Macdonough, a native of Delaware, was in command of the American squadron, consisting of the *Saratoga*, of twenty-six guns; the *Eagle*, brig of twenty guns, Captain Henley; the *Ticonderoga*, schooner of seventeen guns, Lieut.-Commanding Stephen Cassin; the *Preble*, cutter of seven guns, Lieutenant Budd; six gun-boats, each of two guns, and four gun-boats of smaller size, each carrying one long twenty-four pounder, making a total of fourteen vessels, mounting eighty-six guns, and carrying eight hundred and fifty officers, seamen and marines.¹ One of the largest of this squadron had been built and launched in forty days!

The British squadron was under Captain Downie, an officer of distinction, and embraced his own large ship, the *Confiance*, of thirty-seven guns; the *Linnet*, of sixteen guns; the *Chubb*, sloop of eleven guns; the *Finch*, of the same power, and twelve gun-boats, of which eight mounted two guns, and four mounted one gun each; the whole force comprising sixteen vessels, mounting ninety-five guns, and carrying one thousand officers and men.²

Macdonough showed consummate skill by anchoring his larger ships with springs on the cables, and with kedges so arranged and concealed that, by rapid warping, their broadsides could be promptly changed.³ His gun-boats were not anchored at all, but kept in position or in movement at pleasure, by sweeps.

On the morning of September 11th, 1814, the British fleet was seen coming up for battle. Downie was confident; he is said to have declared that, with his heavy flag-ship alone, he could destroy the whole American flotilla.⁴ Macdonough, on his deck and in presence of his assembled crew, asked the blessing of God for his country's cause.

The wind was moderate, and the weather fine. The *Eagle* opened first, and the *Saratoga* followed, the commander himself pointing the first gun. The *Confiance* did not fire a shot until she anchored within short range of the *Saratoga*, on whom she opened a very destructive fire. Her first broadside killed and wounded forty men, nearly one-fifth of the *Saratoga's* crew. Broad-sides were rapidly exchanged, and as the water was smooth and the distance moderate, the damage done to both was severe; but the *Saratoga* suffered most. Finding his whole starboard battery nearly demolished, Macdonough set his warps to work, and

¹ Art. Champlain, Amer. Encyclop., IV. 695.

² Art. Champlain, Amer. Encyclop., IV. 695, 696. Derry's U. S., 195.

³ Amer. Encyclop. IV., 695. Quackenbos, 376.

⁴ Quackenbos, 375.

brought his larboard battery to bear on the *Confiance* with terrible effect. That ship tried the same manœuvre, but unsuccessfully, and in two hours and a half, finding her hull and rigging ruinously cut up, many of her guns dismantled, her decks covered with the dead and wounded, and her commander mortally hurt, she surrendered.

During the hottest part of this combat, a coop containing fowls on the deck of the *Saratoga* was knocked to pieces, and the fowls escaped. A cock, from among them, mounted to a high part of the rigging, and crowed several times in clarion notes. The crew took this to be a good omen, and, undiscouraged by their heavy losses, fought with renewed vigor.¹

After the *Confiance* surrendered, the *Saratoga* sprung her broadside upon the *Linnet*, which immediately lowered her flag. The *Finch* had been disabled, and drifted down on Crab Island, where, after receiving a shot from a one-gun land battery, she surrendered. The *Ticonderoga* subdued the *Chubb*. The twelve gun-boats of the British fleet all struck their flags; but the American ships were not in condition to pursue them,² and they made their escape, though probably in violation of the laws of war.

The American loss in this stern naval battle was one hundred and eleven in killed and wounded. The British loss was probably as high as two hundred and four. While the combat was in progress, Sir George Prevost, thinking Commodore Downie would certainly triumph, led up his forces and attempted to cross the Saranac, and to capture Plattsburg. He was received with a continuous and fatal fire from the American works. Finding the British fleet totally defeated and gone, he abandoned his attack and retreated, leaving a large part of his artillery and army stores, and his sick and wounded, and having sustained a loss of twenty-five hundred men.³ It is said that four hundred of his men marched to join Macomb with a band of music preceding them. The naval triumph presaged that of the land.

In addition to the American successes in naval combats, they made many valuable captures during the war. Their own sea-going merchant vessels had been reduced in number and importance by the policy of England and France, and the embargo restrictions. When the war with England commenced, American privateers began to sail from every suitable port, and English merchant ships in great numbers were captured by the naval ships and letters of marque of the United States.

¹ Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 356.

² Amer. Encyclop., IV. 696.

³ Quackenbos, 376. Derry, 195. Goodrich, 355. D. B. Scott's U. S., 263.

Capt. David Porter, in the *Essex*, captured a British brig with fourteen thousand dollars in specie and one hundred and fifty soldiers aboard. He also captured the sloop *Alert* after an action of twelve minutes. The frigate *President* overhauled and took an English packet ship with two hundred thousand dollars on board. Lieutenant Elliott, in October, 1812, captured on Lake Erie the British ship *Caledonia*, cutting her out from under the guns of a fort, and securing a cargo of furs worth at least two hundred thousand dollars. During this year two hundred and fifty vessels, three thousand sailors, and cargoes valued at some millions of dollars, were captured from the enemy.¹

In May, 1814, the new American sloop *Wasp*, Captain Blakeley, captured the British brig *Reindeer*, Captain Manners, in an action of eighteen minutes.

Early in 1813, the Czar of Russia made a proposition to mediate between Great Britain and the United States, and, if possible, to bring about a meeting of commissioners of the two nations looking to the re-establishment of peace.² To this no party in the United States were averse, for the woes coming from war had been heavily felt.

In 1812, Mr. Madison was elected President for a second term, and Elbridge Gerry was chosen Vice-President. The President had received very favorably the offered mediation of Russia, and had appointed Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams and James A. Bayard commissioners to go to St. Petersburg; but the British government declined this offer of mediation, and no immediate results favorable to peace came from it.

But during the session of Congress which commenced in December, 1813, a communication was received from the British government to the effect that though, in the disturbed state of Europe, that power had not felt free to accept the mediation of Russia, yet they were willing to enter into direct negotiations with the United States concerning peace, either in London or Gottenburg.³ This offer was promptly acceded to; Gottenburg was at first selected, and Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell were added to the commissioners already in Europe. The place of meeting was changed from Gottenburg to Ghent.

The negotiations concerning the various questions involved were delicate and protracted; but on the 24th day of December, 1814, a treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States was agreed on. This treaty provided for the mutual resto-

¹ Quackenbos, 349-351.

² Goodrich, 333. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 411, 412.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 416.

ration of all territory taken during the war, and for the mutual appointment of commissioners to determine the northern boundary of the United States. It was remarkable in this, that it was silent on all the questions which had been chiefly operative in causing the war. It had no provision as to the right of a subject or citizen to expatriate himself, nor as to the right of search and imprisonment, nor as to the matters involved in the "orders in council."¹

But it was safe to leave these questions to the wisdom acquired from the past. The right of search is not recognized as to ships of war; as to merchant ships it is still understood to exist, and has been used both by Great Britain and the United States. It is, however, subject to the established principle of civil and criminal law as to arrests and prosecutions, that there must exist "probable cause" to justify or excuse it. As to impressment of American seamen, England has never again attempted it.

It is a sad fact that after the treaty of peace was agreed on, but before it was known to the belligerents, several bloody battles, both by sea and land, were fought.

The frigate *President*, under Decatur, in attempting to get to sea from the harbor of New York, which was closely blockaded by British ships, ran out in the night of January 14th, 1815. Unfortunately, her pilots missed the channel, and she fell on the bar, and did not get off without injuries which greatly impeded her sailing powers. She was soon chased by four ships, the *Endymion*, of forty guns, the *Pomona* and *Tenedos*, of thirty-eight guns each, and the razee *Majestic*, of sixty guns. She made a gallant running fight with the *Endymion*; and Decatur, finding the *President* too much injured to escape, proposed to his officers and crew that they should carry the *Endymion* by boarding and escape in her. This bold proposal was enthusiastically received, but the superior sailing of the British frigate made its execution impossible. The enemy's ships having closed on him, Decatur was compelled to surrender. In this long fight the *President* lost eighty men killed and wounded.²

Capt. James Stewart, a native of Philadelphia, had already distinguished himself in the brief war with France, by capturing with his war-schooner *Experiment*, of twelve guns, the French schooners *Deux Amis*, of eight guns, and *Diana*, of fourteen guns, in quick succession.³ In the summer of 1813 he was put in command of the *Constitution* ("Old Ironsides"), and got to sea from Boston on a cruise, during which he captured the British

¹ Goodrich, 361. Stephens, 421, 422. Amer. Encyclop., XV. 763.

² Art. Decatur, Amer. Encyclop., VI. 324. Goodrich, 360.

³ Art. Stewart, Amer. Encyclop., XV. 95.

war-schooner *Picton*, of fourteen guns, a letter of marque under her convoy, and a number of merchant vessels. In December, 1814, not having heard of the treaty of peace, he sailed on a second cruise, and on the 20th February, 1815, off the coast of Portugal, fell in with two British ships, the frigate *Cyane*, Captain Falcon, of thirty-four guns, and the sloop *Levant*, Captain Douglass, of twenty-one guns, and in a skillfully conducted night engagement, captured them both in about forty minutes. The captured ships lost forty-one, the *Constitution* fifteen, in killed and wounded.

Under the terms of the treaty of peace, the *President* and the *Cyane* and *Levant* were all lawful prizes.¹ The *Cyane* was brought into New York on April 15th; but the *Levant* was recaptured by a British squadron off the Cape De Verde Islands.

On the 23d March, 1815, the sloop *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, encountered the British brig *Penguin*, Captain Dickenson, off the island of Tristan D' Acuna, and captured her, in an action of twenty-two minutes. After the commander of the *Penguin* had announced her surrender, and Captain Biddle had ordered his fire to cease, a man in the rigging of the *Penguin* fired a musket at Biddle and wounded him severely in the neck. Two marines from the deck of the *Hornet* fired at this murderer and brought him down; but the crew of the *Hornet*, in their natural exasperation, threatened extermination of the whole British crew, and were with difficulty restrained by Biddle and his officers.²

Capt. Lewis Warrington, a native of Virginia, sailed from New York in March, 1814, in command of the sloop of war *Peacock*, of eighteen guns. Off Cape Canaveral, Florida, he encountered a number of British merchantmen, under convoy of the war-brig *Epervier*, Captain Wales, of eighteen guns. The *Peacock* engaged her, and, though crippled in her foreyard by the first broadside, continued the action with such superior manœuvring and gunnery that in forty-two minutes the *Epervier* surrendered, with five feet of water in her hold and twenty-two of her crew killed and wounded. The *Peacock* sustained little damage, and had none killed and only two wounded. Aboard the *Epervier* was found the sum of five hundred and ninety thousand dollars in specie. Continuing his cruise, Warrington secured fourteen British merchantmen—most of them in the Bay of Biscay.³

In November, 1814, he sailed again in the *Peacock* from New York, and in the Strait of Sunda, on the 30th of June, 1815, (more

¹ Goodrich's U. S., 360, 361. Amer. Encyclop., XV. 95.

² Taylor's Centennial U. S., 337, 338.

³ Art. Warrington, Amer. Encyclop., XVI. 221.

than six months after the treaty of peace), he fell in with the East India Company's armed cruiser *Nautilus*, exchanged broadsides with her, and compelled her to surrender, with a loss to her of six killed and eight wounded. The *Peacock* was uninjured, and sustained no loss. It is stated in history that before the capture Warrington was informed that peace had been agreed on; but, as this information came from the English, he insisted that the *Nautilus* should strike her flag, which she refused to do.¹ He was technically right, but, after causing some shedding of blood, he saw the truth the next day in papers produced, and promptly returned the *Nautilus*. This was the last event of the naval warfare between Great Britain and America. We are now to give the prominent movements of the warfare on land.

¹ D. B. Scott's U. S., 269.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE WAR ON LAND.

THE war on the land had in it very little to increase either the territory, the wealth or the fame of the United States. Yet in it her people displayed courage and endurance, and it was ended at last in a battle fought after a treaty of peace had been agreed on, but so brilliantly and bloodily successful for America that it confirmed the dominance of democratic ideas, and led to the election of one of the most renowned of her Presidents.

The prevalent purpose of the Western and Northwestern people in the war was to conquer Canada from Great Britain. This was considered specially desirable, because it would secure the lake region and the northern boundary, and would put a stop to Indian outrages, which had been thought, with some reason, to have been encouraged by the British forts in Canada. The people of Kentucky and Ohio were very intent on this conquest.¹

Yet it was a task beset by formidable difficulties. Some of them had been experienced in the war of the Revolution, when a similar desire inspired many Americans. The lapse of thirty-seven years had not removed those obstacles, though it had increased the means of overcoming them, and had probably brought over-confidence in final success.

The region bordering on the southern Canada frontier was a wide stretch of thinly-settled country covered with forests, and cut up by streams and torrents. Cincinnati was a small town of two thousand five hundred people, and the margin of settled land ran not far to the northward of it. Railroads were unknown, and steamers were hardly yet available. The difficulties of transportation were very great—so great that every barrel of flour had multiplied six or seven-fold in cost before it could reach this frontier.

But the Indian troubles were imperative, and really opened the land-war measures against England. Tecumseh was a great chief of the Shawnees, born on the banks of the Scioto, near Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1770. He is said to have been one of three

¹ Prof. Johnston's U. S. Const. and Hist., 146, 147.

brothers all born at the same birth-time, of whom one, named Kennshaka, died young, and another, Elskwatawa, grew to maturity, and was known as "The Prophet."¹

Tecumseh's first smell of battle was with Kentuckians at Mad river when he was about twenty; and he is said to have fled from the field at the first fire; but he afterwards became one of the boldest and most astute of Indian leaders.

He and his brother, the Prophet, journeyed through all the tribes on the west bank of the Mississippi and on Lakes Superior, Huron and Michigan, stirring them up and organizing them for a confederated attack on the whites.

William Henry Harrison was then Governor of the Northwest. He gained information of the movements and designs of these Indian chiefs, and with prompt wisdom prepared to meet their machinations with force of arms.

In October, 1811, at the head of about nine hundred men, chiefly from Indiana Territory, Harrison marched against Tecumseh's levies at Tippecanoe, on a branch of the Wabash river. On the 6th November he arrived with his force at the Prophet's town; here he was met by three Indian deputies with messages of peace. Harrison listened to them, but directed his men to sleep on their arms, well loaded and ready for instant service. Tecumseh was absent. The insidious "Prophet" had no superior chief to restrain him.

About an hour before day-break the savages attacked General Harrison's camp; he was ready for them. His men were instantly under arms, and *put out their fires*, so that the Indians could not see them. They were more than equal to the red men in woodland warfare. The Prophet kept at a safe distance on a neighboring hill, where he chanted a dismal war song. Thus urged on, the Indians came out from their cover. They fought for a time with resolution; but the brave frontiersmen charged them furiously, and routed them with heavy slaughter. General Harrison was everywhere, exposing himself to great dangers. The victory was decisive. Tecumseh returned from the south to find his town in ruins, his best warriors slain, and his confederacy destroyed.²

When the war between Great Britain and the United States was declared in 1812, the English promptly availed themselves of the services of the savages as allies. Tecumseh stood high in English esteem, and was made a brigadier-general in their army;

¹ Art. Tecumseh, Amer. Encyclop., XV. 330. Eggleston's Household U. S., 245.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 246. Derry, 184, 185. Quackenbos, 342, 343.

and they did not hesitate to put in movement all the horrors of Indian warfare.

It was natural and, in some measure, unavoidable that the American War Department, in the opening of the war, should have looked to the officers surviving from Revolutionary days as the leaders of their armies; but this was a serious error. Years had passed. Times had changed. The really strong men were gone. Those who still lived had not, in the war, shown themselves to be possessed of military genius. They were now old and feeble, and unfit for the stern and arduous exigencies of a frontier war.

Gen. William Hull was one of these old men, Dearborn was another, Winchester was another. The name of each was soon signalized by depressing disasters to the American cause. Secretary Eustis, of the War Department, had planned an invasion of Canada, under the lead of General Dearborn in the Northeast, Van Rensselaer in the centre, and Hull in the Northwest. They were to capture forts and country before them, and to make Montreal their common objective point. Dearborn was commander-in-chief; Hull was already Governor of Michigan.

Congress had voted to increase the regular army to thirty-five thousand, and to authorize the President to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers. To meet war expenses they authorized a loan of eleven millions.¹

General Hull was soon at the head of an army of two thousand five hundred men, of whom three hundred were regulars. By slow and laborious marches he made his way to Detroit, in Michigan, on the strait connecting Lake Erie with Lake St. Clair, and opposite to Sandwich, in Canada. He did not receive actual notice that the war had been declared as early as the enemy did;² and the day after he received it, a boat containing his baggage and official papers was captured. He felt already oppressed by the conviction that the force under his command was inadequate to the work assigned him.

But one course held out hope to him, and, had he been resolute, energetic and competent, he might have pursued it with success. He might have marched instantly on the British posts and compelled their surrender, one after another, before succor could reach them. He made no such attempt. He hesitated and delayed while the enemy were rallying to the threatened points and getting all their forces into the field.

Hull waited for positive orders, and did not receive them until the 12th of July, 1812. They were that he should proceed

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 403.

² Quackenbos' U. S., 345.

immediately to the invasion of Canada. He waited three days longer; then he crossed the narrow strait to Sandwich. He might have attacked Malden immediately. Instead of this he busied himself with the issue of a proclamation, verbose, empty and vain; and before he was ready, a strong force of regulars, militia and Indians guarded Malden. Tecumseh called his warriors to join him. Hostile parties were lying on the outskirts of the American army, cutting off their supplies. Intercepted letters brought to Hull stated that the Indians of the North were all rising and preparing to join the English; and at the most inopportune of times, General Dearborn agreed with the British Governor of Canada to suspend hostilities, except on that part of the frontier occupied by Hull!¹

Thus the British General Brock, released from anxiety at Niagara and its vicinity, was able to transfer his forces and his personal presence to Malden. He assumed command there, and Tecumseh, on flat pieces of elm-bark stretched on the ground, sketched for him an accurate drawing of Detroit with its works, hills, rivers, roads and marshes. Brock was so pleased that he drew his own sash from his waist and put it round Tecumseh; but this wily savage pretended humbly to refuse the honor, and put the sash on Round-Head, a Wyandot warrior older than himself.²

The Indians, under these flatteries, came in growing numbers to the British camps. General Hull grew more and more disheartened and alarmed. The climax of his unsoldier-like tremor was reached when he heard of the capture of Fort Mackinaw. This fort was the extreme northern point of American military possession, being on an island in the strait connecting the head of Lake Michigan with Lake Huron. The weak garrison had been left unsuccored by the War Department, although nearly two months passed between the *ultimatum* of the English minister, Foster, and its fall. The British forces appeared July 17th. The garrison had not even heard of the declaration of war, and, having no power to resist, they surrendered at once.³

General Hull was instantly beset by visions of hordes of Northern savages pouring down on his flanks. He retreated with his army across the strait and re-occupied Detroit. General Brock promptly followed him, and appeared before Detroit with an army of three hundred British regulars, four hundred and fifty Canadians and six hundred Indians.⁴

¹Quackenbos' U. S., 346.

²Compare Quackenbos, 346. Eggleston's Household U. S., 248.

³D. B. Scott's U. S., 251. Eggleston's Household U. S., 247.

⁴Quackenbos, 347.

Hull had intrenchments, and an army superior in numbers, and certainly equal in courage and moral power to that of Brock. The Americans were confident of success, and, with batteries of guns loaded with grape-shot, stood ready to receive the British advance. But by this time the weak and aged Hull was entirely unnerved by imaginary terrors. By his orders a table-cloth, displayed on a staff, was raised as a white flag over his fortifications. On the 16th of August, 1812, he surrendered to the British general his whole army, with all its arms and stores, his fortifications, the town of Detroit and all the Territory of Michigan!¹

His officers and men were so moved by this humiliation that many of them shed tears of shame and sorrow. The same emotions filled the hearts of the people of the United States, and they did not begin to recover hope until Capt. Isaac Hull (nephew of the unhappy general) brought his prisoners into Boston after capturing the *Guerrière* on the 19th of August. The revival of hope had come from the quarter whence it was least expected.

General Hull was, two years afterwards, exchanged for thirty British prisoners, and was brought to trial before a court-martial upon three charges: (1) Treason; (2) Cowardice; (3) Unsoldier-like conduct. The court gave no response on the first charge, but convicted him on the others, and ordered him to be shot to death with musketry. In consideration of his age and Revolutionary services, his life was spared, but his name was stricken from the army roll.

Probably the executive department of the government was the more disposed to be lenient because of their own manifested shortcomings in foresight and duty at that time. Subsequent researches have shown that the difficulties surrounding General Hull at the time of his surrender were very formidable, and remove all suspicion of bad faith, and do something to clear his fame of the charge of cowardice in the most dishonoring sense of that word.²

In fact, a modern historian has given to these attempts to mitigate, and even vindicate, the course of General Hull so much of weight that he expresses no opinion on the subject.³ But truthful history convicts him of such irresolution, weakness and failure in soldier-like action as must permanently becloud his fame.

The land campaign of 1812 continued unfortunate for the Americans. About the time that Detroit surrendered, large bands of

¹ Scott, 251. Quackenbos, 247.

² Art. Hull, Amer. Encyclop., IX. 341. Prof. Jno. J. Anderson's U. S., 116, and note 134 a, by James Freeman Clarke.

³ A. H. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 408, and note.

Indians surrounded Fort Dearborn, on Lake Michigan, very near the present site of Chicago. The commander, having a very feeble garrison, offered to surrender on condition that he and his men should be permitted to retire in safety. This offer was accepted. The only precaution taken by the garrison was to destroy a considerable quantity of whiskey and gunpowder in the fort; yet this was made the pretext for an attack on the retiring prisoners. Some were killed, and others distributed as captives among the tribes. Fort Dearborn was burned to the ground.

In October, 1812, General Van Rensselaer was encamped at Lewistown, on the Niagara river, with a considerable force, chiefly of New York militia. His relative, Colonel Van Rensselaer, and Colonel Christie crossed over on the 13th October with a select body of troops and attacked the British at Queenstown, under General Brock, with so much of vigor and spirit that they were driven from their works and General Brock was killed; but, knowing that reinforcements were hastening to the enemy, Colonel Van Rensselaer recrossed, to bring over more troops. To his amazement and discomfiture, the New York militia refused to cross, on the ground that they were to defend their own State, and not to invade a foreign country!¹ One thousand armed men thus stood in sight of their brave comrades on the other side, refusing to cross to their aid.

The result was that those gallant troops—among whom Col. Winfield Scott, afterwards so renowned, had crossed as a volunteer—were overwhelmed by a large force of British and Indians, under General Sheaffe; and, after losing sixty killed and one hundred wounded, were obliged to surrender. Thus early in the war was indicated that unpatriotic spirit which afterwards developed itself to a point near to disunion.

General Van Rensselaer was so disgusted that he resigned. General Smyth, of Virginia, was appointed his successor. He projected two invasions of Canada, but, succeeding in neither, he also resigned.²

The only American successes were in two repulses of the enemy in their attempts upon Ogdensburg and in a hurried incursion of Colonel Pike into Canada, during which he defeated a body of British and Indians.

When the Congress re-assembled, strong opposition to the continuance of the war was manifested. This opposition was not confined to the Northern section. John Randolph of Roanoke, a Virginian of pronounced democracy in principle, had opposed it

¹ Art. Van Rensselaer, *New Amer. Encyclop.*, XVI. 25. D. B. Scott, 252.

² Quackenbos, 352.

from the beginning. His ground was that the policy of England, adverse to the shipping and commercial interests of America, had been forced upon her by her gigantic struggle with Napoleon; that England represented the rights of mankind against a military usurper in that struggle, and that the United States, so far from embarrassing her by war, ought to bear patiently the indirect effects of her policy until success against Napoleon should enable her to abandon it.¹

His argument had been corroborated by the fact that in September, 1812, Admiral Warren, commanding the British naval forces on the coast, had written from Halifax a letter to James Monroe, Secretary of State, offering (by authority) a cessation of hostilities on the basis of a revocation of the "orders in council." Monroe replied that unless England would agree to abandon her claim of right to search and impressment, peace could not endure.² The correspondence went no further; and so, the opposers of the war were outvoted, and in the winter of 1812-'13 the Congress provided for a large increase of the army and navy.³

General James Armstrong had succeeded Doctor Eustis, who had resigned the office of Secretary of War. Armstrong planned an invasion of Canada substantially the same as that of 1812. His only advantages were better officers and greater experience. Still, Canada was not conquered.

The Kentuckians insisted on General Harrison as their leader, and he had command in the Northwest.⁴ Under him was Winchester, a veteran of the Revolution. Harrison determined, if possible, to recover Detroit; but his march through interminable woods and swamps was impeded by the approach of winter. He fixed his headquarters at Franklinton, Ohio. Winchester, with a division of the army, was at Fort Defiance, on the Maumee.

In January, 1813, hearing that Americans in Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, twenty-six miles from Detroit, were threatened by an attack from British and Indians, Winchester, with eight hundred men, marched to their relief. He met and drove off the attacking party; but his camp was soon besieged by one thousand five hundred British and savages under Colonel Proctor. A battle ensued January 22d, 1813, in which each force lost about three hundred in killed, wounded and missing. Winchester was surrounded, and his small force was menaced with destruction.

Colonel Proctor urged him to surrender, with a solemn pledge on his own part that the lives and property of the Americans

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 406.

² *Ibid.*, 406.

³ Quackenbos, 352, 353.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 353, 354.

should be safe. General Winchester accepted these terms; but hardly had the surrender been made before Proctor marched his white forces to Malden with all the prisoners able to walk, and leaving no guard to protect the weak, sick and wounded. A brutal massacre by the savages followed, in which these brave men, nearly all of whom were from the very flower of the Kentucky families, were mercilessly tortured. Many were slain; many of the wounded were burned in two houses to which the savages set fire. Some were dragged as slaves to Detroit and offered for sale there. The people did what they could to ransom them, and remonstrated with Proctor, but without relief. He did nothing to prevent these barbarities.¹ To his name a permanent stigma of disgrace is attached. Tecumseh himself reproached Proctor as unfit to be a commander.²

When General Harrison heard of this disaster he marched hastily with the hope of relieving, to some extent, the remnant of Winchester's command. His troops were fired with indignation. "Remember the river Raisin!" became a watchword to which hundreds of volunteers in Kentucky and Ohio responded by hastening to the American camps.

Winchester's unauthorized, though well intended, movement to Frenchtown had disadjusted General Harrison's plan. He was too weak to attack Detroit. He hastily erected Fort Meigs, at the rapids of the Maumee. The works were not completed when Proctor, with his troops, and Tecumseh, with six hundred warriors from the Wabash region, appeared. The siege was fiercely pressed, but the defence was gallant and successful. The Indians mounted into the trees to fire into the fort. Harrison exposed himself in duty, and narrowly escaped two of these stealthy shots, one of which killed a soldier by his side, and another struck the bench on which he was sitting.

General Clay, with one thousand two hundred Kentuckians, was rapidly marching to relieve the fort. Under Harrison's orders a detachment from this force landed on the left side of the river to destroy the British batteries, while a sortie was made from the fort on the right. Some success attended this movement; but, unfortunately, Colonel Dudley, contrary to Harrison's orders, instead of retiring to his boats, sought to maintain his position. The main body of the enemy intercepted him. Eighty of his men were killed and five hundred and fifty taken prisoner. About one hundred and fifty escaped in the boats. The prisoners

¹ Goodrich, 334. Quackenbos, 354, 355. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 266.

² Thalheimer's Eclec. U. S., 217. Quackenbos, 357.

were treated with accustomed barbarity by the savages, notwithstanding the indignant interposition of the brave Tecumseh.¹

Finding all his efforts to capture Fort Meigs vain, Proctor abandoned the siege. General Clay was placed in command at Meigs. Proctor returned in July to renew the attack, but the fort was now in good condition and Clay was prepared. Finding himself baffled, Proctor sought, by a sudden assault, to capture Fort Stephenson at Sandusky, a few miles south of Lake Erie. Major Croghan, of Kentucky, a youth of twenty-one years, was in command, with a garrison of one hundred and sixty men. The work was a weak stockade with one mounted six-pounder. General Harrison had given Croghan discretionary orders to abandon it; but this young commander, knowing its importance, and Indians being already around him, held on.²

On August 1st, 1813, Proctor, leaving a force of Indians to keep up a show of siege at Meigs, appeared at Fort Stephenson with gun-boats, five hundred regulars and seven hundred Indians. His force being nearly eight times that in the fort, he sent in a flag demanding surrender, with the unmanly threat of extermination in case of refusal. Croghan simply replied that the threat was vain; that he would not surrender, and that no man in the fort would be found alive if it was captured.³

The attack opened August 2d by fire from the gun-boats, which produced little effect; then a cannon fire was concentrated on the northwest angle to make a breach. The front was strengthened with sand bags. The six-pounder, loaded almost to its muzzle with slugs and grape, was carefully concealed, but kept ready for the expected assault. When it was supposed that the picket fence had been destroyed and the breach made practicable, three hundred and fifty regulars, under Colonel Short, advanced under cover of the smoke. The leader sprang over the outer works, crying out to his men the inhuman rally authorized by Proctor's notice: "Give the damned Yankees no quarter!" His men crowded to the assault. Just at the right moment the six-pounder was discharged, with terrible effect. Short fell dead, and three-fourths of his men following nearest were killed or wounded.⁴ A fatal rifle fire was opened from the fort; the besiegers fled. The Indians were panic-stricken, and took to the woods; the siege was abandoned, and Proctor returned with his defeated troops to Malden.

¹Quackenbos, 356, 357.

²Eggleston's Household U. S., 256. Taylor's Cent. U. S., 282. Quackenbos, 361.

³Eggleston, 256. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 283. Quackenbos, 362.

⁴Eggleston's Household U. S., 256, 257. Taylor, 283.

In this heroic defence two hundred of the enemy fell, while the American loss was only one killed and seven wounded. General Harrison had been led to believe that Croghan had recklessly disobeyed his orders; but when all the facts appeared he warmly applauded his course.

Perry's naval victory on Lake Erie opened the way for General Harrison's advance into Canada. Commodore Chauncey had already a small squadron in complete control of Ontario. The advance of British reinforcements or Indians from the East was no longer to be feared.

Proctor and Tecumseh dismantled the works at Malden and retreated with all their forces. Harrison followed them vigorously, occupying in rapid succession Detroit, Sandwich, and other points surrendered by the unfortunate Hull.¹

He came up with the British army just as they reached the banks of the river Thames, near the settlement called the "Moravian Towns," eighty-six miles northeast of Detroit. Proctor had chosen a position on a narrow strip of land between the river and an extensive swamp, which was occupied by a strong body of Indians under Tecumseh. This noble Indian chieftain felt a presentiment that in the coming battle he would fall. He said: "My body will remain on the field"; and he handed his sword to one of his warriors, bidding him give it to the son of Tecumseh when he should be worthy of it.²

General Harrison, with the eye of a soldier, saw the weak point in Proctor's thin line, which he had endeavored to stretch to the river. He ordered Col. Richard M. Johnson with his Kentucky mounted men to charge at that point. The order was instantly obeyed with perfect success. The line was broken by the headlong charge, and the Kentuckians, forming in the rear of Proctor's troops, poured a deadly fire into them from their rifles, while Harrison and Shelby attacked in front. The battle was then and there lost by the British. They broke and fled. Proctor, knowing how deservedly he was hated, took to his carriage and put the horses to speed; but, fearing he would be pursued by Johnson's swift cavalry, he left his carriage, fled into the woods and escaped.³

Colonel Johnson now led his mounted riflemen to the hiding place of the Indians and roused them from their lair. They made a brave defence, and with their rifles emptied many saddles. Johnson was wounded. Tecumseh sprang to the front, and is believed to have received his death wound from a pistol fired by

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 365, 366. ² *Ibid.*, 366. ³ Eggleston's Household U. S., 258.

Johnson himself. His fall was followed by the instant defeat and dispersion of his followers.¹

In this decisive battle the British lost seven hundred men in killed, wounded and prisoners. The Indians lost one hundred and twenty slain. All the cannon and most of the small arms of the enemy were captured. Among the cannon were six brass pieces surrendered by Hull, and on two of them were the words : "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga."² The Americans lost in killed and wounded about fifty men.

More than all that Hull had given up had now been reconquered. General Harrison soon afterwards, in consequence of a difference with Armstrong, the Secretary of War, retired from active military service ;³ but his country did not forget him.

In April, 1813, General Dearborn, with one thousand seven hundred picked men, sailed across Ontario in Chauncey's squadron to attack York (now Toronto), the capital of what was then Upper Canada. The assault was bravely led, April 27th, by Col. Zebulon Pike. As he approached with his troops, the British set fire to a fuse communicating with their magazine, and retreated. The magazine blew up, with horrible projection of shot and shattered fragments. Colonel Pike was mortally wounded, and nearly two hundred of his men were killed or wounded ; but the Americans advanced and captured the town with a large amount of military stores.⁴

The troops under Dearborn re-embarked and sailed against Fort George, on the Niagara. Again the British blew up their magazines. They retreated to Burlington Heights, near the western end of the lake. The Americans followed them, and a battle took place after midnight of June 6th, in which the British were driven back, but succeeded in carrying off as captives two American generals, Chandler and Winder. Dearborn retreated with precipitation to Fort George.

On the 29th of May, 1813, Sir George Prevost, relying on the weakness of the American force left at Sackett's Harbor, advanced on it from his vessels with a thousand men ; but General Brown met him and gave him so emphatic a repulse that he retired in haste, leaving his wounded behind him.⁵

General Dearborn permitted himself to be encompassed at Fort George by superior numbers, and lost a detachment of six hundred of his men, cut off and captured. For this he was superseded, and Gen. James Wilkinson was appointed commander-in-chief in his stead.

¹ Quackenbos, 337. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 290.

² Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 342.

³ Amer. Encyclop., VIII. 741.

⁴ D. B. Scott, 257.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 257.

This officer had not made an enviable reputation during the Revolutionary war, and had added to his other faults the vice of frequent intoxication.¹ He did nothing to retrieve his fame in Canada. He attributed his failures chiefly to dissensions between himself and Gen. Wade Hampton, who held rank and command nearly equal to his own. But this did not account for the fact that in the severe action at Williamsburg, or Chrysler's Spring, in which Brigadier-General Boyd commanded the Americans, and in which the opposing armies both retreated, each with heavy loss, he was unable to command, and alleged sickness as the cause; and in a court-martial, it afterwards appeared that he was at a house in the neighborhood in a state of intoxication.²

But in 1814 the Americans did something towards recovering their reputation as soldiers. They had now gotten rid of the aged failures in the persons of Hull, Winchester, Dearborn and Wilkinson, and were led by young and growing officers, such as Brown, Winfield Scott, Ripley and Jessup.

At Chippewa, a few miles below Fort Erie, on the 5th of July, a sternly-contested battle was fought between three thousand five hundred Americans, under General Brown, and about the same number under the British General Riall. The battle was obstinate and bloody. The Americans lost three hundred in killed and wounded. The British lost five hundred, and were driven from the field, and compelled to retreat down the river to Burlington Heights.³

They were reinforced by General Drummond, and, under his command, again advanced. Gen. Winfield Scott's brigade had been detached to watch their movements. On the 25th of July, near the Falls of Niagara, this brigade suddenly found themselves in the presence of the whole British army, advantageously posted for a pitched battle. Scott sent word to General Brown to hasten up, and, posting his artillery, opened fire, and maintained his ground with cool resolution. The thunder of cannon echoed back the ceaseless roar of Niagara.

Jessup ably seconded Scott, and, gaining the British rear, captured General Riall and his suite. Soon after dark, Ripley's brigade came on the field, affording timely relief to the almost exhausted troops under Scott. A heavy fire was kept up from a British battery occupying a commanding point. Unless this point could be carried, and this battery silenced, no prospect for victory appeared. "Can you take that battery?" asked Ripley

¹ Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 348, 349.

² *Ibid.*, 314, 348, 349.

³ Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 349. Quackenbos' U. S., 373.

of Colonel Miller. "I will try, sir," was the modest answer; and up the hill Miller charged at the head of his regiment. A destructive fire poured through his lines, but, closing up, they rushed on. Quickly the battery was in their hands, and the pieces were turned on the enemy. Three times the British rallied to recapture these guns, and each time were repulsed with heavy loss. At midnight they retreated, leaving the field to the Americans. This battle, sometimes called "Bridgewater," sometimes "Lundy's Lane," was one of the most hotly contested of the war. Generals Brown and Scott were both severely wounded. The Americans engaged numbered three thousand; the British, four thousand five hundred. The first lost seven hundred and forty-three killed and wounded; the last, eight hundred and seventy-eight, with a number of cannon and small arms.

After gaining this dearly-bought victory, the Americans retired to Fort Erie, where they were besieged by the British army reinforced and numbering four thousand men. A heavy bombardment was followed by a midnight assault on the 15th August, in which the British were repulsed with a loss of fifty-seven killed, three hundred and nineteen wounded, and five hundred and thirty-nine missing.¹

General Brown, having been wounded at Lundy's Lane, was withdrawn for a time. Ripley and Gaines successively commanded at Erie. Brown, having recovered, ordered a sortie, in which the advanced intrenchments of the enemy were captured, and they were driven back towards Chippewa.

Sir George Prevost having been repulsed at Plattsburg, and Lake Champlain secured by Macdonough, General Izard was enabled to come with five thousand men to the help of Brown at Erie. On the 20th October, a second battle was fought near Chippewa, in which the Americans were victorious, though with heavy loss. This ended all efforts for the conquest of Canada. General Brown destroyed Fort Erie, and led his army into winter quarters at Buffalo.

Meanwhile, in other parts of their land, the people of the United States were themselves compelled to experience invasion and desolation from war.

As early as May, 1813, the English Admiral Sir George Cockburn had entered Chesapeake Bay with a squadron and land force, and had committed depredations and excesses along the coast and in the villages of Maryland and the District of Columbia, at Havre de Grace, Frenchtown and Georgetown, which

¹ Compare Quackenbos, 374, with Goodrich, 351.

have made his name infamous in history.¹ He then turned upon Virginia and more than rivaled Dunmore. A considerable fleet, of four line-of-battle ships and twelve frigates, collected near the capes and in Lynnhaven Bay. The land force was under Sir Sidney Beckwith.

Mr. Jefferson's plan of defending the American harbors by the "gun-boat system" was in operation at Norfolk. Troops had been ordered down from the upper counties; but the malarial fevers of the summer season in lower Virginia had prostrated many of them. Gen. Robert Taylor commanded the military district, and Commodore Cassin directed the water defences.

On the 20th of June, 1813, Captain Tarbell with his gun-boats had an encounter with two British frigates and a corvette. "Every one was impatient to know how Mr. Jefferson's *bull dogs* would acquit themselves, and whether the philosopher's scheme would prove upon trial a monument of his wisdom or his folly."²

The contest was curiously unequal so far as the number and power of guns entered it. The fifteen guns of the boats were opposed to one hundred and fifty on the decks of the men-of-war; nevertheless, the fight was hotly kept up for hours. The ships suffered severely in their hulls; the sails and spars of the gun-boats also suffered damage, and one of them was shattered by a thirty-two-pound ball. They hauled off in time; they had done well and checked the enemy's advance.³

On the 22d June, the enemy made an attack on Craney Island, a few miles below Norfolk, with two thousand five hundred men, under Sir Sidney Beckwith, and a boat advance. They were bravely met and defeated with considerable loss by the seamen and marines under Cassin, Shubrick, Saunders and Neale, and the Winchester riflemen.⁴ Prisoners stated that many of the attacking force were wretched French troops captured in Spain, and induced to enlist for war against America by prospects of pillage.⁵

Enraged by their defeat at Craney Island, the marauders attacked Hampton, June 25th, which they captured after a gallant defence by about four hundred infantry and artillerymen, under Maj. Stapleton Crutchfield. The British lost two hundred, the Americans only twenty, in killed and wounded.⁶

In Hampton revolting enormities on people and property were committed. A wanton destruction of private property took

¹ Blackburn & McDonald, U. S., 316, 317.

² Letter in Enquirer, June 25, 1813.

³ Enquirer, June 22. Brackenridge's Late War, 133.

⁴ Official Reports, Enquirer, June 29th.

⁵ Brackenridge, 133.

⁶ Crutchfield's letter, June 25th, in Enquirer.

place. An aged man, named Kirby, lying sick in bed, was murdered in the presence of his wife, who was herself desperately wounded. The women remaining in the town were forcibly violated by both soldiers and negroes. When one poor woman sought Cockburn and wildly implored him to put a stop to such scenes, his only answer was that "he had no doubt before he entered Hampton all *the ladies* had left it, and therefore he had given no orders to prevent it."¹ The British soon left to make a descent on North Carolina.

The enemy's fleet in the waters off the northeastern coast was commanded by Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, who generally discouraged devastations on private property.² Nevertheless, he made relentless attacks on exposed points, and destroyed shipping and manufacturing property in immense quantities. An attack on Saybrook was repelled by gun-boats with some loss to the enemy.

In July, 1814, Hardy, with a considerable force, made a descent on Moose Island, off the coast of Maine, took possession of Eastport, and issued a proclamation declaring all the islands and towns east of Passamaquoddy Bay to belong to his Britannic majesty, and requiring the people to appear in seven days and take the oath of allegiance. About two-thirds of the sparse population submitted; but the English council of New Brunswick treated them as a conquered people and placed them under military rule.³

Hardy was determined to attack the southern coast line of New England. On the 11th August, 1814, his ships appeared off the town of Stonington, in Connecticut, on Long Island Sound. He sent in a message to the people to remove the women and children, as he had orders to reduce the town to ashes.⁴ The result was a signal proof of what may be done by a cool and resolute people for defence of their homes.

They manned a small battery of two eighteen-pounders, threw up a breastwork for riflemen, and sent a pressing message to General Cushing, at New London, asking help. In the afternoon five barges and a launch full of men came from the ships under cover of their fire. The calm men in the battery waited until they were within easy range, and then opened on them with such destruction that they swerved from their course and attempted another landing. Here they were met with a six-pounder, loaded with grape and slugs, and with a deadly musketry fire. They

¹ Letters in Enquirer, July 2d and 9th.

² Taylor's Centen. U. S., 326,

³ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 326.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 327.

retreated. The next day the attack was renewed and again repulsed. The town was bombarded with little effect, and, on the evening of the 12th of August, Hardy retired.¹

In the memorable year 1814, the allied powers of Russia, Austria, Prussia, Spain and England, aided by one hundred thousand men, under Bernadotte, King of Sweden, and even by secret forces set in motion by Murat, the brother-in-law of Napoleon, and made by him King of Naples, had overwhelmed the "Man of Destiny." He had abdicated his imperial throne on the 11th of April, 1814, and became sovereign of the small island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, with a fixed yearly revenue of six million francs.²

This left England free to employ her large armies against America, and she determined to use them with effective energy.

In August, 1814, the united fleets of Admirals Cockburn and Cochrane entered the Chesapeake Bay with twenty-one ships, carrying a large marine force, and also four thousand trained soldiers, under General Ross, who had gained fame on some of the sternest battle-fields of Europe.

Commodore Barney, with a small flotilla of armed vessels, had endeavored to protect the coasts of the bay and of that part of Maryland and Virginia. He retreated up the Patuxent river before the overwhelming British naval force.³

As the war in Europe had ceased in April, and the American War Department had known for months that large English armies had been set free for the work of invading America, it is amazing that so little had been done in the way of foresight and preparation.

The British fleet divided in the bay, part ascending the Potomac and part following Barney into the Patuxent. They anchored on the 19th of August, 1814, at Benedict. Here General Ross and his army disembarked. On the 21st they marched by the river road, and the next day reached Upper Marlborough, seventeen miles from Washington.

Near this point Commodore Barney had moored his small vessels. No course was open to him except to blow up his flotilla, and hasten with such guns and ammunition as his seamen and marines, with some impressed horses, could convey, to join General Winder, who was straining every nerve to organize a force to defend Washington city.⁴ Had this plain duty been attended to at the proper time, the approaches could have been easily fortified and the enemy defeated; but it was now too late. To expect a

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 327. Goodrich, 348. Amer. Encyclop., XV, 118.

² Art. Bonaparte, Napoleon, Amer. Encyclop., III, 433. ³ Quackenbos' U. S., 377.

⁴ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 349. Quackenbos, U. S., 377, 378.

body of a few thousand raw militia, in open fields, to stop four thousand veteran soldiers trained in European wars, completely armed and skillfully led, was to expect a miracle.

The first encounter was at Bladensburg, six miles northeast of Washington. On the 24th of August, 1814, the British infantry advanced, and, though suffering greatly with the heat and their hurried march, made an effective charge, firing musketry and war-rockets as they came on. The militia, under Winder, immediately broke and fled—some without having fired their guns. The only real fighting was done by the heroic Barney, with Captain Miller and his brave men. They stood to their guns, and fired with destructive effect double loads of canister upon the British lines, not even retiring when they were completely exposed by the flight of the militia. Barney was severely wounded, and both of these officers and many of their men were taken prisoners.¹

A modern historian, after narrating the prominent events of this battle, has commented on them somewhat satirically as follows: "Such was the famous battle of Bladensburg, in which very few Americans had the honor to be either killed or wounded—not more than fifty in all; and yet, according to the evidence subsequently given before a congressional committee of investigation, everybody behaved with wonderful courage and coolness, and nobody retired except by orders or for want of orders."²

President Madison, with Armstrong, Secretary of War, and all the other cabinet officers, and many of the citizens, had fled from Washington.

Leaving his army encamped outside, General Ross, with seven hundred of his soldiers, took possession of the capital city of the United States on the twenty-third day of August, 1814. No political advantage whatever was gained. The people of the country were mortified, but not subdued. On the contrary, they were rallying in increasing numbers to threatened points. General Ross, by express orders of his regent and ministry, performed deeds unworthy of a civilized nation, and distinctly condemned by international law.³

By gunpowder and fire he destroyed the Capitol building, with its valuable library and furniture, the President's house and all its contents, the public department buildings and offices, the arsenal and the navy-yard. He destroyed, also, the bridge across the Potomac west of the city, and a large hotel and several private

¹ Goodrich's *Pict. U. S.*, 352. Quackenbos' *U. S.*, 378. Brackenridge's *Late War*, *in loco*.

² Hildreth's *Hist. of U. S.* Thalheimer (note), 222, 227.

³ Vattel's *Law of Nations*, 321. Lord Grenville, in Knight's *Hist. of England*. Prof. Jno. J. Anderson's *U. S.*, 126, and notes 5 and 6.

buildings. No military necessity whatever existed requiring the destruction of any of these buildings. It was the work of vandals in the nineteenth century.

Having wrought this destruction, General Ross retired from Washington with his army. His next attempt was on the city of Baltimore. On the 12th September the British troops landed at North Point, fourteen miles from the city, while part of their fleet moved up the bay to attack Fort McHenry, which commanded the channel.

Soon after the march commenced from North Point, a party of American sharpshooters began a fire at long range on the British front. General Ross, with some officers, rode forward to reconnoiter. Two young mechanics, Wells and McComas, of a Baltimore volunteer rifle company, who were keen shots, aimed at him and fired. One or both shots took effect. Ross fell, mortally wounded, into the arms of one of his aids. His horse galloped wildly to the rear, with the saddle empty and wet with blood.¹ A shower of balls was poured on the two riflemen, both of whom fell.

The death of General Ross spread gloom through his army, and was the omen of coming disaster. Ten thousand militia had assembled in and around Baltimore. General Smith, who, in his youth, had greatly distinguished himself in the defence of Fort Mifflin, was in command. Under him were Generals Winder and Stricker. His measures were prompt and efficient. He established several redoubts, and improvised lines of defence.

When the British advance (September 12th, 1814) came within range, a destructive fire was opened on them. The Americans, after holding their position for an hour, and losing one hundred and three men killed and wounded, most of them citizens of Baltimore, fell back to a stronger position on high ground, partly fortified. Here they stood, firmly prepared to make their final stand for the defence of Baltimore. The British army again advanced on the morning of the next day; but they made no serious attack, because they had received tidings deeply depressing to their hopes of success.

On the evening of September 12th the British fleet drew near and commenced the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Major George Armistead was in command of this important work, with sixty artillerists, two companies of sea-fencibles, and detachments (in his outworks) of volunteers under Berry, Pennington and Nicholson. The latter was chief justice of Baltimore county, but now "amid arms, law was silent."²

¹ Quackenbos, 379, 380.

² Taylor's Centen. U. S., 350.

The fire of the bomb-vessels and seventy-four-gun ships was tremendous. It continued during a large part of the night. Fifteen hundred shells exploded in or over the fort; yet, with undaunted coolness, the garrison sighted their guns and kept up their fire on the ships, nearly all of which suffered heavy loss.

It was during this momentous night that Francis Scott Key, of Baltimore, who, on a public mission for a humane purpose, had gone aboard one of the British ships and was detained as a prisoner, was moved by the high inspiration which found words from his pen in the great song entitled "The Star Spangled Banner," which has ever since been one of the cherished poems of freedom.

The British fleet made no impression on the fort, and in the morning sullenly retired beyond cannon range, thus giving up the contest. When news of this defeat reached the enemy, they retreated immediately, and re-embarked all their troops, and the next day set sail down the Chesapeake, and returned no more.¹

Some of the people of New England disapproved of the war so much that a widely-spread mist of opinion has attributed to them the purpose of seceding from the American Union and making a separate treaty of peace and amity with Great Britain.

No conclusive evidence of such a purpose has ever been disclosed by history. The nearest approach to it was the assembling of a convention at Hartford, Connecticut, on the 15th of December, 1814, composed of delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont and Connecticut. They sat with closed doors, and no authentic report of their secret debates has been published; but the resolutions adopted, and the public address put forth by them, very clearly indicated that they claimed the right of secession as sovereign States, and that unless a different policy as to the war was adopted they would be driven to exercise this right. They appointed a deputation to wait on the Federal Congress and authorities at Washington and explain their views; and they provided for another convention, to which this deputation was to report; but news of the treaty of peace of December 24th, 1814, reached the actors in time to dissipate their schemes, whatever they may have been.² The Democratic party gained much ground by the reaction of repellant feeling against this mysterious convention.

This feeling was greatly intensified by the inevitable connection of these Hartford movements with the fact (shown by documents submitted to Congress in 1812 by President Madison) that in 1809

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 350. Quackenbos, 380. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 418.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 419. Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 149, 150. Quackenbos, 380, 381. Thalheimer, 224, 225. D. B. Scott's U. S., 269, 270.

Sir John Craig, Governor of Canada, had sent one John Henry as an emissary of Great Britain into the United States to intrigue with Federal politicians in New England for the purpose of inducing her States to form themselves into a separate nation or province dependent on Great Britain. Henry failed to effect his purpose, and, not being paid by the English government, disclosed the whole matter to the United States government in consideration of fifty thousand dollars paid him from the secret service fund.¹

The last effort of Great Britain during this war with the United States was directed against the newly-admitted State of Louisiana, and was intended to strike a fatal blow at the western extensions of the North American republic. It was ushered in by an Indian war, which brought into public view the man destined to play the most prominent part in the bloody defeat of this British incursion.

Tecumseh had extended his machinations for rousing the Indian tribes even to those of the extreme South. The Creek Indians, under their able chief, Wethersford or "Red Eagle," had formed a combination, running through Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida, and in 1813 were prepared for an attack on any weak point. The unarmed whites flocked for safety to the forts. Fort Mimms, on the Alabama river, about fifty miles north of Mobile Bay, had a garrison of volunteers. On the 30th of August, at noonday, while the gates were standing wide open, seven hundred Creeks, under Wethersford, rushed in, effecting a complete surprise. The buildings were fired, and nearly four hundred men, women and children were massacred.²

The Governors of Georgia, Tennessee and Mississippi Territory took prompt measures to invade the Creek country with seven thousand men. They were to advance in four divisions, from different points. The Georgians were under General Floyd; the Mississippians under General Coffee. General Andrew Jackson, of Nashville, Tennessee, had already become so formidable that the Indians called him "The Sharp Knife." He had served with distinction in the United States Senate; now he took the field as commander-in-chief, but his immediate troops were a large body of Tennesseans.³

The first encounter was in November between the Creeks and the Georgians. Floyd defeated them at Callabee, and then at Autossee; and on the 29th November burned their town at the

¹ Blackburn & McDonald's U. S., 293, 294. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 403, 404.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 414. Derry, 192. Quackenbos, 368. D. B. Scott's U. S., 258.

³ Stephens, 414. Derry, 192. Quackenbos, 368.

latter place. On the 3d of November, General Coffee attacked them on the Tallushatchee and gained a decisive victory.

Yet their strength remained unbroken. They were besieging a small body of friendly Indians at Talladega when General Jackson, at the head of twelve hundred Tennesseans, drew near. He attacked them with vigor, and routed them with heavy loss in less than an hour of fierce battle. Three hundred of them were killed; the rest fled to the mountains. The American loss was small.¹

The army under Jackson now began to suffer for want of adequate supplies of food. A soldier, almost famished, approached his general, asking for something to eat. "I will divide my supply with you," answered Jackson, and drew from his pocket a handful of roasted acorns. The men, finding their officers, from the commander-in-chief down, bearing the same privations, were cheered; but soon their want became so dire that a large body in open mutiny undertook to march for their homes. Jackson, with his left arm wounded, but leveling a musket with his right, placed himself before them, declaring that he would shoot down the first man who advanced. Admiration of this dauntless will in execution of duty, subdued the mutinous spirit.² The men retired to their camp, and supplies of food soon reached them.

But the men claimed that their terms of enlistment had expired; yet the war was not ended. Nothing but the highest resolution and patriotism in the leader could have surmounted these obstacles. With a diminished force, Jackson advanced and captured and burned several Indian towns. On the 22d January, 1814, at the head of about one thousand men he fought and defeated the Creeks at Emuckfau; and on the 24th he gave them another decisive overthrow at Enotchopeo. His military skill and strategy in these battles were conspicuous, and insured victory against superior numbers.

In February came his final collision with Wethersford. Jackson had dismissed many of his volunteers, but had received others and was at the head of two thousand efficient troops. The Creeks made their stand at Tohopeka, on the Tallapoosa river, at the place known as "Horse-shoe Bend." Their position was very strong.

But on the 27th March, 1814, Jackson attacked them, assaulted their works, and totally defeated them, so that out of a force of more than one thousand they lost seven hundred and fifty killed

¹ Stephens, 414. Derry, 192. Quackenbos, 368. Holmes, 184.

² Quackenbos, 369. New Amer. Encyclop., IX. 681.

or drowned. The victors lost two hundred and one men. This victory ended all hopeful war of the Indians against the American whites.¹

Wethersford voluntarily rode into Jackson's camp and yielded himself a prisoner. He addressed his conquerors with native eloquence:² "I am in your power. Do with me as you please. I am a soldier. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. If I had an army, I would yet fight and contend to the last; but I have none. My people are all gone. I can now do no more than weep over the misfortunes of my nation. Once I could rouse my warriors to battle, but I cannot rouse the dead. My warriors can no longer hear my voice. Their bones are at Talladega, Tallushatchee, Emuckfau and Tohopeka. I have not surrendered myself thoughtlessly. While there were chances of success, I never left my post nor supplicated peace; but my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation and for myself."

A treaty of peace was concluded, by which the Creeks surrendered to the United States, for the States and Territory, all their lands except one hundred and fifty thousand acres. They gave the right to open roads and navigate rivers in their reserve; they agreed, also, to hold no intercourse with any British or Spanish post or garrison, and to deliver up property by them taken from whites or friendly Indians. The United States agreed to guarantee their territory, to restore their prisoners, and to furnish them the necessaries of life for a time.³ This treaty did much for peace, but did not change the Indian nature.

General Jackson's reputation for military skill and energy was now so high that, on the 31st of May, 1814, he was commissioned as major-general in the United States army, and the command of the Southwestern department was given to him. The movements of large British fleets and armies for operations against the South were now known, and in July, 1814, Jackson left his home for Mobile to assume his command.⁴

Spain nominally held Florida, but it was proved to Jackson's satisfaction that the Spanish commander at Pensacola was ready to admit British troops to his territory, and to allow his port to be used for the preparation of a formidable naval and military advance on New Orleans.

The American commander-in-chief reported these facts to his government, and asked permission to advance on Pensacola; but,

¹ Art. Jackson, Amer. Encyclop., IX. 681. Stephens, 414.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 414.

³ Compare Holmes' U. S., 185, with Taylor's Centen. U. S., 316.

⁴ Amer. Encyclop., IX. 681.

as the answer was long delayed, he took upon his own shoulders the responsibility. He had opened a correspondence with Manriques, the Spanish commander, protesting against his course; but it was not changed, and Colonel Nichols, the British commander, freely used Pensacola, and was evidently prepared to seize Mobile.

Jackson hesitated no longer. He crushed some symptoms of insubordination among his troops with a hand of iron, hung six mutineers, and then marched on Pensacola with four thousand men, one thousand of whom were regulars. He seized the town on the 6th of November, 1814. The British blew up the fort, and with their seven vessels sailed from the harbor. Having thus struck a blow which paralyzed the Spaniards and baffled the English, he transferred his troops as rapidly as possible to New Orleans, which he knew was to be the grand point of attack and defence.

He reached this city on the 2d of December. It was in a state nearly helpless for any efficient repulse of an enemy; but Jackson speedily infused his own spirit into all classes. We have from an authentic source a picture of him at that crisis. He was forty-seven years of age, "a tall, gaunt man, of very erect carriage, with a countenance full of stern decision and fearless energy, but furrowed with care and anxiety; his complexion was sallow and unhealthy; his hair was iron-gray, his body thin and emaciated; but the fierce glare of his bright, hawk-like gray eye betrayed a soul which triumphed over the infirmities of the body."¹

He proclaimed martial law, and converted the city into a military camp, in which every man, woman and child were subject to orders from headquarters. This was right; a temporary dictatorship was indispensable. But one M. Louiallier, a member of the Louisiana legislature, made himself specially mischievous by enmity to Jackson and opposition to his discipline. Before martial law ceased, Jackson caused him to be arrested, and when Judge Hall, of the United States District Court, granted to Louiallier a writ of *habeas corpus*, the determined general caused this judge also to be arrested and sent out of the city.

After all danger was over, Jackson himself proclaimed martial law to be abrogated. Judge Hall returned, summoned the general, and fined him one thousand dollars. Many friends offered to pay this fine, but Jackson refused their aid and paid it himself, trusting to his country for justice; and his country was just. By

¹In Quackenbos' U. S., quoted p. 382.

act of Congress, in February, 1844, the sum he had paid, with all interest accrued, was refunded to him.¹

But his martial law availed for New Orleans. Everything in the threatened city yielded to the master mind. Riflemen from Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi, a few regulars, and the free-booter La Fttte and his Baratarians alike, felt the sway of the determined will.

On the 23d December, General Keane, with the van of the British army, consisting of three thousand men, reached a spot nine miles below New Orleans, and not far from Villère's Canal. Before two o'clock, Jackson heard of their approach, and instantly resolved on a night attack. He marched out with about two thousand troops of all arms. The war-schooner *Caroline*, under Lieutenant Henley, aided in the attack. Commodore Patterson went aboard of her. The British army, having penetrated through the cane-brakes, and reached more stable ground, thought themselves secure, and had bivouacked for the night. Suddenly, at about eight o'clock, the *Caroline* opened upon them with a destructive broadside, which killed and wounded many, and threw the whole body into confusion. Coffee rushed upon their right with his Tennesseans; Jackson, with the rest of his troops, advanced on their front. For a time it seemed as if the Americans would achieve a complete victory; but the enemy soon recovered from their confusion, put out their fires, and formed rapidly for counter-advance. Jackson's object was accomplished. He had arrested the march on the city, and had struck a heavy blow. Knowing that the enemy outnumbered him, he drew off his troops to the Rodriguez Canal, four miles from the city. He had lost twenty-four killed and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded or prisoners; the British lost four hundred killed, wounded and missing. They had intended to march on the city the next day; but this fierce night battle "gave them pause." They waited for reinforcements. Thus the battle of December 23d saved New Orleans to the American cause.²

Jackson selected as his line for a final stand the neighborhood of the Rodriguez Canal. He extended his line to an impassable swamp on his left; threw up strong intrenchments, and ordered General Morgan, with a detachment, to cross the river and throw up works there to meet a possible attack; but he knew that the weight of the attack must be on his side of the river.

Sir Edward Pakenham was in command of all the British forces. He was brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, and

¹ Art. Jackson, Amer. Encyclop., IX. 683. Stephens.

² Amer. Encyclop., IX. 682. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 368, 369.

very near him in fame as a military leader. He had under him in all this region twelve thousand troops, the flower of the British army. He joined General Keane and assumed command. On the 28th of December he advanced to feel the strength of the American lines. He was repulsed, and suffered a loss of nearly two hundred men. The schooner *Caroline* had greatly annoyed and cut up his troops by her fire. He concentrated his batteries on her, and by the firing of red-hot shot destroyed her.¹ The ship *Louisiana* took her place, and greatly aided Jackson in his defence.

On the first day of January, 1815, Packenham opened fire from batteries constructed chiefly of hogsheads of sugar. The American batteries replied with spirit. Jackson had used bales of cotton closely packed and worked into his batteries; but both sides learned a lesson. The American balls dashed the hogsheads of sugar to pieces, and made fatal work with the splinters and fragments. The hot shot of the British set the bales of cotton on fire.² Jackson abandoned their use, and trusted entirely to his long lines of earthworks thrown up from the slimy mud of the Mississippi. These proved admirable for defence, and the approach to them was so slippery that foothold could hardly be maintained. The engagement of the 1st was favorable to the Americans. The British, after losing seventy men in killed and wounded, spiked their advanced guns and fell back, leaving a considerable quantity of ammunition. The American loss was eleven killed and twenty-three wounded.³

On the 4th of January, Jackson was joined by two thousand five hundred Kentuckians, under General Adair. On the 6th the British General Lambert joined Packenham with his division of four thousand men. After deducting all on duty elsewhere, Sir Edward Packenham had now a picked army of not less than ten thousand men, with the best of artillery and small arms. He determined to attack the American lines and carry them by assault, not doubting that he would be successful, and would capture New Orleans, with all the spoils of war. "Beauty and Booty" was said to be the rallying cry throughout the British army.

Sir Edward Packenham, early on the morning of the 8th of January, detached Colonel Thornton, at the head of two regiments of infantry and six hundred marines and seamen, to cross the river and attack the American troops on the west bank. This attack, if successful, would really open the way to the city. But,

¹ On the 27th—Taylor's Centen. U. S., 369.

² Quackenbos, 385. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 170. Prof. Anderson's U. S., note 134 c.

³ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 370. Quackenbos, 385.

with his chief force of eight thousand men, Packenham marched directly forward, over the open plain, to assault Jackson's lines. Besides their muskets the men carried fascines—long fagots—to fill the ditches, and ladders to climb over the intrenchments. These men were brave and confident. They had carried strong works by bloody fighting in Europe; but they had never before faced an earthwork manned by thousands of the most skillful riflemen in the world.

A dead silence prevailed in the American lines. Jackson had given his orders that no shots should be thrown away. When the British came within easy cannon range the American artillery opened fire with severe effect; but, closing up the gaps in their lines, the enemy came steadily on.

They were within less than a hundred yards when the fire of rifles and musketry opened on them. Never in modern warfare, up to that day, had there been a fire so terrible and deadly. The best shots in the American lines were in front, and the rear line loaded for them, and passed forward the guns as fast as they were loaded. The marksmen were cool, and aimed with care. Hardly a shot was fired that did not bring down a man killed or wounded. The British lines went down like faded leaves before a wind-storm. This could not be endured. Sir Edward Packenham led in person with conspicuous gallantry. His right arm was shattered by a ball; his horse was killed under him. His men fled, and bore him back with them.

But now the sun was rising, and again the British lines were formed and rushed to the attack. Again they were met by that murderous fire, and again they broke and fled. Packenham was struck by a grape-shot, and fell mortally wounded into the arms of the same officer who had supported General Ross when he fell from his horse at North Point.¹ Though nearly every officer was disabled, the troops pressed on. Some of them actually survived to cross the ditch and ascend the parapet, but only to be shot down there. The divisions of Generals Gibbs and Keane were led into the battle by them, only to suffer in the same way. Both of these generals sank down on the field—Gibbs mortally, Keane severely wounded.

The field in front of the American works now presented a ghastly sight. Not less than two thousand men were stretched on it, dead, dying or suffering with disabling wounds. General Lambert, the only British field officer remaining unhurt, called off his men, and prepared to send in a flag of truce.

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 386, 387. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 170.

Meanwhile, on the west bank, Captain Thornton had met with unexpected success. He attacked General Morgan and his force of Kentuckians, and, misapprehending an order for change of position, these troops retreated. The retreat became a flight; but Commodore Patterson and Lieutenant Henley, at a heavy battery, did good service, and spiked their guns before abandoning the work. Thornton was wounded, and an order from General Lambert recalled his troops.

The British soldiers in this frightful battle behaved as bravely as soldiers ever did. The total loss in all their operations was estimated at four thousand in killed, wounded and missing. The American loss on the east bank was only seven killed and seven wounded; in all, twenty-seven in killed and wounded.¹

General Lambert gave orders for a retreat, and the British army withdrew to return no more. They abandoned a number of their guns and eighty of their wounded. On the 20th of January, General Jackson entered New Orleans, and was received with joy and triumph.

News of this victory, of course, reached the American people before news of the peace. Everywhere a feeling of relief and complacency took the place of depression and anxiety. The news of peace was received February 11th, 1815. Madison and his cabinet had separated in some despondency, unable to devise effective measures for relief, with a debt of one hundred million dollars, no money in the treasury, commerce destroyed, all industries paralyzed. They were, therefore, greatly relieved by the conclusion of the treaty. Its terms were not sharply criticised. The victory at New Orleans made the people feel that England would no longer attempt obnoxious measures. Bells were rung, flags were hoisted, schools had holiday, and towns were illuminated. On the 18th of February, Congress ratified the treaty, and peace was proclaimed.²

This war was the prevalent element of President Madison's two terms of office. He had gone into it reluctantly. His War Department was never one of efficiency and weight; yet brilliant successes had been won during the struggle. It cost the United States about one hundred millions in money and thirty thousand lives, besides an amount not to be calculated in destruction and capture of property; but, as a nation, it helped her. All governments had learned to know and respect her flag. Her navy had gained substantial renown. England was no longer regarded

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 373. Quackenbos, 387.

² Quackenbos' U. S., 388.

as ruler of the seas;¹ and the victories of Harrison, Macomb, Brown, Scott, Ripley and Jackson had wiped out all memory of reverses on land.

The Barbary powers, and especially the Dey of Algiers, had disregarded their treaties and renewed their piratical attacks on American merchant-ships and property. No time was lost in giving them a stern lesson. Congress authorized hostilities by an act approved March 2d, 1815. Commodore Decatur sailed from New York in the *Guerrière* as his flag-ship, with a squadron consisting of two other frigates, a sloop of war and six brigs and schooners.

On the 17th of June, off the coast of Spain, he fell in with and captured the Algerine frigate *Mashouda*, of forty-four guns, after a running fight, in which one hundred officers and men of the enemy were killed or wounded; four hundred and six of them were made prisoners. Two days afterwards, the smaller vessels chased the *Estido*, Algerine brig of war of twenty-two guns, into shoal water and captured her. These vigorous movements alarmed the Dey. He was ready to make peace when Decatur, with his squadron, arrived on the 28th of June. On the 30th a treaty was made, by which all demands on the United States for tribute were forever relinquished, prisoners were liberated, restitution of property or payment therefor agreed on, and a provision made that, in case of future wars, American prisoners were never to be treated as slaves. The captured ships were restored as an act of grace to the Dey, but not by an article of the treaty.²

Decatur then sailed to Tunis and Tripoli, and made reclamations for property seized and injuries done during the war with England. Prompt redress and payment were made. Decatur returned to his country with increased reputation.³

On the 19th April, 1816, an act of Congress was passed admitting Indiana as a State of the American Union.

The charter of the first Bank of the United States expired in 1811. No act for its renewal was passed; but, on the 10th April, 1816, Mr. Madison approved an act constituting a new Bank of the United States, incorporated for twenty years, with a capital of thirty-five million dollars.⁴

Madison had positively declined to be a candidate for re-election as President. In the fall of 1816 another election occurred. The vote in the college of electors was one hundred and eighty-

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 422.

² Art. Decatur, Amer. Encyclop., VI. 324.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 421. Amer. Encyclop., VI. 324

⁴ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 421.

three for James Monroe as President and the same number for Gov. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, for Vice-President. Rufus King received thirty-four votes for President and John Eager Howard, of Maryland, twenty-two votes for Vice-President. Messrs. King and Howard were considered as candidates of the Federal party. Only three States—Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware—voted for Mr. King.¹

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 422.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE PRESIDENCY OF JAMES MONROE.

ON the 4th day of March, 1817, James Monroe was inaugurated as President. He was re-elected in 1820, and so was President during the eight years ending March 4th, 1825. His term of office was a period of constant and increasing prosperity to his country.

He was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, April 28th, 1758, and died in New York, at the residence of his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, on the 4th day of July, 1831. In 1858 his remains were removed to Virginia and re-interred in Hollywood cemetery, Richmond, with imposing civic and military honors.

He served with distinction, in his early youth, in the war of Revolution; was afterwards a member of Congress; was a Republican of pronounced type, though of tact and prudence; was minister to France in 1794, and was received there with enthusiasm. He bore a successful part in negotiating the treaty by which Louisiana was acquired. He was Secretary of State under Mr. Madison; and after the capture of Washington by the British armies, and their withdrawal, the incompetency of General Armstrong, Secretary of War, was so loudly proclaimed that he resigned. Mr. Monroe took his place. Improvement was immediate, and the closing events of the war restored public confidence in the administration.

Monroe had no skill nor power as a public speaker; hence he was not regarded as a man of high talent. But if high talent be shown by the capacity for administering the most important and critical public affairs with judgment, industry, energy and success, then assuredly he was a man of eminent talent.¹

He took the helm after the wars with England and the Barbary powers were closed; and after the series of gigantic wars which had convulsed Europe for nearly twenty years had been ended by Waterloo and the banishment of the Emperor Napoleon I. to the island of St. Helena, October 16th, 1815.

¹ Art. Monroe, New Amer. Encyclop., XI. 662-667.

But though peace had come, and the commerce and shipping of the United States had no foreign foes, her finances were in a low condition. Monroe bent his powers earnestly to the work of reconstruction. In the first session of Congress a scheme of finance, involving a sinking fund applicable to the public debt, was adopted, and before the close of his presidency, sixty million dollars of interest and principal of that debt had been paid.¹ The credit of the United States was established throughout the civilized world.

The subject of *internal improvements* became a very pressing one in his terms. The country was wide and the population was increasing. Steam was more and more used on the rivers; but how was the Atlantic coast to be connected with the Mississippi? how were the cultivated areas of the Northern States and Territories to be connected with the great lakes?

The question whether the general government could, consistently with the constitution, appropriate public money to these internal improvements, was one on which the members of the Republican party had generally held the negative. Monroe had agreed with them; but it became obvious to him that strict adherence to the letter of the constitution on this subject would strangle in the cradle the infant powers of his country. He therefore gave his approval to an act of Congress appropriating thirty thousand dollars for the survey of routes for canals and public roads.² And he earnestly encouraged exertions by the separate States for internal development. De Witt Clinton and other public-spirited men of New York urged on the legislature the passage of a bill under which was commenced, in July, 1817, the great "Erie Canal," to connect Lake Erie at Buffalo with Albany, on the Hudson river. It was not completed until the summer of 1825. It was forty feet wide, with eighty-three locks of solid masonry, to raise or lower boats. It crossed the Genesee river once and the Mohawk twice by aqueducts, and cost seven million six hundred and two thousand dollars.³

At nearly the same time a canal connecting Lake Champlain with the navigable part of Hudson river was completed, and the people rejoiced by firing of cannon and great civic processions. Trade received an impetus which has never ceased.

The first ocean steamer crossed the Atlantic from Savannah to Liverpool in 1819.

Monroe's cabinet officers were John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, of the Treasury;

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 397.

² Compare Amer. Encyclop., XI. 665, with Quackenbos, 391.

³ Quackenbos, 391.

John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, of War; William Wirt, of Virginia, Attorney-General; Benjamin W. Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, continued as Secretary of the Navy until November 30th, 1818, when Smith Thompson, of New York, took his place.¹

In May, 1817, the President set out on a tour of inspection and observation, passing through Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, and through all the Eastern and Northern States; through Maine and Vermont, up and down the St. Lawrence, and through the lakes, examining carefully the forts and military posts, and mingling familiarly with the people. He wore a blue military coat of homespun cloth, light colored underclothes and a cocked hat, being the dress in which he had been best known as "Colonel Monroe." His plain and unassuming manners and conciliatory address endeared him to the people of all classes.²

During his presidency five new States were admitted to the Union: Mississippi, in 1817; Illinois, in 1818; Alabama, in 1819; Maine, in 1820; and Missouri, part of the Louisiana territory purchased from France, in 1821. The terms and manner of admission of the State last mentioned will call for our special attention.

The whole period covered by the presidency of Monroe has been historically designated as "the era of good feeling."³ This was because party spirit lost much of its bitterness, and all the people seemed united in the single desire to promote the prosperity and happiness of their country. But it was not to pass without some of the disturbances flowing from war and slavery.

About the close of 1817, Amelia Island, on the Florida coast, became an object of attention from the government, because it had become one of the haunts of a horde of "buccaneers," who, pretending to sail under South American flags, captured ships and crews with piratical license and appropriated their cargoes to their own uses. Galveston Island, in Texas, was another of these haunts. In November 1817, a body of United States troops took possession of Amelia Island and broke up the lair of the pirates, and soon afterwards a similar course was pursued towards Galveston.⁴

Spain did not look with complacency on these movements, though they were too obviously necessary and just to authorize her protest. In 1818 the Seminole Indians of Florida began to cross the borders and to commit murders and robberies on the people of Georgia and Alabama. Gen. Andrew Jackson was

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 423.

² New Amer. Encyclop., XI. 664.

³ Stephens, 424. Derry, 200. Thalheimer, 229, (note) 233.

⁴ Quackenbos' U. S., 390.

ordered to take the field against them, with levies of troops from Tennessee and the regions adjoining Florida. They obeyed his call promptly.¹ A thousand men were enrolled in arms.

He soon became satisfied that the Spanish commandants secretly instigated and encouraged the Seminoles, and that, when pressed, they fled within the Spanish lines for protection. The safety of the American people in all that region required prompt and aggressive measures. He did not delay to take them.

He invaded Florida, seized the post of St. Mark's, and sent the Spanish officers and soldiers to Pensacola; he captured—one at St. Mark's and the other at the Indian town of Suwanee—two Englishmen, named Ambrister and Arbuthnot, who passed themselves as lawful traders; but Jackson obtained conclusive evidence that they were supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition, and were inciting them to hostilities against the citizens of the United States resident along the Florida line. He ordered a court-martial on them; they were found guilty and sentenced to death, and the sentence was promptly carried into execution.²

As the Governor of Pensacola continued to give shelter and encouragement to the Indians, Jackson marched on that place and took possession on the 14th of May. The governor and his small force fled to Barancas, but the resolute American general followed them, captured Barancas on the 27th of May, and sent the Spanish officers and troops to Havana.³

When these facts became known a fierce excitement was kindled. Don Onís, the Spanish minister at Washington, protested, and the English premier, Lord Castlereagh, warmly denounced the execution of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, and told the American minister in London, Mr. Rush, that "he could have had war with the United States merely by holding up his hand."⁴

Mr. Monroe's cabinet were divided in opinion as to these stringent measures of General Jackson. It is now known that Calhoun disapproved of them in secret conference; and when, many years afterwards, Jackson learned of this, his feelings of resentment against Calhoun led to results bearing decisively on public events.⁵

But John Quincy Adams sustained Jackson's measures with so much of learning and power that the British government dropped all complaint; and the Spanish government, knowing that nego-

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 424.

² *Ibid.*, 424.

³ Stephens, 424. Amer. Encyclop., IX. 684.

⁴ Amer. Encyclop., IX. 684. Stephens, 424.

⁵ Art. Jackson, Amer. Encyclop., IX. 684.

tiations were already pending looking to the ceding of Florida to the United States, were content with the return of the captured posts and territory. General Jackson, having subdued the Seminoles, at least for a time, returned and disbanded his army.

In October, 1818, an important treaty was made between the United States and Great Britain, by which part of the line between their possessions in America was definitely settled, and the right secured to citizens of the United States to take fish on the coast of Newfoundland.¹ The line on the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, was afterwards marked by mounds and iron posts.

Florida had been retroceded by England to Spain by the general treaty of peace of 1783. The events afterwards occurring, and especially the growing power of the United States, had led the Spanish government to entertain propositions which were brought to conclusion by a treaty of cession February 22d, 1819. By this Spain ceded East and West Florida to the United States, who agreed to relinquish all claim to Texas, and also to settle and pay all the demands of American citizens on Spain for commercial depredations, amounting to five millions of dollars. This treaty was unanimously ratified by the Senate. Gen. Andrew Jackson was the first Governor of Florida Territory.²

Missouri was a part of the Territory of Louisiana, acquired by treaty and purchase from France. One of the provisions of that treaty was that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible according to the principles of the Federal constitution to the enjoyment of all rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime, they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and the religion which they profess."³

It is impossible to deny that slavery and the right to own and use slaves existed in Louisiana when this treaty of cession was made. The population of Missouri had grown rapidly. A large part of it was agricultural, and the planters of corn, cotton and tobacco had brought their negro slaves and worked them in their fields; and when the population reached the requisite number, and a constitution was formed, it authorized slavery and its incidents.

But by this time a strong sentiment against slavery had arisen in the Northern and Northeastern States, and was shared by many

¹Quackenbos, 393.

²Art. Florida, Amer. Encyclop. Quackenbos' U. S., 393.

³Treaty of Cession, Art. III., in Stephens' Comp. U. S., 425.

of the most enlightened and able men of the slave States themselves. No objection had been made to the admission of Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana or Mississippi, though the constitution of each authorized slavery; and Alabama, with a similar constitution, was admitted 14th December, 1819. But it was desired that negro slavery should at least be restricted to the region in which negro labor seemed necessary. Therefore, when, on the 13th February, 1819, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives for the admission of Missouri as a State, Mr. Tallmadge, of New York, moved an amendment in the following words:

*"And provided that the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment crimes whereof the party shall have been fully convicted; and that all children born within the said State after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free at the age of twenty-five years."*¹

The country had been resting on the action of Congress in 1790, during Washington's administration. We have noted that action in Chapter XLIV. It was a solemn declaration that the Congress had no authority to interfere in the emancipation or treatment of slaves, that being a subject for the exercise of regulations only by the States themselves.

It need not surprise us, therefore, that the amendment of Tallmadge led to a debate the most excited and acrimonious known since the adoption of the Federal constitution. The vote in committee of the whole was seventy-nine for the amendment and sixty-seven against it. When it came before the House the two propositions of the amendment were divided. On the first branch the vote was eighty-seven for and seventy-six against it; on the second branch eighty-two for and seventy-eight against it.²

In this form and with this restriction the bill admitting Missouri passed the House; but the Senate, in which the Southern States had then an equal voice, and in which there were calmer men than in the House, rejected the amendment by a decisive vote.³ Thus Missouri failed to be admitted.

At the next session of Congress she applied again for admission. A bill, in the usual form, for her admission on equal footing with the other States was again reported. Mr. Taylor, of New York, offered an amendment in different words from that of Tallmadge, but imposing substantially the same restriction. Again

¹ Annals of Congress, 1170, in Stephens, 425.

² Annals of Fifteenth Congress, 1214. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 426.

³ Stephens, 426. Annals of Fifteenth Congress, p. 273.

came a debate which, in fierce and angry spirit, exceeded that of the previous session. Never before had the foundations of the republic been so shaken.

Several Northern men and others known to be opposed to slavery, prominent among whom were Mr. Holmes, of Massachusetts, and William Pinkney, of Maryland, earnestly opposed the attempted restriction, upon the ground that it would violate the constitution as well as the treaty of cession of Louisiana, and would bring a State into the Union not on equal footing with the other States, but "shorn of its beams, crippled and disparaged beyond the original States."¹

Mr. Holmes said: "Though my feelings are strong for the abolition of slavery, they are yet stronger for the constitution of my country; and if I am reduced to the sad alternative to tolerate the holding of slaves in Missouri, or violate the constitution of my country, I will not permit the doubt to cloud my choice. Sir, of what benefit would be abolition if at the sacrifice of the constitution?"²

Thomas Jefferson, though retired from public affairs, was thoroughly alarmed by this new phase of the slavery question. He saw in it the uprising of the old Federal party for a new effort at dominion. His far-reaching vision saw the dark cloud of the future bursting in war and bloodshed over the land.

He wrote to Mr. Holmes: "This momentous question, *like a fire-bell in the night*, awakened me and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment, but it is a reprieve only, not a final sentence."³ This letter was written after the presentation of the "compromise," to whose history we now proceed.

Taylor's amendment was adopted by the House on the 29th of February, 1820, by a vote of ninety-four to eighty-six, and the next day the bill containing this restriction, and admitting Missouri subject to the restriction, was passed by the House vote of ninety-one to eighty-two.⁴

But in the meantime Maine had applied for admission to the Union. In the Senate substantial equality between the slave and free States yet prevailed. The principle demanding such equality had not yet been lost.⁵

Therefore, the senators representing the Southern States, and those who agreed in principle with them, determined that Maine, with her constitution excluding slavery, should not be admitted

¹ Wm. Pinkney's speech, Stephens, 430.

² Mr. Holmes' speech, Stephens, 427.

³ Jefferson's letter, Stephens, 431.

⁴ Stephens, 433.

⁵ See "The Lost Principle," by Barbarossa (John Scott, of Fauquier, Va.), *passim*.

unless Missouri, with her constitution authorizing slavery, was also admitted.¹

The House bill for the admission of Maine was tacked on to a bill for the admission of Missouri introduced into the Senate. A "dead-lock," involving the indefinite postponement of the admission of both of these States seemed inevitable. It was at this crisis that Senator Thomas, of Illinois, introduced the proposition, which finally prevailed, and which has ever since been known as the "Missouri Compromise."

It was brought in originally as an amendment to the Senate bill for the admission of both Maine and Missouri, and was in the following words:

"And be it further enacted, that in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° 30' north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited; *provided always,* that any person escaping into the same from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or services as aforesaid."²

The bill, with this amendment incorporated, passed the Senate on the 17th February, 1820, by a vote of thirty-four yeas to ten nays. Eight Southern senators, and two—Noble and Taylor—from Indiana, made up the ten negative votes; but a definite majority of Senators from the slave States voted for it, regarding it as a compromise as to the Territory of Louisiana, and one fair in its character, inasmuch as it was economically certain that slave labor would not continue to be profitable north of the designated line.

But when the bill with this "compromise" clause went to the House it was rejected by a vote of one hundred and fifty-nine to eighteen. It was not until after repeated conferences by committees as to the points of disagreement, that the House of Representatives, finding that no bill forcing a restriction upon Missouri could be passed, agreed to the "compromise" bill of the Senate, and adopted it by a vote of one hundred and thirty-four yeas against forty-two nays.³ A majority of the members

¹ Eggleston, 266-268. Holmes, 194. Blackburn & McDonald's U. S., 342.

² Annals of Sixteenth Congress, p. 427. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 432.

³ Annals of Sixteenth Congress, 1586. Stephens, 432-434.

from the slave States voted for it as a fair territorial "compromise" as to the limits of slavery.¹

This act was passed and was approved by the President, with the concurrence of his cabinet, including John C. Calhoun, March 3d, 1820. Maine came in under it, and voted for electors in the presidential election of that year. Missouri might have done the same; but, unhappily, fearing evil from the free Territory and coming free States contemplated by the "compromise," she adopted a new constitution, a provision of which directed her legislature to pass laws to prevent free negroes or mulattoes from coming to or settling in the State.

This was regarded by the anti-slavery members of Congress as a departure from the terms admitting her, so grave that she could not be regarded as in the Union. Consequently the votes of the electors she had chosen were rejected by the Congress; and when, in December, 1820, Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina, offered, in the House of Representatives, a resolution recognizing Missouri as a State under her new constitution, the resolution was rejected by a vote of seventy-nine for it, to ninety-three against it.²

It was at this crisis that Henry Clay, of Kentucky, came actively forward with his winning manners and magnetic eloquence to seek for peace. Some writers have represented him as the originator of the "compromise" amendment, and its most strenuous supporter;³ but this is an error. He did not propose it, did not urge it. He was Speaker of the House, and his vote was not needed for it; but he had repeatedly taken the floor and eloquently opposed the restriction sought to be applied to Missouri.⁴

Pecuniary losses had induced him to resign, that he might devote himself to his private interests; but the lowering aspect of public events, and the persuasion of his countrymen, had led him to accept another election, and he took his seat in the House January 16th, 1821. Undeterred by factious opposition, he continued his efforts for the admission of Missouri. A joint committee of a large number of members of both Houses, of which he was chairman, made a report on the 26th of February, 1821, recommending a resolution for the admission of Missouri, *provided* she should declare her assent to the fundamental condition forbidding any law by which any citizen of either of the States of the Union should be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities given by the constitution of the United States.⁵

¹ Stephens, 431.

² *Ibid.*, 434, 435.

³ Ex. Quackenbos, 391. Thallheimer, 230, (note) 233. Barnes, 172, 173. Eggleston, 268.

⁴ Art. Clay, Amer. Enyclop., V. 315.

⁵ Resolution in Stephens, 437.

This resolution passed the House by a vote of eighty-seven to eighty-one, and the Senate by a vote of twenty-six to fifteen, and was approved by the President on the 2d of March, 1821. John C. Calhoun, in his cabinet, advised him to sign it.¹ The legislature of Missouri promptly passed the act called for by the resolution, and on the 10th day of August, 1821, President Monroe issued his proclamation declaring Missouri to be a State of the Union.

We have thus sought to set forth the history and nature of the "Missouri Compromise." It gave peace when peace was greatly needed. It was made by men who honestly differed on a great question of public economy. It made a reasonable and fair division of territory as to the limits of slavery. It was an agreement outside of and beyond the constitution, but not repugnant to the constitution. Well had it been for those who upheld slavery if this compromise had been observed. Slavery might have been prolonged indefinitely in the United States and her Territories; but such was not the purpose of "the Divinity that shapes our ends."

Thirty-four years afterwards this compromise was broken by the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," introduced and pushed to enactment by Stephen A. Douglas, who was one of the strongest leaders of the Democratic party, which was looked upon as the special guardian of slavery and the rights of slave-owners; and thirty-seven years after its enactment, in a time of great partisan excitement, against which the minds even of grave and honored judges were not armed, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that this "compromise" was repugnant to the constitution of the country and treaties pursuant thereto, and that the slave-owner had a right to carry his slave and the rights protecting his ownership into any territory of the United States.

These events were soon followed by the temporary disruption of the American Union, and by a war of four years, exceeding in rapidity, extent and energy of movement any war of modern times, and resulting in the total destruction of slavery and the prostration, for many tedious years, of the property, industries and rightful privileges of the Southern States, besides the desolation of their homes by the death, in battle, in hospital, or in camp, of a generation of the best men of these States. The "Missouri Compromise" was at least intended and adapted to avert such horrors.

President Monroe's administration, so popular and prosperous as to be distinguished as the "era of good feeling," was, neverthe-

¹ Art. Calhoun, *Amer. Encyclop.*, IV. 237.

less, the seed-time of a great growth of troublous questions. So far as his influence and that of his cabinet went, they were wisely dealt with; but they were pregnant with controversy.

In 1816, the year in which he was first elected, was passed the first bill establishing a "protective tariff"; and it is a noteworthy fact that it was originated and passed chiefly by the influence of John C. Calhoun and the members of Congress from the cotton States.¹

At that time England drew a great deal of her raw cotton from India, and imposed heavy import duties on American cotton; but in New England and New York some factories of the coarser cotton fabrics were springing up. The reasoning of the Southern men, with Mr. Calhoun at their head, was this: We will send our raw cotton to the North, where we pay no duty on it, and we will impose a heavy duty on English cotton goods, so as to protect and build up the manufactures of America. Thus we shall sell higher, and finally buy all we need at lower prices.²

This was the very quintessence of a *protective* tariff. Its real object was protection of domestic manufactures, and not the collection of duties for the necessary and proper purposes of government. It seems to us now strange that Mr. Calhoun did not see it in its proper light from the beginning, and did not realize that if the constitution gave no authority to Congress to impose duties primarily and essentially for protection, the tariff of 1816 came directly under this inhibition.

At first the Northern people were not favorable to this system. They had few factories. Their interests were largely in ships and shipping, and this was discouraged by the heavy duties on imported cotton goods.³

But inventive genius was so active, and manufacturing grew so rapidly profitable, that soon a school of political economy arose which taught that "protection" was the true "American system." At the head of this school was Henry Clay, a man so fertile in mental resources, and so fascinating and eloquent in using them, that he exercised a commanding influence over the policy of his country.⁴

The "American system" embraced not only the policy of duties for protection, but of internal improvements by the general government, and the use of United States funds for the purpose. It had much to make it plausible and attractive—so much, in fact, that it has never lost its power, and plays still a large part in the

¹ Art. Calhoun, Amer. Encyclop., IV. 236. *Ibid.*, V. 313. Scudder's U. S. 310, 311.

² Horace E. Scudder's U. S., 310, 311.

³ *Ibid.*, 311, 312.

⁴ Amer. Encyclop., V. 313, 314.

policy of North America. It was founded on the idea that, as the country embraced within herself every native resource of soil, minerals, coal, wood, climate, ocean, river, atmosphere, needed for development of unlimited wealth and comfort, her true policy was to build up her own manufactures and internal industries, to establish "a home market," to sell to herself and buy from herself, and thus to become entirely independent of every other country, and to be free from the complications, disputes and prolonged wars which had for so many centuries desolated the fairest regions of the Old World.

But this foundation was really utopian, and not based on the constitution of humanity which God had established. No nation in this world can "live to herself" so long as human sympathies exist and human thought takes in the compass of the world, and so long as oceans, seas and navigable rivers invite to intercourse and exchange of commodities.

It did not take long for John C. Calhoun and his more intelligent disciples to discover that the principle of "protection" by customs on imports was not only in conflict with the true meaning of the Federal constitution, but was radically unjust, and was necessarily oppressive to the agricultural classes. These classes, in every fertile country, support all other classes by their labor; and yet by a protective tariff they are restrained from seeking the markets of the world for such manufactured articles as they need, and are compelled to pay prices made higher by the protective duties.

Nevertheless, the "American system," commenced in the last year of President Madison's second term, was carried, with some changes, through the presidency of Mr. Monroe, and has been continued ever since, with such readjustments from time to time as relieved a pressure so intolerable as to threaten civil war, but with no final abandonment. The arguments against it, based on its repugnancy to the constitution and its necessary injustice to unprotected classes, have never yet gained a controlling power over the selfishness and covetousness of the classes who unite to secure for themselves a continuance of its inequitable benefits.

In 1820, another presidential election occurred. When the electoral votes were examined in the presence of the two Houses of Congress, those thrown by the electors of Missouri were rejected. They were cast for James Monroe as President, and D. D. Tompkins as Vice-President. The rejection of these votes, however, made no difference in the result. Mr. Monroe received all the votes as President, except one from New Hampshire, cast

for John Quincy Adams. Mr. Tompkins received all the votes, except fourteen, as Vice-President.¹

As the 4th of March, 1821, fell on Sunday, the inauguration took place on Monday, the 5th. Chief-Justice Marshall administered the oath. No immediate change in the cabinet took place.

Piracies having become a public terror in the waters south and east of Cuba, the frigate *Congress*, sloop of war *Peacock*, and several smaller armed vessels, under command of Commodore Porter, were sent to that region in 1822. More than twenty pirate vessels were captured and destroyed. Porter exerted himself with so much diligence in scouring the infested seas that the pirates were broken down, and shipping interests made secure.

And now began to appear the resistless influence for self-government exercised by the Revolution and the establishment of the United States. The territory of Mexico and the provinces of South America, subject to the dominion of Spain, began to throw off her monarchic shackles, and to establish themselves as independent republics.

President Monroe and his cabinet watched these movements with interest, but with doubt and anxiety. It is not every people that is fit to be a republic, by possessing the elements of virtue, intelligence and force needed for self-government.

But in the House of Representatives, Henry Clay exerted his matchless powers of eloquence in behalf of the recognition of these republics. His speech of 1818 was so noble and inspiring in its appeals for the self-government of man that the patriot Simon Bolivar Y Ponte, of Colombia, caused it to be translated into Spanish, to be read to the armies, and in printed form to be scattered broadcast among the people to confirm their purposes for freedom.

In February, 1821, Mr. Clay bore the leading part in an exciting debate on two resolutions offered by him—the first expressing the sympathy of the people of the United States for the struggling patriots of South America; the second tendering to the President assurances of the support of the House in the recognition of the independence of these several republics whenever he should deem that step advisable. The second resolution had been opposed by some who claimed to represent the President's views, on the ground that, as the question of recognition rested with the executive department, a suggestion from Congress on the subject was not called for, and was hardly respectful.²

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 439.

² Amer. Encyclop., V. 314.

But both resolutions were passed by the House, the second by a majority of eighty-seven to sixty-eight; and President Monroe received them graciously, and on the 8th March, 1822, sent a message to the Congress, recommending the recognition of the independence of these South American republics.

On the 28th March, the House voted for this recognition with a single negative vote. The Senate concurred. The President gladly acted, and communicated the fact of recognition to the proper officers of these republics; they were six in number—Mexico, and five in South America. Bolivar wrote a letter of thanks to Clay, in which he said: "All America, Colombia and myself owe your excellency our purest gratitude for the incomparable services you have rendered us by sustaining our cause with a sublime enthusiasm."¹

Monroe did not stop with a bare recognition of the independence of these republics. He knew that the great European monarchies, of what was very inappropriately called "The Holy Alliance," had sympathized with Spain in her struggle to retain her revolted American provinces, and had directly and indirectly aided her in her wars against them. Therefore it was needful that the United States should make known her position on this subject in terms of which all the monarchies of the Old World should take notice.

In his message of December 2d, 1823, he declared that, "as a principle, the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power," and that any attempt on the part of the European powers to "extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere" would be regarded by the United States as "dangerous to our peace and safety," and would be opposed accordingly.²

Thus was announced the "Monroe Doctrine," which has ever since been the settled policy of his country, and which is one of the highest evidences of his far-seeing sagacity and statesmanship. His fame as its author is not diminished by the fact that it was suggested by Canning, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and put into form by John Quincy Adams.³ Neither has it been a "dead letter," inert and useless, as some memorable facts of history, yet to be noted, have shown.

The Congress had extended a formal and earnest invitation to La Fayette to revisit the United States as the guest of the nation.

¹ Art. Henry Clay, *Amer. Encyclop.*, V. 314.

² Art. James Monroe, *Amer. Encyclop.*, XI. 605, 606. Stephens, 440. Seudder's U. S., 325, 326.

³ Prof. Holmes' U. S., 197, and note. Prof. Johnston's U. S., 157.

As such he came over, arriving in New York on the 13th of August, 1824, where he was received with acclamations of gratitude and joy. He became the guest of Vice-President Tompkins at his beautiful residence on Staten Island.

Soon he was waited on by deputations from Boston, New Haven, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, and many other cities, urging him to visit them. He went to every part of the country, and everywhere was welcomed by military and civic processions, and by such outpourings of men, women and children as never had been seen before. All were eager to see him and take his hand for a moment. He could not refuse this token of regard, and continued it until his physicians were obliged to forbid him any longer to practice it.

One of his visits was to the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon, and was attended by recollections of the past friendship between them, which gave it an interest not to be expressed in words. He was nearly seventy years of age, and Washington had been dead for a quarter of a century, but the scenes of the Revolution rose up to La Fayette with the freshness of a grand reality. He had the opportunity of looking on the great civilization which both had labored to establish. He visited each one of the twenty-four States.

The Congress, in recognition of the debt America owed him, voted him two hundred thousand dollars in money and a township of public land in Florida. His reception and treatment in the United States refuted the hoary slander that "republics are ungrateful."

Early in September, 1825, he bade adieu to the people who had so gratefully welcomed him, and embarked on the frigate *Brandywine*, which had been so named in his honor, because in that battle he first shed his blood for American freedom. He returned to France, and lived to 1834, always the consistent friend of human virtue and liberty.¹

Mr. Monroe's presidency had been in every respect a success. From the troubles and embarrassments of war the country had emerged into a condition of peace, industry and ever-growing success. Except on one subject, no dangerous asperities had been roused, and that one subject seemed to have been placated by a basis of settlement in which all would be disposed permanently to acquiesce. Five new States had been added to the Union. The number was now twenty-four. Sister republics in the South were coming to the moral aid of the leading republic of the world.

¹ Quackenbos, 395-397. Stephens, 440, 441. Goodrich, 371, 373.

At home and abroad, on the land, on the sea, the North American Union was regarded with respect and hope.

Monroe had followed the sound precedent of Washington, Jefferson and Madison, and definitely declined to be a candidate for a third term. When released from the cares of office he retired to his country-seat in Virginia. He had not accumulated wealth. In the close of his life, pecuniary embarrassments bore him down ; but he never lost his spotless reputation. Of him Jefferson declared that, "if his soul were turned inside out, not a spot would be found on it." And, like Jefferson and John Adams, he died on the fourth day of July—the day on which his country was proclaimed free and independent.

He was the last of those sometimes called "the Virginia Presidents"—that is, the last of those elected to the presidential office who were born and lived and had their business, their interests and their homes in Virginia.

CHAPTER L.

THE PRESIDENCY OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

FROM the end of Monroe's administration all that has occurred in the United States has been simply development or evolution, under forces which we have sought to describe; and the development has been chiefly in four forms: (1) Material wealth and population; (2) Territory; (3) Self-government; (4) Moral advance under the influences of education and religion. Except when these subjects demand more extended treatment, brief statements of the most important facts will be all that history need offer to the student.

Four prominent men were looked to as candidates for the presidency, viz.: William H. Crawford, John Quincy Adams, Gen. Andrew Jackson, and Henry Clay. A habit had arisen—afterwards matured into the machinery of a presidential convention—of nominating a candidate by a congressional caucus. Mr. Crawford received this nomination, although he was already in failing health; but the voters at large did not confirm this choice.

When the electoral votes for President were counted, it was ascertained that Andrew Jackson had received ninety-nine; John Quincy Adams, eighty-four; William H. Crawford, forty-one, and Henry Clay, thirty-seven votes. For Vice-President, John C. Calhoun had received one hundred and eighty-two votes, and was elected, a few scattering votes only having been thrown for others.¹

No candidate having received a majority of the whole number for President, the election devolved on the House of Representatives. Here Henry Clay was potent in influence; and yet, by a fixed rule, his name could not be considered, because only three could be voted for, and he had received the lowest electoral vote. He advocated and voted for John Quincy Adams, and on the 9th February, 1825, on the first ballot, Adams received the votes of thirteen States, and was elected President. Jackson was voted for by seven States and Crawford by four States.

All unprejudiced students will find ample reasons for believing that Henry Clay acted with entire fairness and to the best of his

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 441.

judgment in preferring Adams. Mr. Crawford's shattered health was a strong objection to him ; and Clay had strongly disapproved of Jackson's stern measures in the Seminole war, and thought him unequal to the presidency in education and mental equilibrium.¹ And when President Adams assumed his office, nothing could have been more natural than his offer of the Department of State to Henry Clay, who was in every respect fitted for it.

But the political opposition waxed warm and mounted high. Crawford's friends joined Jackson's in a united and sustained attack on Adams and Clay on the alleged ground of "bribery and corruption." No reliable evidence has ever appeared tending to prove a previous agreement or understanding between these two eminent men to the effect that Clay should use his influence with the House of Representatives for the election of Adams, and that, if elected, Adams should nominate Clay as Secretary of State.²

Nevertheless, on the face of the facts, enough appeared to give point and pungency to the charge. It injured the political standing of both Adams and Clay, and increased the popularity of General Jackson, who had received a definite plurality of the electoral votes, and who, by reason of his rugged will and military promptness, was the favored man of the South and West.

The earliest trouble of President Adams was a controversy with Georgia growing out of a treaty with the Creek Indians. On the 12th February, 1825, United States Commissioners Campbell and Meriwether had made a treaty with the leading chiefs of the Creeks at the "Indian Springs," by which the United States had procured the extinguishment of the Indian title in a wide area of territory, according to agreement with Georgia in her cession, in 1802, of the Territories of Alabama and Mississippi. This treaty had been ratified by the United States Senate ; but some factious white men and Indians had opposed this treaty, and so stirred savage hearts that the natives fell upon their own chiefs who had signed the treaty, assassinated two of them, and sent a deputation to Washington to repudiate the "old treaty" and demand a new one.

The government of Mr. Adams yielded, probably unwisely and prematurely, to this Indian demand, appointed new commissioners, and made a new treaty January 24th, 1826. But Governor Troup, of Georgia, with much show of reason and law, affirmed the validity of the "old treaty," took possession of the ceded

¹ Art. Adams, Amer. Encyclop., I. 106, 107. Stephens, 441, 442.

² Art. Adams, John Quincy, Amer. Encyclop., I. 106, 107. Stephens, 441-444. Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 159, 160.

territory, and caused surveys to be made and lines run accordingly. He disregarded orders from Washington, and, when an intimation was given that the State surveyors would be arrested, he made a distinct counter-intimation that he would meet force by force. His firmness prevailed. The State surveys went on under the "old treaty." Mr. Adams submitted the whole matter to Congress in a full, cautious and patriotic message; but no further steps were taken. The "old treaty," in substance, worked its way.¹ The Creeks and Cherokees were finally removed to a home west of the Mississippi.

Mexico and the South American Republics of Peru, Chili, Colombia and Central America invited the United States to unite with them in sending delegates to a general congress at Panama, to be convened on the 22d of June, 1826. The object was the formation of a permanent league or treaty for mutual defence against enemies of self-government, and for common welfare. But by this time some of these republics had abolished slavery, and the slave States of North America had lost much of their sympathy for them.²

After a stormy debate the Congress declined to elect delegates; but Mr. Adams appointed Richard C. Anderson and John Sergeant as commissioners from the United States to attend this "Panama Mission." However good were his intentions, his action therein did not increase his popular strength; and the "mission" was a failure. Mr. Anderson, who was already minister to Colombia, died of malignant fever at Carthagena, on his way to Panama. Mr. Sergeant did not attend. Peru, Colombia, Mexico and the States of Central America were represented, and constructed a league of friendship and confederation, to which all other American powers or States were invited to accede. They adjourned to re-assemble in February, 1827, at Tocubaza, a village near the City of Mexico. Joel R. Poinsett, United States minister to Mexico, was appointed commissioner to this conference, and was ready to attend; but the congress never met again, and the "Panama Mission" resulted in failure.³

Meanwhile the protective policy, or "American system," was urged upon the country with great pertinacity by the manufacturers, who were beginning to derive very large money profits from it, to the certain loss of the agricultural classes. A convention of manufacturers was held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, which sent a persuasive memorial to Congress, urging high pro-

¹ Stephens, 443. Goodrich, 374, 375. Thalheimer's *Eclée.* U. S., 232. Derry's U. S., 206. D. B. Scott, 279.

² Seudder's U. S., 326.

³ Stephens, 444. Seudder, 326.

fective duties on many articles of prime necessity to farmers and planters. A committee of Congress sent for persons and papers, and reported a new tariff bill, which, in its operation, not for revenue, but avowedly for protection, went far beyond any that had yet been enacted.¹

The debates on this bill continued from the 12th of February to the 15th of April, 1828. Various amendments were made, but it finally passed both Houses, and was approved by the President. It was so objectionable to the people who upheld a strict interpretation of the constitution, and duties for revenue only, that it was called by them the "bill of abominations." In Charleston, South Carolina, the bitter opposition of the people was manifested by displaying the flags of the shipping at half-mast, as if for an occasion of mourning.²

In the midst of these accumulating irritations against John Quincy Adams the presidential election of 1828 came on. He had not pursued a partisan policy, and had kept many of his opponents in office, and, when vacancies occurred, had often appointed Democrats. He did not, however, strengthen his prospects for re-election by this course. With all his great learning and ability, he was never, while President, personally magnetic and popular.³

His opponent was Andrew Jackson, who, without any caucus nomination, was warmly supported for President. The vote in the electoral college was one hundred and seventy-eight for Jackson and eighty-three for Adams. John C. Calhoun was again elected Vice-President by one hundred and seventy-one votes against eighty-three for Richard Rush.

No new State had been admitted to the Union during Mr. Adams' term. Yet his administration had been economical as to public expenses, and the country had been prosperous. Locomotive engines for cars on railroads came into use. Some of his recommendations, such as that for an observatory at Washington, were ridiculed by the opposition press when made, but were afterwards adopted, and found to be useful and honorable to his country.⁴ He represented his district in the House of Representatives for many years after he left the office of President, and, even after he was more than eighty years of age, was designated as "the old man eloquent." He died in 1848, leaving a large estate, acquired partly by inheritance and partly by his talents and by prudent investments.

¹ Stephens, 445. Goodrich, 377. Holmes, 199. Quackenbos, 101. Derry, 207.

² Quackenbos' U. S., 401.

³ Art. Adams, Amer. Encyclop., I, 105-108.

⁴ A. H. Stephens, 446.

CHAPTER LI.

THE PRESIDENCY OF ANDREW JACKSON.

ANDREW JACKSON was President for two terms, running through the eight years from March 4th, 1829, to March 4th, 1837. It was a period embracing many important events, in which men of eminent genius or talent took part; and his own character and personality entered deeply into the constituent elements of history during his presidency. His scrupulous honesty appeared in the steps attributed to him before he would consent to assume the presidency. The law firm of which he was a member is said to have made large investments in town lots in Memphis. He sold out to his partner all his interests in these investments, because of the remote possibility that they might affect his impartial views of duty.¹

He was a ruler by nature and habit, and having now been elevated to the high office to which he and his supporters had considered him entitled in 1825, he acted uniformly on the principle of making his government "a unit." His intense power of will permeated and controlled his subordinates. He readily adopted as his canon of action as to appointments and removals the words first formulated by William L. Marcy, of New York: "To the victors belong the spoils."

But this canon belongs not to peace, but to aggressive war. It is specially wrong in a republic where, though the majority must rule, yet the minority have rights and interests which the government is sacredly bound to respect and uphold. Mr. Jefferson expressed the true Democratic principle on this subject. President Jackson professed to be a Democrat, but he overruled this principle, and by the most indiscriminate and sweeping removals of those who had voted against him, and appointments of those subservient to him, he made his government a unit indeed, but a unit holding very large ingredients of sycophancy and cringing.

He selected as his first cabinet officers Martin Van Buren, of New York, Secretary of State; Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, of the Treasury (chosen on the recommendation of the

¹ Washington letter, June 6th, in Richmond Dispatch June 12th, 1891.

Vice-President, John C. Calhoun); John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, of War; John Branch, of North Carolina (another of Mr. Calhoun's nominees), of the Navy; John M. Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney-General; and William T. Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General.

The inaugural address was gratifying to a large majority of the people. The new President recommended prompt and energetic steps for removing all the Indians to a territory west of the Mississippi, where they would have wider means for pursuing their own modes of life, and would cease to be subjects or sources of border troubles and raids.¹

The Congress which sat from 7th December, 1829, to 31st May, 1830, passed an act for carrying out this policy, and it was gradually accomplished, though with many interruptions and bloody episodes.

This Congress passed a bill appropriating public money to "the Maysville Road." The President vetoed this bill, and the House of Representatives, in which it had originated, sustained the veto.

President Jackson also disapproved of the protective policy, and recommended a complete revision and change of the Tariff Act of 1828. Towards the close of the session occurred the great debate in the Senate, in which Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, ably upheld the doctrine of "State rights," and asserted the right of "nullification" as a corollary from that doctrine and as the cherished tenet of South Carolina; and Daniel Webster opposed this view, and ended one of his powerful speeches with the words: "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable."²

Yet even Daniel Webster admitted that the Federal constitution was the result of "a compact" between the original States.³ This was necessarily an admission that the States, as sovereigns and by their representatives, had entered into this compact, and that its terms might be broken to the injury of one or more States. The question of the mode of remedy and redress was the one as to which radical divergence of opinion existed.

The doctrine of "nullification" was the invention of Mr. Calhoun, and evinced the keen and metaphysical tendency of his mind. Its essential element was that, if the general government passed laws repugnant to the constitution and damaging to a State, and if they were persistently upheld to her injury, then

¹ Stephens's Comp, U. S., 448.

² Quackenbos, 404. Johnston, 168, 169. Scudder, 331, 332.

³ He designated it as "a constitutional compact." Speech in U. S. Senate, January 26, 1830. Calhoun's Works, II. 267, 268.

the State possessed the reserved sovereign power to "nullify" such laws within her borders, so that they would become inoperative as to her, at least until three-fourths of the States should pronounce in favor of these laws; and yet that, all the time, the nullifying State would remain in the Union, claiming its protection, sharing in its benefits, and sending representatives to its government.¹

This etherialized and suicidal concept had been so persistently taught to the people of South Carolina that, without understanding it, they had adopted it as a tenet of political faith.

Near the close of the session of Congress, President Jackson learned of the position of hostility to him which Mr. Calhoun had taken in the cabinet of Monroe, as to the Seminole and Florida campaign. Then commenced an estrangement between these two eminent men which was bitter and permanent.² They were both of the blood of the Scottish-Irish, who had come to the Carolinas; Jackson represented its volcanic instincts and passions; Calhoun, its keen metaphysics, and trained and educated logic.³

It is believed that Jackson had intimated a purpose not to be a candidate for a second term, and that Calhoun expected to succeed him in 1833; but the causes of personal and political alienation between them grew stronger and dissolved this vision.

In 1831 occurred a rupture in the cabinet, closely connected with the desire of Jackson to get rid of Calhoun's friends, Ingham and Branch, and not uninfluenced by certain social questions, in which Mrs. Eaton, the wife of the Secretary of War, was involved.⁴ The wives of some other members of the cabinet and other women of high claims in Washington refused to visit Mrs. Eaton; but the President, who was a long and fast friend of her husband, earnestly sustained her.

Martin Van Buren had already gained a quiet, but controlling, influence with the President by his flattering and adroit modes of address. In order to insure the disruption of the cabinet, he resigned. The others followed his lead. The cabinet was reconstructed. Louis McLane, of Delaware, took the Treasury Department; Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, that of the State; Lewis Cass, of Ohio, of War; Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, of the Navy; and Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, became Attorney-General. Mr. Barry retained the Postoffice Department.⁵

¹ Madison's letter to Everett, Va. Debates and Resol., 221. Tucker's Lec. on Const. Law, 192.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 448.

³ Prof. Johnson's U. S. Hist. and Const., 169.

⁴ Art. Jackson, Amer. Encyclop., IX. 685.

⁵ Amer. Encyclop., IX. 686. Stephens, 449.

The President nominated Martin Van Buren as minister to England, and, being reasonably sure of confirmation, the eminent nominee crossed the Atlantic and went to London; but when the nomination came before the Senate, Calhoun's influence was secretly, but potently, used against him. The result was a tie, and the Vice-President cast his vote against Van Buren and defeated his confirmation.¹

Mr. Van Buren came back, and was soon more influential with the President than ever. The feuds and scandals of the times became subjects of satire and caricature, and were afterwards represented in a series of amusing letters, purporting to be written by one "Major Jack Downing." They were supposed to be from the pen of Erastus Brooks, one of the editors of the *New York Express*.

In 1831 the question of the succession became burning. The legislature of Pennsylvania had already nominated Jackson for re-election. He had accepted the candidacy, and was earnest in urging Martin Van Buren as Vice-President. So visible were the manipulations used for this purpose that they excited indignation in some minds and good-humored merriment in others. A caricature appeared, representing the well-known face and form of President Jackson seated in a rocking-chair, dandling Van Buren on his lap, and singing to him a lullaby in these words:

"Hush-a-by, Martin! let the wind blow,
Tice you shall be, whether or no;
I'll get you in somehow, through key-hole or cranny,
So hush-a-by, Martin, and trust to your granny!"

Finding his functions as Vice-President too tame and inactive for the crisis, Mr. Calhoun resigned in 1831. He was almost immediately elected by the legislature of South Carolina to the United States Senate in the place of Mr. Hayne, who had become governor of the State. At nearly the same time, Henry Clay took his seat as senator from Kentucky, and John Quincy Adams as a member of the House of Representatives from his district in Massachusetts.

There were giants in those days, and the war of political economics went on till it came near to a war of cannon, swords and muskets.

The Tariff Bill of 1832 was, if possible, more odious than that of 1828. To add to the public uneasiness, the Asiatic cholera, during this year (1832), crossed the ocean and invaded America, making its appearance in the United States, first in the city of

¹ Art. Jackson, Amer. Encyclop., IX. 685.

New York, on the 21st of June.¹ Thence it traversed the country in a southwesterly direction, defying medical skill for its arrest, and sweeping down tens of thousands of lives. Yet it was more fatal in the North and in the Valley of the Mississippi than in the South Atlantic States. In many cases the strongest constitutions yielded, and died within thirty-six hours from the first attack.

In this year came on another presidential election, the result of which was that, for President, Jackson received two hundred and nine electoral votes, Clay forty-nine, and William Wirt seven. Mr. Wirt had, somewhat incautiously, accepted the nomination of the Anti-Masonic party, which had arisen soon after the mysterious disappearance of one William Morgan, a member of the order of Masons, residing in western New York, who had threatened to publish a book revealing their secrets, and who had been suddenly abducted from his home in September, 1826, carried to Lewiston, thence to Fort Niagara, at which point all trace of him was lost.² Great excitement and commotion followed, and secret societies were widely denounced.

But Masonry proved too strong to be uprooted by this ephemeral trouble, and Jackson was too popular to be shaken by it. The votes for Vice-President were one hundred and eighty-nine for Van Buren, forty-nine for John Sergeant, and seven for Amos Ellmaker.³

Continuity of subject and thought will require us to follow the "nullification" movement to its end. The people of South Carolina, under the lead of Calhoun and his compeers, elected members to a sovereign convention, which, in November, 1832, adopted a "nullification ordinance," declaring that the Tariff Acts of 1828 and 1832 were unconstitutional, null and void, with a provision for testing the question in the State courts, and excluding the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, and declaring that if these measures of the State should be forcibly resisted by the Federal authorities, then South Carolina would be no longer a member of the Union. These nullification measures were to take effect February 12th, 1833, unless the Congress should previously abandon these obnoxious acts.⁴

This ordinance was promptly followed by a session of the Legislature, and by a message from Governor Hamilton, dated November 27, 1832, recommending that the militia system should be thoroughly revised, and that he should be authorized to accept

¹ Quackenbos, 402. Stephens, 450.

² Quackenbos' U. S., 399, 400.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 450.

⁴ Ordinance in Taylor's Centen. U. S., 531-534. Stephens' U. S., 451.

the services of two thousand volunteers for the defence of Charleston, and of ten thousand for general defence.¹

But South Carolina's nullification was met by a will which took the most direct lines to its ends. President Jackson had been confirmed in Democratic principles by such men as Livingston, Benton, Taney, Woodbury, Cass, Marcy and Van Buren, but he had also learned something of war in a different school.

His message to Congress recommended that the tariff law should be changed; but he put forth a "proclamation," in which he briefly stated the nature and powers of the general government and its relation to the States, and, after declaring his adherence to the doctrines of State rights and remedies for oppression announced in the resolutions and report adopted by Virginia in 1798-'99, he denounced the "nullification" idea and scheme, and warned the people of South Carolina to abstain from force.²

At the same time he issued orders under which a fleet and army were to go to Charleston. Gen. Winfield Scott was to command the army. He acted with prudence and conciliation. But President Jackson was inflexible. He openly said that "Calhoun would be hung" if he persisted in nullification. He urged upon the Congress the passage of a bill, which has since been designated as "the Force Bill," the object of which was to provide means of coercing South Carolina to abandon her forcible resistance to the tariff laws.³

A collision of arms, with bloodshed and desolation, seemed inevitable. It was time for patriots to move. Mr. Verplanck, of New York, introduced into the House of Representatives a bill for reduction of the tariff duties. Virginia sent Benjamin Watkins Leigh as commissioner to South Carolina to persuade her to peace. He succeeded in inducing her authorities to postpone the nullification measures to the 4th of March, 1833.

But the great spirit of peace came in the person of Henry Clay. He was looked on as the very fountain-head of the protective system, and therefore a proposition of "compromise" by a reduction of duties came with peculiar grace from him. He introduced and warmly advocated a bill providing for a gradual reduction of all duties then higher than the revenue standard. One-tenth of a half was to be taken off each year for ten years, at the end of which period the whole of the other half was to be taken off.⁴

¹ Message in Taylor's Centen. U. S., 527, 531.

² Abstract in Taylor, 535, 536.

³ Prof. Johnston's U. S., 170.

⁴ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 452.

Mr. Calhoun and his friends were satisfied with this bill. Indeed, it was so nearly an abandonment of the American system as to protection that Henry Clay was warned that it would operate strongly against his future prospects for election to the presidency; but, with the noble instincts of the highest patriotism, he answered: "I would rather be right than be President."¹

His bill passed both Houses, and was signed by the President on the 2d of March, 1833. South Carolina promptly re-assembled her convention and rescinded her nullification ordinance. Thus this serious political movement ended. The doctrine has never been revived. It is too metaphysical and self-contradictory to have force. But the grand debates on Federal and State powers between Calhoun, Clay and Webster which took place during this period deserve the closest study from every intelligent and cultured citizen of the United States.²

While these grave forces were working themselves down to rest, collisions with the Indians had been frequent. The Winnebagoes and Sacs and Foxes in the Northwest had committed raids and murders, which called for stern measures of repression. In 1832, military forces organized by General Scott were sent against them. A number of minor encounters took place, in which the troops under Generals Atkinson, Henry and Dodge, Major Dement and Captain Snyder gained successes. In a final battle, July 25, 1832, near the Blue Mounds, west of the Rock river, the Sacs and Foxes, under the renowned chieftain Black Hawk, sustained a decisive defeat. They lost more than two hundred warriors. Black Hawk surrendered himself, and was brought to the East. His people and the Winnebagoes retired to their reservations west of the Mississippi.³

The most prolonged and distressing Indian war of those times was with the Seminoles of the Everglade regions of Florida. A large number of negro slaves had escaped from their masters in this Territory and the adjoining States, and had joined the Indians in their gloomy and almost impenetrable forests and swamps. Frequent and bloody collisions with the whites occurred. Unhappy complications brought to the front Osceola, chief of the Seminoles, and one of the most interesting of all the Indian leaders in America.

He had married the daughter of one of the female fugitive slaves, and was greatly attached to his wife. But in 1835, having with her visited a United States fort, where Gen. Wiley Thomp-

¹ A. H. Stephens in Barnes U. S., 176, and note.

² Supplement to Niles' Register, XLIII., May, 1833. Stephens, 453, 454.

³ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 506-527. Stephens, 450.

son was in command, as Indian agent, a claim was made that Osceola's wife was still a slave and belonged to the person from whom her mother had escaped. Whatever technical claim of title may have existed, assuredly it was oppressive and impolitic to assert it by force. But General Thompson unfortunately sustained the claim, took his wife from Osceola, and delivered her to the claimant ;¹ and, in alleged punishment for threats, he kept Osceola in irons for six days.

Then all the latent revenge of the Indian nature took possession of the heart of Osceola. He fled back to the Everglades and roused his followers to vengeance. Some of the chiefs had consented to a treaty, under which the Seminoles were to be removed to the west of the Mississippi. Compliance with this was no longer thought of.

Osceola trained his followers and bided his time. Like a lynx, he secretly watched the movements of General Thompson for weeks, and on the 28th December, 1835, finding him and four other whites outside of Fort King, he fell upon them with a small force and slew them all. Thompson's body was pierced by fifteen bullets. On the same day Major Dade, with one hundred and ten United States soldiers, marching from Fort Brook, was surrounded in Wahoo swamp by the savages and fugitive slaves, and all were massacred except one, who escaped and told of the horror. This was the opening of the war.

On the 30th December, Osceola, with two hundred followers, fought a desperate battle on the crossing of the Withlahoochee with six hundred troops under General Clinch. The Indians availed themselves so skillfully of their knowledge of the swamp that they fought for an hour, and before they retreated inflicted severe loss. The whites could not overtake them. In several subsequent battles Osceola gained advantages, and on the 12th August, 1836, defeated a body of United States troops at Fort Doane. On the 23d October, 1837, having gone, under the protection of a flag of truce, to hold a conference near St. Augustine with General Jessup, he was, with the foulest treachery, seized and made a prisoner, with a number of his followers.² He was sent to Fort Moultrie, where he died of fever, January 31st, 1838, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

But this dishonoring conduct of the whites did not bring the war to a close. It lingered, with ceaseless dangers and heavy losses to the people of Florida and of the country, until Christmas

¹ Thalheimer's *Eclée*, U. S., 239. Art. Osceola, *Amer. Encyclop.*, XII, 595.

² *Amer. Encyclop.*, XII, 595. Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 462, 463. Derry, 212, 213. Thalheimer, 239. Goodrich, 383, 384.

day of 1838, when Colonel Zachary Taylor with his troops, having pursued the Seminoles into the very heart of the Everglades, inflicted on them a bloody and decisive defeat. A treaty was made in 1839, and peace established in 1842. All the surviving Seminoles have been removed to the West.

This war, precipitated by an act of unnatural and needless oppression, and attended by open bad faith on the part of the United States, cost her seven years of wearing struggle, six thousand lives, and thirty millions of dollars. No war in which she has ever engaged has brought her less of honor.

Meanwhile President Jackson was engaged in a different kind of war. He had always been the declared enemy of the Bank of the United States and of the legislation under which it was chartered. He applied his veto to a bill rechartering the bank, which had passed both Houses in the session of 1831-'32. The veto was sustained.¹ The bank was rechartered under a State act of Pennsylvania, and was managed for years by Nicholas Biddle, its president. His management had been supposed to be successful; but it had involved large loans to speculators, and the bank went down in the financial crash of 1837.

In the spring of 1833, the President made a tour through New York and the New England States. He had enough in his character and career to kindle enthusiasm in the masses, and he was everywhere welcomed by crowds and acclamations. The venerable University of Harvard conferred on him the scholarly distinction of Doctor of Laws.

Immediately after his return to Washington he prepared to remove the deposits of public money from the Bank of the United States and put them into certain banks of his own choice, which acquired the name of "pet banks." As these deposits had been originally made under authority of acts of Congress, it was doubted whether the executive department had power thus to remove and change them. William J. Duane had succeeded Mr. McLane as Secretary of the Treasury. The new Secretary felt these doubts so acutely that he declined to order the removal, whereupon Jackson promptly dismissed Mr. Duane from office and appointed Roger B. Taney as Secretary of the Treasury. He, having no doubts or scruples, in October, 1833, removed the deposits.²

This course of the President became a subject of animated discussion in the Senate, where Calhoun, Webster and Clay all united in condemning it, on the ground that it was an attempt to "unite

¹ Stephens' U. S., 449.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 454. Goodrich's U. S., 380. Quackenbos, 405, 406.

the sword and the purse in one hand," and that to the Congress belonged the power of guarding the public treasure. A resolution was passed by the Senate censuring the President for his conduct therein; but the House of Representatives did not concur.

Jackson replied to the resolution of censure by a paper known as "The Protest." It was one of the ablest documents ever produced in America, and had doubtless drawn to its composition the best powers of the finest minds in the cabinet. Thomas H. Benton moved to expunge the resolution from the journal of the Senate by causing black lines to be drawn around it and over it. This motion led to a battle in the Senate, which lasted until February, 1837, when the motion was adopted by a vote of twenty-four to nineteen.¹

It was in the beginning of this controversy that the name of "Whig" was first adopted by the party opposing the President's policy. It was said to have been suggested by Mr. Calhoun, in reproduction of the English party of the same name, who professed to oppose all unconstitutional and oppressive exercises of prerogative or acts of the government.²

But President Jackson had so completely gained the regard and confidence of the people that they uniformly sustained him. Even the doubtful policy of putting large deposits of public money into eighty-nine banks led to a great expansion of bank credits and circulation of paper representations of money, which brought temporary prosperity, to be soon followed by financial overthrow and disaster.

In November, 1833, occurred the greatest meteoric display of modern times, in which it appeared for hours as though the stars were shooting from their spheres, and that the heavens, being on fire, would be dissolved.

On the 30th January, 1835, an attempt to take the life of the President was made, just as he was leaving the rotunda of the Capitol to enter his carriage. The intended assassin turned out to be insane.³ But he exploded two percussion caps on the loaded barrels of a pistol. The aim was close, and the life was saved only by the providential failure of the cap to fire the load. Subsequent events have vividly shown that the high position of President tempts assassins to murder as strongly as the high position of monarch.

On the 6th of July, 1835, Chief-Justice Marshall died, in the eightieth year of his age. Roger B. Taney succeeded him in his high office.

¹ Amer. Encyclop., IX. 686.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 454, 455.

³ Stephens, 455.

The winter of 1834-'5 was noted for the extreme severity of its cold. On the 4th January, 1835, mercury froze at Lebanon, New York, and at other places. The Chesapeake Bay was frozen over from its head to the Atlantic capes. On the 8th February, as far south as 34° , the mercury fell to eight degrees below zero. Orange trees were killed as far south as St. Augustine, Florida.

On the night of December 16th, 1835, a great fire occurred in the city of New York, by which, in fourteen hours, property was consumed worth over seventeen millions of dollars. The burnt district covered an area of several acres in the once busiest part of the city.

During Jackson's presidency two States were admitted to the Union—Arkansas in 1836, and Michigan in January, 1837.

In no part of this President's career did he appear in a stronger light than in his course as to the just claims of the United States against France for injuries done to American shipping and commerce during the Napoleon wars. By a treaty concluded in 1831, the King of the French, Louis Philippe, had acknowledged the validity of these claims, had fixed their amount at five million dollars, and had promised to pay them. In 1834 the terms of installment and payment were definitely arranged by William C. Rives, the American minister in Paris. Yet, afterwards, the draft of the United States Treasury Department for the agreed installment was returned dishonored, and the French Chamber of Deputies made no provision for payment. General Jackson sent a message to Congress, reviewing the facts and advising that mode of redress known in international law as "reprisals"—that is, the seizure of such amount of French shipping and property as would pay the debt.

The French government took offence, and war seemed inevitable; but in this crisis England sent a small armed ship to the United States, with an offer of mediation, and made the same advances to France. This gave occasion and time for calm reflection. France was satisfied as to her honor and paid the money.

It is worthy of remark that throughout the two terms of President Jackson the English government and that of the United States were on terms of the most cordial amity.¹

To the Congress of 1836-'37 the Treasury Department had the privilege of announcing that the whole debt of the United States had been satisfied, and that a surplus of thirty-seven millions of dollars was in the treasury. It was enacted that it should be dis-

¹ Ingersoll, in *Amer. Encyclop.*, IX. 686.

tributed among the States ; but one or more of them (Virginia, for instance) refused their shares on alleged constitutional objections.

General Jackson followed the august precedent of Washington, and sent forth a farewell address to the people. He retired to the "Hermitage," his home, near Nashville, Tennessee, and took no further part in public duties. He died on the 8th of June, 1845, leaving behind him a reputation for sincerity, ability and firmness such as few men have deserved.

CHAPTER LII.

THE PRESIDENCY OF MARTIN VAN BUREN.

THE presidential election of 1836 resulted in the choice of electors, of whom one hundred and seventy voted for Martin Van Buren as President, fourteen for Daniel Webster, seventy-three for William Henry Harrison, eleven for Willie P. Mangum, of North Carolina, and twenty-six for Hugh Lawson White, of Tennessee. Mr. Van Buren was, therefore, elected President, having received a majority of the whole number. For Vice-President, one hundred and forty-seven votes were cast for Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky; seventy-seven for Francis P. Granger, of New York; forty-seven for John Tyler, of Virginia, and twenty-three for William Smith, of Alabama. Thus the election devolved on the Senate, who elected Richard M. Johnson Vice-President by a vote of thirty-three against sixteen cast for Mr. Granger.

It was well known that Mr. Van Buren owed his election, in large measure, to the favor and reflected popularity of General Jackson. The new President recognized this fact in his deeds and words. On the fourth day of March, 1837, which was clear and pleasant, he took his seat alongside of the venerable ex-President in a beautiful phaeton, constructed from the wood of the old frigate *Constitution*, and presented to Jackson by Democratic citizens of New York. Thus they rode from the President's house to the Capitol. On the eastern portico Mr. Van Buren delivered his inaugural address in clear and impressive tones. The part of it afterwards remembered was that in which he declared his purpose in all matters of public policy "to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor."¹

Chief-Justice Taney administered the oath of office. The cabinet consisted of John Forsyth, of Georgia, Secretary of State; Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, of the Treasury; Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, of War; Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey, of the Navy; Amos Kendall, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General,² General Cass had been appointed by President Jackson minister to France.

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 459.

² *Ibid.*, 459, 460.

Hardly had the retiring President settled into the rest of the "Hermitage" and the newly-elected President entered upon his high duties, before the financial storm, which had been gathering over the country almost unperceived, began to send before it ominous gleams of lightning, low but muttering thunder, and drops of rain.

Throughout March and April, 1837, it grew more and more threatening, and in May it burst upon the country in widely-spread money embarrassment and ruin. Two hundred and sixty failures occurred in New York city in the space of a few days. In New Orleans, in two days, houses suspended payment the aggregate of whose indebtedness was twenty-seven millions of dollars. In Boston, the distress was apparently smaller and more gradual; and yet in that city, from the end of November, 1836, to the end of May, 1837, one hundred and sixty-eight failures occurred.¹

An immense number of people were very prompt in attributing these misfortunes to the policy of Jackson, in whose footsteps Van Buren had declared his purpose to walk; and it was undoubtedly true that some measures of that policy had prepared the occasions of the bank failures. By Jackson's orders, the United States Treasury and Land Office had united in issuing a "Specie Circular" requiring all payments for public lands to be made in gold and silver.² The effect of this was to induce the great tide of people who were passing to the West with the purpose to purchase and settle homes, to withdraw all the gold and silver their means would enable them to command from the Northern and Eastern States and cities, and carry them to the Western land offices.

And it so happened that the time of this drain of specie synchronized with a dangerous expansion of bank paper currency. The eighty-nine "pet" banks discounted freely; and their existence and apparent success led to a great multiplication of banks under State charters. The number of banks in the Union rose to six hundred and seventy-seven, and they had one hundred and forty-six branches!³

So long as they could be content with a safe and healthy business, under which they would always hold specie enough to redeem so much of their circulating "promises to pay" as would, in the course of normal operations of trade, come back upon them, so long all was well; but the temptation to expand and discount more and more was irresistible.

¹ Goodrich's U. S., 389.

² Quackenbos' U. S., 411, 412.

³ *Ibid.*, 411.

The result might have been foreseen. Men of small means, but wild and daring spirits, united together, and easily obtained discounts from the banks, who were eager to expand their profits by lending out their paper money. The most hazardous speculations were engaged in. They failed, and their projectors failed with them. Innumerable notes fell due, were unpaid, and were protested; but when the banks sought to obtain payment from the makers and endorsers of these notes, they found nothing in their hands or belonging to them.¹

When a bank stops paying its own notes in gold and silver when demanded, it is bankrupt in law. This was the condition of nearly every bank in the United States in 1837. They all suspended payments in specie; but it did not follow necessarily that the bank was insolvent, and that, if its assets (that is, its property, means and claims) were carefully managed and collected, it could not pay its just debts.

Many of the banks who suspended in 1837 resumed specie payments in less than two years, and were afterwards solvent and prosperous. It is a fact of history that the "Bank of England," by an order in council, suspended payments in specie in February, 1797, and never resumed such payments until May 1st, 1823; and yet, during all that time, "the general concerns of the bank were in the most affluent and flourishing situation, and such as to preclude every doubt as to the security of its notes."²

But in the United States, in 1837, the ruin of the financial storm was fearful, and reached all classes. Eight of the States suspended payments of interest on their certificates of debt.³ Gradually the distress reached the treasury of the general government. Duties could not be collected, either in specie or in funds of specie value. In a few months the treasury, which in 1836 had reported all public debts paid and a surplus of thirty-seven millions of dollars, found itself unable to pay the current expenses of carrying on the government.

Manufacturing was prostrated; merchandising was suspended; imports ceased. General dismay pervaded the best business minds. The merchants of New York united in a petition to the President, urging him to withdraw the "Specie Circular."⁴ He refused this, but he called the Congress to meet in special session in September, 1837. Accordingly they met on the 4th of September, and continued in session about six weeks. They provided means by which the government was enabled to supply its

¹ Thalheimer's *Eclec.* U. S., 243, 244.

² Art. Bank, *New Amer. Encyclop.*, II. 674.

³ Thalheimer's *Eclec.* U. S., 243.

⁴ Quackenbos, 411, 412.

current wants by issuing ten million dollars in treasury notes ; but they were impotent to furnish any relief for the business disturbances and distress of the country. These went on to their final results.

The failure of the banks to pay specie for their notes caused much inconvenience from want of small coins to meet the current exchanges of every community. This led many private banks, savings institutions, and even mercantile firms and individuals, to issue on their own responsibility, and generally in violation of State laws, small notes for sums from five or ten cents up to one or two dollars. These notes were contemptuously designated as "shin-plasters" by those who looked on them with most suspicion.

And yet so indispensable were they as representatives of the small coins that the people generally welcomed them, and received and used them freely in amounts aggregating millions of dollars, and discouraged all attempts to enforce legal penalties against those who issued them. And it is a fact creditable to the general honesty of purpose for which they were put forth, that gradually, in a course of a few years, they were all redeemed and disappeared from circulation without loss to the public.

President Van Buren and his advisers were thoroughly alarmed by the money failure of the government. In the session of Congress of 1837-'38, and subsequent sessions, he constantly urged the adoption of a "sub-treasury" scheme for collecting, keeping and disbursing the public moneys. This scheme involved a complete divorce of the government from all banks, and the establishment at convenient points of buildings under bonded officers, who should receive only in gold and silver coin the public dues, and pay them out or dispose of them according to law.¹

On this policy Calhoun sided with Van Buren, and separated from Webster and Clay, who believed that a well-conducted United States Bank would be the best government depository and fiscal agent, and would repeat the services and benefits of the Bank of England to the British government. Calhoun was ably seconded by Thomas H. Benton and Silas Wright.

The "sub-treasury," or independent treasury, plan was enacted by the Congress, having passed the Senate January 23, 1840, and the House 30th June, 1841 ; but on the defeat of Mr. Van Buren it was repealed. In 1845, however, during the presidency of James K. Polk, it was in substance re-enacted, and continues to be the government system.² It is open to the objection that it con-

¹Quackenbos, 412. Stephens, 469. Goodrich, 393, 394.

²Goodrich's U. S., 393, 394.

stantly withdraws a large sum in gold and silver from business circulation which might be advantageously used by the people of the land.

During Van Buren's term, petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States became very numerous. They were generally presented to the House of Representatives by John Quincy Adams. He, however, did not advocate their objects. He advocated only their right of petition.¹

But thoughtful men regarded this subject as already threatening the peace and permanency of the Union. Mr. Calhoun presented six resolutions, which passed the Senate in January, 1838, by a vote on the leading resolution of thirty-two to eighteen. They were a strong declaration of the rights of the owners of slaves. The fifth resolution declared that "the interference by the citizens of any of the States with the view to the abolition of slavery in this District (of Columbia), and any act or measure of Congress designed to abolish slavery in this District, would be a violation of the faith implied in the cessions of the States of Virginia and Maryland, and just cause of alarm to the people of the slaveholding States, and would have a direct and inevitable tendency to disturb and endanger the Union." The sixth resolution was equally strong against any attempt of the Congress to abolish slavery in any Territory in which it existed.²

In the House, equally clear and explicit resolutions were presented by Mr. Atherton, of New Hampshire, and were passed by votes running up from one hundred and twenty-six ayes to seventy-eight noes, and reaching one hundred and ninety-four ayes to six nays on the first resolution, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That this government is a government of limited powers, and that, by the constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the several States of the confederacy."³

But these well-intended efforts did not put to rest the subject of slavery.

In 1837, parties in Canada rose up in *quasi* rebellion against the English rule. Many Americans sympathized with the Canadian insurgents and sought to help them. President Van Buren issued a firm proclamation of neutrality, and sent General Wool with an armed force to the frontier. The steamer *Caroline*, which had been fitted out in New York waters with supplies for the Cana-

¹ Amer. Encyclop., I. 108, 109.

² Resolutions given in Stephens, 463-465.

³ Resolutions in Stephens' Comp. U. S., 465, 466.

dians, was seized by the British authorities, and, after having been set on fire, was permitted to drift over the Falls of Niagara.¹

The boundary between Maine and the British province of New Brunswick had not been defined. As settlements advanced, and the gathering of logs and timber became more profitable, the settlers and loggers on each side often came into contact—sometimes into collision; and, having no ascertained line of title, actual war with deadly weapons was threatened. President Van Buren sought to maintain peace, and sent General Scott to that region. By his prudence and conciliatory measures he prevented bloodshed. In 1842, by the “Ashburton treaty,” made by negotiation between Lord Ashburton, the British special commissioner, and Daniel Webster, American Secretary of State, this boundary line was definitely settled, and disputes were ended.²

In 1838, navigation by steamers was established between England and America. It is worthy of note that Dr. Dionysius Lardner, a native of Dublin, Ireland, and a man eminent in science and learning, especially in the domain of steam, had written an article affirming the scientific and physical impossibility of making steam-ships the means of crossing the Atlantic for purposes of ordinary trade and intercourse, and that his article was brought to the United States in the steamer which refuted it. So far do will and energy outrun science and speculation!

In this same year, 1838, August 18th, a celebrated “exploring expedition,” sent out by the United States, sailed from Norfolk, Virginia. It consisted of the sloops of war *Vincennes* and *Peacock*, of twenty and eighteen guns respectively, the *Porpoise*, of ten guns, and three smaller armed vessels. It was commanded by Capt. Charles Wilkes, and carried a number of men skilled in each science in which advance was sought.³ It accomplished all the purposes for which it was sent: discovered an Antarctic continent, two thousand miles south of New Holland and Australia, on the same day on which it was seen by the French navigator D’Urville; sailed along its coast for seventeen hundred miles; circumnavigated the globe, visiting many islands and points on continents never visited before by enlightened men; took on board a large and valuable collection of live plants and bulbs, and prepared specimens of animals—including some of the *genus* man—of rare nature and qualities, all of which have since enriched the gardens and buildings of the “Smithsonian Insti-

¹Thalheimer, 245.

²Thalheimer, 245. Goodrich, 391. Barnes & Co.’s U. S., 180.

³Reports to Congress, 1842. Goodrich, 393.

tute" in Washington. They brought back also, as a prisoner, a chief of the Fiji Islands, who, with his companion cannibals, had massacred and eaten the crew of a brig from Salem, Massachusetts.¹ But he was spared, kindly treated and instructed, because he and his comrades "knew not what they did." The Fiji Islanders have since become Christians.

The various vessels of this expedition sailed, altogether, distances amounting to four hundred thousand miles; yet so perfect was the system for health practiced and enforced that only eight men died of disease during the whole term of absence of nearly four years. They returned in June, 1842.

During President Van Buren's term the "Smithsonian Institute" was urged forward. It was the outcome of a bequest of about five hundred thousand dollars, given by James Smithson, of London, to the United States in trust, to found and maintain an establishment "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

So remarkable a bequest from such a source created a widely-spread and healthful influence in the United States. The report concerning it was first made on 17th December, 1835, and yet it was not until 1846 that an act was passed for erection of buildings and launching the institute on its high voyage of learning and science. It has since become one of the great attractions of the national capital, and, with its beautiful and extensive grounds, imposing buildings, large library and museum rooms, and excellent publications, may be considered the living embodiment of the strong and enlightened spirit of the donor.

In 1838 it was hoped by many wise statesmen that the restless spirit for the abolition of slavery had been permanently quieted. It had once gained such ascendancy in Congress that, after Mr. Slade, of Vermont, had made a long speech against slavery, the Southern members withdrew for consultation, and Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, made a serious proposition that a declaration should be made that it was expedient that the Union should be dissolved.²

But the friends of the President and of democratic government yet hoped to secure peace. John M. Patton, of Virginia, introduced a resolution that, when petitions or other documents relating to slavery or its abolition were presented, they should be laid on the table without being debated, printed, read or referred. This resolution was adopted by a decisive vote in the House of Representatives.

¹ Goodrich's U. S., 393.

² Art. Van Buren, Amer. Encyclop., XVI. 17.

Yet abolition agitation continued. William Lloyd Garrison, of Massachusetts, a poor man, but bred a printer and having strong convictions and a stubborn will, had established, in 1831, a weekly newspaper called "*The Liberator*."¹

He took the ground that slavery had originated in sin, and that its continuance was a sin. His paper grew, week by week, in circulation. Many thousands in New England and at the North adopted his views. The great body of the people looked on the "Abolitionists" as fanatics and mischief-makers; but Garrison and his followers, finding that the constitution of their country, in its true interpretation, discouraged and condemned their opinions and efforts, began to attack the constitution itself. They openly wrote that it was "a covenant with death and a league with hell."²

The "Abolitionists" did not then organize themselves into a political party. They, however, often formed societies of men or women, or both, who were indefatigable in their labors to promote the progress of abolition. Persecution was tried against them, but it had its accustomed effect, and only increased their numbers and earnestness. The efforts made in Congress to ignore or suppress their petitions inflamed their zeal and expanded their influence.

As the time approached for holding the nominating conventions of 1840, it became evident that a struggle for supremacy more animated, though not more bitter, than in previous years was at hand.

The "Whigs" drew to themselves all classes who opposed the re-election of Van Buren and desired change. They selected as their nominees Gen. William Henry Harrison, a native of Virginia and son of one of her governors, though afterwards a resident in the Northwest, for President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice-President.

The "Democrats" had no ground of party complaint against Mr. Van Buren, though many of them felt no enthusiasm for his re-election. On one point of Democratic creed he had been incautious. He had, in one of his messages to Congress, recommended that the militia of the several States should be enrolled, drilled and mustered under trained officers. This was thought to be a measure savoring strongly of "Federalism," and of a "standing army" of huge proportions, organized by the Federal government. As such, it was a point of attack by Whig debaters in the canvass. But it was not so intended by Mr. Van Buren,

¹ Scudder's U. S., 335.

² Horace E. Scudder's U. S., 335. Art. Garrison, Amer. Encyclop., VIII. 91.

and it has, therefore, been almost pretermitted and dropped out of view in current histories of his times.¹

The Democratic convention which met in Baltimore May 5th, 1840, renominated Van Buren as President, but did not name a candidate for the vice-presidency, referring that choice to the States.

The canvass that followed was one of unprecedented activity and general good humor. Harrison's fine military record helped him, and songs were shouted along the streets and in the country, the refrain of which was in the words: "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." The plain and homely living of the Whig candidate was represented by a "log cabin" with the latch-string outside, and his favorite beverage was said to be "hard cider," of which it was common to see a barrel mounted on runners, and carried to the points for public speaking; and here the orators and the prominent Whigs, followed by all who chose to join, would drink gravely in succession of the "hard cider," not without some grimaces and wry looks when it proved too "hard."

On the other hand, the "gold spoons" used in the dinner service at the President's house were sharply commented on in contrast.² The widely-spread financial distress and ruin were traced back to Van Buren and the measures he had advocated.

The result was not long in doubt. Months before the electoral college assembled it was known that Harrison and Tyler had been chosen. When the votes were thrown and counted, it was ascertained that two hundred and thirty-four electoral votes were given for William Henry Harrison as President, and the same number for John Tyler as Vice-President. Martin Van Buren received sixty votes for President. For Vice-President, Richard M. Johnson received forty-eight; Littleton W. Tazewell, of Virginia, eleven, and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, one vote.³

Mr. Van Buren retired to his home at Kinderhook, New York. He had never applied the veto to any enactment of Congress. No State had been admitted to the Union during his term. And yet, notwithstanding all the financial disturbances and stoppages of business, the population of the country, between 1830 and 1840, rose from seventeen million to more than twenty-three million in round numbers, and every form of industry, art and science received an impetus which pressed them rapidly forward.

¹The "Old Log Cabin," by Dr. A. S. McRae. *Dispatch* (Va.), Dec. 19th, 1890.

²Stephens' *Comp. U. S.*, 467.

³Stephens, 469.

CHAPTER LIII.

PRESIDENCIES OF WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON AND JOHN TYLER. BANK VETOES.—TEXAS.

IN the sixty-ninth year of his age, and apparently in the enjoyment of health and strength for duty, William Henry Harrison was inaugurated President of the United States on the fourth day of March, 1841. Washington was thronged with people—many from distant residences. A procession was formed from the hotel where the President stayed to the Capitol. He rode a white horse, and his immediate escort were the officers and soldiers who had fought under him. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney, in the presence of sixty thousand people.

His inaugural address was long, and yet was read with unflagging distinctness of voice. Often its declarations of thought and sentiment called forth cheers of approval. He closed with these words :

“Our confederacy, fellow-citizens, can only be preserved by the same forbearance. Our citizens must be content with the exercise of the powers with which the constitution clothes them. The attempt of those of one State to control the domestic institutions of another can only result in feelings of distrust and jealousy, and are certain harbingers of disunion, violence, civil war, and the ultimate destruction of our free institutions. Our confederacy is perfectly illustrated by the terms and principles governing a common co-partnership. There a fund of power is to be exercised, under the direction of the joint counsels of the allied members ; but that which has been reserved by the individuals is intangible by the common government, or the other individual members composing it. To attempt it finds no support in the principles of our constitution.”¹

His cabinet consisted of Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State ; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, of the Treasury ; John Bell, of Tennessee, of War ; George E. Badger, of North Carolina, of the Navy ; Francis Granger, of New York, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, Attorney-General.

On the 17th of March, the President issued his proclamation convening the Congress in special session on Monday, the last day

¹ Extract from inaugural, in Stephens' Comp. U. S., 470.

of May. On the 27th of March he was seized with an acute and violent attack of pneumonia, which baffled all medical skill for arrest or mitigation of its power, and terminated his life on the 4th day of April, 1841, just one month from the day of his inauguration. His death was mourned by millions of his countrymen.

Then, for the first time, the Federal government was subjected to the trial of losing its elected President during his term; but there was no interregnum—no strain. The Vice-President became President and the government went on.

John Tyler was in Williamsburg when news of the death of President Harrison reached him.¹ He went immediately to Washington, and assumed the duties of the Chief Executive. He requested the cabinet officers of Harrison to retain their places, and they complied. He sent forth an inaugural address after the custom of his predecessors.

The Whig party, which had won the great victory of 1840, was a conglomerate of many diverse elements: National Republicans; the opponents of the doctrines of President Jackson's proclamation and of the "Force Bill," led by Tyler and Tazewell, of Virginia; the followers of Henry A. Wise and John Bell, who strongly disapproved of the removal of the "deposits" by Jackson; the many, under the lead of Judge Hugh Lawson White, who condemned the "expunging resolution," and the great number, led by Legaré, of South Carolina, Tallmadge, of New York, and Rives, of Virginia, who repudiated the sub-treasury scheme of Mr. Van Buren.²

It was known that Mr. Tyler had always been a States' rights man. He had opposed John Quincy Adams and had sided with Crawford, Calhoun and Jackson; had voted against the Tariff Bill of 1828, and opposed that of 1832. Though he disapproved of "nullification," he had opposed the "Force Bill" in an elaborate speech, and had supported the vote of censure on Jackson for removing the public moneys from the United States Bank.

But he had opposed the bill to continue the charter of that bank,³ and had repeatedly and publicly announced his opposition to such an incorporation as unconstitutional.⁴ From 1833 to 1841, the question of the re-charter of such a bank had been regarded, even by such Whigs as Henry Clay, as an "obsolete question."⁵

In his message to the Congress which convened May 31st, 1841, President Tyler discussed the question of the public revenue, and said: "In intimate connection with the question of revenue is

¹ Art. Tyler, *Amer. Encyclop.*, XV. 684.

² Lyon G. Tyler's "Parties and Patronage," 1891, pp. 56-59. ³ *Amer. Encyclop.*, XV. 684.

⁴ Lyon G. Tyler's *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, I. 471-477, 496, 504. ⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 596-628.

that which makes provision for a suitable fiscal agent, capable of adding increased facilities in the collection and disbursement of the public revenues, rendering more secure their custody and consulting a true economy in the great, multiplied and delicate operations of the Treasury Department. Upon such an agent depends in an eminent degree the establishment of a currency of uniform value, which is of so great importance to all the essential interests of society; and on the wisdom to be manifested in its creation much depends. I shall be ready to concur with you in the adoption of such system as you may propose, reserving to myself the ultimate power of rejecting any measure which may, in my view of it, conflict with the constitution or otherwise jeopard the prosperity of the country."

But the word "bank" is not found in this passage. President Tyler held the view of Thomas Jefferson, that Congress had no power, under the constitution, to incorporate a bank in any State without her consent and the consent of all States in which she might establish branches. Before the inauguration of Harrison, Mr. Tyler had definitely expressed his views against a national bank to Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, and John M. Botts, of Virginia.¹

But many in the Congress regarded with favor the establishment of a United States Bank as the fiscal agent of the government. A plan of incorporation of the "Fiscal Bank of the United States" was drawn up by Secretary Ewing, of the Treasury Department, and introduced by a bill in the Senate. It was not in all respects what the President would have preferred, but was in substance the plan which he regarded as in accord with the constitution. It created a bank in the District of Columbia (over which Congress had express jurisdiction), and provided for branches with definite consent of the States in which they should be created.²

This bill was referred, on motion of Henry Clay, to a select committee on finance, of which he was chairman. Here the bill was so reconstructed as to make it a charter of a bank on the old plan, with power to establish branches without the express consent of the States where established. A leading journal openly declared that the sentiments of the President, as "well known and maintained for fifteen years," were adverse to this.³

His opposition to such a scheme was so well known that John M. Botts, of Virginia, had obtained a personal interview with him, and had asked his consideration of a paper which proposed that "branches might be established in any State the legislature

¹ Letters and Times of the Tylers, II. 15-17, 68.

² *Ibid.*, II. 44, 51.

³ National Intelligencer, June 5, 1841. Tylers, II. 44.

of which did not by a formal act express their dissent at their next session, and that, even in case of such dissent, Congress might authorize the branches wherever the public interest might seem to demand them."¹ The President promptly condemned this proposition. But it was introduced into the Bank Bill, which passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-six to twenty-three, and the House by a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight to ninety-seven. It was promptly vetoed by President Tyler, and returned with his reasons for dissent. It could not command the two-thirds vote needed to pass it over the veto.

Private conferences went on between leading members of both Houses and Mr. Tyler. A second bill was passed chartering a bank under the title of "The Fiscal Corporation of the United States." A second veto followed, on grounds clearly given.

The excitement and fury among the Whigs have been described as follows: "The papers burst out into a tirade of vituperation and invective; the fires of a thousand effigies lighted the streets of the various cities; Whig orators and politicians vied with each other in casting at him the filth and garbage of falsehood and defamation; hundreds of letters were received and opened by the President's private secretary threatening him with certain assassination."²

But the President, conscious of his own right and consistency, preserved his composure; nor did he lose it, when his veto was followed by the resignations of Ewing, Bell, Badger, Crittenden and Granger. Daniel Webster alone remained at his post. His reasons were: *First*, "because he had seen no sufficient reasons for the dissolution of the late cabinet by the voluntary act of its own members; *second*, because if he had seen reasons to resign his office, he would not have done so without giving the President reasonable notice, and affording him time to select the hands to which he should confide the delicate and important matters now pending in this department;" *third*, because he was engaged in negotiating with Lord Ashburton the northeastern boundary questions, which resulted in the important treaty of 1842.³

If hopes had been indulged that these precipitate resignations would fatally embarrass the government, such hopes were vain. Mr. Tyler promptly sent in names which the Senate could not refuse to ratify.

The cabinet was arranged with John C. Spencer, of New York, Secretary of War; Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, of the Navy; Walter Forward, of Pennsylvania, of the Treasury; Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General; and Hugh S. Legaré,

¹ The Tylers, II. 55-58.

² *Ibid.*, II. 82.

³ *Ibid.*, 118-124. Scudder, 345. Stephens, 473.

of South Carolina, Attorney-General. In May, 1843, Mr. Webster resigned the State Department. Mr. Legaré was appointed to the office. He died soon afterwards, during a visit which he made with the President to Boston to take part in the ceremonies attending the completion of the Bunker's Hill monument. Subsequent changes occurred, by which Upshur became Secretary of State; George M. Bibb, of Kentucky, of the Treasury; William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, of War; Thos. W. Gilmer, of Virginia, of the Navy; and John Nelson, of Maryland, Attorney-General.

But on the 28th of February, 1844, occurred a fatal explosion, which again produced vacancies in President Tyler's cabinet. The United States steamer *Princeton* was lying in the Potomac river below Washington. By invitation of Captain Stockton, the President, with most of the members of his cabinet, several senators and members of the House, officers of the army and navy of high rank, and well-known citizens of Washington, male and female, went aboard of her to witness her manœuvres, and especially the firing of an enormous gun called the "Peace-maker," mounted on her deck, with a companion gun of the same calibre. They carried a shot of two hundred and twenty-five pounds. At the second firing the "Peace-maker" exploded, and her flying fragments struck and killed Secretaries Upshur and Gilmer and many others, some of whom were eminent in office or in private life. The sudden tragedy carried desolation to families and loving hearts.²

John C. Calhoun was appointed Secretary of State, and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy.

The efforts of the Abolitionists became more and more persistent. They poured in upon the Congress petitions for destroying slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories. Mr. Adams, in steady maintenance of the right of petition, presented these papers. But, in November, 1843, as he was returning from a tour through the West, he was met at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, by an association of these petitioners and their sympathizers. To them he made an address, parts of which greatly amazed and discouraged them, and placed this able man in a higher light before his country.³

He said: "As to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, I have said that I was opposed to it, not because I have any doubts of the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District, for I have none; but I regard it as a violation of republican principles to enact laws at the petition of *one people* which are

¹ Amer. Encyclop., XV. 686.

² Art. Stockton, Amer. Encyclop., XV. 108. Stephens, 475. Goodrich, 401.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 475.

to operate upon *another people against their consent*. As the laws now stand, the people of the District have *property* in their slaves."

Thoughtful people in the South had long looked with anxiety on the progress of this abolition sentiment. They saw that a determined purpose existed to restrict the existence of slavery by lines which would, sooner or later, make the slave area comparatively small.¹ The question of the annexation of foreign territory became the pretext for renewed opposition to the institutions of the South.

The island of Cuba, with her rich soil, hot suns, and tropical products, was a desirable possession; but Cuba was beyond reach for the time. Several attempts had been made by American Presidents to purchase the island from Spain, but she had refused to sell. In 1825, while Henry Clay was Secretary of State under the presidency of John Quincy Adams, Spain had proposed, in consideration of certain important commercial advantages to be granted by her, that the United States should guarantee to her the title and possession of Cuba.² But Mr. Clay had sagaciously declined this proposition, because it would entangle his country in forms of guaranty not congenial to her institutions. Thus Spain retained Cuba; and Mr. Calhoun never approved of lawless attacks or "filibustering" against her.

While people in the Northern and Eastern States were zealously seeking to disturb the rights of the Southern people in their slaves, one of the New England States became the scene of a rebellion against constituted authority. This was the revolutionary movement, in 1842 and subsequent years, stirred up by Thomas W. Dorr and those who agreed with him in seeking to overturn the old constitution of Rhode Island, which was certainly behind the requirements of the age. We have already, in a previous chapter, given an account of this movement and its results. President Tyler's intervention with the United States authority and military force was cautious and salutary.³ Yet grave constitutional questions emerged from these troubles, which reached the Supreme Court, and were adjudicated in *Luther vs. Borden*, decided at the December term, 1848.⁴

President Tyler's term was immortalized by the success of the "Magnetic Telegraph," invented by Samuel F. B. Morse, who discovered a method by which the powers of the all-pervading electricity of earth and air should be used to transmit nearly

¹ Scudder's U. S., 336, 337.

² Art. Cuba, Amer. Encyclop. Eggleston, 300.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 473, 474. Goodrich's U. S., 400, 401.

⁴ *Luther vs. Borden*, VII. Howard, 1-55.

instantaneous messages. He set up and worked a telegraphic wire as early as 1835.¹

But he sought pecuniary aid, and, with "hope deferred," ere he could obtain the means needed for setting his grand invention in practical movement, he became very poor—so poor that during some days he had no food at all. A bill appropriating thirty thousand dollars for testing his invention had made some progress in the Twenty-seventh Congress; but it was crowded by conflicting bills and business. The bill was warmly supported by President Tyler, and was finally passed on the last day of the session.

The first experimental line was between Washington and Baltimore, and the first message sent over it was by Miss Ellsworth, in these words: "What hath God wrought?" An early one was in 1844, announcing the nomination of James K. Polk as President. The feat was so amazing that the old politicians refused to believe it or act on it until the regular mails confirmed it.²

But the deed was done. The tour of thought expressed in visible symbols by the power of lightning had commenced. Morse's name has become one of the great names of the earth. Broad ribbons, with jewels and kingly decorations, came to him in such profusion that space on the expanded breast of his coat could hardly be found for them. That first transit of forty-five miles has extended to more than one hundred and fifty thousand miles, and wires stretch under all seas and convey messages from people to people, which travel faster than the earth on her axis.

Early in January, 1845, a treaty with the vast empire of China was ratified by the Senate. It had been negotiated by Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, with the Governor-General Tsyeng, on behalf of the Emperor Taou Kwang, and opened this ancient and mysterious land of China to the commerce and intercourse of the United States to an extent never before accorded to any people.³

Meanwhile on the southwestern frontier of the United States had arisen a new republic, destined to exert a material influence on the fortunes and welfare of the whole North American continent. Texas, in territorial extent, is an empire in herself, containing about two hundred and thirty-eight thousand square miles of area, extending from the Gulf of Mexico and the parallel of 25° 50' to 36° 30' north, and from the meridian line of 93° 30' to 107° west, and embracing fine harbors, navigable rivers, rich arable lands, broad prairies, immense pasturing districts, forest stretches, and unmeasured mineral deposits of coal, gypsum and valuable granite and limestone rocks.⁴

¹ Eggleston's *Household U. S.*, 280, 281.

² *Ibid.*, 281. Barnes, 183. Thalheimer, 250.

³ Goodrich, 403. Stephens, 479.

⁴ *Art. Texas, Amer. Encyclop.*, XV. 397.

To Moses Austin, of Durham, Connecticut, Texas owes her rise and settlement, first as a Spanish colony, then as a part of the province of Cohahuila, under the republic of Mexico, and finally as an independent State. In 1820 he obtained from the government of Spain a very extensive grant of land for the purpose of planting thereon a large colony of immigrants;¹ and these were nearly all from the United States.

On the 2d of May, 1824, the *Cortes*, or congress, of Mexico passed an act intended to encourage settlements in Texas, declaring that, when in population and development it was ready, it should become an independent State of the Mexican republic, equal to the other States, free, sovereign and independent in whatever exclusively related to its internal government and administration.²

On the faith of this act, immigration from the United States and other countries went forward, not only to Austin's colony, but to other parts of Texas; but in 1830 came a sudden and oppressive interruption from a usurper of power. Bustamente, by intrigue and violence, assumed power as president or emperor in Mexico. He issued decrees forbidding the subsequent immigration of foreigners, and overturning the free constitution of 1824. The Texans were roused to resistance. When Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna overthrew Bustamente in 1832, something better was hoped for. But this new tyrant speedily showed himself in his true colors. He entirely overturned the republican constitution of 1824, and established a centralized and consolidated government, of which he was "dictator," and which had only the name of a republic, while the republic, in fact, was dead.³

These measures were in themselves enough to justify the people of Texas in throwing off the rule of Mexico and establishing for themselves an independent State. But they were not to succeed without a bitter struggle, in which they maintained their cause most gallantly by force of arms. This war belongs to the history of Texas, and not of the United States.

It was substantially ended by the battle of San Jacinto, fought near the banks of that river on the 21st of April, 1836. Santa Anna, with an overwhelming force, had, in February of that year, first bombarded and then carried by assault the Fort Alamo, defended by one hundred and forty Texans, under Colonel Travis. The defence was heroic and the slaughter of the Mexicans terrific. But numbers prevailed. The assailants were four thousand strong. David Crockett, of Tennessee, here fell. The whole garrison re-

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 480.

² Act of the Cortes, May 2d, 1824. Stephens, 480.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 481.

maining alive were put to the sword on the 6th of March. But the assailants lost sixteen hundred men;¹ and on the 27th of March, by Santa Anna's orders, and in gross violation of the terms of surrender, the whole of Colonel Fannin's command of three hundred men, who, after fighting a force of several thousand for a whole day, had yielded themselves as prisoners of war at Goliad, were deliberately put to death in cold blood.²

The Texan army under Gen. Samuel Houston were roused to the highest point of thirst for revenge and retribution when they heard of these atrocities. They were somewhat depressed by three retreating moves of Houston—first to the Colorado, next to the Brazos, and finally to the San Jacinto. But the Texan general was wise. His design was to scatter and divide the Mexican forces; and he succeeded.

Santa Anna, flushed with confidence of victory, left much of his army and artillery behind, and pressed after Houston in full pursuit. On the 21st of April, with a force still numbering about two thousand, he found himself face to face with Houston's army of eight hundred men. The time for battle had come. The Texans, shouting, "Remember the Alamo! remember Goliad!" rushed upon the Mexicans with a fury and vehemence which made their attack resistless. The enemy's ranks were broken. Hundreds were slain and wounded. The rest surrendered themselves prisoners as fast as they could. Santa Anna was found and taken prisoner the next day. The loss of the Mexicans was six hundred and thirty killed, two hundred and eight wounded, and seven hundred and thirty prisoners. The Texan loss was small.

Impulse and revenge would have called for the immediate execution of Santa Anna; but civilized warfare and prudent policy forbade it. General Houston entered into negotiation with this Mexican dictator and obtained from him an order under which the Mexican troops under Generals Filisola and Urrea, demoralized and half-starved, retreated to Mexican territory, leaving Texas with no enemies on her soil. Santa Anna gave his parole as a prisoner of war, and was permitted to pass into the United States and make his way to Washington.

Thus Texas had gained her independence. Mexico did not acknowledge it, but sent no troops to maintain even a show of authority. On the 12th November, 1835, the people of Texas, by their delegates in convention, adopted a State constitution. On the 22d October, 1836, Gen. Samuel Houston was inaugurated as

¹ Art. Texas, Amer. Encyclop., XV. 404.

² Art. Fannin, New Amer. Encyclop. Stephens, 483, 484. Democratic Review on Texas Campaigns.

the second President, Austin having been the first. Mirabeau B. Lamar was the third, and Anson Jones, the fourth President, in 1844. On the 3d of March, 1837, the United States in solemn form acknowledged the independence of the new republic. Two years afterwards it was recognized also by France and England, and very soon afterwards by all the leading powers of Europe.¹

On the 4th of August, 1837, Texas made formal application for admission to the Union, but President Van Buren declined to entertain the proposition; and the treaty for her admission first made by President Tyler was rejected by the Senate.

Mr. Upshur and Mr. Calhoun and their followers desired the admission of Texas on the expressed ground "to extend the influence of slavery and secure its perpetual duration."² But President Tyler's views were much higher. Although he was warmly Southern and had voted against the "Missouri Compromise," he deprecated slavery and desired its ultimate extinction so earnestly that he was one of the earliest presidents of the Virginia Colonization Society.³ He desired Texas to be a part of the United States because he recognized in her an empire of future greatness and wealth.

In the Congress of 1844-'45 many propositions for the admission of Texas were introduced. The one which prevailed was that of Milton Brown, of Tennessee. He was a Whig, but a Whig who adopted the "strict construction" view of the constitution, and, therefore, sided with William C. Rives in the Senate and Henry A. Wise in the House, in supporting Mr. Tyler.

His resolution was in three clauses. It provided for the immediate admission of Texas, with safeguards as to her debts, and with the provision in the third clause that new States, not exceeding four in number, formed from the soil of Texas, might thereafter, with her consent, be admitted into the Union, and that such States as might be so formed out of Texas territory lying south of 36° 30' north latitude, commonly known as the "Missouri Compromise" line, should be admitted into the Union, with or without slavery, as the people of such State asking admission might desire.⁴

This proposition was in the true spirit of the "Missouri Compromise," and ought, therefore, to have been supported by the anti-slavery members; but it encountered vehement opposition from many of them. It was, however, adopted on the 25th of January, 1845, in the House by a vote of one hundred and twenty yeas to ninety-eight nays.⁵

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 484, 485.

² Calhoun's report. Thalheimer, 249.

³ Letters and Times of the Tylers, I. 566-570.

⁴ Resolutions in Stephens, 477, 478.

⁵ Stephens, 478.

Meanwhile conventions of both the Whig and the Democratic parties had been held to make nominations for President and Vice-President. The Whigs met in Baltimore, May 1st, 1844, and nominated Henry Clay for President, and Theodore Frelinghuysen for Vice-President. The Democratic convention met also in Baltimore on the 27th May, and nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, for President, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. The rule requiring a vote of *two-thirds* to nominate had become the fixed law in Democratic conventions. Van Buren was defeated by this rule. He was opposed to the admission of Texas.

The Abolitionists now entered the field as a political party, and presented James G. Birney, of Michigan, for President. The questions of national bank, protective tariff, and internal improvements by the Federal government, were largely discussed before immense popular assemblages; but the all-absorbing issue was the admission of Texas.

The result was perfectly distinct. For James K. Polk as President, one hundred and seventy electoral votes were returned, and the same number for George M. Dallas as Vice-President. One hundred and five electoral votes were returned for Henry Clay as President, and the same number for Theodore Frelinghuysen as Vice-President. No electoral vote was returned for Mr. Birney; but out of a popular vote of two million five hundred thousand, he received about sixty-five thousand votes. This was ominous of coming events.

The true Democrats of the United States have always been those who have held States' rights doctrines and strict construction of the Federal constitution, because the people (*δημος*) had been the basis of the colonies which became the States and formulated the constitution. But gradually another element of the democracy came into being—people who acted on the principle that the will of a mere majority must always be carried out, and that to the leaders who could command such majority belonged the spoils and all authority. President Jackson had been the idol of such Democrats, and Van Buren, Benton and others had kept this spirit alive and infused it into their followers. During Jackson's presidency the term "Locofoco" was invented as applicable to this form of democracy, and was continued for years.¹

When Milton Brown's bill to annex Texas went to the Senate, Thomas H. Benton (who was a leader among the Locofocos) introduced a bill which assumed that Texas could only be annexed

¹ Letters and Times of the Tylers, I. 469, 507.

by negotiation and treaty. This menaced indefinite delay. But Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, a native of Pennsylvania, who merits a high place in history because of his fairness and ability, offered a joint resolution, introducing Brown's proposition and Benton's proposition as alternatives, and authorizing the President to elect under which Texas should be admitted. This passed the Senate, February 27th, 1845, by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-five, and was adopted by the House by a vote of one hundred and thirty-two to seventy-six.¹

This joint resolution did not reach President Tyler until March 1st. He promptly signed it, and after consulting his cabinet, and communicating to the President-elect his purpose, he elected the Milton Brown proposition and sent a special message to Texas communicating the resolution and his action. President Anson Jones called a convention, which met in Texas on the 4th July, ratified the terms of admission, and adopted a constitution, which was submitted to the people and approved.² The formal vote of Congress admitting Texas as a State of the Union was approved December 27th, 1845.

Two States were added to the Union during President Tyler's term: Texas, by force of the joint resolution of March 1st, and Florida, by act of Congress passed and approved March 3d, 1845.

John Tyler encountered during his presidency an amount of opposition and vituperative obloquy such as has seldom been borne by a man elevated to high station by popular vote; but no charge of broken faith, or even of inconsistency, has been sustained against him. He was strongly hostile to every form of the "spoils doctrine," which had become so prevalent in presidencies preceding his. He was opposed to removals from office merely on party grounds. During the brief month that General Harrison had lived as President, his Postmaster-General, Francis Granger, had removed seventeen hundred postmasters of all grades. President Tyler, on assuming office, instantly put a stop to this merciless proscription. Granger afterwards stated that, but for Mr. Tyler's accession and prohibition, three thousand more postmasters would have been removed!³

John Tyler retired to his home in Virginia. He enjoyed the confidence and affection of many friends, but took no active part in public affairs until the approach of the great war. Then his counsels and efforts were for peace.

¹ Tylers, II. 360-365, 630; II. 304.

² Art. Texas, Amer. Encyclop., XV. 405.

³ Lyon G. Tyler's Parties and Patronage, 68, 69, note.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE PRESIDENCY OF JAMES K. POLK.—WAR WITH MEXICO.

GOOD, patriot blood ran in the veins of James Knox Polk. He was born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, in 1795. The original name of the family was Pollock, and his great-uncle had been active in promoting the "Mecklenburg Declaration" in 1775.¹ James K. Polk had graduated with the first honors at the University of North Carolina in 1818, had settled in Tennessee, had served in her legislature and as her governor, had been in the Congress of the United States for fourteen years, had been Speaker of the House of Representatives, and had always proved himself to be a consistent Democrat. He had been conspicuous as the adversary of the national bank, the protective tariff and the appropriation of Federal money for internal improvements, and as the supporter of the measures of General Jackson.² He had not the highest genius, but he had decided talent. His term was brilliant in events which added fame to his country and vastly extended her territory and her power.

He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845, in the fiftieth year of his age. Chief-Justice Taney administered the oath, in the presence of a crowd great indeed, but not so vast as that which had attended the inauguration of Harrison.³

President Polk, in his inaugural address, placed himself squarely on the platform erected by the Democratic convention of May 27th, 1844. He approved of the annexation of Texas, and asserted that the title of the United States to the whole of Oregon was clear, and intimated his purpose to maintain it by force, if necessary.

One of his early measures was injurious to the coherency of the Democratic party. Philip P. Blair, Senior, and John C. Rives, editors of the *Congressional Globe*, had, from the beginning of Jackson's presidency, been recognized as conductors of a paper so influential as to be the organ of the administration. They had been elected public printers, and had thus annually secured large

¹ Thalheimer's *Eclat*, U. S., 259 (note).

² *Amer. Encyclop.*, XIII. 458, 459. *Stephens' Comp. U. S.*, 496.

³ *Stephens' Comp. U. S.*, 486.

money profits ; but in the discussions previous to the Democratic convention and during the convention itself, they had zealously supported the nomination of Martin Van Buren and opposed any other. On the other hand, Thomas Ritchie, of the *Enquirer*, of Richmond, Virginia, though he had earnestly supported Jackson, had bitterly opposed the nomination of Van Buren in 1844, and had exerted a prevalent power in defeating him. Soon after assuming his high office, Mr. Polk insisted on dethroning Blair and Rives, and promoting Thomas Ritchie to their former position, influence and profits. This step rankled in the hearts of the Van Buren Democrats, and alienated them from the party.¹

But events more important than party quarrels and newspaper changes soon absorbed public attention.

General Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, had remonstrated against the annexation of Texas. Soon after the opening of the new administration, Almonte demanded his passports and left the city. All friendly intercourse with Mexico was now ended. She had never acknowledged the independence of Texas, and, therefore, from her standpoint, could not look upon the course of the United States as friendly. In fact, the Whig party and the followers of Mr. Van Buren had earnestly argued that the annexation of Texas must necessarily lead to war with Mexico ; and the event vindicated their foresight.

But, on the other hand, the Texas advocates had urged, with great force of law, logic and sentiment, that Texas had been really independent for years ; that her existence as an independent State had been acknowledged by the United States and by all the leading European powers for eight years ; that Mexico had no right to continue to claim a sovereignty which had been extinguished for so long a period, and therefore had no right, according to the principles of international law, to make the annexation of Texas a *casus belli* against the United States. There was no sound answer to this reasoning.

But Mexico was not governed by wise counsels. Her preparations for hostilities soon became apparent. The State authorities of Texas reported these movements to the general government, and asked for protection. President Polk did not hesitate as to his duty.

He had organized his cabinet by appointing James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State ; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, of the Treasury ; William L. Marcy, of New York, of War ; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, of the Navy ; Cave

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 486.

Johnson, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

Col. Zachary Taylor, who had come out of the war against the Seminole Indians with a higher reputation than any other officer of his grade, was made brigadier-general, and was ordered to take command of all the United States troops that could be speedily obtained for Texas, amounting in the aggregate to about five thousand men.¹

A question of boundary existed. Mexico claimed that the river Nueces was the western boundary of the province of Texas; but Texas, as a State, claimed that the river known as the Rio Grande was her true western boundary; and this claim was corroborated by all the ancient and modern maps and by the natural land and water marks.² The only plausible basis for the Nueces boundary was that the territory between the rivers was settled chiefly by Mexicans; but immigrants who sympathized strongly with the cause of Texas' independence were also there, and the State did not choose to abandon them to the perturbed and unwise rule of Mexico.

It was clearly the duty of the United States, after receiving Texas into the Federal Union, to maintain her territorial bounds as she claimed them until they were definitely settled; but, as the western boundary was disputed, an offer was made by President Polk's State Department to settle the line by negotiation. This offer was scornfully rejected by the Mexican authorities.³ Mr. John Slidell, who had been sent to Mexico as commissioner, was refused reception by both Herrera and Paredes.⁴

Nothing remained but to use force against force. General Taylor established a depot of provisions and military supplies near Corpus Christi, at the mouth of the Nueces, on the Gulf of Mexico, about twenty-one miles from Matamoras, which was a Mexican town at the mouth of the Rio Grande.

On the 13th of January, 1846, orders were given to him to advance to the Rio Grande. On the 28th of March he reached its eastern bank and erected a fortress, afterwards called Fort Brown, within cannon-shot of Matamoras.

In April, General Ampudia, with a large Mexican force, arrived at Matamoras, and sent notice to General Taylor that, unless he withdrew his troops without delay to the eastern side of the Nueces, war would commence; and on the 26th of April, Cap-

¹ Quackenbos, 424, 425. Stephens, 487.

² Compare Amer. Encyclop., XV. 396. Derry, 224, 225. Prof. Johnston, 183. Thalheimer, 253, and map, 257. Swinton, 192, and map.

³ Quackenbos, 424. Holmes' U. S., 209.

⁴ Blackburn & McDonald, 363, 364.

tain Thornton and sixty-three dragoons of the American army, while foraging in the disputed region, were surrounded by a large force of the Mexicans, and, after losing sixteen men, killed and wounded, were forced to surrender. Captain Thornton escaped and reported the facts.¹ Thus Mexico, beyond question, made the first attack and shed the first blood in the war.

As the enemy, in numbers not known, were now east of the Rio Grande, General Taylor feared for his depot of supplies at Point Isabel, near to Corpus Christi. He therefore left a garrison of about four hundred men in the fort under Major Brown, and with the main body of his army marched to Point Isabel.

Here he found all safe. Having strengthened the works and defending force, he set out immediately to return to the relief of Fort Brown, knowing it would be hard pressed. His army was two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight strong, and he conveyed a large provision train.

On the 8th of May, he encountered the Mexican army, six thousand in number, near the prairie of Palo Alto. Such disparity might have given pause to a less resolute commander; but General Taylor ordered an immediate advance and attack. He posted his artillery advantageously and played upon the columns of the enemy with destructive effect. After a combat of five hours the Mexicans were driven from the field with a loss of nearly four hundred in killed and wounded. The Americans lost nine killed and forty-four wounded; but among their dead was the brave Major Ringgold, of the artillery. While directing his batteries he was stricken down by a shell. His comrades hastened to his side. He said: "Leave me alone; you are wanted in front."² He lived long enough to hear the shouts of victory as the enemy fled from the field.

In the afternoon of the next day General Taylor again advanced with his army. At three o'clock he came upon the Mexicans occupying a strong position at Resaca de la Palma, about three miles from Fort Brown. The battle was commenced by the artillery on both sides. The Mexican guns were better posted and better served than on the previous day, and their fire was more efficient. A charge of cavalry to attempt their capture was determined on. Colonel May, at the head of his dragoons, dashed upon the guns at full speed, though they were firing grape and canister all the time. Half of the assailants fell, but the rest reached the gunners and cut them down or drove them to the rear,

¹ Goodrich's *Pict. U. S.*, 407. Stephens, 487. Derry, 226.

² Quackenbos, 426, 427. Stephens, 488.

capturing General La Vega, who commanded all the Mexican artillery. At the same time the American infantry charged. The Mexicans gave way and took to flight in utter rout. By nightfall not a Mexican soldier remained east of the Rio Grande. The victory was complete. The Americans lost one hundred and twenty-two killed and wounded. Two hundred of the enemy were found dead on the field, and their total loss was not far from one thousand.¹

During General Taylor's absence with his army, Fort Brown had been almost constantly bombarded by Arista (who had succeeded Ampudia) from his heavy guns at Matamoras; but every attempt at advance had been met by the fire of the fort. Major Brown, exposing himself in order to observe the movements of the enemy, had received a mortal wound. The day after the battle of Resaca, Taylor, with his army, re-entered the lines of the fort and relieved the faithful, but wearied, garrison.²

When news of these successes reached the people of the United States, a feeling of relief and intense excitement pervaded them. Many had opposed the war; and when it was known that, by order of the government, General Taylor had marched into the disputed strip of territory with forces small in numbers compared with the Mexican armies which confronted and almost surrounded him, fears and predictions of disaster were abundant. But now came tidings of the blood shed in the attack on Thornton and his men, the successful march of Taylor to relieve Point Isabel, his return and his decisive victories with his heroic army against greatly superior numbers at Palo Alto and Resaca, the resolute defence and complete relief of Fort Brown. Instantly all opposition to the war was hushed; all united in the sentiment that Taylor must be reinforced and the war prosecuted with vigor.³

On the 11th of May, 1846, President Polk sent in a message to Congress briefly narrating the facts, and declaring that "Mexico had invaded our territory and shed the blood of our citizens on our own soil." No disposition any longer existed to criticise the accuracy of such a statement. The Congress promptly passed an act reciting that "war existed by the act of Mexico," and authorizing the President to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers for the war, and appropriating ten million dollars for its prosecution. Large popular meetings were held in many of the States, and in a short time two hundred thousand men offered themselves as volunteers.⁴

¹Quackenbos, 427. Stephens, 488. Derry, 226, 227.

²Taylor's Centen. U. S., 320. Quackenbos' U. S., 427.

³C. B. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 620-622.

⁴Compare Stephens, 488; Thalheimer, 253; Quackenbos, 428; Goodrich, 408.

A government council of war was held, in which Gen. Winfield Scott took prominent part. A plan of military operations against Mexico was devised, as comprehensive and far-reaching in its grasp as it was afterwards brilliant in its execution.

A strong fleet was to be concentrated in the Pacific Ocean to attack all assailable points on the Mexican coast there. A military force, called "the Army of the West," was to make its way across the Rocky Mountains, conquer California, and subdue New Mexico and all her contiguous territories. General Taylor's forces were to constitute "the Army of Occupation," and were to march forward from the Texas frontier near Matamoras, occupying and holding the country as they advanced. Another invading force, to be called "the Army of the Centre," was to be collected in the neighborhood of Vera Cruz, on the Gulf of Mexico, and, after capturing that strong point, was to march into the very heart of Mexico, if possible to the capital city itself, and to co-operate with General Taylor in holding the country until a peace was conquered.¹

The well-trained lawyers in the cabinet aided the military men, and instructions were given to the commanding generals under which, in case of success, a peace concluded on the basis of *uti possidetis*, so common for centuries (that is, that each belligerent should be entitled to what he held at the end of the war), would leave large regions of Mexico in the dominion of the United States.

General Wool, who had gained the fame of a hero at Queens-town, was ordered to the coast of Mexico to muster the volunteers into service as fast as they came forward; but General Scott was to be in supreme command.²

Having received reinforcements which brought his numbers up to about six thousand five hundred men of all arms, General Taylor, in the latter part of August, 1846, marched from Matamoras, capturing several small towns which made no resistance. On the 19th September he appeared before Monterey, the capital of New Leon, a strongly-fortified place, defended by forty-two pieces of artillery and garrisoned by ten thousand Mexican troops.

Taylor was approaching by the northeastern route, and Monterey, being seated amid mountains, was accessible by only one other route, through a rocky gorge from the west, which connected it with Saltillo. To cut off the food supplies of the city, and assault it on both sides at once, General Taylor detached

¹Quackenbos, 428. Scudder, 341, 342. Stephens, 488. Thalheimer, 253.

²Quackenbos, 428.

Brigadier-General Worth, with six hundred and fifty men, to gain the Saltillo road in the rear. By cutting in part a new road, and with severe fatigue and hard fighting, this object was accomplished. Worth gained the rear of Monterey, and with his small, but resolute, force assaulted the "Bishop's Palace," a stone building unfinished, but strongly fortified. The Americans clambered up the heights, and, though suffering heavy loss, drove off the defenders and seized this commanding position. This virtually won the city.

Meanwhile Taylor and his subordinates, Twiggs, Quitman and Butler, were making a determined attack on the other side. Their troops fought their way from wall to wall, carrying barricade after barricade, until they effected a lodgment in the city. The decisive assault was on the 23d of September. A persistent fire was poured on the assailants from houses and barricades which commanded the streets; but they moved always forward until they gained the plaza and hoisted their flag. Then, entering the houses, they broke their way with crowbars until they gained the roofs, and speedily dislodged or shot down the defenders. The contest was hand to hand and bloody; but the Americans were victorious.¹

On the morning of the 24th the city capitulated. The Mexican garrison were allowed to march out with the honors of war and retire. General Taylor, being short of provisions, and having good reason to hope that the Mexican government would propose peace, agreed to an armistice, to continue eight weeks, or until instructions to renew hostilities should be received from the respective governments of the commanders.²

These terms were assuredly reasonable and honorable, having been obtained by a commander who had, by skillful movements and sanguinary battle, dislodged a force nearly twice as numerous as his own from a powerfully fortified city. But President Polk and his cabinet refused to ratify the armistice, and on the 13th of October, 1846, instructed General Taylor to renew offensive operations. A part of the Congress took the same view. The people began to suspect that jealousy of Taylor's singular successes had some influence in government counsels. Taylor was a Whig.

It had become manifest that the Mexicans as soldiers were far below even the Indians of North America. They had not the woodcraft, the wiles or the patient endurance of suffering which

¹ Stephens, 488. Thalheimer, 253. Quackenbos, 428, 429.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 488, 489.

distinguished those savages; and they had very little of the enthusiasm of patriotism. The constant and rapidly succeeding changes and revolutions which had swept over their country, attended by selfishness and atrocity in their leaders, had dissipated real patriotism, and left them with no high purposes; and they were a mixed race, with few of the native virtues either of Spaniards or Aztecs. They were not able to withstand the fierce and concentrated onset of American volunteer soldiers.

General Scott was preparing for his decisive campaign against Mexico—to begin with an attack on Vera Cruz and the adjacent castle of San Juan D'Ulloa. Commodores Conner and Perry, with their divisions of the "Home Squadron," had already captured Fronteira, Tabasco and the convenient port of Tampico, on the Gulf of Mexico. There was, therefore, no difficulty in providing a point of rendezvous for gathering of provisions, military stores and ammunition to be used against Vera Cruz.

But General Scott was not willing to undertake his attack and subsequent march with less than thirteen thousand men. To obtain this number as early as possible, he issued orders to General Taylor, near Monterey, to send to him, in the neighborhood of Tampico and Vera Cruz, the larger part of his men.¹

Taylor did not hesitate to comply with this order, although he knew it left him with an inadequate force in a hostile country, and compelled him for a time to act on the defensive only. The people of the United States looked on his prompt obedience and heroic bearing, under such circumstances of trial, with deep sympathy, which manifested itself afterwards in generous support.

He had occupied Saltillo, but thought it best to fall back with his depleted army to Monterey. Fortunately, General Wool had drilled his men into an effective force at San Antonio, and on the 20th of September marched towards Monterey. He kept his troops under strict discipline and treated the country people with so much justice and humanity that they willingly supplied him with fresh provisions at fair prices. They found themselves safer under his rule than under that of Mexico.²

Finding that General Taylor had captured and was occupying Monterey, Wool, though entitled to a separate command, gladly adopted his suggestion and united his forces with Taylor's. The armistice being ended, and some other reinforcements having reached Monterey, General Taylor again found himself at the

¹ C. B. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 636. Quackenbos, 430. Seudder, 342, 343.

² Quackenbos, 430. Amer. Encyclop., XVI. 549.

head of about six thousand men. His daring spirit urged him to an advance, though he was obliged, in prudence, to leave sufficient garrisons at Monterey and Saltillo.

With four thousand seven hundred men of all arms he marched on the roads leading towards San Luis Potosi. He soon learned that an army, numbering probably twenty-three thousand men, under the famed Mexican General Santa Anna, was advancing to attack, with the assured hope on their part of overwhelming and destroying or capturing his small forces.

Santa Anna had been banished from Mexico and was living in exile at Havana, in Cuba; but as the war went on, his countrymen, believing him to be a great general, desired his return. It is a curious fact of history that President Polk and his cabinet also desired his return to Mexico, under a vague hope that his sojourn in the United States and his knowledge of their strength, and of the divided and enfeebled condition of his own country, would induce him to use his influence for giving up Texas and for a treaty of peace.¹ Accordingly, secret orders were issued, under which the American cruisers of Commodore Conner's squadron permitted the ship to pass unmolested which bore Santa Anna from Havana to a Mexican port.

Paredes had been already overthrown, and Salas was provisional president. Under him Santa Anna was appointed generalissimo of all the Mexican armies, and in December he was elected president.²

What facts had produced the hopes above stated in the minds of the American rulers have never been made known. What is certain is, that Santa Anna prosecuted the war with all the skill and energy he could command, and that nothing save the great superiority of the American troops in courage, enthusiasm and discipline saved them from destruction by the immense numbers arrayed against them under Santa Anna's leadership.

He had learned of General Scott's orders, under which the greater part of Taylor's army was withdrawn from him. This fact was instantly seized upon by him as furnishing the opportunity for crushing Taylor by a swift and heavy blow. At the head of his army of not less than twenty thousand men, he marched to attack General Taylor's small force.

Hearing of his approach, Taylor called in all his outlying regiments and companies, and took a strong position at the mountain pass of Buena Vista, about nine miles from Saltillo.

¹ Quackenbos, 429, 430. Art. Santa Anna, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 340.

² Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 341.

Santa Anna was confident of success. On the 22d of February, 1847, after some exchanges of cannon shots, he sent forward a flag of truce. Colonel Crittenden, of Taylor's staff, went forward to meet it under a similar flag. Santa Anna's demand was simply for unconditional surrender, with a promise that his prisoners should be treated with all kindness. Crittenden's reply was equally simple: "General Taylor never surrenders."¹ Nothing remained but preparations for battle.

At sunrise on the morning of the 23d, the Mexicans sought to outflank the Americans by advancing a large body of light troops along the mountain pass; but the riflemen of Illinois played havoc in their ranks and drove them back. The cannon fire on each side was without intermission. At about eight o'clock a charge by a huge, though irregular, column of the enemy was made on the American centre; but the destructive fire of Washington's artillery and the stern resistance of General Wool's infantry broke them and drove them to the rear. The next and best sustained attempt of the enemy was on the left flank of the Americans; and here for a time the fate of Taylor's army trembled in the balance. Two regiments, one from Arkansas and one from Indiana, after sustaining the shock of rushing thousands for a time, wavered and were broken. General Taylor instantly ordered to the critical point a regiment from Kentucky and one from Mississippi, under Col. Jefferson Davis. These pressed into the strife, and, with incessant fire of their rifles and steady facing of the foe, broke their advance and turned it into flight; but the Mexicans captured and bore off with them two brass six-pounders.

Meanwhile the American artillery, under Sherman and Bragg, were performing prodigies of destruction and blood by their rapid fire of solid shot, grape and canister upon the crowded and more and more confused masses of the enemy. Taylor saw the work they were doing and its effect. He had been riding on his war-horse "Old Whitey" all day from point to point, greatly exposed, yet had escaped with only a bullet through his coat. He had felt that the day was one of supreme hazard. In his own words: "For several hours the fate of the day was extremely doubtful, so much so that I was urged by some of the most experienced officers to fall back and take a new position."²

But he declined to give such order, and stubbornly clung to his ground. Riding up to his artillery, he said: "Give them a little more grape, Captain Bragg!"³ The order was obeyed with

¹ Barnes' U. S., 187, note. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 634.

² General Taylor's words in Centennial U. S., 634.

³ Barnes' U. S., 187 and note. Quackenbos, 432. Holmes, contra, but unsustained, 211, note.

alacrity. The fire became too hot and destructive to be borne. Along the whole front the Mexicans fell back out of range, and the battle was ended. Each army held nearly the same position as in the morning; but the Mexicans, numbering four times the force of the Americans, had been the assailants, and had been bloodily repulsed at every point.

The little army of heroes, commanded by a general who knew no fear, slept on their arms, chilled by the wintry air, yet ready for instant renewal of the combat. But the Mexicans had no thought of again encountering foes so determined and terrible. With the remnant of his army, dispirited and sorely broken, Santa Anna withdrew towards the coast.

In this stern battle the loss on both sides was fearful. The Americans lost two hundred and sixty-seven killed, four hundred and fifty-six wounded and twenty-three missing. In officers the loss was very severe. Twenty-eight were killed, among whom were Capt. George Lincoln, assistant adjutant-general; Colonels Hardin, McKee and Yell, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clay, the son of the great Kentucky statesman. The Mexicans left five hundred of their dead on the field. Their total loss reached two thousand in killed, wounded, prisoners and missing.¹

This battle fixed the image of General Zachary Taylor in the hearts of the people of his country. His army took no further active part in the sanguinary contests of this war; but he was already chosen for the highest station that could be bestowed.²

Meanwhile important events were in progress which added vast regions of conquered territory to the United States.

Colonel John C. Fremont had been sent out by the United States government in 1842, with a small party, to explore the Rocky Mountain region. On the 15th day of August he reached the highest ridge, from which he beheld a snow-crowned peak towering still a thousand feet above him. Up this he succeeded in climbing with his men, and with an iron ramrod they set up the United States flag on the very highest pinnacle and cast its folds to the breeze.³

In 1845, he was sent out again, and explored the great basin of the Salt Lake and large parts of California and Oregon. Many Americans had settled in all this region. The United States government feared that England would endeavor to acquire California. Passing the winter there, and hearing in the spring of 1846 of the war with Mexico, Fremont had little difficulty in persuad-

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 635. Quackenbos, 432.

² Eggleston's Household U. S., 287.

³ Quackenbos, 440, 441, and pictorial sketch.

ing the people to declare the State independent, which they did July 5th, 1846.

Some bodies of Mexicans made opposition, but Fremont, with American volunteers, pursued and dispersed them. While on one of these expeditions he learned that Commodore Sloat, with his fleet, had captured Monterey, on the Pacific coast. The people, under Fremont's lead, promptly decided to abandon the position of independence and to submit to the government of the United States, which Commodore Stockton (who had succeeded Sloat), with his naval force, and Fremont, with volunteer land forces, were amply able to maintain.¹

In June, 1846, Colonel Kearney, with one thousand men (part of the "Army of the West"), marched from Fort Leavenworth, and, after passing over nine hundred miles of distance, subduing the country as he went, reached Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, and promptly captured it, driving off the feeble Mexican forces. He was met by Kit Carson, a noted hunter and guide in the Rocky Mountains, who informed him of the success of Stockton and Fremont in California.

Sending back part of his men to Santa Fé, Kearney pushed on with the remnant, fighting his way towards the Pacific. He took part in the battle of San Pascual, in which he was twice wounded, and in that of San Gabriel, fought on the 8th of January, 1847, between land and marine forces, under Kearney, Fremont and Stockton, and a large body of Mexicans, who were completely routed. Thus, with forces strangely small, all this vast region was wrested from Mexican rule. Nor was the result seriously impaired in effect by the controversies and jealousies which arose between the American leaders.²

Colonel Doniphan, under orders from Kearney, set out from Santa Fé with one thousand Missourians, and made a marvelous march, placating and making peace with the Navajo Indians, traversing extensive deserts, where his men were nearly exhausted for want of food and water, defeating an army of Mexicans four times as numerous as his own, capturing the city of Chihuahua, and taking formal possession of the province of which it is the capital, and finally effecting a junction with the forces of General Wool at Saltillo. The enlistment of his men being about to expire, Doniphan led them back to New Orleans. They had marched two thousand miles, and had overcome foes and obstacles, and achieved adventures which give to their whole career

¹ Art. Fremont, *American Encyclop.*, VII. 745. Seudder, 341.

² Quackenbos, 442. *Amer. Encyclop.*, X. 124.

the appearance of a romance rather than what it surely is, viz., the truth stranger than fiction.¹

Thus we reach the last act in the splendid drama of the war with Mexico—an act embracing several scenes, each one of which rises above those preceding it in all the magnificent pageantry, heroism and terror of war.

The first scene was the approach to and attack on Vera Cruz and her fortress by the army under General Scott. Thirteen thousand strong, and well equipped and furnished in all arms, they landed on the coast near the threatened city on the 2d day of March, 1847. The arrangements and discipline were so perfect that the landing was effected without the loss of a single life.²

Ceaseless activity prevailed. On the 13th the complete investment of the city was effected. On the 22d the preparations for bombardment were nearly perfected. General Scott now sent a courteous summons to the Spanish Governor of Vera Cruz, urging him to surrender in order to secure the beautiful city from desolation, and to save the inhabitants, and especially the women and children, from useless effusion of blood and the horrors of an assault. The governor replied that the city and castle were defended at all points, and would not be surrendered.³

Immediately after receiving this reply the American fire was opened from ten mortars in battery, and from two steamers and five schooners of their fleet. The batteries of the city and castle also opened, but did very little damage to the assailants. The fire continued without intermission to the 24th, by daybreak of which day the American naval officers and men had succeeded, after incredible labor and difficulty, in transporting three thirty-two pounders and three eight-inch Paixhan guns three miles, over sand and stones, and establishing them in battery on a commanding height only seven hundred yards from the city. The effect of the fire from this battery was frightfully destructive; yet for two further days, the 24th and 25th, the defenders held out.

On the morning of the 26th the governor made a signal for a truce. The fire on each side ceased, and terms of capitulation were agreed on. The city and castle were both surrendered, with their garrisons and all the material of war, including four hundred pieces of artillery. The Mexican soldiers, numbering about four thousand, were paroled and dismissed to their homes. The castle of San Juan D'Ulloa had been built by the Spaniards

¹ Quackenbos, 442. Derry's U. S., 228. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 188, note.

² Taylor's Centen. U. S., 636. Art. Scott, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 446, 447.

³ Quackenbos, 434. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 636.

during their rule at a cost of four million dollars, and was supposed to be, next to Quebec, the strongest citadel in America; but, after capture of the city, it could not have held out long, being surrounded by deep water. Moreover, it had suffered heavily by the fire.¹

In this siege and bombardment the loss of the Americans was only two officers and ten privates. Their fire had been among the most destructive of modern war, having expended from the land batteries six thousand seven hundred shot and shells, weighing more than four hundred thousand pounds, and from the naval batteries three thousand ten-inch shells, each weighing ninety pounds, and one thousand Paixhan shot, each weighing sixty-eight pounds.²

War is horrible. A writer who entered the city says: "No power of language can portray the sufferings, agony, despair and helpless misery which the inhabitants of Vera Cruz had endured for five days and nights previous to the cessation of hostilities. The number of killed and wounded will, perhaps, never be known to us, but it must have been very great; though, in all such cases, the soldiers suffered less than the women and children."³

But, with all its horrors, war goes on. General Scott immediately organized his army for the march on the City of Mexico, the capital of the country. Santa Anna hastened to oppose his march with all the troops he could raise; and they always outnumbered the Americans in the proportion of about four to one.

The first encounter was at the rocky pass of Cerro Gordo, on the road to Jalapa, about fifteen miles from Vera Cruz. This pass was strongly fortified, and was held by Santa Anna with a very large force. To attack in front would have exposed his troops to butchery, and General Scott had no thought of so doing. General Twiggs led the advance, and the American army was eight thousand five hundred strong. Scott, as a general, manifested great mental resources, and he was aided in all this wonderful march by such engineers as Lee, McClellan, Lyon, Beauregard, and others equally distinguished.

A new road was cut over steep ascents, and with hasty bridges over rocky chasms. By these the exposed flank of the enemy was reached, and a concentrated attack was made on the 18th of April, 1847, with the greatest precision and vigor. The Mexicans were routed at every point and driven from the pass, with a

¹ Blackburn & McDonald's U. S., 373, 374. Quackenbos, 433.

² Taylor's Centen. U. S., 637.

³ Narrative in Taylor's Centen. U. S., 637.

loss of one thousand in killed and wounded, three thousand prisoners (including five generals), five thousand stand of arms, and forty-three pieces of artillery. Colonel Harney greatly distinguished himself in these assaults. Santa Anna attempted first to escape in his carriage, but, finding himself hard pressed, took to his swift mule and fled, leaving behind his private papers and his cork leg. This trophy, clothed in a boot of fine workmanship, was sent back to the United States. The American loss, in killed and wounded, was four hundred and thirty-one.¹

The next day the victorious army entered Jalapa; but no delay was permitted. They pressed on and took, without resistance, the strong castle of Perote, on a lofty ridge of the Cordilleras.

On the 15th of May, they took possession of the ancient city of Puebla, then held by eighty thousand inhabitants. The people gazed on them with wonder. Their chief astonishment was that the American officers and soldiers wore uniforms of simple blue and had none of the resplendent colors and decorations which they had been accustomed to see on their own military. They thence concluded that the secret of the constant triumphs of these Americans was in their "grey-headed leaders;"² but, in fact, every man in that army was a hero.

At Puebla General Scott was compelled to arrest his march and to await reinforcements, which ought to have reached him sooner, and would have, had his own urgent recommendations to the War Department been complied with.³

His position was a difficult one, in the heart of a hostile country with a small army depleted by sickness and losses in battle.⁴ But he kept open his communications, and by prudent regulations not only subsisted his army, but checked private assassinations and other crimes, and gave the people wholesome examples of law and order.⁵

The health of his troops improved, and he received reinforcements, so that his effective army, early in August, 1847, amounted to ten thousand seven hundred and forty-eight men. With these he prepared again to advance; but the delay had enabled Santa Anna to collect another large army and to fortify on all sides the approaches to the City of Mexico.

Three and a quarter centuries had passed since Cortez had captured this city from the feeble and unwarlike Aztecs. Many changes had occurred. The city had expanded and become beautiful and magnificent; but there were some conditions which had

¹ Quackenbos, 434, 435. Goodrich's *Pict. U. S.*, 410. Taylor's *Centen. U. S.*, 610.

² Quackenbos' *U. S.*, 435. ³ Art. Scott, *Amer. Encyclop.*, XIV, 447.

⁴ Eggleston's *Household U. S.*, 290. ⁵ *Amer. Encyclop.*, XIV, 447.

not materially changed. The city was yet lying near the centre of the primitive basin of vast extent formed by the encircling ridges of the mountains. It had once been surrounded by water and reached only by causeways running from the roads through the mountain walls; and though much draining had been done, the city was still dotted round by lakes and marshes, and approachable only by broad causeways.¹

On the 10th day of August, 1847, the advance of the American army obtained their first view of the city. The road from Puebla entered on the east, passing between the two lakes, Tezcuco on the north and Chalco on the west; but this route led by the powerfully fortified mound called El Peñon. It was reconnoitered, and the American engineers concluded that to capture it would cost the army a bloody and disabling loss.² Therefore, they sought another line of entrance. Every approach was defended by formidable works manned by thirty thousand Mexican soldiers. To penetrate into the city with an attacking army of ten thousand men was an enterprise from which the most resolute general might well have shrunk.

General Worth with his division was at the east end of Lake Chalco. Under instructions from the commander-in-chief, Worth and his engineers found that a difficult, but practicable, route round the lake existed.³ With consummate skill the *détour* was made, and the American army reached San Augustin, directly south of the city, before Santa Anna knew of the change in the line of approach. General Twiggs had continued to menace El Peñon up to the 16th, when he silently withdrew.

But on the chosen route formidable obstacles yet remained. The village of San Antonio was fortified and held by a large force, and the works at Contreras were strong. A combined move of the brigades of Shields, Persifer F. Smith and Cadwallader carried Contreras in the most brilliant style. The attacking force was without artillery or cavalry, and numbered only four thousand five hundred rank and file. The Mexicans had seven thousand men on the spot and at least one thousand two hundred more hovering within sight. The attack was made on the 20th of August, with so much vigor and impetuosity that the Mexicans broke and fled, losing seven hundred killed, eight hundred and thirteen prisoners, including two generals and eighty-eight lower officers, also twenty-two brass cannon, seven hundred pack mules and horses and many thousands of small arms and accou-

¹ Art. Scott, Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 447.

² Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 447. Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 410 and note.

³ Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 447.

trements. Among the cannon captured were two brass six-pounders which had been borne off in the furious rush of the Mexicans at Buena Vista, and were now regained by the Americans.¹

This signal victory was immediately followed by the forcing and capture of San Antonio by General Worth; an advantage of very important nature being thus gained, as a shorter and better road was opened to the capital.²

But other hot battling remained for this memorable 20th of August. Santa Anna, with twelve thousand men, held the fortified heights of Churubusco and several strong positions beyond them and nearer to the city. Worth and Twiggs stormed the heights and captured or drove off the defenders, and when Santa Anna hastened to the rescue with his outlying forces he was encountered by Shields and Pierce with their brigades, and after a fierce and obstinate conflict for several hours the Mexican lines were broken and they were driven from the field.

Five distinct battles had been fought in one day; for the final movement of General Persifer F. Smith against Contreras was separate from the general attack. Thirty-two thousand Mexicans had been driven from strong intrenched positions by about nine thousand American soldiers, and defeated with a loss of seven thousand in killed, wounded and prisoners, besides guns and stores. The American loss was one hundred and thirty-nine killed and eight hundred and seventy-six wounded.³

Nicholas P. Trist had been appointed by President Polk commissioner to arrange terms of peace with Mexico. He had joined General Scott at Puebla, and from that place had made peaceful overtures, but in vain. He continued with the American army, and now, when it seemed easy to capture the city, Scott proposed an armistice, hoping that terms might be agreed on and further humiliation spared to Mexico.⁴

Santa Anna consented to the armistice on the terms that supplies from city or country for the American army should not be obstructed by the Mexican authorities, and that no measure should be adopted to enlarge or strengthen any existing work or fortification or make new defensive works within thirty miles of the city.⁵

The peace commissioners on both sides had several meetings, and were not far from agreement on the 22d September. The chief

¹ Gen. Scott's report, quoted in Centen. U. S., 648, 649.

² Taylor's Centen. U. S., 619. Quackenbos, 436, 437.

³ Amer. Encyclop., XIV. 447, 448. Taylor's Centen., 652, 653. Quackenbos, 436, 437. Goodrich, 410, 411.

⁴ Quackenbos, 437. Blackburn & McDonald, 376, 377.

⁵ Taylor's Centen., 653.

points of disagreement were on boundaries, and Mr. Trist presented his *ultimatum* on that subject on that day, and the negotiators adjourned to meet again on the 6th of September. But in the meantime several important violations of the terms of the armistice had been committed by the Mexicans, and when General Scott brought them to the attention of Santa Anna, the only reply was a denial couched in offensive and insolent terms. The armistice ended on the 7th of September, and Scott prepared to capture the city.

Molinos del Rey was a village strongly fortified, not much more than a mile from Tacubaya, the headquarters of the American commander-in-chief. It contained a foundry for cannon, and large deposits of gunpowder; and information had been obtained that a number of church bells had been sent thither to be cast into cannon.¹

At three o'clock on the morning of the 8th September, General Worth opened the attack with about thirty-two hundred troops of all arms. It was entirely successful, though it cost the Americans eleven out of the fourteen commissioned officers of the command, and seven hundred and twenty-nine men, killed and wounded. Santa Anna commanded in person, and had fourteen thousand men, of whom he lost three thousand in killed, wounded and prisoners. Two thousand deserted after the rout. The capture of the foundry, guns and ammunition at Molinos left nothing defensive between the Americans and the city except the powerful fortress of Chapultepec, on a natural isolated mound of great height, and intrenched at its base and on its acclivities and approaches.²

No obstacle seemed sufficient to arrest the assailants; but General Scott took care to make the risk of failure as small as possible. Feigned movements on an alarming scale were made on the southern side of the city, and continued during the 12th and down to the afternoon of the 13th of September. The Mexican troops were hurried to the threatened approaches.

Meanwhile a heavy cannonade against Chapultepec was carried on by Captain Huger. This fire made obvious impression on the works. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 13th September, at a given signal, the Americans, under Pillow, Andrews, Johnstone, Caldwell, Ransom, Barnard and Howard, advanced to the assault over lava beds, rocks, chasms and hidden mines. They captured first the redoubt and then the fortress itself, which was on the site of the ancient "Hall of the Montezumas." Captain

¹Taylor's Centen. U. S., 654.

²Centen. U. S., 656. Goodrich, 411.

Barnard planted the unfurled flag of his regiment on the works. Lieutenant Selden, of the eighth infantry, one of the first to mount the scaling ladder, fell down severely wounded. The assault was so vehement and rapid that the Mexicans were routed and driven from the works before they had time to fire the trains which would have exploded the hidden mines and wrought destruction to the conquerors.¹

The fugitive Mexicans poured in confused bodies along the causeways leading into the city. Worth pressed them upon the route leading by the San Cosme aqueduct. Quitman advanced by the Belden route, gallantly supported by Smith and Shields. The latter, though wounded at Chapultepec, would not leave the field. General Quitman carried by assault a battery of ten guns, and then began to thunder with his artillery upon the gate itself. The dispirited troops of Santa Anna fled before him. He entered the gate, and, establishing himself in a sheltered position, waited for the morning.

General Worth was equally successful in fighting his way to the San Cosme, or custom-house gate. Just outside of it, by General Scott's direction, he posted his troops under shelter, and placed guards and sentinels, ready the next morning to march upon the Great Square, cathedral and palace, and occupy the heart of the city.

The work was done. That night Santa Anna and his disorganized forces and all the prominent officers of the Federal government fled from the city.² At four o'clock on the 14th of September, 1847, a deputation from the municipal government waited on General Scott, asking terms of capitulation in favor of the church, the citizens and the civic powers. Of course, no terms could be granted. The city was already in possession of the American army. The commander-in-chief and his heroic officers, marshaling their troops, marched in triumph into the Grand Plaza. Some irregular attacks from the tops of houses and the corners of streets were made by two thousand convicts released from jails and State prison the previous night by the flying government. By their fire Lieut. Sidney Smith, of Virginia, and some of his men were killed. But these movements were speedily suppressed, and good order, under martial law, was established.³

The war was ended. An effort was made by Santa Anna, with a small force, to capture the sick and wounded and the guard of

¹ Goodrich, 411. Blackburn & McDonald, 378. Centen, U. S., 658, 659.

² Taylor's Centen. U. S., 660. Quackenbos, 438.

³ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 661.

four hundred men left at Puebla; but he was promptly defeated and driven off by the advance of General Lane.¹

Commissioner Trist renewed his overtures for peace. Some months of delay occurred, caused by crushed hopes, paralyzed efforts, and distracted public councils in Mexico. Their great man, Santa Anna, was a failure, their generals were dispersed or prisoners, their soldiers feeble and hopeless. No prospect of continuing the war with advantage was seen.

At length a quorum of the Mexican Congress assembled and appointed commissioners to treat for peace. They met the American Commissioner Trist at Guadalupe Hidalgo, and here, on the 2d of February, 1848, a "treaty of peace, friendship and settlement" was signed. It was eminently liberal and favorable to the defeated belligerent, Mexico, and presented a striking contrast to the hard terms often exacted by the despotisms and monarchies of the Old World. Especially did it differ from the terms exacted by Germany in 1871 after defeating France.

By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo it was agreed that all United States troops should be withdrawn from Mexican territory within three months; that all prisoners should be released, and all paroles considered as discharged; that the boundary line between the two republics should commence at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and run thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico; thence westwardly along the whole of that southern boundary to its western termination; thence northward to the river Gila, and thence to the Pacific Ocean, following the river Gila and the southern boundary of Upper California. And in consideration of the extension of territory and boundaries thus acquired by the United States, they agreed to pay to Mexico fifteen millions of dollars, and to assume and pay her debts to citizens of the United States, amounting to three and one-quarter millions more.² By Article XI. the United States agreed to restrain Indian marauders on the Mexican frontier.

This was more like an amicable purchase of territory than a forced surrender exacted from a vanquished enemy. The Americans in this war had expended twenty-five thousand lives, and more than one hundred and sixty millions of money.³ They paid a fair price for the territory acquired outside of Texas. Gold in abundance had not yet been discovered in California.

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 663, 665. Derry's U. S., 230.

² Blackburn & McDonald's U. S., 379. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 670.

³ Compare Derry, 231; Blackburn & McDonald, 379, 380; Stephens, 491.

The treaty was promptly ratified by the Senate, and on the 4th day of July, 1848, President Polk issued a proclamation of peace.

To preserve the logical and material continuity of the subject, it is best here to state that differences of claim arose under this treaty concerning a strip of territory on the Gila river, and concerning the eleventh article before mentioned; and as it was important that the United States should own this strip, negotiations were conducted and concluded by Gen. James Gadsden, of South Carolina, during the presidency of Franklin Pierce, in 1853. By this new treaty Article XI. was abrogated, and a commission provided for mutual adjustment of claims. The whole Mesilla valley was ceded to the United States, and she paid Mexico ten millions of dollars besides the fifteen millions of dollars originally agreed on.¹ By these successive annexations the United States acquired not only Texas to the Rio Grande, but all the country now comprised in California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas and New Mexico.²

And hardly had the treaty of peace been made, on the 2d of February, 1848, before a discovery of golden treasures in the soil and river-bottoms of California took place, which drew to her the eyes of all the civilized world, and caused a rush of immigrants to pour into her bosom such as was never before known.

About the last of February, 1848, a laborer employed by one Captain Sutter, an Americanized Swiss, who had settled on the Upper California branch of the Sacramento river, was digging out a mill-race. He found some glittering particles, which turned out to be pure gold. Hardly was this ascertained before similar discoveries were made in the streams and soil of the neighborhood.³

Immediately the excitement spread from man to man, until it reached the harbor of San Francisco, and thence the outer world. Immigration began from all parts of America, and even from Europe and Asia. In eighteen months one hundred thousand persons went from the United States to these "gold diggings." At first the precious metal, in pure fragments and lumps, was so abundant that fortunes were easily gathered. Gradually, however, the surface gold was found in less quantity, and quartz-crushing and mining on a large scale were practiced. Still the pouring in of people continued. Thousands came by the Utah and Arizona deserts, amid hunger and sufferings, with fatigue and sickness, which strewn the way with skeletons.

¹ Amer. Encyclop., VIII. 37, 38.

² Horace E. Scudder, 344.

³ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 190. Quackenbos, 443. Justin Winsor's Amer., VIII. 231.

San Francisco, which had been a sleepy Spanish "mission" town, surrounded by a village of mud or *adobe* cabins, sprung up into a busy city within a year.¹ In the early stages of the gold excitement it was not uncommon for whole crews (in some cases headed by the officers) to desert their ships and run up to the "diggings." In the city streets were laid out, houses built, public buildings planned and commenced, and churches erected, consecrated and dedicated to the service and worship of the Triune God.

The effect of the enormous production of gold from California upon the business activities of the world has been beyond computation. Never was there such progress as during the forty-four years from that accidental glancing at gold particles in the mill-race of Captain Sutter. And in this period the effect has been increased by the gold discoveries in Australia and the silver yield of Nevada. The world has sprung forward as if under a new power.

In time the people of California found out the important fact that her wealth did not consist merely in her gold. The early excesses of outlaws in the towns and mines were put down with a strong hand. Good order was established. The soil was found admirably adapted to wheat, grapes and fruit of the best kinds. The serene skies and equable climate made health and enjoyment the normal condition of the people.²

The dispute with England as to the northern boundary of Oregon Territory, on the Pacific, had threatened to involve the United States in war, especially after the inconsiderate declaration of the Democratic convention of 1844, that "our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable," and that "no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power,"³ and the equally incautious endorsement of this claim, in his inaugural address, by President Polk. Oregon ran up to the northern parallel of 54° 40', and the expression, "Fifty-four forty, or fight!" was used with effect on both sides during the canvass.

But President Polk and his advisers were too wise to have two wars on their hands at the same time; and as it is known that Great Britain had plans of her own, more or less defined, concerning Texas and the region west of her, it is impossible to say what would have been the cramping and restraining effects on the territorial limits of the United States which would have resulted

¹ Thalheimer's *Eclée*. U. S., 257.

² Thalheimer's *Eclée*. U. S., 257, 258.

³ Platform in Stephens, 476.

from a simultaneous war waged by her against Mexico and Great Britain. Happily, all danger of such war was eliminated in time to enable her to deal in arms with Mexico alone.

England's claim to Oregon was old, and ran back so far that it sought to link itself to the voyages and discoveries of Sir Francis Drake in 1579; but she had not matured her title by actual and permanent settlements by her subjects. The American title was founded on the early patents of the English kings, which made no limit in their grants westward; on the voyage of Captain Gray, in 1792, who discovered the mouth of the Columbia river and sailed up its channel many miles; on the grant from France, in 1802, who conveyed the Spanish title as well as her own; on the explorations and discoveries of Lewis and Clarke, from 1803 to 1806, and on the very important fact that American citizens had made permanent settlements in this region.

As both countries claimed it, some arrangement between them had been necessary to preserve peace. During the terms of Monroe and John Quincy Adams a convention had been made for joint occupancy for ten years. Another convention, made August 6th, 1827 (during the presidency of Adams), had continued the joint occupancy indefinitely, but with a provision that either nation might terminate it by giving to the other twelve months' notice.

The negotiation was transferred from London to Washington, and in August, 1844, the British minister offered to divide, by the line of 49° north latitude, provided the navigation of the Columbia should be equally free to the people of both countries. This proposition was rejected by the American Secretary.

When Mr. Polk became President, his Secretary renewed the negotiation, and offered the line of 49°, but without the right to free navigation of the Columbia. The British minister, in his turn, rejected this offer.

President Polk, in a message to Congress, recommended that the executive department be authorized to give the notice to terminate the joint occupancy according to the convention of 1827. This proposition was known to involve momentous issues, and led to an earnest debate in the Congress. A resolution passed both Houses authorizing the course recommended by the President; and on the 28th April, 1846, official notice from the American government was given to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, of Great Britain, that "the convention of August 6th, 1827, would terminate at the end of twelve months" from the delivery of the notice.

Before this notice England had taken steps to renew negotiation; and on the 15th June, 1846, a treaty was signed by which the forty-ninth parallel was agreed on as the dividing boundary, the line, however, to be continued westward to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and the navigation of that channel and of the Columbia to be free to the subjects and citizens of both nations; with the proviso that nothing in the treaty should prevent the United States from making any regulation as to navigating the river or its branches not inconsistent with the treaty.¹ The Senate promptly ratified. Thus wisely was settled a controversy which intemperate claim would have ripened into a war.

But another cloud was on the American horizon, engendered by the growth of her territory, and which, though sometimes apparently dispersed, was to gather blackness and electric power until it burst in a storm of bloodshed and war.

On the 6th of August, 1846, President Polk had sent in a message to Congress asking an appropriation of three millions of dollars to enable him to negotiate for peace with Mexico upon the basis of obtaining territory for the United States outside of Texas.² A bill for such appropriation was introduced.

Immediately David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, offered an amendment, as follows:

"Provided, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory which shall hereafter be acquired or be annexed to the United States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. Provided always, that any person escaping into the same from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed out of said territory to the person claiming his or her labor or service."

This amendment, afterwards known as the "Wilmot Proviso," ignored the "Missouri Compromise" and the line of 36° 30'. We need not wonder, therefore, that it re-awakened, in the most alarming forms, all the bitter feelings, slumbering, but not dead, between the free and slave States and their respective people.

John Quincy Adams, in the House, opposed it with eloquence and power, on the ground that it would embarrass and, perhaps, defeat the appropriation, and also that it was not needed, as Mexico had already abolished slavery in the territory contemplated.³

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 624, 626. Thalheimer's Eelee. U. S., 252, 253.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 491.

³ Stephens, 492.

But the bill, with this provision in it, passed the House. The Senate cast out the proviso.¹

It became painfully evident that the anti-slavery men in Congress had abandoned all intention to respect the compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. Mr. Calhoun and his followers sought to obtain the passage of resolutions declaring that the territories held or to be acquired belonged to the States of the Union as their joint and common property, and that the Congress had no right to discriminate so as to deprive any class of their right and power to carry their property into the territories, and use and enjoy it there.²

These resolutions gave rise to animated debate, but never came to a vote. When the boundaries of Oregon were defined by treaty, a bill for its territorial organization was introduced into the House, January 15th, 1847, and the "Wilmot Proviso" was incorporated in it. Mr. Burt, of South Carolina, moved to insert just before this restrictive clause these words: "inasmuch as the whole of said Territory lies north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude;" but this amendment was rejected by the anti-slavery members.³

After the treaty of peace, efforts were made to pass territorial bills for Oregon, California, New Mexico and Utah. Stephen A. Douglas, in the Senate, made an impressive and urgent appeal that the compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ should be adhered to as to slavery; but it was utterly repudiated by a controlling majority from the Northern States, both in Senate and House.⁴ Oregon's organization, with the Wilmot restriction, succeeded; the others failed.

During Mr. Polk's administration, two new States were admitted to the Union—Iowa, in 1846, and Wisconsin, by act of Congress of May 29th, 1848.

Notwithstanding the brilliant events of President Polk's term, the people showed no enthusiasm for him, nor any disposition to re-elect him. In truth, Zachary Taylor was already chosen by their hearts, and his election was almost a foregone conclusion.

The Whig convention nominated him for President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democratic convention nominated Gen. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President, and Gen. Wm. O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. The opponents of the extension of slavery, under the name of the "Free-Soil party," met at Buffalo, New York; on the 8th August, 1848, and nominated Martin Van Buren for

¹ Acts and Journals, 1846-7. Stephens, 492.

² Resolutions of Calhoun in Senate, Stephens, 494.

³ Stephens, 493, 494.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 495.

President, and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

The result of the election was that one hundred and sixty-three electoral votes were cast for Taylor and Fillmore, and one hundred and twenty-seven for Cass and Butler. No electoral votes were cast for Van Buren and Adams; but out of a popular vote of about three million, they received nearly three hundred thousand individual votes. The "Free-Soil" party was yearly gathering strength.

On the 21st February, 1848, the venerable John Quincy Adams was stricken with paralysis in his seat in the House. He was borne to the room of the Speaker, where he died on the 23d, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was a true patriot, according to his view of his country's rights and interests, and will never be forgotten.

Mr. Polk, at the close of his brilliant term of office, retired to his home in Nashville, Tennessee. He died, in his fifty-fourth year, in less than four months after his presidency closed.

CHAPTER LV.

PRESIDENCIES OF ZACHARY TAYLOR AND MILLARD FILLMORE.

GEN. ZACHARY TAYLOR was a plain and honest soldier, farmer and planter, but never pretended to be either a statesman or a politician. His letters to Capt. J. S. Allison—one dated Baton Rouge, April 12th, and the other May 22d, 1848—were eminent in simplicity and in his humble view of his own qualifications for the high office to which he was invited. He declared himself a Whig, but said: "If elected I would not be the mere President of a party. I would endeavor to act independently of party domination. I should feel bound to administer the government untrammelled by party schemes." He disapproved of the exercise of the *veto* power, except in cases of clear violation of the constitution, or manifest haste and want of consideration by Congress. He expressed no opinions on slavery, on the "Missouri Compromise," the "Wilmot Proviso," the rights of slave-owners to carry their slaves into any Territory and use them there, or on the questions germane to such subjects, and which were now most profoundly agitating the minds of the people.¹

He had received a majority of the electoral votes of both Northern and Southern States. The 4th of March, 1849, being Sunday, he was inaugurated on Monday, the 5th, in the presence of an immense assemblage. The oath was administered by Chief-Justice Taney.² The inaugural address was conciliatory and, on the whole, satisfactory to "the friends of the Union under the constitution."

President Taylor chose as his cabinet John M. Clayton, of Delaware, of State; William M. Meredith, of Pennsylvania, of the Treasury; George W. Crawford, of Georgia, of War; William Ballard Preston, of Virginia, of the Navy; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior—a new department created by act of Congress; Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, Postmaster-General, and Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, Attorney-General.

Early in his term a riot occurred at and near the Astor Place Opera, in New York city, which was only important as mani-

¹ Gen. Taylor's letters to Allison, Stephens, 497-499.

² Stephens, 499.

festing the virulence and strength of international prejudice, and the necessity for allaying it. W. C. Macready was the great tragedian of England; Edwin Forrest of America. Forrest had played in London, and was supposed to have received a slight from Macready, injuring his reputation and success. Therefore, when the English actor came to New York the friends of Forrest determined on a bitter and systematic opposition to his playing. The result was a mob in May, 1849, and a conflict between a tumultuous assemblage of twenty thousand people on the one side and the police and military on the other. The soldiers were obliged to fire on the mob, and twenty-two persons were killed and thirty-six wounded. Macready was in imminent danger, but escaped unhurt. He made no further attempts to fill his engagement, and soon sailed for England.¹

Agitations of a different kind, and far more deeply-seated and far-reaching in their cause, but equally tending to bloodshed, were in progress in the council chambers of the nation. The Congress of 1849-'50 was one of the longest and stormiest ever known. It continued from the 5th of December, 1849, to the 30th of September, 1850. The repeated and persistent repudiations of the compromise line of 36° 30' by the Anti-Slavery party had reopened a question for which there was no solution, save either in the extirpation of slavery or the dissolution of the Union.

The first contest in the House was over the election of Speaker. It led to the fiercest and most bitter debates and denunciations. During one of these scenes, which have become historic, Robert Toombs, of Georgia, maintained his right to the floor and his opposition to what he deemed unconstitutional opposition to his rights, through some hours of struggle against a host of foes and under a ceaseless torrent of calls, protests, motions and provocations which taxed the highest powers of the stenographic reporter.²

In the contest for Speaker, at one time a vote of a majority had been actually thrown for William J. Brown, of Indiana; but before the vote was announced it was ascertained that Brown had come to a discreditable understanding with certain "Free-Soil" members, under which he had pledged himself, if elected Speaker, to constitute three important committees according to their wishes. The moment this was known, Southern Democrats rose and withdrew their votes from Brown and he was defeated.

¹ Our First Century. Art. Macready, *New Amer. Encyclop.*, XI. 21, 22.

² Henry W. Wheeler, in *Congress. Globe*, Thirty-first Congress, 1st session, 61.

Finally a resolution was adopted that the man who received a mere plurality of votes, if it was a majority of a quorum, should be declared elected.¹

A vote was taken. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, received one hundred and two votes, Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, ninety-nine votes; twenty votes were scattering. The whole number thrown was two hundred and twenty-one; thus Mr. Cobb received only a plurality, not a majority. He was declared elected Speaker, but against the protests of many.

Such scenes indicated coming storms. It seemed hardly possible to avert immediate convulsion; but at this point the great pacificator, Henry Clay, again came to the front.

John C. Calhoun, though near his end, was yet living and full of solicitude for his country. He sent his last words, which were read by Mr. Mason, of Virginia. They were solemn and full of warning against the centralizing tendencies of the government and its encroachments on the rights of the States which upheld slavery.² Mr. Calhoun died in the city of Washington on the 31st day of March, 1850, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He was recognized by all parties as a great power in the land. For a time his death stilled the voices of passion and partisanship.

But they were soon heard again, and the necessity of compromise was imperative. California had grown rapidly in population, had adopted a constitution forbidding slavery within her bounds, and was applying for admission as a State; but, as a large part of her territory lay south of 36° 30', the members of Congress from the slave States objected to her admission.³ Many also objected because they could not recognize the validity of the convention, under General Riley's order, which framed California's action.⁴

The excitement in the country all centred around the questions arising out of slavery, and became so great that the maintenance of peace seemed impossible. It being understood that Henry Clay would, on the 29th of January, 1850, offer resolutions for compromise and pacification, an immense crowd of citizens and strangers on that day pressed into the galleries, lobbies and other places belonging to the Senate chamber.

Mr. Clay presented his plan, afterwards known as the "Omni-bus Bill," and sustained it in one of the noblest and most earnest

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 502, 506, 511.

² Calhoun's speech, Cong. Globe, Thirty-first Cong., 1st session, p. 453.

³ Goodrich's Pict. U. S., note, 418. Blackburn & McDonald, 382.

⁴ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 513.

of all his great speeches. It is remarkable, however, that, as originally offered, it did not contain the principle which was afterwards introduced, and without which it could not have been enacted, and which constituted the true element of compromise between the slavery and anti-slavery States. This principle involved the abandonment of the "Missouri Compromise" line of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and the recognition of the right of any Territory, no matter where located, to come into the Union (when qualified according to the United States constitution) with or without slavery, as her people might determine and provide.¹

This principle was introduced by an amendment to Mr. Clay's bill, offered in the period of the greatest excitement during the debate, and offered on the 17th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker's Hill, by Senator Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana. It applied to the Territories of Utah and New Mexico and all other obtained from Mexico, except California, and was in the following words:

"And when the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be admitted as a State, it shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."²

The Anti-Slavery party, having already repudiated the compromise line of 1820, ought, in justice and consistency, to have acquiesced in this principle; but they opposed it.

The debate was stern and long in both Houses. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, foreshadowed the coming conflict of arms in these words:³ "I speak not for others, but for myself. Deprive us of this right, and appropriate this common property to yourselves; it is then your government, not mine. Then I am its enemy, and I will then, if I can, bring my children and my constituents to the altar of liberty, and, like Hamilcar, I would swear them to eternal hostility to your foul domination. Give us our just rights and we are ready, as ever heretofore, to stand by the Union, every part of it, and its every interest. Refuse it, and, for one, *I will strike for independence.*"

Other senators sustained the plan of settlement, conspicuous among whom were John Bell, of Tennessee, Henry S. Foote, of Mississippi, and Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois; but when, on the 7th of March, 1850, Daniel Webster arose, the vast crowd present in the Senate chamber, lobbies and galleries was hushed to a silence so profound as to be almost painful.

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 513, 532.

² Congress, Globe, Thirty-first Cong., 1st session, p. 1239.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 522.

He spoke for the plan of compromise and peace in words weighty with thought and power. He concluded thus: "Sir, my object is peace, my object is conciliation; my purpose is not to make up a case for the North, or to make up a case for the South. My object is not to continue useless and irritating controversies. I am against agitators, North and South; I am against local ideas, North and South, and against all narrow and local contests. I am an American, and I know no locality in America. This is my country. My heart, my sentiments, my judgment, demand of me that I shall ever pursue such a course as shall promote the good and the harmony and the union of the whole country. This I shall do, God willing, to the end of the chapter."¹

Loud applause greeted this speech. Every heart experienced emotions of relief and gratitude. The cause of peace, for a time at least, had triumphed.

Amidst these exciting scenes in the national Congress, President Taylor was stricken with malignant fever, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of skillful physicians, he died on the 9th day of July, 1850. He had sought faithfully and honestly to do his duty as he understood it. His last words were: "I have tried to do my duty; I am not afraid to die." Public business was suspended for a time, and eulogies were pronounced on him by leading statesmen of all parties.²

Millard Fillmore became President. He was a man of noble personal appearance, of well-poised mind, and of statesmanlike culture. His cabinet consisted of Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, of the Treasury; Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana, of War; William A. Graham, of North Carolina, of the Navy; Alexander H. Stuart, of Virginia, of the Interior; Nathan K. Hall, of New York, Postmaster-General; and John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, Attorney-General.

Mr. Fillmore approved of Henry Clay's plan in all its essential features. A committee of thirteen able men, with Mr. Clay at their head, was appointed to consider it. They made their report. The "Omnibus Bill" was never enacted as an undivided whole;³ but all its most important elements were enacted by both Houses and signed by President Fillmore, who said of them: "They are regarded by me as a settlement in principle and substance—a final settlement—of the dangerous and exciting subjects which they embrace."⁴ How short-sighted are the wisest of men! They contained the germs of disorganization and war.

¹ Daniel Webster's speech, Thirty-first Cong. Stephens, 519-523.

² Quackenbos' U. S., 447, 448. Stephens, 526. Thalheimer's Eccl. U. S., 261.

³ Stephens, 526. ⁴ Holmes' U. S., 216.

They embodied six subjects : (1) That, according to agreement when Texas was annexed, new States, not exceeding four, were to be formed out of her territory, to be admitted with or without slavery, as they might choose ; (2) That California should be admitted under her constitution forbidding slavery ; (3) That territorial governments should be established for New Mexico and Utah without restriction as to slavery, and that, when in condition to become States, their people should decide whether they would or would not have slavery ; (4) That Texas should give up her claim to New Mexico in consideration of ten million dollars, to be paid to Texas from the United States treasury ; (5) That a more efficient law should compel the rendition of fugitive slaves ; (6) That the slave-trade should be prohibited, under heavy penalties, in the District of Columbia.¹

Before California was thus admitted, a terrible fire desolated San Francisco, which then consisted chiefly of wooden buildings. It took place March 4th, 1850. The city has since risen from her ashes in splendor, with imposing public and private buildings of brick and stone. The gold mines have been yielding an annual average of nearly eighty millions of dollars.²

During President Fillmore's term a naval expedition, commanded by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, brother of the hero of Lake Erie, sailed, in 1852, from the United States to visit and, if possible, establish amicable treaty relations with the kingdom of Japan, covering the beautiful islands of the Pacific between America and China. This expedition was perfectly successful, and the treaty made by Perry was the opening of a new life to Japan.³

In a country settled and explored as the United States have been, a large element of the population will always be found restless, aspiring and ready to undertake lawless raids and enterprises, however much of personal hazard may attend them.

Cuba was believed by many to be ready to throw off the Spanish rule and annex herself to the United States, if some leader, with a sufficient body of armed men, would stir up her people. Preparations for this purpose, under General Marcisco Lopez, a Spaniard professing republican principles, became so manifest that President Taylor had issued a proclamation of neutrality and warning on August 11th, 1849.

Nevertheless, Lopez, with six hundred armed men in his vessel, effected a landing and captured Cardenas, a Cuban port, on

¹ Quackenbos, 447. Goodrich, 419, 420. Thalheimer, 260, 261. Holmes, 216. Derry, 235. Barnes' U. S., 193.

² Goodrich, 417.

³ Amer. Encyclop., XIII. 154.

the 19th of May, 1850. They found, however, neither the people nor the Spanish soldiers ready to help them. They hastily re-embarked, and, closely pursued by a Spanish war-steamer, succeeded in gaining the port of Key West, Florida ; but in the next year Lopez made another effort, landing with four hundred and eighty men on the northern coast of Cuba. The Spanish government had concentrated forty thousand troops on the island. They speedily surrounded Lopez and his small force, captured them, shot most of the privates, and put Lopez and prominent officers of his command to death by the *garrote* in Havana on the 1st of September, 1851. Among those executed was a nephew of the United States Attorney-General. These events caused much excitement. Allen F. Owen, of Georgia, the American consul at Havana, exerted all his powers of intercession and influence to save them ; but in vain. They had deliberately staked their lives on the issue, and they lost them.¹ A few of the prisoners were sent to Spain. They were generously released by the Queen and sent to the United States.²

In this year, 1851, also sailed an interesting expedition fitted out by Henry Grinnell, of New York, at his own expense, to go to the polar seas and search for Sir John Franklin and his ships. The United States furnished the sea officers. Lieut. De Haven commanded, and Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, as surgeon and scientist, accompanied the expedition. Though they found no traces of Franklin or his ships, yet in their absence of several years they accumulated much interesting information about those wintry seas.

In 1852, Daniel Webster was compelled, by failing health, to retire from office. Edward Everett succeeded him in the Department of State. The increasing excitement concerning the Island of Cuba induced England and France to propose to the United States a "tripartite treaty" by which each of these three powers should disclaim all intention of seizing upon Cuba, and should guarantee the title and possession of Spain. This proposal called out from Edward Everett a reply in writing of great power and clearness. He declined the proposal, and reiterated the "Monroe doctrine" in the strongest terms, declaring that, while the United States would keep good faith with Spain, she did not recognize in any European power the right of interfering in questions that were purely those of the American Continent and its contiguous seas and islands.

Another presidential canvass was now approaching. The Democrats nominated for President, Franklin Pierce, of New

¹ Quackenbos, 448, 449. Stephens, 536, 537.

² Taylor's Centen. U. S., 687, 688.

Hampshire, a strict constructionist of the strictest sect of the Jefferson school; for Vice-President, William R. King, of Alabama, of the same political faith. The Whigs nominated for President, General Winfield Scott; for Vice-President, William A. Graham, of North Carolina. The "Free-Soil" party, who began to call themselves "Republicans," nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, for President, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, for Vice-President.¹

The canvass was in several respects remarkable. It showed a power of discrimination in the people encouraging to Democracy. General Scott had covered himself with glory in the Mexican war; and although, in simplicity and openness of character, he was not the peer of Taylor, yet he was more than his equal in intellectual power. There seemed a fair prospect of his election.

But the Whig party had adopted, in their convention in Baltimore, on the 16th of June, 1852, a platform sound in its limitations upon the Federal power, and fully endorsing "that series of acts of the Thirty-first Congress, known as the compromise measures of 1850—the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included"—as a settlement, in principle and substance, of the dangerous and exciting questions which had agitated the country.

In a work written and published by Horace Greeley since the great war between the States, he represents this part of the Whig platform of 1852 as having been "imposed on the convention by the Southern delegates," and as "but another dictation of the slave power."²

But these statements are without foundation in truth. This Whig platform of 1852 was drawn up by Rufus Choate, of Massachusetts, and other Northern Whig statesmen, in consultation with Daniel Webster at his house in Washington!³ The part above quoted received their special attention and approval.

But General Scott, unhappily for his prospects of success, yielded, as is with good reason supposed, to the influence of William H. Seward, a strong anti-slavery statesman of New York, and refused to express any direct approval of the Whig platform, and especially of that part of it adopting the compromise measures, "including the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law." The statement of Horace Greeley, in the work aforesaid, that "General Scott made haste to plant himself unequivocally and thoroughly on the platform thus erected" is the very reverse of the truth.⁴

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 537-540.

² Greeley's American Conflict, Vol. I., p. 223.

³ A. H. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 538, 539.

⁴ Greeley's Amer. Conflict, Stephens, 539.

This refusal weakened Winfield Scott beyond measurement in the hearts and minds of all Southern and of many Northern Whigs. On the other hand, General Pierce and Mr. King planted themselves promptly and squarely on the Democratic platform, including a resolution of strong approval of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799.

The result was that two hundred and fifty-one electoral votes were thrown for General Pierce for President and Mr. King for Vice-President, and only forty-two electoral votes for Scott and Graham. Pierce and King received the votes of twenty-seven States; Scott and Graham of only four States. The Free-Soil candidates received no electoral vote, and a popular vote of only one hundred and fifty-five thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, being very little over half their vote in the previous election.

California was the only State received into the Union in the presidencies of Taylor and Fillmore.

In this period occurred the memorable struggle for independence made by Hungary against Austria, commencing in 1848, and which would probably have been successful but for the brute force which Russia brought to the help of Austria to crush the right of self-government in man. The people of the United States deeply sympathized with Hungary. The Department of State, under direction of President Taylor, had sent A. Dudley Mann as special envoy to Vienna to watch the struggle, and recognize the independence of Hungary should she be successful. Chevalier Hulsemann, the Austrian *chargé* at Washington, took exception to this, and made a formal protest. He objected specially to the epithet "iron rule," said to have been applied to Austria, to the designation of Kossuth as "an illustrious man," and to some severe animadversions on the course pursued by Russia. To all this Daniel Webster replied with consummate learning and skill, leaving Chevalier Hulsemann with narrow and crumbling ground on which to stand.¹

Subsequently, by invitation, a United States ship brought Kossuth and a number of his fellow-patriots to America on the 5th of December, 1851. The Hungarian exile paid a visit to, and had a long conversation with, Henry Clay, who was then so feeble in health that he was confined to his home. He expressed warm sympathy for Hungary, but could not encourage Kossuth with the hope that the United States would take up arms for his country, or entangle herself in the political struggles of Europe.²

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 680, 682. Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 423, and note.

² Contemporary accounts in papers. Amer. Encyclop., X. 213. Goodrich, 423, note.

Kossuth received a warmer welcome and kinder attention in America than any European other than La Fayette. He was entertained at a banquet given by both Houses of Congress, and was addressed by Daniel Webster and General Cass, and, in reply, made a speech replete with classic eloquence. He was invited by deputations from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Annapolis, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Louisville, St. Louis, Jackson, Mobile, and many other places, North and South, and in compliance made numerous addresses urging that the independence of Hungary should be acknowledged.¹

But Europe was not ready; not even France was ready. A fortnight after his landing came news of the *coup d'état* by which the adventurer Louis Napoleon became Emperor of the French dominions. Kossuth felt deeply the humiliations to which the cause of human freedom in Europe was thus exposed, and indulged in impatient complaints, which brought on him just criticism. He received large money contributions for the cause of Hungary, and returned to Europe in July, 1852.

Henry Clay, who had long been gradually sinking in strength, died at his rooms in the National Hotel, Washington, on the 29th June, 1852, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was soon followed by Daniel Webster, who died at his home, Marshfield, Massachusetts, October 24th, 1852, in the seventy-first year of his age. These three men—Calhoun, Clay and Webster—who were all taken from the world within the years 1850–1852, were the giants of the American Senate and of the forum of constitutional law. Different as were their opinions and views, they felt for each other profound regard. The world will probably never see such a “trio” again in the same age. They died in time to be spared the bloodiest scenes of their country’s history.

¹ Art. Kossuth, Amer. Encyclop., X. 213. Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 423.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE PRESIDENCY OF FRANKLIN PIERCE.

IN the face of a violent eastern snow-storm, accompanied by wind and chilling rain, Franklin Pierce took the required oaths before Chief-Justice Taney, and was inaugurated President on the 4th day of March, 1853. Notwithstanding the inclement heavens, a very large crowd attended. The new President was a finer public speaker than any who had gone before him. His inaugural was patriotic and strong in endorsement of the peace measures, and was delivered in finished style, and in a voice so clear and penetrating that it was distinctly heard at a great distance.¹

His cabinet officers were: William L. Marcy, of New York, of the State Department; James Guthrie, of Kentucky, of the Treasury; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, of War; James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina, of the Navy; Robert McClelland, of Michigan, of the Interior; James Campbell, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General, and Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.²

For a time the country seemed quiet, though volcanoes were slumbering beneath the political soil. The "Gadsden treaty" was commenced and completed, which we have already noted, and under which the Mesilla valley and other territory, embracing more than thirty thousand square miles of area, were ceded by Mexico to the United States, and the embarrassing Article XI. of the treaty of peace of Gaudaloupe Hidalgo was abrogated. For these advantages the United States paid Mexico ten million dollars.³

It was becoming more and more obvious that a rapid and safe mode of transfer of passengers, freight and mails from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific was needed. Postage had been reduced in 1851 to three cents per half ounce on prepaid letters. Therefore, extended reconnaissances and surveys were made early in President Pierce's term, which resulted in a grand trans-continental railroad in a period of about ten years.⁴

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 541.

³ Derry's U. S., 238.

² Quackenbos, 452. Stephens' U. S., 541.

⁴ Goodrich's U. S., 427.

England, under the lead of Prince Albert, consort of Queen Victoria, had successfully planned and conducted, in 1851, a great "exposition" of the arts and industries of all the nations of the world far enough advanced in civilization to take part in it. The visible sign and method of this exposition had been the wonderful Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London.¹

A similar exposition was planned in America. The huge Crystal Palace in New York was framed entirely of iron, and covered with glass. It was opened July 14, 1853. President Pierce attended and inaugurated the proceedings with an address. In the great variety and beauty of the products exhibited, and the crowds who attended, it was a success; but in the money result it was a loss to the liberal joint stock projectors, who had poured out money so profusely on all the objects sought that even the large returns did not repay them; yet they had established a precedent to be followed by many successes.

Franklin Pierce was one of the wisest and most consistent of all the American Presidents. Numerous difficult questions threatened complications with several foreign countries. His government managed them all with skill, and brought them to peaceful terminations honorable to his country.²

One of these troubles was with Great Britain, concerning the right of fishery. By a convention made in 1818, Americans of the United States had liberty to take fish, within specified limits, on the southern coast of Newfoundland and on the southern coast of Labrador; but on other parts of the British coasts in America, were restricted to regions of the sea at least three miles distant from land. Adventurous fishermen, however, from the United States had claimed and exercised the privilege of fishing where they pleased in the great bays, beyond three miles from the shore. To this England objected, and sent ships of war to prevent it. She insisted that the clause meant three miles from a line drawn from headland to headland. For a time a serious disturbance of peace was threatened; but the dispute was transferred to Washington in October, 1853, and in 1854 a "reciprocity treaty" was agreed on, by which the people of both countries acquired the right to take all fish (except shell-fish and fish frequenting rivers) in all English and United States waters of America, without reference to the distance from land.³

Another complication with England arose out of the "Crimean War," waged by Russia on the one side, and England, France,

¹ Quackenbos, 452, 453. Tallis' *Illus. Volumes, Hist. and Descrip. Crystal Palace*, three.

² Prof. Holmes' *U. S.*, 217, 218.

³ *Art. Fisheries, Amer. Encyclop.*, VII. 529, 530. Quackenbos, 451. Goodrich, 424.

Turkey and parts of Italy, on the other.¹ Being hard pressed for troops for this war, England, by her *chargé* in the United States, Mr. Crampton, and with the aid of her consuls in New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, enlisted within the United States a considerable number of recruits for the British armies. When this was brought to the attention of President Pierce, he promptly condemned the proceedings as in violation of the neutral rights and position of the United States. He issued a proclamation to that effect, and demanded that Mr. Crampton should be recalled and the offending consuls withdrawn. England hesitated and delayed and finally declined, no doubt under the consciousness that her officials had acted according to her wishes; but Mr. Pierce could not enter into her motives, and promptly ended the matter, in May, 1856, by requiring Mr. Crampton and the consuls to leave the country.² The British ministry were too well versed in international law to take offence at this prompt justice.

Another of the public difficulties was with Austria, and excited keen interest in all the civilized world. A Hungarian, named Martin Koszta, had been actively engaged in the revolutionary contest of 1848. He had escaped to the United States, and, according to the naturalization laws, had declared formally, in a court of record, his purpose to become an American citizen. Visiting Smyrna for business purposes, he was recognized by detectives in the employ of Austria. He placed himself under protection of the American consul; but he was seized by a party of men, acting without warrant or authority of law, and carried aboard the Austrian brig of war *Hussar*.³

Fortunately for Koszta and for the cause of human freedom, Capt. Duncan Nathaniel Ingraham, commanding the United States sloop of war *St. Louis*, had arrived at Smyrna June 22d, 1853. Being informed of the facts, and having conferred with the American consul, Captain Ingraham demanded that Koszta should be surrendered to him by four o'clock of the afternoon of July 2d. No time could be lost. An Austrian steamer was lying near the *Hussar* ready to receive Koszta and convey him to Trieste. Once there he would have been hopelessly in the power of Austria.

But Ingraham was prompt and resolute. He cleared his ship for battle and brought her within easy range of the *Hussar*, with her guns in order.⁴ These steps were decisive and brought a decision. At eleven o'clock the commander of the *Hussar* proposed,

¹ Taylor's Centen. U. S., 688.

² Taylor's Centen. U. S., 688. Goodrich, 431, 432.

³ Goodrich's Piet. U. S., 427. Quackenbos, 453. Amer. Encyclop., IX. 527.

⁴ Goodrich's Piet. U. S., 427, 428. Quackenbos, 453, 454. Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 199.

though under protest, to deliver Koszta into the hands of the French consul in Smyrna, to be held subject to the disposition of the consuls of Austria and the United States, and not to be delivered without their joint order in writing. As this secured the safety of Koszta, Ingraham consented.¹

The result was that Koszta was released and returned to his adopted home in the United States. Chevalier Hulsemann made the facts a subject of long written protest and complaint, to which Secretary Marcy replied with so much of clear and crushing logic that Austria dropped the subject. The conduct of Captain Ingraham was fully approved by his government, and the Congress voted him a gold medal.²

In 1854, President Pierce gave notice to Denmark that American ships would no longer pay the "sound duties" exacted from vessels entering the Baltic. This led to a treaty, in 1857, extinguishing such exactions.

In 1854, under the inspiration of Prof. James P. Espy, aided by Alexander H. Stephens and others like minded in Congress, the United States meteorological officers commenced sending out reports as to the weather probabilities for about twenty-four hours to come. These reports were never mere guesses, but were founded on observation and experience. They have been ever since continued with expanding advantage and usefulness.

But amid all these foreign successes and scientific advances, a political storm was gathering during President Pierce's term, which darkly portended what followed it.

The Whigs, having received a disastrous defeat in 1852, had little to encourage them; but a new party arose in 1854, to which many of them gave adhesion. Its most dignified title was the "American party," but its members were generally called "Know-Nothings," because their organization was secret and somewhat Masonic in its forms. They had lodges, initiatory ceremonies, grips and pass-words. Their principles, as far as revealed, were that foreign-born people and adherents of the Roman church ought to be excluded from office, and that the term of years of residence for a foreigner to become a citizen ought to be greatly extended.³

These "Know-Nothings" grew in numbers and carried the elections of 1854 and part of those of 1855, so that in the House of Representatives which met in December, 1855, there was a large anti-administration majority.

¹ Art. Ingraham, *Amer. Encyclop.*, IX. 527.

² Taylor's *Centen. U. S.*, 684. *Amer. Encyclop.*, IX. 527.

³ Stephens, 545, 546. Quackenbos, 457.

As the slavery excitement increased, and evidences of a purposed dissolution of the Union appeared more and more, the higher men of the "American party" organized a secret order, pledged, under the most solemn promises, to maintain the union of the States in all circumstances and against all enemies. Large numbers of Whigs and some of other parties joined this order.

But the "Know-Nothings" were assailable in their principles, especially in the religious element thereof. They met their first and most disastrous defeat in the State campaign of Virginia for governor in 1855. Henry A. Wise was the Democratic candidate. Although not strong in health, he made a personal canvass, traversing the State in all directions, traveling more than three thousand miles and making more than fifty speeches to immense crowds.¹ He was elected by more than ten thousand majority. From that time the "American party" declined in strength, until they became virtually extinct after the presidential election of 1856.

Cuba continued to be an object of interest, especially to the slave States, and, therefore, to the Democratic party, whose strength was firmly buttressed on those States. In February, 1854, the American steamship *Black Warrior* was seized in the harbor of Havana, under process for violating a revenue law, and ship and cargo were confiscated. In 1854 the American ministers to England, France and Spain, viz.: Messrs. Buchanan, Mason and Soulé, met at Ostend, Belgium, and, after conference, issued a manifesto showing in strong terms the advantages which would accrue both to Spain and the United States by a sale of Cuba to the latter power at a fair price, and also the dangers to public peace constantly arising from the retention of Cuba by Spain.²

This proceeding was, to say the least, supported by very ambiguous precedents in diplomacy. It accomplished nothing. England and France both promptly took the part of Spain in declining a coerced sale of the island, which she esteemed "the Queen of the Antilles." France, then under the jealous espionage of the *parvenu* Emperor Louis Napoleon, went so far as to arrest M. Soulé on her territory. He was French by birth, and had been banished because of his republican sentiments and acts; but permission had been given him to return. He was arrested in Calais October 24th, 1854; but he was soon allowed to pursue his journey to Madrid. Spain promptly and satisfactorily settled the *Black Warrior* complication.³

¹ Art. Wise, Amer. Encyclop., XVI. 503, 504.

² Thalheimer's Eccl. U. S., 265. Goodrich, 429. Eggleston's (too strongly colored) Household U. S., 304.

³ Goodrich, 429.

While the friends of slavery were thus seeking to secure more territory for her expansion, her enemies were waging ceaseless war on the institution. We need not wonder at this when we remember that by this time the opponents of slavery had become convinced by exhaustive argument that the institution did not originate in Divine command, and was against natural right and law. Therefore, the Fugitive Slave Law was bitterly opposed, and its provisions were substantially made inoperative and null by the passage of "personal liberty" laws in many of the Northern States, and by the persistent efforts of State officers and citizens to rescue fugitive slaves from the claims of their alleged owners.¹ Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa, all enacted laws systematically adapted to defeat the rendition of fugitive slaves.²

And even in the few cases in which the law for rendition was carried out, the effect was to increase rather than diminish the popular opposition. A noted case occurred in Boston. The ownership was proved, the order of surrender made, and, to guard against rescue, the volunteer soldiers of the city were called into service, and marched under arms, protecting the owner as he carried off his slave. But prudent slave-owners had no desire to encounter such scenes.

In 1851-'52 Mrs. Harriet Elizabeth Beecher Stowe had furnished to the *National Era*, an anti-slavery newspaper of moderate circulation in Washington city, the successive numbers of her novel entitled "Uncle Tom's Cabin." When completed it was republished in Boston in two volumes. It produced a profound impression. Other editions followed, and the sale became enormous; and through all the years of the presidencies of Fillmore, Pierce and Buchanan this work of fiction, containing much of truth, continued to sway the public mind, not only of America, but of foreign lands, against African slavery. In the United States, four editions—one in the German language—were published, and rapidly sold to the amount of four hundred thousand copies.³ In Great Britain, there being no burden of copyright, five hundred thousand copies were sold at prices running from six pence to ten shillings. It was translated into every living language of Europe, and into several of those of Asia, including Arabic and Armenian. Steam presses ran day and night to sat-

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 542.

² Report in Va. Legis., 1859-'60. Journal of Senate 31: 19, 48, 49. So. Lit. Mess., April, 1862, 217, 218.

³ Art. Stowe, New Amer. Encyclop., XV. 126.

isfy the demand for this work. The accuracy of some of its statements having been publicly called in question, Mrs. Stowe published, in 1853, a "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin," verifying all that was material by official or otherwise authentic documents.¹

The phenomena attending this work alone, if properly weighed, ought to have admonished the slave-holders of America that their institution had few friends and innumerable enemies in all the civilized world, and that if they desired to maintain it, even for a time, the greatest caution, prudence and moderation on their part were needed. But passionate and earnest men seldom exercise those virtues when the supreme crisis comes.

Notwithstanding all the growing influence of the opponents of slavery, none of them had ever claimed the right, under the constitution, to interfere with it in the States where it existed, or in which it might be regularly established by the free choice of the people, seconding the conditions of soil and climate. It might, therefore, have been conserved for an indefinite time, and have been gradually eliminated without shock or bloodshed, but for the fatal breach in the Democratic party caused by the movements of their leaders in passing the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854.

Although the giants Calhoun, Clay and Webster had passed away, the Congress still held men of intellectual strength and broad statesmanship, prominent among whom were Benton, of Missouri; Houston, of Texas; Bell, of Tennessee; Hunter and Mason, of Virginia; Chase, of Ohio; Seward, of New York; Douglas, of Illinois; Toombs and Stephens, of Georgia; Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts; Andrew Pickens Butler, of South Carolina; and Clement C. Clay, of Alabama. Among these, Stephen A. Douglas was a leader of the Democrats. He was short in person, but powerfully framed. By his physical strength and mental accomplishments he had gained the name of "the little giant."²

The Territories of Kansas and Nebraska were part of that acquired by the Louisiana purchase from France, and were therefore included, in definite and certain terms, by the "Missouri Compromise" of 1820. They were both north of the line of 36° 30'; in fact, the southern line of Nebraska was many degrees north of it. They were adapted to the culture of wheat and similar cereals. They were not adapted to cotton, rice, sugarcane, indigo, or any of the products specially calling for slave-labor; slave-holders did not feel drawn to them. They might

¹ Amer. Encyclop., XV. 126.

²Thalheimer's Eclectic U. S., note, 267.

safely have been left to the operation of the "Missouri Compromise," and of the laws of nature and of natural settlement. In truth, under these laws, they were healthily filling up with a free population, and one of them would soon be ready for admission to the Union.

But now came in the political disturbance to vex and distract the laws of nature. Stephen A. Douglas led this disturbance; he was the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.¹ It was introduced in the Senate in January, 1854, and for five months was the subject of fierce and acrimonious debate. It was the first distinct proposition to break down the "Missouri Compromise." It proposed that the actual settlers and residents in those Territories, no matter how short and precarious the time and nature of their residence, should have authority to constitute a State, and by a mere majority should have power and authority to decide whether the State should be a slave or a free State. The principle on which this plan was founded was afterwards very justly stigmatized as the principle of "squatter sovereignty."²

While it is true that the anti-slavery powers in Congress had ignored the line of 36° 30' as to the territory acquired from Mexico, yet they had acted in the interests of human freedom, had simply recognized this territory as already free from slavery, under the laws of Mexico, and had refused to convert free territory into slave territory. They did not touch, by their legislation, the territory embraced in the "Missouri Compromise."

We need not be surprised, therefore, that this Kansas-Nebraska Bill excited the sternest opposition among the opponents of the extension of slavery. It was denounced as a distinct violation of good faith on the part of the advocates of slavery;³ and it was denounced as the prophet and forerunner of an unnatural strife for possession of the soil of these Territories, not according to healthful and normal laws of settlement, but under the morbid stimulus of partisan excitement. Three thousand New England clergymen sent a memorial to Congress against it.

Nevertheless, it passed both Houses, and was signed by the President. One clause in it declared the "Missouri Compromise" of 1820 "inoperative and void."⁴ Then came precisely the scenes of strife and evil predicted. Slave-holders from Missouri and other States hastened, with little preparation and no intent of permanency, into Kansas. Prominent men, among whom Benjamin

¹ Eggleston's Household U. S., 301.

² Goodrich, 429. Thalheimer, note, 267. "Popular sovereignty," according to Quackenbos, 456.

³ Horace Greeley, in New York Tribune. Stephens, 544.

⁴ Amer. Encyclop., X. 104.

Franklin Stringfellow, of Missouri, was first in vigor and talent, hastened into Virginia and others of the older slave States, and sought to hurry extemporized settlers from them into Kansas. The same process was repeated in the Northern States, and with even greater virulence. It was known that conflicts of arms would take place and blood would be shed. Therefore, collections were taken up to buy Sharpe's rifles for the Northern settlers in Kansas. Among those most earnest in this work were Henry Ward Beecher, a Congregational minister of the gospel, and his people of the Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York.¹

Probably the most unwilling blood of this controversy was that shed by an anti-slavery Senator. Charles Sumner having, in a speech of two days, in May, 1856, made some severe reflections on Senator Butler, of South Carolina, who was an old man, Preston S. Brooks, the nephew of Senator Butler and a member of the House of Representatives, resented the insult to his relative, and assaulted Senator Sumner, knocked him down and beat him so severely with his cane that three years of rest and travel were required for his recovery. Brooks, being called to account in Congress, resigned his place as representative, but was immediately re-elected and returned to the House by his constituents.²

The result of the unnatural forcing measures for the occupation of Kansas were just what sound reason would have expected. The people from each section came not to settle, to fence, to build houses, to cultivate the soil, and to develop the country into homes of virtue and intelligence; they came for strife, with tents and arms.

The Missourians pressed in first and sought to close the easiest gates of ingress to the Northern comers, and to force them into circuitous routes through Iowa.³ Collisions and bloody contests soon followed. In 1856 an election, which wanted nearly every essential of qualification in the pretended electors, of free expression of opinion and will, and of real representation of the sentiments of the people, was held; and members were chosen to a convention, which was held at Lecompton. They adopted a State constitution permitting slavery.⁴

The Northern settlers were equally active, and adopted measures equally irregular and inadequate to give fair expression to the public will. They elected members to a so-called conven-

¹ Contemporary narratives in newspapers, 1854. Eggleston, 302. Scudder, 370. Barnes, 195, and note. Blackburn & McDonald, 387.

Barnes' U. S., note p. 195.

³ Thalheimer, 265, 266.

⁴ Thalheimer's Eelec. U. S., 266. Quackenbos, 456. Scudder's U. S., 370.

tion, which met at Topeka, and framed a constitution prohibiting slavery.¹

Thus in this distracted Territory there were two governments, two forms of constitution, two sets of officers, and two hostile populations battling with each other. A more complete demonstration of the folly of the legislation involved in the Kansas-Nebraska Act could not have been given; yet President Pierce and a majority of his cabinet felt bound to attempt to sustain the policy of that act, and favored the Lecompton constitution.²

Contests of armed men speedily ensued. The Missouri men and a number of armed parties from Georgia, Alabama and other Southern States, under Major Buford, arrived in Kansas. The town of Lawrence had been settled by Northern men and was their rallying point. It was besieged by a large force of pro-slavery men, and on the 21st of May, 1856, under a promise of safety to persons and protection of property, the residents gave up their arms to the sheriff. The besiegers immediately entered the town, blew up and burned the hotel, burned the residence of a Mr. Robinson, destroyed two printing presses, plundered several stores and houses, and committed other acts of violence in open disregard of the terms of surrender.³

Murder was now common. Civil war in its most hateful forms existed. The Congress sent a committee to investigate facts. They returned evidence making a volume of eleven hundred pages, and a report of a majority of two and a report of a minority of one. The two—Howard, of Michigan, and Sherman, of Ohio—reported that “every election had been controlled, not by the actual settlers, but by citizens of Missouri. None have been elected by the settlers, and your committee have been unable to find that any political power whatever has been exercised by the people of the Territory.”⁴ On the other hand, the one—Mr. Oliver, of Missouri—reported that the majority report was partisan and one-sided, and that no evidence had shown that “any violence was resorted to, or force employed, by which men were prevented from voting.”⁵

These fatally incongruous reports were, in themselves, proof of the distraction in the Territory. And now, out of these seething elements there rose up a man who was a stubborn fanatic and acted a leading part in kindling the bloodiest and most desolating war of North America.

¹ Seudder, 370. Thalheimer, 266.

² Seudder's U. S., 370. Thalheimer, 266, note, 267. Amer. Encyclop., X. 104-106.

³ Art. Kansas, Amer. Encyclop., X. 105. Thalheimer, 266.

⁴ Majority report, Amer. Encyclop., X. 105.

⁵ Minority report, Amer. Encyclop., X. 105.

This man was John Brown. He led the Northern people of Kansas in several sharp encounters, and especially in one at Osawatamie, on the 29th August, 1856, in which a detachment of armed men from a force assembled by David Atchison, who had been a United States Senator from Missouri, attacked a body of about fifty men under John Brown. They made an obstinate and brave defence, but were at length driven out of Osawatamie, with a loss of two killed, five wounded and seven prisoners. Five of the assailing force were killed and several wounded. They were so irritated by the fierce defence that they burned about thirty buildings.¹ From this time that rugged hater of slavery was called "Osawatamie Brown." We shall meet him again.

These sanguinary conflicts continued until President Pierce appointed Brigadier-General John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, governor and commander-in-chief in Kansas. He did what he could to restore peace; but the disturbance went on, and continued during a large part of the term of Mr. Pierce's successor. Meanwhile crowds of real settlers poured into Kansas, chiefly from the Northern and Northwestern States. Slave-holders found little to attract them as cultivators of the soil. Repeated efforts were made to bring Kansas into the Union. Congress finally referred the Lecompton constitution (permitting slavery) to the people of Kansas. It was rejected by ten thousand majority of votes. The State was admitted under a constitution forbidding slavery on the 29th day of January, 1861.²

No State was admitted during the presidency of Franklin Pierce. His administration was a time of profound internal commotion, shaking the very basis of the Union; yet nearly all his intercourse with foreign nations tended to peace.

An English exploring squadron had been sent to the Arctic seas to look for Sir John Franklin's ships. One of the ships of this squadron—the *Resolute*—had been caught in the ice and so severely "nipped" that she was abandoned by her officers and crew, who went aboard the other vessels of the squadron. On the 23d December, 1855, Captain Buddington, of an American merchant ship, found the *Resolute* drifting at the mercy of wind and wave, and brought her into the harbor of New Bedford.³

President Pierce and his government conceived and carried out a happy thought. They paid all needed expenses of salvage and of perfectly repairing and refitting the *Resolute*. They then sent her to England in December, 1856, with a picked crew under

¹ Art. Kansas, Amer. Encyclop., X. 105.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 569.

³ Goodrich's Pict. U. S., 434.

Lieutenant Hartstene, as a gift from the United States to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The Queen with a few attendants, and in simple style, came down to Southampton, went aboard the *Resolute*, and on her deck received the message of goodwill from the United States, which Captain Hartstene delivered in brief and well chosen sentences. The Queen replied in a few words of gracious thanks. The incident was in all respects fortunate and cheering in its influence.

The Whig party had now become almost extinct, and the Democratic party had been greatly weakened by the unhappy policy led by Stephen A. Douglas. In the conventions of 1856, the Democrats nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. The "American party" nominated Millard Fillmore for President, and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President.¹

The Anti-Slavery party had gathered strength from the very causes which had disorganized the Whigs and weakened the Democrats. They united all the elements which opposed the extension of slavery and proposed to restrict it to existing bounds and territory pledged to its uses. They called themselves now "Republicans," and were growing daily in numbers. They met in convention at Philadelphia on the 17th June, 1856, and nominated John C. Fremont, of California, for President, and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, for Vice-President. In their platform they proclaimed that it was "both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery."²

The elections resulted in sending to the college of electors members who voted as follows: one hundred and seventy-four votes for Buchanan as President and Breckinridge as Vice-President; eight votes (all from Maryland) for Fillmore and Donelson; one hundred and fourteen votes for Fremont for President and Dayton for Vice-President. Though the Democratic candidates were elected, it had become evident that the Anti-Slavery party had gathered immense strength, and that the coming struggle, on which the alternative existence either of the Union or of slavery depended, would be between the Democrats and Republicans. Patriots on both sides viewed this struggle with increasing alarm.

Franklin Pierce had done his part consistently and firmly according to his principles. He retired to private life in his State. He visited the Island of Madeira, and traveled extensively in Europe, returning from his tour in 1860.

¹ Stephens, 546.

² Narrative and platform Republican party, 1856. Stephens, 546.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE PRESIDENCY OF JAMES BUCHANAN.

JAMES BUCHANAN, the sole "bachelor" President of the United States up to this time, was inaugurated on the 4th day of March, 1857, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. A great crowd attended the ceremonies. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney. The inaugural address was conciliatory; but it adopted the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and therefore ministered to the increase of the Anti-Slavery party. His declaration that the object of his administration would be "to destroy any sectional party, whether North or South, and to restore, if possible, that national fraternal feeling between the different States that had existed during the early days of the republic," was doubtless honest, but was utterly inoperative.¹ Sectional feeling never grew more alarmingly than during his term.

Early in his term a financial crisis came on in Europe and the United States, attended by many failures of merchants and temporary suspension of specie payments by the banks; but it soon ended, and had no permanent effects.

President Buchanan's cabinet consisted of Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, of Georgia, of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, of Virginia, of War; Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, of the Interior; Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, and Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General.²

The first serious trouble of the government was concerning the "Mormons" in Utah. The uprising, influence and increase of this evil sect are a singular illustration of the truth that the depraved nature and passions of the human race incline them to "believe a lie." False prophets, teaching false doctrine, have been in the world from the time of the fall in paradise to the present day; and their continued coming and deceptions after his death, resurrection and ascension had been predicted by the

¹ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 196.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 517, 518.

omniscient Son of God himself.¹ But the strange fact concerning the Mormons is that they had their origin in the brilliant light of the nineteenth century; and, notwithstanding the complete proof of the wickedness, falsehood and fraud of their leaders, their system has had so much that is attractive to the native evil in men and women that it has retained its coherency for more than half a century.

One Solomon Spalding is the real author of the greater part of the "Book of Mormon." He never pretended to inspiration from God, nor to be the author of a book on which a new religious faith was to be founded. He was born in 1761, in Ashford, Connecticut, graduated at Dartmouth College, was a student of Holy Scripture and general literature, wrote several works of fiction, which found no publishers, wrote afterwards an extended romance founded on the unproved hypothesis that the Indians of North and South America are lineal descendants from the ten lost tribes of Israel, and giving many fictitious names, such as Moroni, Mosiah, Zeniff, Alma, Nephi the First, the Second and the Third. The work shows much misspent ingenuity and industry. It adopts the simplicity and style of the King James (English) version of the Holy Scriptures, and quotes many passages from it. This romance was actually announced in 1813 as soon to be printed and published; but Mr. Spalding died in Amity, Pennsylvania, in 1816.²

He called his curious work the "Manuscript Found," and left it, in 1812, in a printing office in Pittsburg, in which a man named Sidney Rigdon was employed. Rigdon is known to have made a copy of this manuscript before the original was returned to the author.³

Seven years after the death of Mr. Spalding, one Joseph Smith, in company with Sidney Rigdon, began to claim that a special revelation from God had been made to him. Smith belonged to a disreputable family from Vermont—people intemperate, untruthful, avoiding honest labor, and often suspected of sheep-stealing. Joseph Smith, as a boy, was one of the worst of the clan.⁴ He could neither read nor write, except very imperfectly.

But he proved adequate to give birth to the Mormon delusion. He pretended that the angel Moroni had appeared three times to him and given him information as to certain metallic plates on which the new revelation was inscribed, and of two transparent stones, in silver rims like spectacles, which were

¹ Matt. xxiv. 23-28. Mark xiii. 21-23. Luke xxi. 8, 9. Second Peter ii. 4.

² Art. Mormons, New Amer. Encyclop., XI. 735, 736. ³ Amer. Encyclop., XI. 735.

⁴ Art. Mormons, Amer. Encyclop., XI. 733. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 548.

anciently the "Urim and Thummim," and by looking through which the inspired writings on the plates could be read.

And so by this bold fraud, running through more than six years, and in which Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Oliver Cowdery were the chief agents, though others probably of more culture and cunning were concerned, the "Book of Mormon" was published in 1830. The sect of Mormons had already arisen.

Like the Koran of Mohammed, this new pretended revelation had enough of Holy Scripture, and of the ancient prophets, and of Christ and his apostles, to give it currency with those trained under the canonical Scriptures. Its warp and woof have been recognized and identified by several competent and credible witnesses as the work of Solomon Spalding.¹

The Mormons made converts and grew in numbers. They planted themselves first in Missouri, but soon attracted public odium, and were subjected to persecutions and violence which drove them into Illinois. Here they were kindly received. A charter for a city to be called Nauvoo was granted by the legislature, conferring undefined and extensive powers upon the officers. Joseph Smith became a successful speculator, and in a few years amassed a fortune of more than a million of dollars. The Mormons were thrifty and industrious, and accumulated wealth quite rapidly.

On the 6th of April, 1841, the foundations of a great temple at Nauvoo were laid. Smith and many of his coadjutors had become Freemasons, and used imposing ceremonies.

He had a lawful wife, to whom he was united in marriage in 1827. The "Book of Mormon," in its original form, definitely forbade polygamy;² but Joseph Smith, to indulge his brutal passions, had persuaded a number of women to live and cohabit with him, under the title of his "spiritual wives," and when his wife grew jealous and restive, and murmurs began to be heard from others, he openly claimed that he had received, July 12th, 1843, a revelation from God authorizing polygamy.³

This foul pretence has been tenaciously adhered to ever since by the leaders of the sect; and, unhappily, it has had a sinister influence in leading women of the lower type of character to join them.

In 1843 and 1844, Smith made impure advances to so many women in Nauvoo that a commotion was excited, under which a number of men and women of decent characters who had joined

¹ Amer. Encyclop., XI. 735, 736.

² Quotation in Amer. Encyclop., XI. 734.

³ Art. Mormons, Amer. Encyclop., XI. 738.

them were impelled to come out openly and denounce Mormonism, and expose Smith and his frauds in articles published over the names of the authors in the *Expositor*, a newspaper started to oppose the delusion. The result was that Smith and his followers, on the 6th May, 1844, attacked the *Expositor* office, razed it to the ground, destroyed the printing presses, and wrecked the whole building.

A furious excitement arose. The owners got out warrants for the arrest of Smith and his compeers. The Mormons armed themselves. Civil war seemed inevitable. The Governor of Illinois interposed, and persuaded Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum to yield themselves up for trial.

They were put in jail at Carthage, and a guard was stationed to protect them; but in the night of June 27th, 1844, an indignant mob (chiefly Missourians) assembled, attacked the jail, overpowered the guard, and shot both Hyrum and Joseph Smith dead with their rifles. Joseph defended himself to the last with a revolver, and was shot as he leaped from a window.¹

This irregular and unlawful "taking off" for a time discouraged the Mormons; but Brigham Young, a native of Whittingham, Vermont, had joined the sect, and by his talent and tact had acquired leadership. He was chosen first president. He persuaded his followers to abandon Nauvoo, and acquire property near the Great Salt Lake of Utah. He arrived there July 24th, 1847. In May, 1848, the main body of the "Saints" set out to join him, and arrived in the autumn. Salt Lake City was founded, and large tracts of land were brought under cultivation.

But their vices accompanied them and made them odious in the eyes of the Christian world. When Brigham Young reached Utah it was yet under the dominion of Mexico; but the treaty of peace in 1848 transferred it to the United States. The Mormons were again under a government able to rule them firmly. They seriously debated the question of going farther to the southwest among Apaches and Mexicans; but they decided to remain.²

They formed a constitution and government to suit themselves, calling their land "the State of Deseret;" but the Congress ignored their action, and created a territorial government for Utah in September, 1850. By advice of Col. Thomas L. Kane, brother of the Arctic explorer, who personally knew some of the Mormons, President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young governor of the Territory.³

¹ Amer. Encyclop., XI. 738. Stephens, 549. Goodrich, (note) 428.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 550.

³ *Ibid.*, 551

But such a people were not to be ruled without force. Two of the territorial judges were not Mormons. A breach soon occurred. The Federal judges were compelled by threats of violence to leave the Territory. The "Saints" only were to govern. President Buchanan removed Young from office, and appointed Arthur Cumming, of Georgia, governor. Colonel Steptoe, of the United States army, held the office for a time; but as soon as he departed, Brigham Young preached a Mormon sermon, in which he said: "I am, and will be, governor, and no power can hinder it, until the Lord Almighty says, 'Brigham, you need not be governor any longer.'"¹

The United States civil authorities in Utah were harassed and terrified. In February, 1856, under the influence of sermons from the heads of the church, a mob of armed Mormons broke their way into the court-room of the district judge and, with brandished bowie-knives, compelled Judge Drummond to adjourn his court *sine die*. Soon afterwards all territorial officers, except the Indian agent, were compelled by threats of violence to leave Utah.

President Buchanan sent to the Territory a military force of about one thousand seven hundred men, under command of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, who was breveted brigadier-general. Colonel Fitz John Porter accompanied the expedition and rendered valuable aid. Captain Van Vleet, with a few rangers, pushed rapidly ahead, and from Salt Lake City reported to General Johnston that the Mormons were armed and organized, and that forcible resistance might be expected. This report was received by General Johnston on the 29th of September, 1857, while with his army on the south fork of the Platte river.²

He marched on, crossing the Platte river and making his way slowly over rocky mountains, arid plains where only sage and coarse grass could be found for his animals, and rugged roads beset by hostile Mormons. To add to his trials, winter came on with unusual severity. The mercury was sometimes sixteen degrees below zero. Draft horses and oxen died in numbers. Armed Mormon bands penetrated to the rear of Colonel Alexander's command and burned three wagon trains—seventy-five in all—loaded with provisions and supplies.³

Undismayed by all these obstacles, General Johnston moved steadily on, sometimes marching on foot with his men and cheerfully sharing all their toils.⁴ By the 5th of February, 1858, he had reached Fort Bridger, and was soon near to Salt Lake City

¹ Amer. Encyclop., XI, 739.

² Life of Gen. A. S. Johnston, by Wm. Preston Johnston, N. Y., 1878, pp. 210, 211.

³ Life of A. S. Johnston, 210, 211.

⁴ Col. Cooke's report, Life, 215.

with an army devoted to him and ready to crush the Mormon power.

In his letter of January 20th, 1858, to his government, General Johnston advised that no concessions should be made to the Mormons, and that "they should be made to submit unconditionally to the constitutional and legal demands of the government." He declared that "an adjustment of existing differences on any other basis would be nugatory."¹

Experience has demonstrated the soundness of this advice; but President Buchanan was, by temperament and education, a man not fitted for stern and decisive measures. He prepared a scheme of universal amnesty for all past offences. Colonel Thomas L. Kane came on as a sort of self-constituted peacemaker. He was strongly suspected of social and church sympathy with the Mormons. He was a man of talents, but of intriguing and erratic temper; he lent himself to a scheme prepared as a trap for General Johnston by the wily leader Brigham Young.

This man, presuming on the scarcity in the American camp, to which the raids of his own lawless followers had contributed, offered, through Colonel Kane, to send two hundred head of cattle and twenty thousand pounds of flour to General Johnston's army, "to which they will be made perfectly welcome, or pay for, just as they choose."²

The American commander was too cautious and wise to fall into the snare. He replied, March 15th, 1858, saying that President Young had been misinformed; that there was no deficiency. "We have abundance to last until the government can renew the supply. Whatever might be the need of the army under my command for food, we would neither ask nor receive from President Young and his confederates any supplies while they continue to be the enemies of the government."³

Kane urged him to review and change his action, but he steadily refused. He knew that if he accepted these supplies and then operated by military force against the Mormons, Young would have produced the impression that he had saved from starvation the very army which was now smiting the hand that had fed it.⁴

Arthur Cumming, the newly-appointed governor, was dependent on General Johnston and his army for support and protection; yet he "exhibited a rankling irritation and jealousy that proved injurious to the public interests."⁵

¹ Gen. Johnston's letter, *Life*, 220, 221.

² *Life of Gen. Johnston*, 222.

³ Johnston's letter, *Life*, 222.

⁴ *Life of Gen. A. S. Johnston*, 222, 223.

⁵ Fitz John Porter's narrative, *Life*, 224, 225.

The Mormons did not dare to make open resistance. General Johnston marched with his army through the principal streets of Salt Lake City, and then established his camp in the north end of Cedar Valley, where he had all advantages of position, grass, water, wood and shelter, and whence he could promptly move to any point needing action.

So complete was the control thus established that Brigham Young and his people contemplated another *exodus*—a removal to Sonora. The movement had commenced; the people had congregated at Provo, when, under orders from their leaders, they changed their purpose, and returned to their homes.¹

President Buchanan's peace commissioners, Governor Powell and Colonel McCulloch, arrived at Salt Lake City June 7th, 1848, and offered amnesty and pardon for all past offences, provided the Mormons would acknowledge and obey the United States authorities. Of course, these terms were accepted. Governor Cumming assumed his chair of office; and while the army remained there was peace, but no longer.

This pestilent sect have remained in Utah. Stringent legislation has been enacted by Congress, under which prosecutions for bigamy have been instituted and sustained against nearly all the prominent officers of the church. They have been chased by United States marshals from the sight of decent people; and yet the evil has not been stamped out. The "Saints" claim the power to govern themselves. The "*imperium in imperio*," condemned by all history, still exists. More than thirty years of experience, from the time when General Johnston entered Salt Lake City with his army, have demonstrated that the course he then advised was the only one for safety and permanent peace. A tardy and sullen vote of submission to the law forbidding polygamy has been announced under the influence of President Woodruff, and fear of the strong arm of the United States government may induce obedience.²

William Walker, a citizen of the United States, had become somewhat noted for an abortive attempt to seize a portion of the territory of Mexico. In the summer of 1855, with a small band of adventurers from California, he invaded Nicaragua, then in a distracted political state. After some petty struggles and skirmishes he seemed to be prevalent; but the people of Costa Rica joined the Nicaraguans, and Walker and his small band of "filibusters" were driven from the land. Nicaragua is a republic,

¹ Life of Gen. Johnston, 227.

² Action of General Conference Mormon Church, October, 1890. C. O., Oct. 15th.

with only about four hundred thousand inhabitants; but its situation, as a pathway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, renders it important.¹

Walker was not satisfied yet with his experience in "flibustering." He collected about four hundred men in the Southern States, and, eluding the authorities, embarked, November 11th, 1857, at Mobile. He landed at Puntas Arenas, Nicaragua; but the United States naval ships were after him, and on the 8th of December he surrendered to Captain Paulding, of the steamer *Wabash*, and was brought, with his men, back to the United States.² This ended his outrages on law.

Paraguay, one of the South American States, showed herself unmindful of gratitude and comity, by firing on a United States surveying ship while peacefully engaged in triangulating the Paraguay river, and refused satisfaction when demanded. A strong naval force was sent, in 1858, to her waters, by the United States government, accompanied, however, by a peace commissioner with full powers. Paraguay was wise, and kept the peace by agreeing to make reparation.³

In the summer of 1860, Japan signified her appreciation of Commodore Perry's visit and treaty by sending to the United States a magnificent embassy of seventy-one persons. They were received with great interest and high honors, and were entertained as the guests of the nation. They delivered the ratified treaty from their government. After shrewdly examining the many inventions and improvements of a highly enlightened land, which they now saw for the first time, and receiving many presents of specimens of American ingenuity and industry, they returned to Japan.⁴

Already Morse's wonderful invention of the magnetic telegraph had been spread, in a net-work of almost instantaneous transmission of thought, over a large part of the United States and of Europe, and was extending into Asia. Bold scientific and practical minds were beginning to ponder the question whether the Atlantic Ocean itself might not be crossed by wire. Cyrus W. Field, of New York, was the inspiring and unconquerable hero of this enterprise. Surveys and soundings were made, which ascertained that from the southwestern point of Ireland, at Valentia Bay, to Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, a distance of only one thousand six hundred and forty miles intervened, and that a sea-bottom (which is really a continuous mountain ridge) existed

¹ Goodrich, 431, and note.

² Goodrich's *Pict. U. S.*, 431.

³ Quackenbos' *U. S.*, 459.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 459.

along this line, comparatively level and at no point deeper than about two and a half miles. In 1856, by private capital raised by Mr. Field's exertions, a line was successfully run from New York to St. John's, Newfoundland, a distance of more than a thousand miles.¹ A cable of many strands of twisted wire was then made in England, but in attempting to lay it in August, 1857, the cable parted in mid-ocean. In June, 1858, another attempt failed. In July of the same year, the cable was actually laid; the *Agamemnon*, British war steamer, and the *Niagara*, American war steamer, each having about half of the coiled wire cable covered with a cuticle of gutta-percha, met in mid-ocean, and, after uniting the ends, each steamed away, one for Valentia, the other for Newfoundland. The *Agamemnon* entered Valentia Bay on the 5th of August, and on the same day the *Niagara* reached St. John's, in Trinity Bay. On the 13th of August, communication was actually made; a message of devout congratulation from Queen Victoria to President Buchanan was received, and he replied in like spirit.²

Between August 13th and September 1st, one hundred and twenty-nine messages went from Valentia to New York, and two hundred and seventy-one from New York to Valentia.³ On the 1st of September, 1858, a grand celebration in New York commemorated the auspicious event; but just at the same time subtle influences, supposed to be attributable to imperfect action in the eastern section of the cable, made its power of transmission weaker and weaker, until it ceased entirely. The last words were received at Valentia October 20th, and were unintelligible, until afterwards given: "Two hundred and forty trays and seventy-two liquid Daniells now in circuit."

These words will convey to the uninitiated a lively idea of the obstacles yet to be encountered and mysteries of magnetism yet to be explored before this great work was successful. Under the deathless exertions of Cyrus W. Field, two more companies were raised and two capitals of three million dollars each were expended. A new cable was made in July, 1865; the *Great Eastern* started with it, but it parted and sunk in mid-ocean. A third cable, better than all before, was made, and in June, 1866, the *Great Eastern* laid this successfully from Valentia to St. John's, and then, going back, picked up the sunken cable of 1865 with grappling-irons, spliced it, and completed its laying.⁴ No

¹ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, p. 236.

² Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 286. Goodrich, 443.

³ Art. Telegraph, Amer. Encyclop., XV. 344.

⁴ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, p. 286.

difficulties falling below the insuperable will stop the resolute and courageous soul.

Three new States were received into the Union during Mr. Buchanan's presidency. Minnesota was admitted in 1858. The name means "turbid water." The State lies in the region of the many head-waters of the Mississippi, and abounds in lakes and rivers teeming with fish. Oregon was received in 1859. It is a great region for furs, abounding in beavers, bears, badgers, foxes, lynxes, martens, minks, muskrats and other furred animals. It has also many tribes of Indians.¹ Kansas was admitted in 1861, after the contests which we have noted.

From scenes of international communion, scientific triumphs, and territorial development into new States, we are now compelled to turn our eyes to scenes of disorganization, bloodshed and inter-state war on the most gigantic scale, all flowing from the contests concerning African slavery. Two episodes in history hurried on this war. One was the "Dred Scott" decision of the Supreme Court of the United States; the other was the "John Brown" raid at Harper's Ferry, Virginia.

The "Dred Scott" decision was made by the Supreme Court in the December term of 1856. The case has been elaborately reported and covers two hundred and forty printed pages.² Chief-Justice Taney and his eight Associate Justices, McLean, Wayne, Catron, Daniel, Nelson, Grier, Curtis and Campbell, heard it twice argued and took part in the decision. The Chief-Justice delivered the opinion of the court, and several other justices read carefully prepared opinions. All concurred substantially in the conclusions reached by the Chief-Justice, except McLean and Curtis, who definitely dissented. Evidently the judges desired to settle by an authoritative decision the grave questions which were disturbing the peace of the country. It is a sad proof of the limitation of human foresight and methods that their decision hurried on the disruption.

Dred Scott, his wife, Harriet, and his children, Eliza and Lizzie, were all interested, and sought their freedom. They were all of African descent. Dred Scott was the sole plaintiff. He had been the negro slave of Dr. Emerson, a surgeon in the United States army, residing in Missouri. In 1834, Dr. Emerson took Scott with him to the military post at Rock Island, in Illinois, and held him there as his slave until 1836. He then carried him with him to Fort Snelling, on the west bank of the Mississippi river, in the territory known as Upper Louisiana, acquired from France,

¹ Goodrich, 444, 445.

² *Dred Scott vs. Sandford*, Howard, Sup. Ct. Reports, XIX. 393-633.

and situated north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$, and north of Missouri. In 1838 Dr. Emerson carried Scott back to Missouri, and afterwards sold him, his wife and children, as slaves, to John F. A. Sandford, who laid hands on them to claim and control them as his property.¹

Dred Scott brought suit in an action of trespass *vi et armis* against Sandford in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Missouri. The defendant pleaded in abatement that the court had no jurisdiction, because Scott was not a citizen of the United States, he being a negro of African descent, whose ancestors were of pure African blood, and had been brought into this country and sold as slaves. On demurrer, this plea was decided to be not good. The defendant then pleaded that the plaintiff was his slave. On this plea the jury found for Sandford, and the court rendered judgment for him. The cause then went by writ of error to the Supreme Court.

For the purposes of history, we do not deal with legal technicalities. No clear and competent mind can read the opinions of the majority of the justices without having the impression that their views of slavery and of the rights of slave-holders in the United States were founded on the narrow and distorting ideas which had prevailed in England and America prior to the decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset case in 1772, and prior to the Declaration of Independence.²

Those who prepared and adopted that paper declared: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The more men reflected on slavery in all its forms, and especially on its origin and history as to the African race, the more clearly did they discover its inconsistency with this fundamental declaration written by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by the Congress of 1776; and the constitution of the United States, adopted more than ten years thereafter, was the work of men who had already learned that slaves were not merely property and chattels, but "persons held to service or labor under the laws of any State."³ This was the exact stage of thought and feeling that a vast majority of the people had attained in 1787, and was a great advance beyond the times of Sir John Hawkins.⁴ And the fact that the foreign slave-trade had been forbidden in 1808, and declared to be piracy soon afterwards, is proof that the eyes of all people were opening on the subject.

¹ Dred Scott vs. Sandford, Howard, XIX, 398.

² Art. Slavery, Amer. Encyclop., XIV, 708, 709.

³ Const. U. S., Art. IV., Sec. 2,

⁴ Prof. Johnston's U. S., 113.

Nevertheless, Chief-Justice Taney announced as the iron-clad rule for the decision of the court the views taken by the very worst of the slave-dealers and importers of past ages. He held that, under the constitution, it was impossible that a person of African descent, whose ancestors had been brought to this country as slaves, could become a citizen.¹ He said of such: "They had, for more than a century before, been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic whenever a profit could be made by it."

And after insisting that the broad declarations of the paper of 1776 had no application to men of Africa, he undertook to reveal the sentiments of the "great men, high in literary acquirements, high in their sense of honor, and incapable of asserting principles inconsistent with those on which they were acting," who had prepared and adopted that paper. He said: "They knew it would not, in any part of the civilized world, be supposed to embrace the negro race, which, by common consent, had been excluded from civilized governments and the family of nations and doomed to slavery."²

And Mr. Justice Daniel was even more emphatic in adopting as the law of the cause the worst sentiments and opinions of past ages.³ He said: "Now the following are truths which a knowledge of the history of the world, and particularly that of our own country, compels us to know: that the African negro race never have been acknowledged as belonging to the family of nations; that, as amongst them, there never has been known or recognized by the inhabitants of other countries anything partaking of the character of nationality or civil or political polity; that this race has been by all the nations of Europe regarded as subjects of capture or purchase, as subjects of commerce or traffic; and that the introduction of that race into every section of this country was not as members of civil or political society, but as slaves, as *property* in the strictest sense of the term."

Had the Supreme Court of the United States in this cause shown itself capable of rising above the prejudices and errors of

¹ Chief-Justice Taney's opinion, *Dred Scott Case*, Howard, XIX. 407.

² Chief-Justice Taney's opinion, *Dred Scott Case*, Howard, XIX. 410. Art. Taney, *Amer. Encyclop.*, XV. 284.

³ Opinion, *Dred Scott vs. Sandford*, Howard, XIX. 475.

the past, and of admitting that the "spirit of laws," and especially of the common law of England, which was the cherished heritage of the people of our country, expands with the increasing light of learning, science and morals, so as to sweep away hoary cruelties and atrocities, however deeply seated in the minds of former ages, they might have given an opinion and made a decision favorable to the progress of human freedom and to the fair compromises long established and acquiesced in by the people of all sections of the country; but they did the reverse of all this.

They decided that, though Virginia, in her deed of cession of her northwestern territory, expressly provided that slavery should not exist therein,¹ and though the ordinance of 1787 carried out this provision, and though this ordinance was re-adopted at the ratification of the constitution, and though Illinois was part of that territory, yet Dred Scott, when voluntarily carried by his former owner into Illinois and kept there for two years, did not thereby become free. They decided also that the "Missouri Compromise" of 1820 was inoperative and void so far as it forbade the existence of slavery north of the line of 36° 30', and, therefore, that Dred Scott did not become free by being voluntarily carried by his former owner into a State made from the territory north of that line;² that every citizen had a right to take into any Territory his property, and use and enjoy it as such; that slaves were property under the constitution, and that an act of Congress which operates to forbid a citizen from taking with him his slaves when he removes into a Territory is an exercise of authority over private property which is not warranted by the constitution.³ They also decided that a person of African descent, even if free, yet if descended from ancestors brought as slaves to America, is not a "citizen" within the meaning of the constitution. They carried out logically their conclusion by reversing the decision of the United States Circuit Court for Missouri, and directing that the case should be dismissed for want of jurisdiction.⁴

This decision was practically inoperative for benefit to the slave States. Its effect was to rouse the anti-slavery element everywhere to new life and fury. It was soon followed by events which were really the opening of war.

We have already noted something of John Brown, and of the reasons why he was called "Osawatamie Brown." He conceived

¹ Mr. Justice Catron, *Dred Scott* case, Howard, XIX. 528.

² *Dred Scott*, Howard, XIX. 395, 463-465.

³ Syllabus *Dred Scott* decision, Howard, XIX. 395, 396.

⁴ Opinion of the Court, *Dred Scott*, Howard, XIX. 454.

and sought to execute a dark plot against the peace and lives of the people of the slave States. It was afterwards proved by sufficient evidence that his intentions were made known to such men as Gerrit Smith, F. B. Sanborn, Dr. S. G. Howe, of Boston, and Thaddeus Hyatt, of New York, and others considered equally reputable in their communities, and that they, at least, tacitly assented, thus incurring the guilt of accessories before the fact.¹ It was also proved that William H. Seward was informed in May, 1858, of the proposed raid on Virginia, and that although he said he regretted hearing of it, and, under the circumstances, ought not to have been informed of it, yet he did not disclose it, nor give warning so as to prevent it.² Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, were also informed of it. Even Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, a learned lawyer and statesman, afterwards Secretary of the Treasury and Chief-Justice of the United States, must bear some of the odium of John Brown's contact. He did, indeed, in the Peace Congress of February 4, 1861, openly declare that the anti-slave States would not execute, nor permit to be executed, within their bounds the Fugitive Slave Law, because they were conscientiously opposed to it, and that, therefore, as that part of the national compact could not be executed, the doctrine of *cy pres*, established by the English equity courts, applied, and equity would be done as nearly as practicable by payment in money to owners of the value of their fugitive slaves.³ This indicated at least a prevalent sense of justice in his mind; yet he was informed of John Brown's intentions a year before his raid, and though he disapproved, he took no steps to stop the raid.⁴

Thus this atrocious plot went forward. Having matured his plans, John Brown and his associates rented a small farm about eight miles from Harper's Ferry, in Virginia, where a United States armory and manufactory for muskets, rifles and swords had long been established. Here he collected two hundred Sharpe's rifles, two hundred pistols, large quantities of ammunition and clothing, and one thousand five hundred pikes, made expressly for Brown by Charles Blair, of Collinsville, Connecticut. These pikes were horrible weapons, having steel heads with sharp points and edges, and having handles longer than the ordinary musket. They were intended expressly *for the slaves*, and were to be used in butchering not only the men, but the women and children of Virginia. Brown's party consisted of himself, his three sons,

¹ Virginia Senate Journal, 1859-'60, Doc. 31, 5. N. Y. Herald, in Whig, Nov. 1, 1859.

² Letter of Col. Hugh Forbes in N. Y. Herald. Whig, Nov. 1, 1859. S. L. Messenger, April, 1862, p. 224.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 590, 592.

⁴ Forbes' letter in N. Y. Herald. Whig, Nov. 1, 1859.

thirteen white men from Maine, Connecticut, New York, Ohio, Indiana and Canada, and five negroes from Northern States.

The plan was to seize the armory, to make captures of as many prominent men and their families as possible; to rouse the slaves to insurrection; to strike the white people with consternation; to call numbers of sympathizers from the North to their aid, and to begin a movement which would free all the slaves as it went on.

On Sunday night, October 16th, 1859, the conspirators actually seized the armory, and made captive William Williams, a watchman on the railroad bridge. A part of the band, strongly armed and headed by John E. Cook, then went into the neighborhood, approached unprotected houses, with their sleeping and unarmed inmates, and carried off all, including slaves, carriages, wagons and horses, to Harper's Ferry. Col. Lewis Washington and Mr. Allstadt were among the captives. In a short time the prisoners were not less than sixty in number.¹

The conspirators had expected to be immediately joined by large bodies of slaves. In this they were utterly disappointed. No slaves joined them except by compulsion, and those carried off took the first opportunity for returning to their masters; and the first murder committed by John Brown and his assassins was on the person of a slave.² A faithful negro, named Heyward Sheppard, employed by the railroad company, ventured across the bridge to watch their movements, and, unfortunately, fell into their hands. The conspirators told him of their plans and urged him to join them; he steadfastly refused. Eluding their grasp, he attempted to escape; they deliberately fired on him, and murdered him in cold blood.³

Confused rumors of these events reached the people of the village and adjacent country. They armed themselves with such weapons as they could find, and surrounded the armory and engine house, in which the assassins were assembled.

Col. Robert E. Lee, of the United States army, came down with a body of one hundred marines on the cars from Washington. By this time, repeated shots had been exchanged between the people outside and the beleaguered assassins, and several persons had been slain, among them Fontaine Beckham, Mayor of Harper's Ferry. This murder so enraged the people that they shot down Thompson, one of Brown's band, whom they had taken prisoner.⁴

¹ Va. Senate Report, Doc. 31, 4. Baltimore Amer., Oct. 19. S. L. M., 221.

² Letters of Hon. James M. Mason, Enquirer. S. L. Mess., April, 1862, 222.

³ Baltimore Amer., in Whig, Oct. 19, 21. Amer. Encyclop., VIII, 735.

⁴ Whig, Oct. 21, 1859. Va. Senate Rep. Amer. Encyclop., VIII., 735.

Colonel Lee arrived at night, and, having so disposed his force that escape of the conspirators was impossible, he considerably waited until the next morning. He then summoned Brown and his party to surrender. They refused, except on condition that they should be permitted to pass out unpursued, carrying their captives with them to the second toll-gate on the turnpike towards Pennsylvania; these terms were, of course, inadmissible. The marines advanced in two lines, under Colonel Harris and Lieutenant Green. Sledge-hammers were tried first; then twenty marines seized a heavy ladder, and, using it as a battering-ram, burst in the doors; the soldiers rushed through the breach. A sharp firing was heard inside; private Rupert, of the marines, fell mortally wounded; but his comrades pressed on, and after a short struggle, the bandits were overcome. Brown fought with desperation, and fell severely wounded; one of his sons was killed, and another mortally hurt. All resistance ceased, and the captive citizens escaped without a wound.¹

Of the twenty-two men engaged in this murderous raid, fifteen fell in the combats with the citizens and the final assault. Two—Cook and Hazlitt—escaped to Pennsylvania, but were captured and sent back to Virginia; and five—Brown, Stevens, Coppoc, Copeland and Green—were captured by Colonel Lee. They were turned over to the authorities of Virginia.

The utmost fairness and liberality were shown in their favor and in the conduct of their trials. Henry A. Wise was the Governor of Virginia. He refused all suggestions of drum-head court-martial and summary justice, and designated Andrew Hunter, of Charlestown, Jefferson county, to conduct the prosecution. Mr. Hunter was eminent not only as a learned and upright lawyer, but as a Christian gentleman. All the safeguards and protection of a fair trial were accorded to the prisoners. The charge, made nearly twenty years afterwards, by a German named Hermann Von Holst, privy counselor and professor in the University of Freiburg, that Brown and his associates did not have a fair and impartial trial, is unfounded and false in history.²

The indictment against Brown found by the grand jury contained four counts, for (1) Treason; (2) Insurrection and inciting slaves to insurrection; (3) Murder; (4) Murder, with John Copeland as accessory. One indictment embraced all of Brown's confederates captured with him. During the trials, Charles J. Faulkner and Lawson Botts, of Virginia, and George H. Hoyt, of

¹ Baltimore American, Oct. 19, 1859. S. L. Messenger.

² Trial of John Brown, with review, by Gen. Marcus J. Wright, So. Hist. Soc., Papers, 1889.

Boston, acted as counsel for Brown. D. W. Voorhees, from Indiana (afterwards a Senator from that State), appeared as counsel for Cook, and made an argument splendid as an effort of oratory. The prisoners were all convicted as charged. The sentence of the law was pronounced, and in accordance therewith they were all capitally executed.¹ The statements of an English writer, Thomas Hughes, author of "Tom Brown's School Days" and the "Manliness of Christ," that Brown was maltreated while in jail in Charlestown, were without foundation in truth, and were definitely proved to be false by adequate evidence, which was forwarded to Hughes, but which he does not seem to have had personal "manliness" enough to acknowledge as adequate.²

In the interval between the arrest of John Brown and his accessories in murder and their execution, a state of feeling was exhibited in many of the free States which contributed more than all other causes united to convince the moderate and wise men of the slave States that the continuance of the Union, under existing conditions, was impossible. The Abolitionists openly avowed their approval of Brown's motives and conduct. Wendell Phillips delivered a discourse in Henry Ward Beecher's church on the 1st of November, 1859, in which he said: "The rights of that one man (John Brown) are as sacred as those of the Commonwealth of Virginia. John Brown has twice as much right to hang Governor Wise as Governor Wise has to hang him. Is there anything new about this matter? Nothing at all; it is the natural result of anti-slavery teaching. For one, I accept it; I expected it. On the banks of the Potomac, history will visit that river more kindly because John Brown has gilded it with the eternal brightness of his glorious deed, *than because the dust of Washington rests upon one side of it*; and if Virginia tyrants dare hang him, after this mockery of a trial, it will take two Washingtons at least to make the name of the river anything but abominable to the ages that come after it."³ The Boston *Liberator* spoke in terms of the warmest approval of a discourse delivered at Dover, New Hampshire, on the 6th of November, 1859, by one Edwin M. Wheelock, a Unitarian preacher, in which he said: "The gallows from which John Brown ascends into heaven will be in our politics *what the cross is in our religion*—the sign and symbol of supreme self-devotedness; and *from his sacrificial blood* the temporal salvation of four millions of our people shall

¹ Gen. Wright's review of trial, 3-8. Southern Lit. Mess., April, 1882, 223.

² Letters of Rev. W. E. Griffiths and Rev. Dr. A. C. Hopkins, with affidavit of John Avis, April 25th, 1882. Va. Free Press, Dec. 11th, 1884.

³ Whig, Richmond, Va., Nov. 11, 1859.

yet spring. On the second day of December he is to be strangled in a Southern prison *for obeying the Sermon on the Mount*. But to be hanged in Virginia is like being crucified in Jerusalem; it is the last tribute that sin pays to virtue."¹

And during this same interval, Governor Wise received more than five hundred letters on the subject, chiefly from people in the Northern States. Some of these informed him of a determined purpose to rescue Brown. Against this he guarded by assembling at Charlestown an ample body of citizen soldiery, who established a camp and kept ceaseless watch until the executions took place.²

Many of the letters to him from the North were full of brutal menaces, threatening death to the governor and members of his family if he did not pardon Brown. Other letters, professing to be from his political admirers, appealed to his clemency, his magnanimity, his hopes of future political promotion; but the most significant of all the letters from the North were from men of national fame, well known in the country, and considered to be among the most conservative of their section; yet they urged the pardon of Brown and his associates on grounds of public policy, declaring that they thoroughly knew the sentiment of the Northern people, and it was *so decided and so nearly unanimous in favor of the pardon of Brown* that the governor ought to exercise his power of mercy to conciliate this popular feeling of the North!³ The newspapers of the North, with few exceptions, joined in this appeal for the pardon of these murderers for the sake of preserving the Union.⁴

No spontaneous burst of surprise, indignation and abhorrence had come from the North when the brutal and hideous raid of John Brown against Virginia was fully made known there; no overwhelming popular meetings had been held to denounce it. But when popular meetings became common throughout the South, at which resolutions were passed to buy no more shoes or cotton fabrics from the North, then it was noted that a large meeting was held in Boston on the 8th December, 1859, at which resolutions were passed condemning Brown's conduct. Similar meetings, with like action, were held elsewhere, but generally inspired and controlled by Northern merchants *engaged in the Southern trade*.⁵

But the Southern people could not shut their eyes to the facts that, on the evening of the 2d day of December—the day of the

¹ Boston Liberator. Whig, Nov. 22, 1859.

² Senate Report, 31, 6. So. Lit. Mess., 225.

³ Report, Senate Journal of Va., Dec. 31, 6. S. L. M., April, 1862, p. 225.

⁴ Whig, Nov. 11, 18, 22, 25, 1859.

⁵ S. L. Mess., April, 1862, 225.

execution—Tremont Temple, in Boston, was crowded to excess, and one J. Q. A. Griffin, a member of the Massachusetts House of Delegates, said that "the heinous offence of Pontius Pilate in crucifying our Saviour whitened into virtue when compared with that of Governor Wise in his conduct towards John Brown"; that in New York city a large church was opened morning and night, and violent denunciations of Virginia came from preacher and people; that in Albany one hundred guns were fired in honor of the murderer; that in Syracuse and many other towns bells were tolled, public meetings held, resolutions in his honor passed, and money raised for his family.¹

It was obvious to the calmest of observers that if slavery was to be continued, the union of the States was already gone. If that institution could so blind and warp the minds of the Northern people as to lead them to sympathize with murderers, assassins and robbers, such as John Brown and his associates undoubtedly were, then it could no longer be either rightful, expedient or desirable that the slave States should remain in government connection with them. No State holding slaves had any guaranty against a similar inroad of murderers, assassins and robbers from the Northern States, upheld and urged on by the countenance and sympathy of a large part of the people of those Northern States.

Therefore, the success of the Republican party and the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 were not the efficient cause of the disruption and terrible war that followed. That cause was older, deeper, broader. The world had reached a crisis at which human interests, passions and events were to be overruled by Almighty God to the destruction, in four years, of an evil institution which had been in the world for three thousand eight hundred years at least, and which was so tenaciously upheld by the selfishness of the human heart that an earthquake of disorganization and bloodshed was needed to uproot it; and so the earthquake came.

The breaking up of the great Democratic party was not a cause, but a sign. They met in Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23d of April, 1860. The convention numbered nearly six hundred members.² They attempted to adopt a platform and to make nominations for President and Vice-President. They were not able to agree. A writer, well known in history as a statesman and member of Congress from the South, has stated that the "disastrous split" in the Democratic party "was founded upon no practically essential principle, and might easily have

¹ Whig Extra, Dec. 7, 1859. S. L. Messenger, 226.

² W. H. Venable's U. S., 191.

been healed if considerations of public interests had prevailed over those of a personal character."¹

But, in truth, there was a wide difference of view in this representative convention as to the platform of principles to be adopted. The Committee on Resolutions presented a report containing the statements of principle, that neither Congress nor territorial legislatures had the right and power to abolish slavery in the Territories, nor to prohibit the introduction of slaves therein, nor to destroy the right of property in slaves by legislation.²

The Democratic followers of Stephen A. Douglas refused to vote for this report, and it was defeated. The contests and efforts to unite were long and persevering, but vain. It is believed that more than fifty ballotings occurred, and that in these many Northern Democrats sided with their Southern comrades. Among these, Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts—afterwards so much hated in the South because of his course during the war—was conspicuous for his steady adherence to the Democratic phase which then governed the country.

But Douglas prevailed. A platform substantially approving the principle of "squatter sovereignty" was adopted by a thin vote of one hundred and sixty-five to one hundred and thirty-eight. Most of the Southern and some of the Northern members withdrew, and met again at Richmond, Virginia, in June. The convention, thus shattered, met again in Baltimore in June; but even then they were divided in counsels. A large minority withdrew. The major remnant nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, for Vice-President.

The minority remnant organized a convention, and nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for President, and Gen. Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice-President. The Richmond convention ratified and adopted these last-named nominations.³

The conservatives, known as the "American party," put in nomination for President, John Bell, of Tennessee, and for Vice-President, Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, with the somewhat vague platform: "The Union, the constitution, and the enforcement of the laws."

The Republicans, or "Free-Soil party," met in convention at Chicago, May 16th, 1860. Their platform was that the normal condition of the Territories is freedom; that neither Congress nor the territorial legislatures have authority to give existence to

¹ A. H. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 554.

² Resolutions in Venable's U. S., 191.

³ Venable's U. S., 192. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 558.

slavery in the Territories; and that traffic in slaves should be suppressed.¹ They nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President.

Thus it appears that just at the crisis when union and harmony among all the voters opposed to the anti-slavery faction were most essential, they were fatally split up into three separate parties, who refused to coalesce. Their union would have defeated Abraham Lincoln's election.

This clearly appears from the following facts: in the electoral college one hundred and eighty votes were cast for Lincoln and Hamlin, seventy-two for Breckinridge and Lane, thirty-nine for Bell and Everett, and twelve for Douglas and Johnson. Mr. Lincoln, having received a majority of all the electoral votes, was constitutionally elected President;² but he had received only a minority of the votes of the people of the United States. The majority were against him.

The total popular vote was four million six hundred and sixty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-nine. Of these Lincoln received only one million eight hundred and fifty-seven thousand six hundred and ten; Douglas received one million three hundred and sixty-five thousand nine hundred and seventy-six votes, and yet he carried only one State (Missouri) in the electoral college; Breckinridge received eight hundred and forty-seven thousand nine hundred and fifty-two, and Bell five hundred and ninety thousand six hundred and thirty-one popular votes. These facts vividly indicate that the system of electoral votes may defeat the will of the people at the most momentous crisis, and ought, therefore, to be reformed. Had all the people's votes which were hopelessly divided between Douglas, Breckinridge and Bell been concentrated on one man, he would have received a sufficient number of electoral votes to have chosen him in the college; but an overruling Providence directed otherwise.

Abraham Lincoln was elected by a purely sectional vote; only sixteen out of thirty-three States voted for him. He did not receive a single electoral vote from any State south of Mason and Dixon's line continued by projection of State boundaries from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Thus his election, though constitutional, came under the deprecatory prophecies of George Washington.³

In that farewell address, the "Father of his Country" said: "In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern that any ground should have been

¹ Venable's U. S., 192. Swinton, 240. Prof. Johnston, 206.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 559.

³ Farewell address in 1796. Stephens, Append. F., 932-937.

furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts.”¹

And he added: “To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all time, have experienced.”²

These solemn utterances were prophetic; but slavery wrought the evil he feared. We need not wonder that George Washington, although he owned many slaves, earnestly desired that slavery should cease to exist.

Hardly had the electric wires flashed the tidings of the election of Lincoln throughout the country before the cotton slave States began to move for secession from the Union. We have seen enough to demonstrate that this movement did not originate merely in the fact of that election. Thirty years of war on slavery had brought it to pass.

South Carolina moved first. Her convention was called by her legislature. It met, and by a unanimous vote, December 20th, 1860, adopted an ordinance undoing the work done on the 23d of May, 1788, and declaring that the union subsisting between South Carolina and the other States, “under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.”³ The legislature unanimously ratified the ordinance.

It was expressly based upon the acts of many Northern States in refusing and defeating the rendition of fugitive slaves, and upon the special acts of Iowa and Ohio in refusing to surrender fugitives from justice charged with murder and with inciting servile insurrection in the John Brown raid, and upon the danger to be apprehended from the centralizing doctrines and principles of the party lately elected to power in the executive department.⁴

This example was promptly followed. Mississippi seceded January 9th, 1861; Florida, January 10th; Alabama, January 11th; Georgia, January 19th; Louisiana, January 26th, and Texas, February 1st, 1861.

The seceding States took possession of all the forts, arsenals and navy-yards within their bounds which they were in condition

¹ Farewell address. Stephens, 933.

² Stephens, Append. F., 934.

³ Ordinance of Secession. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 560.

⁴ Stephens, 560. Derry, 255.

to reduce into their possession. This has been often denounced as rebellion and robbery, but the charge is without justice; for the soil of these forts had been granted originally with the condition expressed or implied that the State should be in the Union. The condition failing, the soil reverted. And as the products of the South in cotton, rice, sugar and tobacco had for more than half a century borne the expenses of the whole country (being the exports which brought in the imports whence the duties were derived that paid those expenses), it could not be truthfully contended that the Southern States had not paid their full share of the cost of all the United States forts. Moreover, the seceding States promptly offered full and fair money settlements as to all they claimed as their own.

President Buchanan had probably never expected movements so grave during his term. He was inclined to compromise rather than to rigor; to leniency rather than severity. He was also a Democrat of the strict construction school, and although he did not believe in secession as a right, neither did he believe in the right of the Federal government to *coerce* a State if she seceded.¹

Moreover, the means at his disposal were hardly adequate to any such attempt. Several members of his cabinet agreed in principle and feeling with the South. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, having found upon examination that a very small proportion of the Federal arms had been distributed among the Southern States, had, upon principles of equity, determined that they ought to have their full share, and had, some time previously, given orders under which about one hundred and fifteen thousand stand of arms (muskets and rifles) had been sent from Springfield armory and Watervliet arsenal to various points in the States of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana.² The small United States army was scattered at various and distant frontier points, and most of the naval ships were on foreign stations.

Virginia earnestly desired to save the Union. She proposed a "Peace Congress," which assembled in Washington on the 4th of February, 1861. Delegates were in attendance from many Northern States, and from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri. John Tyler, of Virginia, was elected president. The conference adopted terms of proposed settlement, which were not acceptable either to Vir-

¹ Holmes' U. S., 233. Prof. Johnston's U. S., 211. Eggleston's Household U. S., 308.

² Richmond Examiner, May 10, 1861. So. Lit. Messenger, April, 1862, p. 227.

ginia or North Carolina. It is unimportant to state them fully, as they were promptly rejected by the Federal Congress, and came to naught.¹

In advance of the secession of South Carolina, four of her representatives in the United States Congress—McQueen, Bonham, Boyce and Keitt—had obtained an interview with President Buchanan, and by his request had submitted a suggestion in writing to the effect that, when the State seceded, neither her constituted authorities nor any body of her people would attack or molest the forts in the harbor of Charleston until an offer had been made to negotiate for an amicable settlement; provided that no reinforcements should be sent into those forts and their relative military status should remain unchanged. The President objected to the word “provided,” on the ground that he did not intend to make any agreement, and the four gentlemen also stated that they had no authority to make an agreement for their State. Mr. Buchanan then received the paper, with the promise that he would return it to some one of them before he ordered any reinforcements to the forts.²

The arrangement, though not a formal agreement, was understood to involve a pledge of honor on both sides. The State made no hostile movement; but on the night of the 26th December, 1860, Major Robert Anderson, commanding a small garrison in Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan’s Island, considering that his position would be more advantageous in Fort Sumter, a stronger work and nearer to Charleston, being built on an artificial island of sunken stone in the lower harbor, transferred his garrison, powder, provisions and small arms to Sumter, after having spiked the cannon of Moultrie, dismounted the mortars, and set fire to the gun carriages.³

Naturally enough, the authorities of South Carolina considered this move a change in “the relative military status.” Secretary Floyd, of the War Department, earnestly asked that authority might be given him to order Major Anderson back to Moultrie, and his request being refused by the President, he tendered his resignation on December 29th, saying: “I can no longer hold my office under my convictions of patriotism, nor with honor, subjected as I am to the violation of solemn pledges and plighted faith.” His resignation was accepted, and Mr. Holt, of the Post-office Department, was appointed in his place.⁴

¹ So. Lit. Mess., June, 1862, p. 344.

² Letters of South Carolina Com’rs, Dispatch, Jan. 8, 1861.

³ Charleston Courier, Dec. 28. Letter from an officer of the garrison, Dispatch, Jan. 7, 1861. So. Lit. Messenger, May, 1862, pp. 284, 285.

⁴ So. Lit. Mess., May, 1862, p. 285.

Military forces of South Carolina took possession of the arsenal in Charleston, and of the forts and strongholds in the harbor other than Sumter. They began, under direction of General Beauregard, to prepare batteries for the reduction of Sumter.

After days of vacillation, President Buchanan determined to send fresh troops and supplies to Sumter. The steamer *Star of the West* was chartered for the purpose, and left New York on the 5th of January, 1861, having on board two hundred and fifty soldiers and an ample supply of stores, provisions and munitions of war. On learning of this, Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, immediately resigned, on the ground that it was in violation of an understanding in the cabinet December 31st, and had not been authorized at any cabinet meeting.

The *Star of the West* tried to run in on the night of January 8th. A shot was fired across her bow, to which she responded only by hoisting the United States flag and continuing her course. Several shots were fired from thirty-two-pounders in rapid succession. One struck her bow near the water-line; another heavy shot passed between the smoke-stack and the working-beams of her engine. The work grew warm. The captain and crew behaved with spirit, but began to estimate the chances of being sunk or captured. The danger was too great; the steamer put her helm a-port, turned and ran out to sea with all speed. She arrived in New York on the 12th of January, and the soldiers were landed at their former quarters on Governor's Island.¹

Soon after the meeting of Congress, President Buchanan had issued, in becoming terms, a proclamation appointing the 4th of January, 1861, as a day of fasting and prayer, and calling on the people to humble themselves and pray for Divine deliverance from the woes that threatened the nation. The Republicans of New York treated this proclamation with open ribaldry and abuse. In the Board of Education, one Mr. Warren unsparingly ridiculed it, and a Mr. Stafford poured out vials of vituperation upon the President. In other parts of the country, and especially in the border States, the day was reverently observed by immense crowds in the churches, and by decent people in their homes.²

Meanwhile, the seceded States took measures to perfect a Southern union. On the 4th of February, 1861, delegates from each State met at Montgomery, in Alabama, and in a few days adopted a provisional constitution, to continue in force for a year. They also, by unanimous vote, adopted a permanent constitution

¹ N. Y. Express, in Dispatch, January 9, 1861. Post, January 15. McGowan's narrative. Journal of Commerce. S. L. M., 288.

² N. Y. Express. Richmond Dispatch, January 1, 1861. S. L. M.

for "The Confederate States of America." It was modeled on the constitution of the United States. Its opening clause did what the old constitution did not—viz., solemnly invoked the favor and guidance of Almighty God. Some clauses guarded expressly the sovereignty of each of the States. One provision forbade the importation of negroes from any foreign country other than the slave-holding States and Territories of the United States, and the Confederate Congress was required to pass such laws as should effectually prevent it.¹

Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was, provisionally for a year, elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President of the new Confederacy.

President Buchanan and General Winfield Scott, conceiving that efforts might be made forcibly to prevent the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, caused a large military force to be assembled in Washington. At the close of his term, Mr. Buchanan retired to Wheatland, his country home, in Pennsylvania. He took no further part in public affairs.

¹ Section 9, clause 1, Constitution Confed. States. S. L. M., p. 347.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE PRESIDENCY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.—WAR.

THE President-elect set out from his home in Springfield, Illinois, on the 11th of February, 1861, to journey to the national capital. He was descended from Virginia ancestors on the side of both grandfather and mother. The name seems originally to have been Linkhorn. His grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, with his wife and five children, had emigrated from Virginia to Kentucky in 1780, to share with Daniel Boone all the hardships and dangers of the "Dark and Bloody Land." In 1786, he was killed by a stealthy shot from "the brush," probably fired by an Indian.¹

Abraham Lincoln was born near Elizabethtown, Kentucky, on the 12th day of February, 1809. His youth was irregular and roving, yet never polluted by intemperance and unmanly vice. He was, to a large extent, a self-educated man, especially in his chosen profession of the law. Such men have generally been leaders in their day. His character was rugged, but not morose. He was resolute in purpose when his judgment was convinced. His disposition was genial and full of the quaintest humor, which showed itself in a ceaseless flow of homely wit and anecdote.

Some of his prevalent traits were exhibited on his journey to Washington. He made several characteristic addresses, which had more wit than logic.² At Northeast Station, New York, he said to an assembled crowd that he had received a letter from a young girl in that place kindly admonishing him to do certain things, and among others to *let his whiskers grow*. He had taken her advice, and now he would be glad to see her; whereupon a young lady in the crowd was lifted up to the platform and made her way to Mr. Lincoln, who vigorously kissed her!³

As he approached Washington city, he became more serious. He avoided the train on which he was expected to come, and, passing through Baltimore at night, reached Washington on the morning of February 23d, leaving Mrs. Lincoln and his family to come on in the next train. His inauguration was guarded by soldiers.

¹ Lincoln as Pioneer, *Century Mag.*, Nov., 1886, pp. 6-14.

² At Indianapolis, Columbus, Steubenville and Pittsburg. *S. L. M.*, 350, 351.

³ Telegraph from Buffalo, Feb. 16th. *S. L. M.*, June, 1862, p. 351.

Such an event had never before occurred in the United States. He took the oath before Chief-Justice Taney that he would faithfully observe and support the constitution and laws. His first cabinet officers were: William H. Seward, of New York, of the Department of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, of the Interior; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General.¹

The senators and members of the House of Representatives from the seceded States had resigned and gone to their homes; and this was continued as fast as other States seceded. The first duty was recognized as binding each officer to his own State. The exceptions were few and unimportant; indeed, some resigned from strong sympathy with the Southern cause, whose States never seceded. On this subject a keen and sagacious mind has noted the fact that "up to the last hours of Lincoln's first term of office Congress would always have contained a majority opposed to him, but for the absence of the members from the seceding States."²

Neither North nor South expected such a war and with such consequences as actually came. The North could not believe that a people of twelve millions—four millions of whom were African slaves—would risk the dire results of war on a large scale. The South, especially her more enthusiastic leaders, believed that "cotton is king," and that the necessities of Northern manufacturers and of Great Britain and Europe would speedily enable the slave States to establish their independence.³ God was directing events for purposes not contemplated by man.

Notwithstanding the withdrawal of Southern members, the remnant of the Congress had made no serious preparations for war up to the end of Buchanan's term. Even the *Tribune*, of New York, under the editorship of Horace Greeley, had said: "Whenever any considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures to keep them in."⁴ Other Northern statesmen, including one as eminent as William H. Seward, expressed opinions favorable to the policy of "letting the erring sisters depart in peace." They believed that a grand career, without slavery, was still open to the United States, and that in due time Canada would join them.⁵ A few,

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 607.

² Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 207.

³ Prof. Steele, in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 198, 199.

⁴ *Tribune*, in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 1:9

⁵ Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 210



Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln -

like Chandler, believed there would be "blood-letting," but they had no prevalent influence.

But for the fixed convictions and policy of Abraham Lincoln, and the support given him by the "war-governors"—Washburn, of Maine; Fairbanks, of Vermont; Goodwin, of New Hampshire; Andrew, of Massachusetts; Sprague, of Rhode Island; Buckingham, of Connecticut; Morgan, of New York; Olden, of New Jersey, Curtin, of Pennsylvania; Dennison, of Ohio; Morton, of Indiana; Yates, of Illinois; Blair, of Michigan; Randall, of Wisconsin; Kirkwood, of Iowa, and Ramsey, of Minnesota—there might have been either no war or war on a small scale and soon ended in the final disruption of the United States.

But President Lincoln regarded himself as constitutionally elected to rule as executive head of the whole country as it existed at the time of his election. He did not trouble his brain with theories of either nullification or secession. In his inaugural address, he declared that the Union was unbroken, and that he would take care, as the constitution enjoined, that the laws of the Union should be faithfully executed *in all the States*.¹ He said: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties on imports."

But on the 9th March, 1861, the War Department in Washington received from Major Anderson an official letter stating that he had not more than fifteen days' subsistence and fuel in Fort Sumter. A council of military men was held, and General Scott advised that the fort should be evacuated as "a military necessity," it being, in his opinion, impossible to reinforce and provision it without great expenditure of blood and treasure.²

As commissioners of the "Confederate States," Messrs. Forsyth, Crawford and Roman had come to Washington with full power to treat for the fair settlement of all questions between the two governments. Mr. Seward, of the State Department, declined to recognize them officially, but in an informal interview encouraged a hope for peace. As an intermediary of high dignity, Judge John A. Campbell, of Alabama, one of the justices of the Supreme Court, had an interview with Secretary Seward, and, as its result, stated his confident belief to Commissioner Crawford that "Fort Sumter will be evacuated in the next five days." The five days passed; Sumter was not evacuated; on the

¹ Inaugural of President Lincoln. S. L. Mess., June, 1862, p. 352.

² Documents in Dispatch (Va.), March 28th. S. L. Mess., 462.

contrary, Major Anderson was busy strengthening it. Judge Campbell had another interview with Mr. Seward, who assured him the fort would be evacuated, and that "the government would not undertake to supply Fort Sumter without giving notice to Governor Pickens."¹

Mr. Justice Nelson was present at both these interviews. The last was on the 1st of April. Meanwhile large naval and military preparations by the United States government were in progress, evidently designed to reinforce and provision Fort Sumter. On the 7th of April, 1861, Judge Campbell wrote a letter to Secretary Seward alluding to the anxiety and alarm excited by these preparations, and asking whether the peaceful assurances he had given were well or ill founded. Mr. Seward's reply was laconic: "Faith as to Sumter fully kept; *wait and see*."²

But the authorities of the South could wait no longer. A squadron of seven ships, carrying two hundred and eighty-five guns and two thousand four hundred troops, had sailed under sealed orders from New York and Norfolk. This fleet was already on its way to Charleston when, on the 8th of April, 1861, President Lincoln, with the knowledge of Mr. Seward, sent notice by Captain Talbott, as special messenger, to Governor Pickens that the United States government had changed its policy as to evacuating Fort Sumter and as to the assurances thereof previously given.³

The Confederate War Department, being informed of the facts by telegrams, ordered General Beauregard to demand the evacuation of Sumter, and if this was refused to proceed to reduce the fort.

The demand was made at two o'clock on the 11th of April. Major Anderson replied in writing that his sense of honor and of his obligation to his government prevented his compliance. He added a verbal message to Beauregard: "I will await the first shot, and if you do not batter us to pieces we will be starved out in a few days."

At twenty-five minutes past four on the morning of Friday, the 12th of April, 1861, the mortars of Fort Johnson opened fire on Sumter. This was quickly followed by the fire of Moultrie, Cummings Point and a floating battery. Major Anderson did not open his fire until half-past five. He and his men preserved their courage during a bombardment which lasted a day and a half with little intermission. By twelve

¹ President Davis' Message to Confed. Cong., May 8th, 1861. Examiner, 16th. S. L. Mess., 403.

² So. Lit. Mess., 403. Pres. Davis' Message. Stephens, 608.

³ Stephens, 608, 609. S. L. Mess.

o'clock of April 13th, the condition of Sumter had become desperate; the interior was in ruins; the parapet so shattered that few guns remained mounted; the garrison worn out with sleepless toil. Major Anderson surrendered on honorable terms. He was allowed to fire a salute to his flag. Happily, neither he nor any one of his men had been killed or seriously wounded.¹ One of his men was killed by the explosion of a caisson in firing the salute.

The United States fleet were off the harbor, but had not ventured in. Beauregard's preparations were such that, had it attempted to come to the rescue of Sumter, it would have been defeated with sanguinary loss.

Had President Lincoln and the "war-governors" deliberately planned events to rouse the people of the North and West to a fury of emotion in favor of war, they could not have done it more effectually than in the events which had actually occurred. All party distinctions at the North seemed to melt away. All—Republicans, Whigs, Americans, Democrats, Free-Soilers—united in clamoring for war on the seceded States, and the wiping out, in blood, of the dishonor said to have been done to the country's flag by firing on Sumter.² All of them united to restore the Union.

President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers and drafted troops, and made requisitions on all the States. This brought about a prompt decision on the part of most of the border slave States. Virginia had been so much opposed to secession that, in her convention, a motion of Lewis E. Harvie, of Amelia, that the Committee on Federal Relations should be instructed to report an ordinance of secession, had been defeated on the 5th April, 1861, by a vote of forty-five ayes to ninety noes. Yet, when news of the preparations to send a fleet and military force to relieve and reinforce Sumter was authenticated, Virginia sent three commissioners—Wm. Ballard Preston, George W. Randolph and Alexander H. H. Stuart—to wait on President Lincoln, present resolutions of the convention, declaring that under the constitution no power was lodged in the Federal government to subjugate a State, and ask what policy the Federal authorities intended to pursue towards the Confederate States. They left for Washington by the shortest route on the 9th April; but rain-storms had washed away railroad bridges, and they were compelled to return to Richmond, and go by Norfolk and Baltimore. Before they reached Mr. Lincoln's presence, the storm of war had actually opened. Nevertheless, he received them on

¹ S. L. M., 410. Stephens, 610. Barnes, 216, 217. Eggleston, 310. Goodrich, 450, 451. Quackenbos, 463.

² Scudder, 382. Stephens, 610. Eggleston, 310.

Saturday, April 13th (about the time Sumter surrendered), and stated that he had heard they were coming and their purpose, and had prepared an answer in writing, which he handed to them. It repeated all his claims of power in the Federal government and his coercive purposes. With this they returned to Richmond and reported to the convention.¹

President Lincoln's requisition for two thousand three hundred and forty troops from Virginia was promptly repudiated by her governor, John Letcher. On Wednesday, April 17th, 1861, her convention passed an ordinance of secession by a vote of one hundred and three ayes to forty-six noes.² Arkansas adopted a similar ordinance, and seceded May 6th; North Carolina, May 20th, and Tennessee, June 8th. They all, with convenient speed, became members of the "Confederate States." Richmond, Virginia, became the Confederate capital. Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, though slave States, never seceded; but a large number of their people manifested active and heroic sympathy with the Southern cause.

The war that followed lasted four years, and was prominent in all the elements of large armies, extended movements, skillful generalship, bloody battles and persevering endurance which history can record. To give a minute account of its events would mar the plan of this work. In fact, no truthful account of the whole has yet been written, although books and magazine articles numbered by hundreds have been published about it. Its history in full yet remains to be written. In this work the student will be most safely guided by a brief outline of the whole, and some comments on events which exercised decisive influence.

And first, we must keep steadily in our view that this war did not involve either rebellion or treason on the part of the South. The writers of books, pamphlets and newspaper articles who have called her movement "The Great Rebellion," and have spoken of her people as "traitors" or "rebels," have shown ignorance and prejudice united. The States that seceded exercised a right, inherent in the very nature and constitution of the government compact to which they were parties. Some of them had expressly reserved this right when they became parties, and their reservation had accrued to the benefit of all. As to all reserved powers, each State remained a sovereign.

Their acts of secession were simply acts as sovereigns undoing what they had previously done as sovereigns. The officers of the army and navy who had been trained in the Military Academy

¹ So. Lit. Messenger.

² Official from Journal. So. Lit. Mess., 414.

at West Point, and the Naval Academy at Annapolis, exercised the most sacred of rights when they left the service of the United States on the secession of their own States, and entered the service of the States in which they were natives or residents. The South had contributed more than her full share of all the expense of these institutions, and had paid for these Southern officers more than the money cost of their military or naval education; and had they remained with the North they would not only have been untrue to their real obligations of fealty, but they would have been fighting directly or indirectly against those dearest to them.

Neither was this war a civil war in the technical sense of that term. It was not such a war as was waged in England during the reign of Charles I., and which resulted in his overthrow and execution. It was not a war of subjects against subjects; it was a war of States against States. Its proper designation is "The War of the States." The States composing the United States waged war against the States composing the Confederate States, and finally subdued them by perseverance, numbers and material resources, and, above all, by the power of the *ideas* as to human liberty maintained by the North and concurred in by all of civilized Europe.

Notwithstanding the bitterness and severity of the war, yet, after it ended, no prosecutions for treason were ever maintained. The attempts at this course against some of the highest civic and military Confederate leaders were made by tenth-rate men of mean ability and character, and were promptly repudiated by the highest jurists and statesmen of the North.

But while all this is true in favor of the South, it is equally true that she adopted a grave error as to her position and rights in this controversy. The views of the extreme secession school were that each State, being sovereign as to her reserved rights, was the sole judge and arbiter of the causes justifying secession, and had a right to secede for causes deemed sufficient by herself, and that, when her sovereign power was thus exercised, no other State or States had the right to hold her responsible or call her to account for her judgment thus exercised. This is the conclusion which was reached by many Southern statesmen, and which has been upheld as just and righteous by such enlightened men as Admiral Raphael Semmes, of the Confederate Navy.¹

It has no adequate basis of right; for, admitting in full that each State was originally sovereign, and retained her sovereignty

¹ In his work, "Memoirs of Service Afloat during the War," *passim*, in introduction and argument.

as to reserved rights, still it is equally certain that those sovereigns had made a *compact* with each other when they entered into terms of union. Each was bound by the terms of this compact. To permit any one (or more States less than all) to judge absolutely of an alleged breach of compact, and to withdraw merely upon her or their judgment, would involve a departure from the principles of international law. Sovereign nations can bind themselves by treaties with one or more other nations; and if any such nation, in the exercise of her sovereignty, commits acts which she judges to be consistent with the treaty, but which the other nation judges to be a breach of the treaty, she will be held responsible, even unto war.

Therefore, however strong were the convictions of the seceding States that the selfish protective-tariff policy of the North, and the assaults on slavery and on the claims of slave-holders made by the other States, justified them in secession, yet those other States had the same right to exercise *their* judgment on the subject; and they had the right to carry out their judgment in the only method possible under the circumstances, all amicable methods on both sides having been exhausted. The stern arbitrament of war was finally in favor of the Northern view of the compact. God, in his overruling providence, destroyed slavery; and, as slavery was the only efficient cause of secession, the Union was restored.

In this colossal war the Confederate States never secured an ally among all the other nations of the earth. Slavery cut them off from all the national sympathies of England, France and all other States of Europe. The heroic courage and magnificent strategy of their armies and officers enlisted warm admiration among the more generous people of the Old World, but no national helping hand was ever stretched out to them. The only friendly words from a power claiming sovereignty were in a letter from the Pontiff of the Roman church to Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States;¹ and his words were very little more than empty signs and sounds, when taken in connection with the fact that, at the time when he issued them, some hundreds of thousands of his religious adherents had already fought in the United States armies sent against the South, or were preparing to leave their homes in Europe to enlist in those armies.

As to the battles of this war, a statement curiously untrue has been made in a work professing to be a history.² It says: "During

¹ See Mrs. Varina Davis' *Life of Jefferson Davis* on this subject.

² "The Elements of General History," by Dr. John Pym Carter, 1871, p. 265.

the sanguinary contest which ensued, *one hundred and twenty-seven* important battles are reported to have been fought, of which, it is stated, *seventy-seven* resulted favorably to the Federal government and *forty-six* to the Confederates ; while *four* are set down as having been indecisive."

The total number is not exaggerated—rather under-estimated. A great number of infantry skirmishes and cavalry brushes occurred which were not "important" as to the result. And the expression, "seventy-seven resulted favorably to the Federal government," is ambiguous and misleading. In a broad and vague sense, every battle fought resulted favorably to the Federal cause ; for every battle cost many Southern lives and weakened the South irreparably, as she had no source of supply for her armies save her own white inhabitants. But in the sense of "a Federal victory," the statement is unfounded.

In 1861 the Federals gained, June 3d, the small affair at Philippi, in Western Virginia, and the more important successes of Rich Mountain, July 11th, and Carrick's Ford, July 13th. By their strong fleets, they also captured the forts at Hatteras Inlet, August 29th, and Port Royal, November 7th. In the same year, though Missouri did not secede, her military movements, under Governor Jackson and Gen. Sterling Price, were all in the interests of the Confederate cause. The Confederates, therefore, in 1861, gained the battle of Big Bethel, Virginia, June 10th ; gained a temporary success against greatly superior numbers at Boonville, Missouri, June 17th ; gained the battle of Carthage, July 5th ; repulsed the Federal advance at Bull Run, July 18th ; gained the first great battle of Manassas, July 21st ; gained the battle of Springfield, or Wilson's Creek, Missouri, August 10th ;¹ repulsed the Federals at Scary Creek, Western Virginia, July 17th ; repulsed them again at Carnifex Ferry, Gauley river, September 10th ; captured, after a siege and sharp fighting, the town of Lexington, Missouri, September 20th ; and gave the Federals a terrible and bloody overthrow at Ball's Bluff, Virginia, October 21st. On the 7th November, Gen. Ulysses Grant, after gaining partial success, was decisively defeated by the Confederate forces under Gen. Leonidas Polk, at Belmont, Missouri. Thus the battles of this year (excluding Sumter) were sixteen in number, of which the Federals gained five and the Confederates eleven.

In 1862 the Federals, under Col. James A. Garfield, defeated and routed the Southern troops, under Col. Humphrey Marshall,

¹ This is the battle in which a writer, claiming the name of historian, asserts that General Lyon and Colonel Sigel, with three thousand seven hundred men, defeated twenty-three thousand Southerners. C. B. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 694.

at Paintsville, near the Big Sandy river, Kentucky, January 9th ; defeated the Confederates, under General Zollicoffer (who was killed), at Mill Springs, January 19th ; captured Fort Henry, Tennessee, February 6th ; captured Roanoke Island, North Carolina, February 8th ; drove back to their trenches, after a sanguinary contest, in which the Southern troops gained successes, the Confederates defending Fort Donelson, February 15th ; captured Fort Donelson, with five thousand one hundred and seventy Confederates, who surrendered to General Grant, February 16th ; repulsed the Confederates at Elkhorn, or Pea Ridge, Arkansas, March 7th and 8th ; captured Newbern, North Carolina, March 14th ; gained a partial success with a very large force against a very small force under Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, at Kernstown, near Winchester, Virginia, March 23d (a battle fought by Jackson for the purpose of detaining the enemy, and which accomplished his purpose) ; gained the second day's battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, April 7th ; captured Island No. 10, in the Mississippi river, April 8th ; captured Fort Pulaski, Georgia, April 11th ; defeated the Confederate rams and batteries, and captured New Orleans, April 25th ; captured Fort Macon and its dependency, Beaufort, South Carolina, April 26th ; captured Corinth, Mississippi, May 30th ; captured Fort Pillow, Tennessee, June 5th ; captured, after a naval battle, Memphis, Tennessee, June 6th ; defeated the attack of the Confederates on Malvern Hill, Virginia, July 1st ; worsted the Confederates in the battle of Boonsboro, or South Mountain, Maryland, September 14th ; gained the battle of Iuka, Mississippi, against General Price, September 19th ; and repulsed, with bloody loss, the Confederates, under Van Dorn and Price at Corinth, October 4th.

In this same year (1862) the Confederates repulsed decisively the naval attack of Commodore Foote on Fort Donelson, February 14th ; attacked, sunk and destroyed the frigates *Cumberland* and *Congress* by the ram *Virginia* (once the *Merrimac*), in two separate actions, March 8th ; defeated and drove back to Pittsburg Landing, with heavy loss, Grant's army in the first day's battle at Shiloh, April 6th ; repulsed McClellan's army in the two battles—one at Williamsburg, May 5th, and the other at West Point, May 7th ; defeated and drove back Milroy by troops under Gen. Stonewall Jackson, at McDowell, May 8th ; crushed the left wing of Banks' army at Front Royal, May 23d ; fell upon Banks near Winchester, May 25th, and drove him out of Winchester and across the Potomac, capturing from him four thousand prisoners, many cannon and small arms, and a very large amount of military

stores ; made a retrograde movement under Jackson, among the most skillful and successful known in modern history ; repulsed Fremont decisively at Cross Keys, June 8th ; defeated Shields at Port Republic, inflicting heavy loss on him and driving him ten miles from the battle-field, June 9th ; made a successful cavalry movement, under Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, around the entire rear of McClellan's army, fighting severely at Hanover Court-house and other places and capturing prisoners and destroying telegraphic lines and military property, June 13th ; defeated the Federal fleet at Drewry's Bluff, May 15th ; attacked and, after a sharp and bloody struggle, dislodged the Federals at Mechanicsville, June 26th ; fought and gained the sanguinary battle of Gaines' Mill and Cold Harbor against a large part of McClellan's army, June 27th ; started that army on its disastrous retreat to Harrison's Landing ; gained partial success in the battle of Savage's Station, June 29th ; defeated the Federals and forced them to continue their retreat in the separate battles of Frayser's Farm and White Oak Swamp, June 30th, capturing a large number of prisoners and immense stores and army property.

In these seven days of battle, General Lee, with an army of not quite eighty thousand men, defeated McClellan's army, numbering one hundred and ten thousand effective troops, capturing from them fifty-two cannon, thirty thousand stand of small arms and more than ten thousand prisoners. The pretended histories which represent McClellan's movement as a "mere change of base" from the White House, on the Pamunkey river, to Harrison's Landing, on the James, are gross misrepresentations. The Federal authorities knew that McClellan had been hopelessly defeated and his whole purpose frustrated. President Lincoln called for three hundred thousand more troops.

Continuing the battles of 1862, the Confederates, under Jackson, gained Cedar Mountain against Pope's advance, August 9th ; the Confederates reunited defeated Pope disastrously in two separate battles near and on Manassas Plains, August 29th and 30th ; defeated, with heavy loss, a march out from Washington to Manassas Junction of a division intended to reinforce Pope ; defeated Pope again at Chantilly, or Ox Hill, September 1st, compelling him to retreat with his shattered army behind the intrenchments of Washington. In these defeats Pope's army lost thirty thousand men, including eight generals and nine thousand prisoners, forty cannon and thirty thousand stand of small arms. Jackson captured Harper's Ferry, September 15th, with eleven thousand prisoners and immense spoils of war. On the 20th of September

Gen. A. P. Hill defeated and drove back across the Potomac, with terrible loss, General Porter's corps of fresh Federal troops.

In the West, the Confederate General Morgan successively captured Lebanon, Cynthiana and Clarksville, with very large stores and after sharp fighting; Forrest captured, in like manner, McMinnville and Murfreesboro. Kirby Smith, with seven thousand Confederates, defeated ten thousand Federals, under Nelson and Manson, at Richmond, Kentucky, on the 30th of August, killing and wounding one thousand, and capturing five thousand prisoners, nine cannon and ten thousand stand of small arms. General Bragg, with the Confederate army, captured Mumfordsville, September 17th, with four thousand prisoners, and stores of provisions, cannon and small arms. On the 8th October, he defeated the Federals at Perryville, driving them two miles to the rear, with a loss to them of four thousand in killed, wounded and prisoners. He then continued his retreat, carrying off, however, all his captured prisoners and stores.

The Confederates, under General Lee, gave to the Federal army, under General Burnside, a terrible defeat at Fredericksburg, December 13th, inflicting on them a loss of fifteen thousand men in killed, wounded and missing. General Van Dorn captured Holly Springs, December 20th, with two thousand prisoners and a great depot of Federal supplies, thus compelling a retreat of General Grant. On December 29th, the Confederates, under Pemberton, defeated the Federals, under Sherman, at Chickasaw Bayou, inflicting a loss of two thousand, while their own loss was only two hundred and seven. On the last day of 1862 began the obstinate battle of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, between thirty-five thousand Confederates, under Bragg, and forty-seven thousand Federals, under Rosecrans. This day's fighting was favorable to the Confederates, who drove back the right wing of the enemy in confusion and captured four thousand prisoners and thirty-one cannon. This was the last battle of the year.

On summing up, it appears that fifty-eight battles of importance and with immediate successes on one or the other sides were fought in 1862. Of these the Federals gained twenty and the Confederates thirty-five. Three drawn battles occurred, viz., that between the Confederate ram *Virginia* and the Federal *Monitor* in Hampton Roads, below Norfolk, March 9th; the battle of Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks, May 31st, in Henrico county below Richmond, where Gen. Joseph E. Johnston attacked, with great vigor and temporary success, the part of McClellan's army which had crossed the Chickahominy river; but, having

been severely wounded, Johnston was withdrawn from the field; Gen. Robert E. Lee succeeded to the command, and a very large part of the Federal army being at hand and opposed to inferior Confederate numbers, the result was indecisive; and the battle of Sharpsburg, or the Antietam, in Maryland, September 17th, which was strictly a drawn battle.

In the year 1863 the Federals, numbering thirty thousand, under Gen. John A. McClernand, and aided by Admiral Porter's fleet, attacked and captured, on the 11th of January, after a desperate battle of five hours, Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas river, with its garrison of five thousand men, under Gen. T. J. Churchill, seventeen cannon, three thousand stand of small arms and a great quantity of munitions and commissary stores. In April and May the Federal cavalry, under Colonel Grierson, made a bold and destructive raid of eight hundred miles through the heart of Mississippi, leaving La Grange, Tennessee, April 17th, and reaching Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in safety, May 2d, having destroyed property valued at four million dollars and captured one thousand prisoners. On the 28th of February the Federal ironclad *Montauk*, with three consorts, all under command of Captain Worden, destroyed the Confederate war-ship *Nashville*, which had run aground under the guns of Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee river, Georgia. On the 17th of June the Federal monitor *Weehawken*, Captain John Rodgers, captured the Confederate ironclad ram *Atlanta*, after an engagement of fifteen minutes, in Wassaw Sound, Georgia. On the 3d of May the Federals, under General Sedgwick, attacked the Confederates, under General Early, at Marye's Heights, near Fredericksburg, and by greatly superior numbers drove them from the heights, capturing a number of prisoners, among others the Washington Artillery, of New Orleans. On the 12th of May, General Grant, with the Federal army, which had successfully passed below and to the rear of Vicksburg, defeated the Confederates, under General Pemberton, at Raymond, Mississippi. On the 16th, Grant again defeated Pemberton, at Baker's Creek, or Champion Hill, and on the 17th he gave him a third defeat on the Big Black river. Pemberton then retreated with his army and again occupied Vicksburg. Grant closely besieged him by land and water with forces aggregating not less than one hundred thousand men, and starved him into surrender July 4th.

On the 3d of July the Federal army, under General Meade, in their intrenchments above Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, defeated the advance of the Confederates, under General Lee, and compelled

them to retreat. On the 4th of July the Confederates, under General Holmes, attacked Helena, Arkansas, but were repulsed with severe loss by General Prentiss. In September the Federal General Steele defeated the Confederates Marmaduke and Price. On the 9th of July the Federals, under General Banks, received the surrender of Port Hudson, on the Mississippi.

In July, General Morgan, with two thousand Confederate cavalry, crossed the Ohio and made an extended raid through Indiana and Ohio, destroying much property and causing general consternation; but his command was surrounded by superior numbers, and the greater part of it captured near New Lisbon, Ohio, July 26th. Morgan was made prisoner, but afterwards escaped. On the 9th of September, General Burnside drove a Confederate force from Cumberland Gap, seized it, and advanced and occupied Knoxville, Tennessee.

On the 24th of November the Federals, under General Hooker, carried the Confederate position on Lookout Mountain. On the 25th General Grant gained the battle of Missionary Ridge. This was the most brilliant success, in actual battle, ever gained by Grant. The left wing of the Confederates were routed and driven from the field; the right wing, under General Hardee, stood firmly and fought gallantly, retiring in order, and thus saving the Confederate army from destruction. In this disastrous battle the Confederates lost forty cannon and nine thousand men, six thousand of whom were taken prisoners; the Federal loss was seven thousand. On the 29th of November the Federals, under General Burnside, at Knoxville, repulsed with heavy loss to the Confederates an assault on the intrenchments made with great courage and stubbornness by General Longstreet. On the 6th of September, Fort Wagner, on Morris' Island, defending Charleston, after repulsing bloodily two assaults, was evacuated by the Confederates, and occupied by General Gillmore with Federal troops.

In this year, 1863, and on the 1st of January, the Confederates, under General John B. Magruder, made a night attack on the Federal fleet and garrison at Galveston, Texas, recaptured the town, destroyed the armed ship *Westfield*, captured the *Harriet Lane*, drove off the rest of the fleet, and raised the blockade of that part of the southern coast. On the 11th of January the Confederate war-ship *Alabama*, Capt. Raphael Semmes, after a brief action in the Gulf of Mexico, captured the Federal war-steamer *Hatteras* and her crew of one hundred and ten men. The *Hatteras* sunk in fifteen minutes after she surrendered. On the 21st

of January, at Sabine Pass, on the coast of Texas, Maj. O. M. Watkins, with two Confederate gun-boats, chased out to sea and captured a Federal gun-boat and schooner with thirteen cannon, one hundred and twenty-nine prisoners, and stores worth a million of dollars. On the 31st of January the Confederate naval force in Charleston harbor, commanded by Capt. Duncan N. Ingraham (already known to fame by his conduct in saving Martin Koszta from the clutches of Austria), attacked the Federal blockading fleet, and so strenuously beset them that for a time they were dispersed and driven entirely out of sight. On the 7th of April the Federal fleet, consisting of nine heavy iron-clads and five gun-boats, under Commodore Dupont, assailed Fort Sumter and were signally repulsed, losing one (the *Keokuk*), which was sunk, and several severely damaged.

On the 29th and 30th of April, Gen. Joseph Hooker, who had superseded Burnside in command of the Federal army in Virginia, moved with one hundred and thirty thousand men. Leaving Sedgwick to attack Marye's Heights, he crossed the Rappahannock river with the bulk of his army at fords sixteen miles above Fredericksburg, indulging the expressed belief that General Lee, with the Confederate army, must either retreat or fight a battle in which he would be destroyed. The result was a marked rebuke to so vaunting a spirit. Lee had not more than fifty thousand men, as Longstreet had been sent, with the larger part of his corps, to the neighborhood of Suffolk and the Dismal Swamp. Nevertheless, instead of either retreating or awaiting attack, Lee resolved to make the attack.

While he marched with several corps to confront Hooker at Chancellorsville when he emerged from the "Wilderness," Gen. Stonewall Jackson made a flank movement with his troops, May 2d, gained the neighborhood of Howard's Federal corps, fell upon them impetuously about an hour before sunset, routed and drove them in utter chaos and destruction from their camp, chased them for miles, capturing thousands of prisoners, and struck panic into Hooker's whole force. By a deplorable mistake, Jackson was that night shot from his horse by a volley from some of his own soldiers. Had he not been disabled, the destruction or capture of a large part of Hooker's army would have been at hand. As it was, the result was signally disastrous to the Federals. Lee, with his renowned lieutenants, A. P. Hill, Stuart, McLaws, Anderson and others, boldly attacked Hooker in his intrenched positions about Chancellorsville and drove him out, doubling up the Federal army between the two intense and unconquerable

wings of his own inferior force, and inflicting disabling blows at every encounter.

Hearing on the morning of May 3d of Sedgwick's successful attack on Marye's Heights, General Lee instantly returned towards Fredericksburg with part of his army, met and defeated Sedgwick, inflicted heavy loss upon him, and drove the remnant of his force across Banks' Ford in utter terror and rout. Then, coming back, Lee fell again on Hooker, who barely succeeded in withdrawing his beaten army across the fords at which they had passed three days before with full confidence of victory.

The Federals lost in these battles seventeen thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners, fourteen cannon and thirty thousand stand of small arms. This battle of Chancellorsville was among the most brilliant, for the successful army, in all modern history.

After it, the Confederate authorities having decided to invade the North in order to create a diversion, gain supplies, relieve the war-worn and blood-stained soil of Virginia, and, if possible, conquer a peace, General Lee, by movements consummate in secrecy and success, transferred his forces to the northern side of the Potomac. He had an enthusiastic army of about seventy thousand men of all arms.

The Federal cavalry, under Generals Gregg and Buford, crossed the Rappahannock, and on the 9th of June, 1863, attacked General Stuart, with his Confederate cavalry division, at Fleetwood, near Brandy Station, on the Virginia Midland Railroad. The battle was severe and hotly contested, but it resulted in the defeat of the Federals, who were driven back across the river with heavy loss. On the 14th day of June, the Confederates, under General Ewell, stormed and carried, by a resolute assault, the Federal works at Winchester; and General Rodes, on the same day, captured Martinsburg. In these two victories the Confederates captured more than four thousand prisoners, twenty-nine cannon, two hundred and seventy wagons and ambulances, four hundred horses and a very large amount of military stores.

The Southern troops invaded Pennsylvania, captured Chambersburg, York and Carlisle, and were preparing to advance on Harrisburg when orders from the commanding general caused them to move for concentration on Cashtown, near Gettysburg, upon which place the Federal General Meade was advancing with one hundred thousand men.

On the 1st of July, the two Confederate advance corps under Ewell and Hill unexpectedly encountered the Federal advance,

under Generals Reynolds and Howard, and, after a spirited battle, drove them through Gettysburg, inflicting on them a loss of five thousand killed and wounded, five thousand prisoners and a number of cannon. General Reynolds was among the slain. This decided advantage was not pushed as it ought to have been, and the whole Federal army came up before the morning of the 2d of July and occupied strong positions on the heights around Gettysburg. Nevertheless, on the 2d, Longstreet, with his corps on the right, after a bloody struggle, succeeded in piercing the Federal lines and maintaining his position, and Ewell, with his corps on the left, assailed and carried two strong points important to the Federals.

After the sanguinary repulse of July 3d, General Lee did not immediately retreat, but awaited an attack, which General Meade was too wise to attempt. The retreat of the Confederate army was, however, a necessity, as they could not obtain supplies and were in danger of having their communications cut behind them.

At Williamsport, on the 6th of July, the Federal cavalry attacked a Confederate wagon and ambulance train; but General Imboden, by a prompt improvising and arming of drivers, commissary men and others who hastened into his lines, met the hostile cavalry and inflicted a decisive repulse. Stuart, with part of his cavalry, came up in time to pursue them several miles. In the fall of 1863, after the Confederate army returned to Virginia, some severe cavalry encounters occurred, in which, especially in the one at Buckland's, the Confederates, under Stuart and his subordinates, gained decided successes.

During February and March, General Grant made five attempts to gain the rear of Vicksburg by movements from above it, and was defeated in each of these attempts, viz.: At Williams' Canal, at Lake Providence, at Yazoo Pass, at Steele's Bayou, and at Milliken's Bend, or New Carthage Cut-off; but the prominent trait of this military commander was stubborn perseverance. It was after these defeats that he conceived and carried out the great movement by which his land troops went on the west side of the Mississippi to Grand Gulf, and his ironclads and transports ran past the Vicksburg batteries with inconsiderable loss. Grant's ironclads were repulsed at Grand Gulf on April 29, but he crossed at Bruinsburg. After investing Pemberton's position on all sides, having some reason to believe that General Joseph E. Johnston would come upon him with a sufficient force to raise the siege, Grant made two desperate attempts—one on the 19th and the other on the 22d of May—to carry the Vicksburg intrenchments

by assault. Each of these assaults was defeated with a total loss to the Federals of four thousand men.

General Banks, with fifteen thousand Federal troops, besieged Port Hudson, which was defended by a garrison of six thousand men, under General Gardner. On the 27th of May, Banks made an assault and was repulsed with a loss of two thousand men, while the defenders did not lose three hundred in all; yet General Banks tried two more assaults—one on the 10th and the other on the 14th of June—in each of which he was sternly repulsed. On the 22d of June, Gen. Dick Taylor, seeking to make a diversion in favor of Port Hudson, captured Brashear City, Louisiana, with one thousand prisoners, ten cannon, and supplies valued at six million dollars.

On the 5th March, General Van Dorn, with his Confederate cavalry, attacked Colonel Coburn, at Spring Hill, in Middle Tennessee, and captured his whole force.

On the 8th of May, Colonel Streight, who had been sent with two thousand Federal cavalry to destroy the Southern machine shops at Rome and Atlanta, was met near Rome, in Georgia, by General Forrest, with his Confederate dragoons, and after a brief encounter, Streight and his whole command surrendered.

On the 19th of September, General Bragg, who had been reinforced by Longstreet's corps, and had about fifty thousand men, joined battle at Chickamanga creek with the Federal General Rosecrans, who had fifty-five thousand troops. The battle lasted a part of two days, and resulted in the total defeat of the Federal army, who lost, in killed, wounded and prisoners, twenty thousand men, besides fifty-one cannon and fifteen thousand stand of small arms. The shattered army retreated to Chattanooga, where Bragg besieged them.

Longstreet was ordered to proceed against Burnside in East Tennessee. He defeated Colonel Wolford, at Philadelphia Station, on the 22d of October, and defeated the main army, under Burnside, at Campbell's Station, on the 16th of November, thus forcing the Union troops back to their fortifications at Knoxville, which he proceeded to invest.

After the unfortunate battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, Bragg's army retreated southward. General Hooker pursued them; but at a gap in Taylor's Ridge, near the village of Ringgold, General Cleburne halted his Confederate division, turned upon Hooker and defeated him, inflicting a loss of nearly a thousand men, with a Confederate loss of less than two hundred.

After Longstreet's unsuccessful assault on the trenches of Knoxville, he retired towards Virginia, defeating at Strawberry Plains a Federal force which attempted to pursue him.

On the 8th September, at Sabine Pass, on the coast of Texas, a small Confederate fort, with a garrison of two hundred and fifty men, under Lieut. R. W. Dowling (Captain Odum being temporarily absent), repulsed, with marked disaster to the assailants, a Federal force of four gun-boats and four thousand land troops. The Federals lost two gun-boats, fifteen heavy rifled cannon, fifty men killed and wounded, and two hundred prisoners. The Confederates in this unique encounter did not lose a man. By reason of the incompetent strategy of the Federal commander, his land troops gave no assistance whatever to the gun-boats.

Summing up these important battles in 1863, we find they numbered fifty-three—of which the Federals gained nineteen and the Confederates thirty-three. The second day's battle of Murfreesboro, fought on the 2d day of January of this year, was drawn or indecisive. Each army maintained its position, and, though General Bragg continued his retreat, it was a part of his previous plan, and he carried off all his prisoners and spoils.

The year 1864 was noted for the immense numerical disparity between the forces of the two belligerent powers in North America, and yet equally noted for the comparative number of victories won by the Confederates.

The Federals won no success worthy of a name in history until after Gen. Ulysses S. Grant had been appointed lieutenant-general and put in command of all their forces in the United States. This was on the 4th of March, 1864. On the 14th of March the Federals, by land forces and gun-boats, captured Fort De Russy.

Grant planned two grand campaigns—one against Richmond, Virginia, which he proposed to conduct himself; the other against Atlanta, Georgia, to be conducted by Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman. Both movements began on the same day. On the 4th of May, after the Army of the Potomac started to cross the Rapidan, Grant, seated on a log by the side of the road, wrote a telegram to Sherman bidding him to move.

Grant's plan against Richmond was so comprehensive and on so colossal a scale that defeat seemed impossible. Nevertheless, he was defeated. It was in this part of the war that the military genius of Gen. Robert E. Lee, aided by the skill and heroism of his officers and men, achieved its highest triumphs.

Grant, with one hundred and forty thousand men, in an army perfectly equipped, advanced from Northern Virginia; Generals

Crook and Sigel, with twenty-five thousand, were to capture Staunton and Lynchburg, and come down the valley of the James river on the Confederate rear; Gen. B. F. Butler, with thirty thousand, was to move up James river, capture Petersburg, and approach Richmond from the South.

Lee, with an army of sixty-four thousand men, met Grant after he crossed the Rapidan, and fought him in a series of battles, in which he inflicted on him enormous losses in killed, wounded, prisoners and material of war, and maintained his inner lines of communication so completely that Grant was forced to move his army in an extended curve, running around from Mine Run to Cold Harbor, in Hanover, repulsed at every attempt to break the Confederate lines, and actually losing more men in killed and wounded than General Lee's immediate army numbered.

Grant's only success was in a part of the battle of Spotsylvania Court-house, May 12th, at an angle incautiously left without adequate artillery support for a time, and at which General Hancock made a successful attack on the division of Gen. Edward Johnson, capturing three thousand men and thirty cannon. The capture of this angle, with a part of its artillery and most of its defending force, made a temporary breach in the Confederate lines; but Gen. John B. Gordon, with two brigades, rushed to the critical point and stopped the oncoming tide of Federal attack. The Confederates recovered twelve of their cannon, but could not retake the angle.

At the Yellow Tavern, on the 11th of May, General Sheridan, with a large body of Federal cavalry, had a severe contest with the Confederate cavalry, under General Stuart. In the crisis of the fight, Stuart received a wound, which proved mortal. His fall discouraged his men, and they withdrew, keeping, however, between Sheridan and Richmond; and the Federal commander, not venturing to attack intrenched lines, recalled his troops.

Sherman had under his command more than one hundred thousand men when he commenced his advance. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was in command of the opposing Confederate forces, which numbered not more than forty-three thousand. Sherman sought to bring on a general battle. Johnston, with true generalship and perfect skill, avoided it, and fell back before the widely extended wings of his adversary, meeting him, however, whenever a suitable position presented itself, with battle so stern and bloody that Sherman gained no advantages whatever, and was constantly going further and further from his base of supplies, and exposing himself more and more to attacks on his rear and

his railroad communications. His only successful action was a repulse of the Confederates under Bate, at Dallas.

The result of all these movements was that when Johnston's army reached the neighborhood of Atlanta it was fifty-one thousand strong, reinforcements having been received, and the whole condition of the force of all arms kept up to the highest point of efficiency. The cavalry and draft horses were in better plight than when the movements began.

In truth, these movements and battles of General Johnston in manœuvring in front of Sherman mark the Confederate commander as one of the great leaders in modern war; but at the fatal moment, when it was specially a duty to sustain a general who had shown so much skill, judgment and resolution, President Davis and his War Department weakly yielded to the complaints of people (chiefly civilians) in Georgia, removed General Johnston from command, and turned over his army to General John B. Hood, a brave leader, but not equal to the terrible emergency then pressing the Confederate States.

The result is well known in history. On the 20th of July, Hood attacked the Federals on Peach Tree creek and was repulsed with severe loss. Leaving a force to hold Atlanta, Hood marched his main army to Decatur, and on the 22d of July gave battle to the Federal left and rear with temporary success, driving the foe from their works and capturing twenty-two cannon, eighteen colors and fifteen hundred prisoners; but Sherman, by his great superiority in numbers, was able to restore the battle, stop Hood's progress and recapture nine of his cannon. This battle was drawn. General Walker, of the Confederates, and General McPherson, of the Federals, two gallant officers, lost their lives at Decatur.

On the 27th of July, Sherman began his movements to flank Atlanta on the left. On the 28th, General Hood made an attack on the Federal right, but was repulsed with severe loss. On the 25th of August, Sherman began a movement which placed his army along the Macon road in rear of Atlanta. Hood sent Hardee with two *corps d'armée* to attack him. The assault was made August 31st and failed. Hood was compelled to evacuate Atlanta. Hardee's single corps was attacked by six corps of the Federal army September 1st. His line was pierced and some of his best troops and eight of his cannon were captured; yet, by the most stubborn fighting, he held his position until night closed the contest, when he retreated to Lovejoy Station. Sherman entered Atlanta without further opposition.

Hood, with the approval of the Confederate war powers at Richmond, projected a campaign into Tennessee, hoping to compel Sherman to retire from Georgia; but this hope was sorely disappointed. Sherman committed the defence of Tennessee to Gen. George H. Thomas, a native of Virginia, who, in the opening stages of the war, had shown strong sympathy for the Southern cause,¹ but, having remained in the Federal service, served it most efficiently.

On October 5th, the Confederate General French attacked Allatoona (where vast supplies for Sherman's army had been accumulated), defended by a comparatively small Federal force; but the position was strongly intrenched, and the Confederate attack was repulsed with serious loss to them. Hood entered Tennessee on the 19th of November with an army of about forty-five thousand men. At Franklin, on the 30th of November, he attacked General Schofield who, with twenty-five thousand men, was there intrenched. After a desperate battle Hood penetrated the works, and Schofield retreated towards Nashville; but Hood lost five thousand men, with many of his best officers, and the Federals only two thousand three hundred, of whom one thousand one hundred were prisoners.

On the 15th and 16th of December, the decisive battle of Nashville and of this campaign, so disastrous to the Southern cause, occurred. General Thomas, with sixty thousand men, attacked Hood, whose cavalry were nearly all absent, so that his whole force numbered very little more than thirty thousand men. The Confederate army was utterly routed and driven from the field, with a loss of twelve thousand in killed, wounded and prisoners, fifty-three cannon and a vast amount in small arms and military stores. The pursuit was keenly pressed, and Hood recrossed the Tennessee, having lost more than half his army. Such were the series of disasters following the fatal error of President Davis and his government.

Meanwhile Sherman, having no force to encounter adequate to oppose him, after destroying by fire all railroad buildings and a large part of Atlanta, set out with his army on his "march to the sea" from the neighborhood of the desolated city to that of Savannah, on the water approaches to the Atlantic Ocean. He lived chiefly by foraging on the country and taking all the supplies of oxen, cows, corn, sweet potatoes and other vegetables that he could seize. His line of march was marked by destruction, and

¹ Letter of George H. Thomas, Major U. S. A., to Gov. John Letcher, of Virginia, March 12th, 1861, copied in Richmond Dispatch, May 9th, 1890.

he left behind him smoking ruins and gaunt chimneys of private dwellings burned to the ground. He destroyed (whether intentionally or by the negligence of his subordinates is a question of dispute) in February, 1865, a large part of the city of Columbia, in South Carolina. He appeared near Savannah on the 10th of December, 1864, with an army aggregating sixty-five thousand men. Fort McAllister had a garrison of only one hundred and fifty men, commanded by Major Anderson. Hazen's division of four thousand captured it on the 13th, after a stout resistance. The Confederates evacuated Savannah, and Sherman occupied it on the 20th of December, sending a dispatch to President Lincoln on the 23d announcing the capture of the city as a gift for the Christmas season. To increase the value of his gift, he stated that it included about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton.

The Confederate war-steamer *Alabama*, Capt. Raphael Semmes, after a life of great activity on the ocean, in which she captured sixty-five Northern merchant-ships and destroyed property worth ten millions of dollars, was sunk in the waters off the harbor of Cherbourg, France, on the 19th of June, by the Federal war-ship *Kearsarge*, Captain John A. Winslow, after an action of one hour and a quarter. The *Kearsarge* had received the name of the mountain in New England to which Whittier's "Bride of Pennacook" had given added fame. She was protected by spare anchor chains hung over all her midship section and covered from sight by a light wooden casing; the *Alabama* had no such protection. On the 7th of October, in the neutral port of Bahia, Brazil, against international law, and when such an outrage was so little looked for by the officers and crew of the Confederate war-steamer *Florida* that many of them were on shore, she was attacked by the Federal war steam-sloop *Wachusett*, Captain N. Collins, and, as she was already in a damaged condition, she surrendered. The *Florida* was carried into Hampton Roads, below Norfolk. Difficult international questions immediately emerged concerning her, but they were all so *opportunately* ended by a steam transport which ran into her and sunk her, that the question whether it was an accident is unsolved.

On the 28th of October the Federals succeeded in destroying, by a torpedo, the *Albemarle*, in the harbor of Plymouth. In August the powerful Federal fleet of twenty-eight ships, under Admiral Farragut, and land force, under General Granger, approached Mobile, captured the ironclad *Tennessee* on the 5th, and compelled the Confederate garrison of Fort Powell to abandon and blow it up. The Federals took possession of Fort Gaines on the 7th, and

on the 23d captured Fort Morgan, with its garrison of fourteen hundred men; but Mobile was still held by the Southerners, though no longer useful as a port.

Grant having crossed the James and invested Petersburg with his large army, the Confederate authorities attempted to relieve the pressure by sending a force of about fifteen thousand men, under Gen. Jubal A. Early, to invade the North and threaten Washington. After gaining a victory at the Monocacy bridge, over the creek of that name, Early pushed rapidly on Washington; but he was confronted by the manned intrenchments and by two army corps detached by Grant. Finding the risk of assault too great, Early did not attempt it. Some of his troops contented themselves with burning the private residence of Mr. Blair, who had been connected with the government; and, after some sharp skirmishing, General Early retired across the Potomac and encamped near Winchester. The Federals sent a gun-boat up the Rappahannock and burned, in retaliation, the residence of Mr. John Seddon, at Snowden, in Stafford, probably under the impression that it was the property of his brother, James A. Seddon, the Confederate Secretary of War. After gaining a decided success at Kernstown, July 24th, Early was attacked by General Sheridan, with thirty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry, on the 19th of September, near Winchester, and though the small Confederate force made a stubborn resistance, they were driven from the field with heavy loss. On the 22d of September, Sheridan again encountered Early at Fisher's Hill and completely routed him, driving him entirely from the Shenandoah Valley.

Through that beautiful and fertile valley, from Waynesboro outwardly, Sheridan then marched in every direction unopposed, and, by order of General Grant, desolated the country, destroying mills, houses, barns, fences, pastures—in short, everything that could feed man and beast. Such barbarity had been known in the days of Attila, of Genghis Khan and of Tamerlane, but never in modern warfare among Christian nations.

By the middle of October, Early's losses had been repaired, as far as possible, from General Lee's army. He again advanced as far as Fisher's Hill, and formed a bold plan for surprising Sheridan's army in their camp at Cedar creek. This plan was for a time entirely successful. At dawn of October 19th, Gordon, with three divisions, fell on the Federal left, while Kershaw, with two divisions, rushed impetuously upon their right and front. The enemy were broken, and gave way in rout and panic, leaving many dead and wounded, and fifteen hundred prisoners and

twenty-four cannon in the hands of the assailants. But the victory was not followed up by a strenuous pursuit. The Confederates halted, and began to plunder the captured camp. The Federals rallied, and began to re-form their broken lines. Sheridan, who had been at Winchester, galloped up and cheered them by his presence and his cry : " Boys, we are going back ! " At three o'clock in the afternoon he attacked, with superior numbers, the Confederates, defeated and routed them, and captured fifteen hundred prisoners and twenty-three cannon, besides recapturing the twenty-four previously lost.

In one month's campaign Sheridan had lost seventeen thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners—more than the whole Confederate force, rank and file, opposed to him ; but he had destroyed more than half of Early's army, had captured forty cannon, and had desolated one of the most prosperous and fertile regions of the South. The part of the Confederate force under General Gordon was, in the close of the fall, ordered back to Petersburg.

In September and October, Gen. Sterling Price, with a small Confederate army, marched from Arkansas into Missouri, and penetrated far into the interior of the State ; but at the Big Blue river, he was attacked, on the 23d of October, by General Rosecrans with a force superior in numbers, was badly defeated, with severe loss in men and material, and was driven back into Arkansas.

In this year, 1864, the Confederates, five thousand in number, under Generals Colquitt and Finegan, met an invading force of Federals, six thousand strong, under General Seymour, at Olustee, or Ocean Pond, in Florida, on the 20th of February, and totally defeated them, compelling them to abandon their invasion.

In the same month General Sherman set out from Vicksburg, Mississippi, to clear the State of Southern armed forces. He advanced as far as Meridian, and even threatened the rear of Mobile ; but the renowned Confederate cavalry general, Forrest, completely thwarted all of the Federal plans. On the 22d of February, at Okolona, he defeated the large cavalry force under General W. S. Smith, drove them in utter rout back to Memphis, capturing many prisoners and ten cannon. Sherman hastily retreated back to Vicksburg. Forrest continued his operations with marked success. On the 12th of April he captured Fort Pillow by assault. It was chiefly defended by negro troops ; and a persistent effort has been made to blacken the fame of Forrest by the charge that he massacred these troops after they had surren-

dered.¹ This charge is without foundation in truth, and has been overthrown by the testimony of an eye-witness of the highest honor and credit.²

After Sherman returned to Vicksburg a large part of his army was sent to General Banks, in Louisiana, thus swelling his command to forty thousand men. General Steele had seven thousand Federal troops in Arkansas. A plan was arranged to drive the Confederate forces from Louisiana and Arkansas, and finally from Texas. Banks, with a large army, moved northward from New Orleans; Steele, with his force, moved southward from Little Rock; but Gen. Dick Taylor, with about twenty-five thousand men, attacked the Federal advance at Mansfield, or Sabine Cross-roads, on the 8th of April, and gained a decisive success. He gave battle again on the 9th at Pleasant Hill, and defeated Banks so disastrously that the remains of the Federal army began an immediate retreat. When Steele heard of these Confederate successes he abandoned his march, turning the head of his column again towards Little Rock. The Federal gun-boats were caught by shallow water and obstacles in the Red river, above the falls at Alexandria, and were attacked day and night by outlying Confederates. But for the engineering skill of Lieutenant-Colonel Bailey, of the Nineteenth corps, who devised and constructed dams across the river, which so deepened the channel that the gun-boats passed over, they would all have been captured with their crews. In all these operations the Federals lost fourteen thousand in killed, wounded and prisoners, besides thirty-five cannon, eleven hundred wagons, one gun-boat and three transports. The whole Confederate loss was less than five thousand; and, instead of losing Louisiana and Arkansas, they regained territory previously occupied by the enemy.

On the North Carolina coast, on the 20th of April, General Hoke, with six thousand men, and with the aid of the iron-clad *Albatross*, captured Plymouth, with its whole garrison, artillery and stores.

In March a great cavalry raid was undertaken by the Federal leaders Kilpatrick and Dahlgren, with the purpose of surprising Richmond, capturing the city, releasing the Northern prisoners there confined, killing the Confederate President and his cabinet, and burning the city to the ground. This raid was totally defeated; Dahlgren and his cavalry were repulsed by troops com-

¹ The charge is made in D. B. Scott's U. S., 367. Quackenbos, 494. C. B. Taylor's Centen. U. S., 702. Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 265, by Prof. Steele.

² Major Charles W. Anderson, Nashville Round Table, March 8th. Baltimore Sun, March 14th, 1890.

posed chiefly of clerks from the public departments in a fight about two hours after dark, and very near the city lines. He was pursued down the peninsula; his troops were dispersed, and he was slain. On his person was found a memorandum-book giving the outlines of the plan of raid and assassination.

On the 6th of May, in pursuance of his part of the combined attack, Gen. B. F. Butler, with thirty thousand men, advanced up the south line of the James; but General Beauregard, under orders, had hastened up with troops from Charleston, South Carolina. With fifteen thousand men he encountered Butler, near Drewry's Bluff, in Chesterfield county, and in a sharp battle of three hours totally overthrew him, and drove him back to Bermuda Hundreds, on the river. Here he invested him so closely that, in the words of General Grant, Butler was "bottled up," and was of no further service to the Federal cause during this campaign.

The movement under Crook and Sigel, who had joined their forces, was met at New Market, in the Valley of Virginia, on the 15th of May, by General Breckinridge, whose army was greatly inferior in numbers to the enemy, but was composed of material of the highest spirit, embracing the corps of cadets from the Virginia Military Academy at Lexington. The Federals were signally routed, and fled towards every available exit.

The scattered remains of this beaten army were afterwards gathered, and, with other troops, were put under the command of Major-General David Hunter, who superseded Sigel. This officer had relatives in Virginia, and other ties which ought to have inclined him to generosity and kindness; but no Federal commander displayed more brutal cruelty than he. He wantonly burned the beautiful private residence of his cousin, Andrew Hunter, of Jefferson county, who had shown so much fairness in conducting the prosecution against John Brown and his co-murderers. General Hunter also barbarously used his military power in putting to death, by the gibbet, Mr. Creigh, a gentleman of Greenbrier county, of the highest Christian character, whose only offence was that, to defend his home and protect his family from criminal violence, he had killed a Federal soldier, who attempted to enter his house. So cruel and unjust was this act of Hunter that some of the victim's friends in the North afterwards refused to hold social intercourse with this Federal officer.

His large force enabled him to penetrate the valley as far as Lexington, Virginia, where he burned the buildings of the Military Institute and destroyed the private residence of Governor

Letcher, and much other private property. He then marched by difficult roads across the Blue Ridge towards Lynchburg; but before he reached the city he was met by Confederate troops, under Generals Early and Breckinridge, and driven back in a retreat noted for its disorder and ruinous disintegration of his army. He appeared no more in arms.

Meanwhile, General Grant was making his supreme effort to destroy Lee's army. The first great encounter was in the "Wilderness," where, on the 5th and 6th of May, were fought two battles of stern and sanguinary contest, in which the light green forest and undergrowth were skillfully used by the Confederates, and every attempt to break their lines was bloodily repulsed. Each of these battles was a Confederate success, because the enemy wholly failed in his object. In the battle of the 6th, General Longstreet received a severe wound, which, for some months, disabled him for service.

Finding that he could not break Lee's lines, Grant drew off his troops and made a flank movement to Spotsylvania Court-house; but here he was again confronted by the Confederate army, who, under Lee's splendid strategy, had steadily moved on the inner lines of the curve; and here, on the 12th of May, notwithstanding the partial success of Hancock's corps at the angle, yet Grant's army sustained a frightful defeat. He hurled his charging columns again and again on the Confederate works, only to be torn to pieces by shot, shells, shrapnel and canister, or to be cut down in thousands by a ceaseless storm of minie bullets. He treated his men, not like human beings with souls, bodies, hearts, nerves, muscles, and who had left behind them homes with wives, children, parents, brothers and sisters, but like "dumb driven cattle," or rather like so many machines or *automata*, to be mangled crushed and heaped up, and to be replaced by others until his object was accomplished. It is a definite proof that Grant was defeated on the 12th, that he drew his shattered army out of the battle, and remained quiet for several days, burying his dead by flag of truce, sending off his wounded to Fredericksburg and Washington, and *waiting for reinforcements*.

Again he moved, still on the outer curve; and again, on the 23d of May, he found Lee with his army at the North Anna river, where again a brief action occurred favorable to the Confederates. On the 3d of June, finding the Southern army still confronting him, Grant made a desperate attempt to overwhelm them with numbers, at Cold Harbor, in Hanover county. Here, in an assault which lasted only twenty minutes, General Grant

lost seven thousand men in killed, wounded and missing;¹ yet, with the stubborn temper which was his eminent trait, he ordered another assault! His men refused to obey the command.

He abandoned the attempt to march to Richmond through General Lee's army, marched by a flank movement down the peninsula, and crossed the James river, seeking to seize Petersburg before the Confederate army could arrive; but again he was foiled. His advance was met by local troops, consisting in large measure of residents of Petersburg, and they defended their position with so much of courage and skill that Grant's whole movement was checked. By the time his main army had come up, General Lee had reached Petersburg, with most of his army; and in two assaults, made, respectively, on the 17th and 18th of June, the Federals were repulsed with a loss of ten thousand men in killed and wounded. The Confederate loss was small.

In order to carry out his plan of subduing the Southern military force by exhaustion and starvation, Grant had ordered General Sheridan to move with his large cavalry force on Gordonsville and Charlottesville, destroy the railroads there, and unite with Hunter in a movement down the valley of the James. But Gen. Wade Hampton, who had succeeded Stuart in command of the Southern cavalry in Virginia, met Sheridan on the 11th June at Trevilian's Station, in Louisa county, and defeated him decisively, driving him back with heavy loss.

Grant then sent eight thousand cavalry under Generals Wilson and Kautz to destroy the Confederate railroad communications with the South and West; but the Southern dragoons and infantry encountered this force and totally defeated them, killing and wounding many, and capturing more than a thousand men, fifteen hundred horses, thirteen cannon and thirty wagons. After this, Grant invested Petersburg as closely as he could, and Lee strengthened his lines, and did all that his constantly diminishing numbers enabled him to do to keep open his means of supply.

We have seen that General Early had been sent to threaten Washington. His first encounter was with Hunter near Lynchburg. Hunter hardly awaited a battle, and Early pressed him so keenly that his retreat became a disorderly flight. Early then marched down the valley, crossed the Potomac, and encountered the Federals at Monocacy bridge and creek on the 9th of July. Gordon, Rodes and Breckinridge led the attack and completely routed the Federals, under Gen. Lew Wallace.

¹ Badeau, in Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 261.

After Early was compelled, by the presence of two corps of Grant's army, to retreat from before Washington to the valley, he advanced from Winchester to Kernstown, and on the 24th of July attacked General Crook, defeated him, and drove him, with the remnant of his army, across the Potomac, having inflicted on him a loss of one thousand two hundred men, including Colonel Mulligan, who was killed. General Early then sent a cavalry force, under General McCausland, to invade Pennsylvania and capture Chambersburg, with special instructions, which McCausland carried out. On the 30th of July they routed a small defending force at Carlisle Barracks and entered Chambersburg. They made a requisition of five hundred thousand dollars on the town. The authorities were either unable or unwilling to pay it. McCausland then set fire to the town, and about two-thirds of it was burned to the ground. This was said to be in retaliation for the outrages of Hunter; but it did no good and much harm to the Confederate cause. After this General Early never won a battle nor gained a real military success. He was disastrously defeated again and again, until at Cedar creek and Waynesboro his military career was ended.

On the day that Chambersburg was burned (July 30th) the army of Grant met a horrible defeat and disaster at Petersburg. Hoping to make a breach in the Confederate lines, the Federal engineers had run a long and deep mine, with side passages, under one of the intrenched heights of the city held by the defending troops. Into this four tons of gunpowder were conveyed. The mine was exploded at twenty minutes before five on the morning of the 30th. A heavy trembling of the earth was followed by a sound like rolling thunder. The Confederate guns and cannoneers were blown into the air. The Federals in thousands rushed into "the Crater"; but before they could emerge and form, several Confederate brigades, with artillery, had hastened to the scene, and began to pour upon the confused and crowded masses of the enemy a fire which, for destructiveness and carnage, has had few parallels in history. The Federals were defeated and driven back, with a loss to them of five thousand in killed and wounded. The whole Confederate loss was about three hundred. The enemy's dead lay in "the Crater" and outside of it for thirty-six hours, when they were removed under flag of truce.¹

Between the 13th and 20th of August, General Hancock made several attempts to break the Southern lines north of the James and reach Richmond, but was defeated. On the 19th and 20th,

¹ Narrative in An. Amer. Encyclop., 1864, 133, 134. Derry's U. S., 317. Quackenbos, 499.

on the Weldon Railroad, below Petersburg, General Mahone's division had stern fighting with the Federals, under Warren, inflicting severe loss and capturing two thousand five hundred prisoners, including General Hays. On the 25th of August, Gen. A. P. Hill defeated Hancock's corps at Reams' Station, with heavy loss to them, including many prisoners, nine cannon, and three thousand small arms. On the 16th of September a body of Confederate cavalry marched round the rear of General Meade's left, near Reams' Station, and captured the whole of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania regiment, with a herd of two thousand five hundred cattle. On the 27th of October the Federals attacked the Southern lines at Hatcher's Run, but, after a bloody engagement, they were beaten back with severe loss.

Meanwhile the advance of Sherman and counter-movements of Johnston were in progress. Though the Confederate general was falling back all the time to avoid being flanked and surrounded by the vast numerical superiority of Sherman's army, yet he defeated every direct attack. Johnston had decidedly the advantage in the battles near Dalton, on the 8th and 9th of May. He repulsed, with severe loss to the Federals, their attacks at Resaca, on the 14th and 15th of May. On the 24th May, General Wheeler, commanding the Southern cavalry, gained a brilliant success near Cassville. In the battle of New Hope Church, on the 25th May, Stewart's division of Hood's corps repulsed Hooker's Federal corps, inflicting a loss of two thousand and losing only about four hundred men. Near Pickett's Mill, on the 27th, Howard's corps attacked Cleburne's division of Hardee's Southern corps, and were repulsed, losing not less than two thousand in killed and wounded, with small loss to Cleburne. In one of the skirmishes on the 14th of June, Gen. Leonidas Polk was killed by a cannon shot. Johnston took a strong position on Kenesaw Mountain, and here, on the 27th of June, Sherman made a general attack and was repulsed, with a loss of nearly five thousand men, while Johnston's whole loss was only five hundred and twenty-two.

In short, all the known facts justify the belief that if Johnston had not been removed from the command, he might have given up Atlanta, but he would have so weakened and beset Sherman, in front, flank and rear, that a loss or retreat of the Federal army would have been inevitable. But the serious errors of the Confederate government were a part of God's plan for destroying slavery in four years.

While these movements were going forward in Georgia, General Forrest, in Mississippi, attacked the Federal General Sturgis.

on the 10th of June, at Tishamingo creek, near Guntown, and completely routed him. Out of twelve thousand men, Sturgis lost five thousand in killed, wounded and prisoners. He lost also all his artillery, numbering twenty pieces, and all his wagon train.

Sherman sent out two cavalry columns—one five thousand strong, under General Stoneman, and the other four thousand strong, under General McCook—with instructions to meet at Lovejoy Station and destroy the Southern communications; but the Confederate General Wheeler, with his cavalry, encountered McCook, at Newnan, and defeated him, killing and wounding a thousand of his troops and capturing nine hundred and fifty prisoners, two cannon and twelve hundred horses with equipments. Generals Cobb and Iverson met Stoneman at Macon, and gave him an equally decisive defeat, inflicting heavy loss, taking five hundred prisoners, among whom was Stoneman himself, two cannon and many horses.

Even on his "march to the sea," Sherman did not escape military disasters. General Hatch, with a detachment of his army, was met at Honey Hill, on the line of the Charleston and Savannah Railroad and defeated, with a loss of seven hundred and fifty men.

On the 24th and 25th December a large land force, under Gen. B. F. Butler, and a fleet of about seventy vessels, under Commodore Porter, made a joint attack on Fort Fisher, at the entrance into Cape Fear river, in North Carolina, and were decisively repulsed. A part of Butler's plan of attack was to explode a huge powder-boat, with its full freight, near the fort. The explosion did no harm to the Confederates, but cost the United States a large sum, and brought on the projector ridicule from competent men.

Thus we are enabled to sum up the important battles of the year 1864. They were sixty-five in number, of which the Federals gained twenty-one, the Confederates forty-three, and one was indecisive.

The opening months of the year 1865 brought the war to its close. Notwithstanding their numerous victories and heroic resistance, the Confederate military resources were exhausted and their territory available for the support of armies was occupied by the Federals.

On the 13th of January a second attack was made on Fort Fisher. Admiral Porter commanded the fleet, and General Terry the land forces. On the 13th the troops disembarked. The fleet bombarded the fort and its outworks for three days, with destruc-

tive effect. On the 15th Terry made a brave assault with numbers which could not be resisted, and the fort was captured. On the 22d of February Wilmington was entered by the Federal army, the Southern troops having withdrawn.

General Grant's whole policy was to subdue military opposition by superior numbers and perseverance. He had written a letter to E. B. Washburne, a member of the United States Congress, dated August 16, 1864, which is so characteristic and so pregnant with the future that it deserves the close attention of the student of history. It was written from his headquarters, near City Point, Virginia, and is as follows :

"HON. E. B. WASHBURNE :

"Dear Sir,—I state to all citizens who visit me, that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North. The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for intrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing, from desertions and other causes, at least one regiment per day.

"With this drain upon them the end is not far distant, if we will only be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is in a divided North. This might give them reinforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quickly enforced, the enemy would become despondent and would make but little resistance. I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects.

"They hope a counter-revolution; they hope the election of the Peace candidate. In fact, like 'Micawber' they hope for something to 'turn up.' Our Peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would but be the beginning of war, with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have 'peace on any terms' the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed; they would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay for the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.

Yours truly,

"U. S. GRANT."

The policy indicated in this letter was, in substance, carried out. In the fall elections of 1864 the Republican candidates, Abraham Lincoln for President, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President, were elected over the Democratic candidates, George B. McClellan, of the Federal army, for President, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, for Vice-President. Lincoln and Johnson received the electoral votes of all the United States except New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky; and yet, in the

popular vote, the Democratic candidates received one million eight hundred and two thousand two hundred and thirty-seven votes, against two million two hundred and thirteen thousand six hundred and sixty-five votes cast for the Republicans. This vote, though definitely favorable to the Republican policy, indicated a seriously divided Northern sentiment.¹

In February, 1865, in consequence of informal overtures made by Francis P. Blair, Senior, who was generally recognized as "the master spirit—the real *Warwick* of the party then in power in Washington"²—a conference was held in the waters of Hampton Roads, not far from Fortress Monroe, in the saloon of a steamer, between President Abraham Lincoln and William H. Seward, Secretary of State, on the Federal side, and Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States, Judge John A. Campbell, of Alabama, Assistant Secretary of War, and Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, as commissioners appointed by the Confederate cabinet. The object of the conference was to ascertain, if possible, on what terms peace could be made without further effusion of blood. The conference could not agree on terms, and its deliberations came to naught, so far as the re-establishment of peace was concerned. This result was deeply deplored by the most thoughtful officers and men of the Southern armies, and by many of the best citizens of the Confederacy; but on the return of the Southern commissioners to Richmond, large meetings of the people were held, and large congregations filled the churches, and eloquent addresses were made by President Davis and others, which roused a real enthusiasm, but an enthusiasm perfectly empty and vain, because it had no material power to give it efficacy. Fortunately for historic truth, all the important elements of this momentous conference in Hampton Roads have been preserved for our meditation by one of the ablest and purest of the statesmen who participated therein.³

In this same month of February, 1865, Sherman, with an efficient army of sixty thousand men, commenced his march through the Carolinas. The part South Carolina had played in nullification and secession was ungenerously remembered against her, and though the words cannot be charged on Sherman himself, yet the spirit and action of his marauding army found true expression in their threat that "they would make South Carolina howl!" Beauregard, with his small force, left Columbia, and on the 17th of February Sherman occupied it. History has nothing to add to the

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 826.

² Stephens, Append. R., 1002.

³ Alex. H. Stephens' Comp. U. S., Append. R., 998-1017.

remarks already made concerning his destruction, by fire, of this beautiful city. General Hardee, to escape the error and the fate of Pemberton at Vicksburg, evacuated Charleston and marched to join Beauregard. The end was coming, but the fighting energies of the South showed themselves to the last. Orders were given under which all the scattered troops of Beauregard, Hardee and Bragg were drawn together and put under the command of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston. When it was too late the Confederate government thus rendered tardy justice to this consummate soldier.

On the 2d of March, Sheridan, pressing through the Shenandoah Valley with a large force of infantry, cavalry and light artillery, gave Early a final overthrow at Waynesboro, and captured about one thousand six hundred prisoners; then, continuing his march with varied fortune, he united with Grant. On the extended lines around Petersburg, Gordon, with his unconquered Confederates, attacked Fort Steadman on the 25th of March, and captured the works, with many prisoners and guns; but there being no troops to support him, he was, in turn, assaulted by overpowering numbers and driven out of the works with very heavy loss.

General Lee, with his thin intrenched lines, extending thirty-five miles, was doing all that the ablest military leader could do to maintain them. On the 1st of April, Sheridan, with numbers not to be resisted, defeated Pickett's division at Five Forks, and captured four thousand prisoners. The next day Grant made the decisive move, broke the Confederate lines, and drove them in upon Fort Gregg. Here they rallied, and sustained with courage unto death three successive assaults of Gibbon's Federal division; and when at last the fort was carried, out of its two hundred and fifty defenders all except thirty were killed or wounded, and five hundred Federals were prostrate on the ground.

This was Sunday, April 2d. General Lee telegraphed to the Confederate authorities in Richmond that his lines were broken and he must retreat. Most of the people were in the churches when these tidings reached them. The city was filled with confusion and distress.

Of course, the Confederate President and his cabinet and staff officers hastened to retreat while they could. The Southern troops around the city followed as soon as practicable; but, by an unhappy violation of all rights of private property, whether in peace or in war, the Confederate War Department gave orders under which not only were all armories, armed vessels, arsenals, and powder and percussion-cap factories blown up, but the extensive Shockoe and other warehouses, containing some thousands

of hogsheads of leaf tobacco (nearly all of which was private property) were set on fire. No adequate means for checking and limiting the flames existed. They soon spread to the adjoining railroad buildings and bridge, and to rows of private houses. The conflagration was terrible, involving warehouses, stores, private residences and churches.

Fortunately, the Federal troops, almost unopposed, entered the city while the fire was still raging. They immediately established rigid military discipline and order, and by steady exertions, aided by private residents, and blowing up of houses, arrested the fire, but not before it had destroyed property worth millions of dollars.

General Lee retreated, hoping to be able to join Johnston in North Carolina; but his army was no longer the compact and powerful engine of intelligence and force with which, from the summer of 1862, he had performed such prodigies. Near Deatonville a severe conflict took place on April 6th, with Southern loss. With thinned columns and lines, Lee was followed, beset, surrounded by two hundred thousand men of all arms.

At Appomattox Court-house, on the 9th of April, 1865, he surrendered his army to General Grant. The terms accorded by that wise and foreseeing Federal commander were in the highest degree liberal and considerate. Grant knew that the war was ended. After stacking their arms and colors, and giving their parole not to serve again until exchanged, the Southern officers and men were permitted to return to their homes and peaceful employments, safe from any molestation by the Federal authorities, the officers being allowed to retain their side-arms, and officers and men to retain such horses as were their private property.¹ The last clause was emphasized by General Grant in words of true, yet simple, magnanimity, "because they would need their horses for spring ploughing and farm work."

And this generous treaty was steadily upheld by General Grant. When, afterwards, private malignity sought to arrest and prosecute Robert E. Lee upon the unfounded charge of treason, and when efforts were made to treat the Confederate partisan Mosby as an outlaw, General Grant interposed, and, by his prevalent position and power, shielded them and all others similarly situated from all such persecutions.

Not more than eight thousand men were in his army when Lee surrendered; but the terms included all the officers and men of the Army of Northern Virginia, wherever they might be. ^a

¹ Derry's U. S., 327. Stephens, 829-831. Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 241, 242.

On the 12th of April the city of Mobile yielded to a combined naval and military approach, and was surrendered to the Federals.

Yet, in all the closing conflicts of this gigantic war, the Confederates won successes whenever they were not fatally outnumbered. On the 6th of February, General Grant attempted to turn the right of the Southern army at Hatcher's Run, and received a repulse so bloody and decisive that his troops were withdrawn. On his march through South Carolina, Sherman sent a large cavalry force under Kilpatrick to capture Augusta; but at Aiken General Wheeler, with his dragoons, encountered Kilpatrick, and defeated him, thus saving Augusta. On the 8th of March, at Kinston, North Carolina, General Bragg gained a distinct success over a part of Sherman's army. On the 16th of March, General Hardee fought at Averysboro a bloody, but indecisive, battle with the advance corps of Sherman's force. On the 19th and 20th of March the Confederate army, under General Johnston, met and fought Sherman at Bentonville, and gained important successes; but their numbers were too small to resist the flanking process to which Sherman was again obliged to resort in order to dislodge and drive back his skillful foe. Sherman took possession of Goldsboro, where he was joined by the troops from the coast under Generals Schofield and Terry. General Johnston, with his army, which was now nearly forty thousand strong, took a strong position at Greensboro, near the site of old Guilford Court-house.

On the night of the 14th of April, 1865, in Ford's theatre, in Washington city, as President Lincoln sat in a private box, he was stealthily approached behind by a play-actor named John Wilkes Booth, a son of Junius Brutus Booth, the great English tragedian. Booth professed violent sympathy for the Southern cause, but was never in her armies nor in her service in any form. He was one of a band of assassins. He shot President Lincoln through the head; then, crying out, "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" he leaped to the stage, and, notwithstanding a severe injury received in his desperate movement, he made his way out of the theatre by the rear passages, mounted a horse, and escaped into Virginia with a co-conspirator named Harrold.

They crossed the Rappahannock river from Port Conway, and obtained temporary refuge in the house of Richard Henry Garrett, in Caroline county, on the river, about two miles north of Port Royal. Booth was on crutches, but his conversation was so full of vivacity that he made a pleasant impression on the family. They knew him only as Mr. Boyd. By this name he was introduced to them by

Lieutenant Ruggles and Mr. William Jett, who represented him as having been wounded at Petersburg. When Mr. Garrett heard the next day of the assassination of President Lincoln, he expressed deep regret, saying: "I hope it is not so. I believe it would be one of the greatest calamities that could befall us." Booth said, excitedly, "Do you think that?" Mr. Garrett answered, "I do." Booth said, "I cannot think so. I rather believe, if it is so, that good will come of it to the South." He was heavily armed with pistols. By his request Mr. Garrett permitted him and Harrold to spend the night in a tobacco barn at some distance from the house. The suspicions of the family were naturally excited, and the sons of Mr. Garrett kept watch on their stable.

Harrold had imprudently disclosed some of the truth in the presence of Jett. A reward of twenty-five thousand dollars had been offered for the arrest of the assassin. A small party of Federal soldiers, under Lieutenant Dougherty, were on Booth's track. They came to Mr. Garrett's at one o'clock at night. They broke in the door, and arrested the family. One of the sons told them that if they were in search of the two men who had been there, they were in the tobacco barn, which he pointed out. They surrounded the barn. Harrold came out and surrendered himself. Booth declared he would never give himself up alive. They threatened to burn the barn. He begged them not to do so, as it would do injury to the innocent owner. He asked that they would give him a chance for his life by giving him ten steps start when he came out—they refused; five steps—they refused.

One of the soldiers then set fire to a bundle of hay and threw it into the loft. It kindled quickly, and by its light a soldier, named Boston Corbett, saw Booth through a crevice in the barn, took aim and fired, sending his bullet through his head, passing in under the left ear and coming out on the right side of the head. He fell mortally wounded. One of the sons of Mr. Garrett was sent in, and, though badly burned, succeeded in bringing out the body still living. Booth died on the plank floor of the porch of Mr. Garrett's house. His last words, to a lady—a teacher in the family—who moistened his lips with her handkerchief dipped in water, were: "Tell my mother I died for my country, and what I thought was best for it."¹

But whether sincere or not, Booth was an assassin, and the curse of heaven followed his deed. President Lincoln was medi-

¹ Narrative of Dr. G. G. Roy, in *Richmond Dispatch*, May 30th, 1886, taken from Miss H., the teacher.

tating and preparing a plan of pacification which would in due time have restored the Union without the dismal period of reconstruction, injustice and outrage which followed his death. Slavery was already gone, never to return; and the heart of Lincoln was not set on bitterness and revenge. The theories of Andrew Johnson, who became President when Lincoln died, were full of false premises and unsound logic, and did great harm to the seceded States; and they were, unhappily, seconded by the hatred of civilians and the bitter feelings toward prominent Southern men kindled by the assassination of President Lincoln.¹

The President died at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock on the morning of April 15th. On the same night in which he was assassinated an attempt was made on the life of William H. Seward, Secretary of State, at his home. Mr. Seward and his son were both wounded. No doubt could reasonably exist that a conspiracy had been formed for the purpose of destroying the Federal rulers. Severe measures followed. Efforts were sedulously made by the more virulent of the South-haters to produce the impression that the chief Confederate rulers were accessories to Booth's guilt.

A reward of one hundred thousand dollars was offered for the arrest of Jefferson Davis. He was captured by a squad of Wilson's cavalry, near Irwinville, Georgia, on the 10th of May. He was put in irons and confined in Fortress Monroe. At nearly the same time Alexander H. Stephens, Mr. Reagan, ex-Governor Lubbock, of Texas, and many other prominent statesmen of the South were arrested and put in confinement; but not a shadow of evidence of complicity in Booth's crime ever appeared against them, and they were successively released. An indictment for treason was found against Mr. Davis. He had been subjected to harsh and cruel imprisonment in Fortress Monroe; but he was bailed on the 13th day of May, 1867. Horace Greeley and other eminent Northern men became his sureties. He was released, and the prosecution for treason was abandoned about a year afterwards.²

As President Davis and his flying cabinet officers passed through Greensboro they had an interview with General Johnston and authorized him to make the best terms he could for restoration of peace. Accordingly, Sherman and Johnston met near Durham Station and concluded what will always be known in history as the "Sherman-Johnston Convention," signed by both on the 18th of May.

¹ Stephens, 831-836. Derry, 328, 329. Quackenbos, 504, 505. Eggleston, 350, 351.

² Stephens, 843, 844.

It consisted of seven articles : (1) That the armies in the field should maintain their *status quo* until after forty-eight hours' notice ; (2) The Confederate armies to be disbanded and to deposit their arms in the "State" arsenals, and each officer and man to sign an agreement to cease from war and abide the action of both State and Federal authorities ; (3) The United States Executive to recognize the several State governments on their officers and legislatures taking the oath prescribed by the Federal constitution ; in case of conflicting State governments the Supreme Court to decide ; (4) The re-establishment of the Federal courts in each State ; (5) The people of each State to be guaranteed, as far as executive power could do so, their rights, political and civil, under the constitution and laws ; (6) The executive not to disturb any people by reason of the late war so long as they lived peaceably and obeyed existing laws ; (7) The war to cease, general amnesty, so far as the executive could command, and return to peaceful pursuits. Not being fully empowered in the premises, full powers to be sought and, if possible, obtained for carrying out the terms agreed on.¹

General Sherman, in consenting to this convention, considered himself as carrying out the wishes and policy of President Lincoln ; and it was undoubtedly in accord with the resolution of the United States House of Representatives, offered by Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, and sustained by John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, on the 22d day of July, 1861, and adopted by a vote of one hundred and seventeen ayes to two noes, which declared that "Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country ; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the *supremacy* of the constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired ; and that, as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease."²

But a deplorable change had come, under the influence of partisan rancor, and of the public rage following the assassination of President Lincoln. President Johnson and his cabinet refused to ratify the "Sherman-Johnston Convention" ; thereupon General Johnston surrendered his army on the same terms as those granted to General Lee.

¹ The memorandum of convention is given in full in Stephens' Comp. U. S., 833, 834.

² Amer. Encyclop., 1861, p. 224.

This was soon followed by the surrender of all the Confederate armies on nearly the same terms. The last surrender was made by Gen. E. Kirby Smith, in Texas, on the 26th of May.

The last actual collision of the hostile forces was at Palmetto Rancho, on the Rio Grande, in Texas. Here, on the 13th of May, a Federal cavalry force, under Colonel Barrett, was defeated by Confederate cavalry, under Gen. J. E. Slaughter, and vigorously pressed in a chase of fifteen miles.

Thus the important battles of 1865 were fifteen in number, of which the Federals gained nine, the Confederates five, and one was indecisive.

This enables us to sum up for the whole period of the war as follows: The whole number of important battles was two hundred and seven, of which the Confederates gained one hundred and twenty-seven; the Federals seventy-four, and six were drawn or indecisive.

During President Lincoln's administration two new States were added to the Union—viz., West Virginia, in 1863, and Nevada, on the 31st of October, 1864. But the act of erecting that part of Virginia called West Virginia into a State is open to very serious questions of constitutional and legal challenge. The constitution of the United States expressly forbids that any new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State without the consent of the legislature of the State concerned, as well as of the Congress.¹ The assumption that the legislature of Virginia ever gave consent to the erection of this new State within her jurisdiction depends for its support upon a series of fictions too thin and illusory ever to gain the credence of common sense. The only ground on which the new State could have any sound standing is the ground that *war* made her, and maintained her so long that what has been done cannot be undone. But time does not bar the claim of a sovereign. In the words of Henry A. Wise, West Virginia was brought into being by the "Cæsarion operation"; and yet both mother and child are alive and strong.

On the 4th of March, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as President for his second term. On the 15th of April, his life went out in blood. Five hundred thousand lives, from North and South, had gone out in blood during his term of service; and yet it would have been well, for North and South, that he had lived.

¹ U. S. Constitution, Art. IV., sec. 3, clause first.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE WAR, AND ANDREW JOHNSON'S PRESIDENCY.

IN order to the intelligent study of the phenomena attending the life of the United States during the presidency of Andrew Johnson, and the period that followed it, we must briefly review the facts which gave to the war its character and its results.

It lasted four years—a longer period than any European war has lasted since the overthrow of the empire under the first Napoleon. Neither section, when the war commenced, had any deliberate thought that the conflict of arms would be so prolonged. It was drawn out in length by influences, human, indeed, in their inception and progress, but Divine in their purpose and providential issue. The destruction of slavery was that purpose and issue.

We have seen enough in the facts to prove that the South was not overcome by the superior warlike qualities of the Northern people. Admitting, as we may, equality of native courage in the individuals of the two sections, yet it is certain that the Southern people had been made superior in *fighting* qualities by all the circumstances of their origin, birth, education and habits of thought and action. The Northern people were more settled in their pursuits of peace and material success. And this difference, though modified and diminished, continued throughout the war.

Neither was the result brought about by the mere fact that the North, in population, greatly outnumbered the South. Great Britain, in the Revolutionary War, outnumbered the colonies in much larger proportion; and yet that war was won by the colonies.

Had the war been brief, the South would have won her cause and her independence. God, in his overruling providence, caused the war to be prolonged. We can only look with human limitations upon the causes, for which men may be held liable as authors, and which made the war a long one.

On the side of the South it brought to the front a man who displayed the very highest genius for war—a genius not inferior to that of Napoleon I. himself, and yet not warped or stimulated

by his unscrupulous ambition. This man was Thomas Jonathan Jackson, generally known as "Stonewall Jackson," because of words applied to his brigade at the first battle of Manassas, where it stood "like a stone wall."

Prior to the war, although he had done well all that duty called for, his genius for war had not made itself conspicuous; but as the struggle went on, he became constantly more and more noted for strategic power. His campaign in the Valley of Virginia in the early part of 1862 was definitely superior to the Italian campaign of Napoleon in 1796—superior in the results won by being strongest in a critical encounter, in the rapidity of the movements, the lightning-like shock of the onset, the combination of concurring marches, the using of smaller numbers so as absolutely to bewilder and rout larger numbers, and the controlling genius which governed all and infused itself as a conquering force into all the minds of his army.

And this genius for war showed itself more and more up to the hour when he was shot from his horse by his own men. He was grand in the campaign against McClellan, in the decisive and crushing movements against Pope, in the concentrating marches to capture Harper's Ferry, in the opportune arrival on the field of Sharpsburg, in the desolating defeat of Burnside, and especially in the silent and magnificent flank march by which he gained the weak side of Hooker's army, routed Howard's corps, and filled the Federal host with the conviction that their defeat was inevitable.

He never left a post to be surrounded, to be starved into submission and captured with its garrison of thousands. He never made a rash attack on superior numbers behind intrenchments, to the destruction of his army. He retreated when it was needful, but even in retreat struck terrible blows upon his enemies. He proved himself equal to the efficient command of any numbers.

He was devout and God-fearing, and though he believed in the absolute sovereignty of God, believed also in the free-agency of man, the energetic use of human means, the contingency of second causes, and the efficacy of prayer. Even in the supreme moments when, on horseback, he was about to direct the forces of his army upon his chosen points of attack, his lips were often seen to move in silent prayer.

This great military genius believed in making the war "short, sharp and decisive"—in making it intensely aggressive on the part of the South. His views as to taking no prisoners and making

war in practice what it is in theory, viz., the destruction, by the most efficient means possible, of the fighting power of the enemy, were theoretical and speculative, rather than controlling;¹ for no commander ever was more humane to prisoners than he was. And all the light we have tends to produce the belief that, if the fighting elements of the Southern States had been rapidly organized and had been, early in the war, precipitated on the North in an aggressive campaign, the war would have been shorter in duration and different in result.

The South produced another great military genius, equal in all important respects to Jackson, but differing from him in some traits and tendencies. This was Robert Edward Lee, who was commander-in-chief of the Army of Northern Virginia from about the 30th of May, 1862, and finally commander-in-chief of all Southern forces. He, too, was profoundly devout and Christian in character. He was calm and self-possessed in all emergencies. He was capable of controlling and combining any numbers intrusted to him. His campaigns, and especially that of 1864, have placed him high among the highest in military fame. He was deeply revered and beloved by officers and men. He labored, during a large part of the war, under the disadvantage of commanding armies in which the men were frequently unsupplied with clothing, blankets, shoes and sufficient food, and of representing these facts again and again to the Confederate War Department without obtaining them, because of insuperable difficulties.² Yet he never lost the affection of his men, and it was never more pathetically exhibited than at the time of his surrender at Appomattox.

But General Lee had one trait of soul and character well known to those who knew him best, high and noble in itself, and yet exceedingly dangerous if impulsively exercised by a commander-in-chief. It was the quality of personal daring which was willing to face, and by impetus to overcome, military force opposing him. He was, at any time, ready to take upon himself personally any risk of wounding or death to which he required his men to subject themselves. In several of his most critical battles he declared his purpose to lead a charge of imminent peril, and nothing but the remonstrances of his officers and men, and their declarations that they would not move until he left the front, prevented these personal exposures, some one of which would, doubtless, have resulted in his death.

¹ Letter of Rev. Dr. R. L. Dabney, Professor of Philosophy, Univ. of Texas, and formerly on General Jackson's staff. Balto. Sun, copied in Richmond Dispatch, June 28th, 1889.

² Letters of General Lee, Dispatch, Richmond, Va., May 30th, 1890.

This readiness for the most perilous conflicts exhibited itself in the daring attacks he made upon the bristling lines of McClellan's army, when they held the intrenched brow of Malvern Hill. Notwithstanding the persistent artillery fire of the Confederates before they charged, their charges, though repeated again and again with desperate courage, were bloodily repulsed.

But the most momentous exercise of this trait in the character of this great commanding officer was at Gettysburg. This battle and the causes of the Confederate defeat therein have been a subject of labored discussion, North and South and in Europe, ever since it occurred. Several volumes and many hundred pages have been printed concerning it, and, unhappily, the discussions and statements have been, to a considerable extent, distorted and turned aside from the direct search for truth by military jealousies and partisan bitterness. It is the duty of the student to eliminate, as far as possible, these disturbing causes from his researches and, with a single eye, to look at ascertained facts and the fair inferences deducible from them.

When General Lee passed with his army into Pennsylvania it had not been his intention to deliver a general battle unless attacked;¹ especially an offensive battle, so far from his base of supplies and support, had not been contemplated by him;² but his cavalry, under General Stuart and his able subordinates, had been intrusted with a wide discretion, had fought several severe battles, had captured trains, and had become so scattered that no part of it was available at Gettysburg. Consequently, the opinion of an officer high in rank and reputation in the Southern army has been given in the following words: "The failure to crush the Federal army in Pennsylvania in 1863, in the opinion of almost all the officers of the Army of Northern Virginia, can be expressed in five words—*the absence of our cavalry*."³

Their absence might not have had an effect so grave as he ascribes to it; but it certainly operated to keep General Lee ignorant of the position and movements of the Federal army. The collision of the advanced corps of the two armies at Gettysburg was as nearly accidental as such an event could be. On the 3d of July, General Lee found his infantry and artillery force face to face with the whole Federal army, under General Meade.

That army was assuredly not less than ninety thousand in effective strength. On the 27th of June, General Hooker, still in command, had estimated his number of enlisted men at one

¹ General Lee's Report of Gettysburg Campaign, So. Hist. Soc. Papers, July, 1876, page 41.

² General Longstreet's Report, and Paper So. Hist. Soc., June, 1878, page 258.

³ General Henry Heth, *ibid.*, IV. 155.

hundred and five thousand. At least five thousand officers would be required for such a host; and recruits and additions had been made after Meade was put in command. Therefore, deducting all his heavy losses in killed, wounded and prisoners, in the two battles of July 1st and 2d, a very reasonable estimate of his efficient forces of all arms on the 3d of July would give him ninety thousand men. He probably had more.¹

This army was all in strong position, occupying the ridge known as Cemetery Hill, and other heights near Gettysburg. They had all worked diligently from the time of their arrival, and were thoroughly intrenched.²

To oppose them General Lee had, on the 3d of July, barely fifty-five thousand men, in infantry and artillery.³ He had no cavalry; but the heroic achievements of his army in the battle of Chancellorsville, and their manifest successes in the severe battles of July 1st and 2d, had excited in the mind of their commander a strong impression that the Federals could not successfully oppose them, and would be driven before them if a resolute attack was made. This impression, and the daring trait in his own character, determined him to deliver offensive battle.

On the morning of July 3d an informal military conference was held between General Lee and his lieutenants, Longstreet, Hill and Ewell. General Lee was in favor of an attack, after a heavy artillery fire, which, he hoped, would silence the enemy's guns and make breaches in their lines. Longstreet earnestly opposed a direct infantry attack, which, he thought, would be bloodily repulsed. He was in favor of a flank movement around Meade's position, which would compel him to leave that position and become the assailant himself. The result of the conference was that General Lee adhered to his purpose of attack, and gave orders therefor.

General Pickett's division of Longstreet's corps did not arrive and get into position for advance until twelve o'clock.⁴ Then the artillery fire from every part of the Confederate lines opened. One hundred and twenty guns poured out a ceaseless torrent of shot and shells aimed at the hostile positions. The Federal guns, in equal number, replied, and for hours a cannonade was kept up seldom equaled in modern warfare.

Longstreet anxiously watched its effects. He was well known as one of the most stubborn and effective fighting generals of the

¹ Compare General Hooker's Rep., June 27th, with General Early's estimates. So. Hist., IV. 242-250.

² Gen. Fitz Lee's letter. So. Hist., IV. 71-73.

³ General Early's estimates. So. Hist., IV. 244, 245.

⁴ Gen. E. P. Alexander's letter, So. Hist., IV. 103, 104.

Southern army. Two of his divisions, numbering about thirteen thousand, had, on the 2d of July, swept all before them, pierced the enemy's lines, and captured a part of the "Round Top," but, not being adequately supported, had resumed their lines.

But now he felt deep concern as to the result of a direct assault by his infantry. He sent a note to his chief of artillery to the effect that, if the cannon fire did not drive off the enemy or greatly demoralize him, so as to make the infantry attack effectual, Pickett should be advised not to make the charge. He was manifestly reluctant to order it.¹

But at about twenty minutes before two o'clock, the Federal cannon fire slackened. It has since been ascertained that this was not by reason of injuries or for want of ammunition, but to let their guns cool.² Yet, naturally enough, the Southern artillerists were elated; and Pickett had been impatiently waiting for the order to advance. He rather inferred it than received it from General Longstreet, who, in answer to his question as to advance, turned round in his saddle in silence.³ General Pickett waited no longer, but galloped off to lead his Virginians to the assault. Never was an advance more gallantly made. General Pettigrew's division aided in it, and the statements so frequently made that they faltered and gave way are untrue. Pettigrew, Fry and their men did all that men could do. Their right brigade was the directing one during the assault. Their colors reached the enemy's lines, and men and officers, from all their brigades, fell, killed or wounded, after passing within.⁴

As to this renowned assault, history has only to repeat what the world has long known, that it was one of the most resolute and undaunted ever made; that it was desperate from the beginning; that the Federal artillery reopened with frightful effect and rent the lines of the assailants as they advanced, but did not stop them; that when they came within musketry range the destruction grew larger; that Generals Armistead and Garnett were killed, and Generals Kemper, Trimble and Pettigrew severely wounded; that the intrenchments of the Federals were actually reached and captured, but that the continuous fire from cannon, muskets and rifles withered away this martyred band of assailants and compelled them to retreat down the hill. The Southern artillery, having nearly exhausted their ammunition, stopped their fire, so as to have some reserved in case the Federals should ad-

¹ Gen. Alexander's letter, 104-106.

² An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, p. 107.

³ Gen. Alexander, So. Hist., IV. 107.

⁴ Letters of Gen. D. H. Maury and Gen. B. D. Fry, So. Hist., VII. 91-93.

vance; but, content with having repulsed such an assault, they did not advance.

A few days after this battle, General Lee, with a sincere magnanimity which never was absent from his soul, authorized a brief statement which appeared in the newspapers of Richmond, taking upon himself any blame which might be visited on the conduct of this battle.

The attempt has since been made to vindicate his plan by insisting that delays and want of co-operative movements caused its failure; but these attempts are vain. He never intended that the assaulting movements should be commenced until the artillery fire was thought to have prepared the way; and they commenced immediately thereafter. And if a *simultaneous* assaulting movement had been made by all his infantry divisions, the result would, according to all human probability, have been even more disastrous. Fifty thousand infantry could not expect to defeat eighty thousand, defending their own soil, in strong intrenchments, and with most effective artillery and abundance of ammunition.

The error at Gettysburg was a repetition, on a large scale, of the error of Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, of Lincoln and D'Esteraigne at Savannah, of Sir Edward Packenham at New Orleans, and of Burnside at Fredericksburg.

Though he did not lose his self-possession and courage, General Lee was deeply moved by the disaster of Gettysburg. He said to General Wilcox, when he came up with his bleeding and shattered division: "All this has been my fault; it is I who have lost this battle."¹ He said to his brother, Sidney Smith Lee, of the navy,² that he had been controlled too far by the great confidence felt in the splendid fighting qualities of his soldiers, who begged simply "to be turned loose," and by the assurances of most of his higher officers, who believed the position in his front could be carried. He wrote a letter to General Longstreet in January, 1864, in which he said: "Had I taken your advice at Gettysburg, instead of pursuing the course I did, how different all things might have been."³

And after his retreat from Pennsylvania back to his lines in Orange, Virginia, General Lee was so much moved by his meditations on this Gettysburg failure, and what he supposed was its effect on public opinion in the Southern States and in his army, that he wrote a letter to President Davis, dated August 8th, 1863,

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 777.

² Letter of Gen. Fitz Lee. So. Hist., IV. 73.

³ Letter of General Longstreet. New Orleans Repub., 27th February, 1876. Review by General Early. So. Hist., V. 272, 273.

proposing to him the propriety of selecting another commander for the army.¹ His letter is noble, and simply pathetic in its deep tone of sadness. He says: "The general remedy for the want of success in a military commander is his removal. This is natural, and, in many instances, proper; for, no matter what may be the ability of the officer, if he loses the confidence of his troops disaster must sooner or later ensue." He says also: "I have no complaints to make of any one but myself. I have received nothing but kindness from those above me, and the most considerate attention from my comrades and companions in arms."

To this letter President Davis replied on the 11th of August, gently and courteously encouraging his friend and companion in service to take a brighter view, and very appropriately asking how he could possibly name an adequate successor, if General Lee's suggestion should be complied with. This question was insoluble. No such officer could have been found. General Lee retained the command, and every campaign, battle and movement of his army thereafter confirmed and increased his reputation. The statement, made since the war ended, that General Lee's orders at Gettysburg, and their result, led to permanent estrangement of the chivalrous Pickett against General Lee, is untrue.²

On the day succeeding the battle of Gettysburg—viz., the 4th day of July, 1863—another crushing misfortune came to the Confederates, caused, in large measure, by the error of the Southern authorities. This was the necessary surrender of Vicksburg, by Gen. J. C. Pemberton, to Gen. U. S. Grant, with thirty-seven thousand prisoners of war, and arms and munitions of war sufficient for sixty thousand men.³ The prisoners were, indeed, paroled, but were lost to the Southern cause. The surrender of Port Hudson followed on the 9th of July, with seven thousand prisoners, fifty-one pieces of artillery, two steamers, five thousand small arms, and one hundred and fifty thousand rounds of ammunition.⁴

All these men, and a large part of the military stores, might have been saved to the South by orders to Pemberton and Gardner to evacuate Vicksburg and Port Hudson in time. They repelled all assaults, but were starved into submission.

Ulysses S. Grant was the finally successful soldier of this gigantic and long-enduring war. His genius was that of determined, unyielding, indomitable perseverance against all obstacles and all

¹ General Lee's letter, *Scribner's Monthly*. C. C. Jones, Jr., *So. Hist.*, II, 53, 54.

² Compare statement of Col. Robert Stribling with article in *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. Dispatch, Richmond, Va., June 5th, 1891.

³ General Grant's official statement, *Am. Amer. Encyclop.*, 1863, p. 65.

⁴ *Am. Amer. Encyclop.*, 1863, p. 75.

defeats. He would not have been a success under any conditions lower than an unlimited supply of men, money and munitions.

The disparity of numbers of the contending sides is a very impressive element in the contest, especially in its effects upon the prolongation of the war and its final result. We have already seen something of this inequality in the actual battles, in which, in many cases, nothing less than the higher strategy of their generals and the superior fighting of their men could have brought the successes which attended the Southern arms.

At the beginning of the war the Federals had a population of twenty-two million upon which to draw for soldiers; the Confederates had less than ten million, and of these nearly four million were slaves, and were, of course, unavailable as soldiers.¹ The war records of the North show that, from first to last, she had not less than two million six hundred thousand men in military service; the South never had over six hundred thousand in all. The North availed herself freely of all practicable means of raising men—at first by calling on volunteers, who came readily and in great numbers in the early stages of the war; afterwards by the draft, and finally by secretly engaging great numbers of foreigners in Europe, who were attracted by high bounties and promises of public lands and pensions.

The draft was not borne by the Northern people without impatience, and, at last, bloody resistance. During General Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, and immediately afterwards, the opposition reached its climax. Hardly any troops were left in New York city, and on the 13th of July, the wheel having been set in motion two days previously, and numbers of poor working-men drawn, they and their comrades organized resistance, and collected in threatening numbers in the neighborhood of the draft office, at the corner of Third avenue and Forty-sixth street. Presently a huge paving-stone crashed through the window, quickly followed by others. The drafting officers retired to the upper rooms; the mob seized the building, dashed the furniture to pieces, and wreaked special fury on the ballot-boxes used in the draft.²

The mob boldly assaulted the marshal and his attendants. Lieutenant Vanderpoel was badly beaten, and was carried home insensible. The assailants poured camphene over the lower floors and wood work and set fire to the buildings. The families above, with difficulty, escaped. That part of the city was soon in flames. The fire department came, but, for a time, the mob prevented them from spreading their hose and obtaining water.

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 837.

² Art. Riots in New York, etc., An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, pp. 811-815.

Meanwhile the resistants of the draft continually increased in numbers. They used violence on all who opposed them. While the up-town rioters were delighting themselves with the destruction of a brownstone block in Lexington avenue, a body of about fifty marines, from the navy-yard, came upon them with muskets loaded with blank cartridges. They fired a volley, which was, of course, harmless. Instantly the men of the mob, sober and quiet, but malignant and fearful in their aspect, and the women, singing, shouting, dancing, and cheering on their husbands, brothers and friends, made a furious charge through the smoke, broke the slender line of the marines, hurled them down, seized their muskets, beat them with sticks, stabbed at them with short pieces of telegraph wire, killed several and routed all.¹

From this time the mob, not content with resistance, made open war. Their attacks were chiefly on the negroes dwelling in the city. They attacked the "Colored Half Orphan Asylum," on Fifth avenue between Forty-third and Forty-fourth streets, and kicked, beat and threw into the streets the hundreds of helpless colored children there. They then "looted" the building and set it on fire. In all these destructive riots the white working people, poor people, natives, Germans, Irish, foreigners and their wives, showed special and malignant hatred to the negroes of all hues, because they regarded the African race as the cause of the war. These facts furnished a sad commentary on the fanatic movements of the extreme abolitionists.²

For three days the city was under the power of mobs. The Roman church tried her influence on her adherents through an address of Archbishop Hughes; but that which wrought most effect was the suspension of the draft by the Federal authorities and the passing of a city ordinance to pay the commutation of three hundred dollars in the case of poor laboring men, so as to exempt them from military service. Quiet was gradually restored, but not until a thousand persons had been killed or wounded and property valued at one million five hundred thousand dollars had been destroyed.³

Notwithstanding these and other ominous movements in Boston, Portsmouth, and Holmes county, Ohio, President Lincoln continued to call for troops. The enormous losses of 1863 caused him to send forth four calls in 1864, viz.: February 1st, for two hundred thousand more men; March 14th, for two hundred thou-

¹ An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, p. 812.

² An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, pp. 813-815. Barnes, 252, note. Prof. Johnston, 236. Quækembos, 487.

³ Gov. Seymour's estimate, An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, p. 816.

sand ; July 18th, for five hundred thousand, and December 20th, for three hundred thousand. Without the stubborn resolution of Lincoln and Grant the South could not have been subdued. Thus was the war prolonged for the destruction of slavery.

The questions as to "prisoners of war" were among the most distressing and torturing of this unhappy contest. In all wars of modern times such questions have been specially gloomy, but in none more so than in this war between the States of North America.

Unfortunately, the Federal authorities, early in the war, attempted to stand on the untenable basis that the Confederates were not "belligerents," and, therefore, not entitled to the laws of nations as to the treatment of prisoners ; but England and France, though never willing to recognize the Confederate States as an independent nation and to intervene for the stoppage of the war, were prompt to recognize them as "belligerents," and all the civilized nations of the Old World adopted this view. And the Federal generals, McClellan and others, were liberal and humane in treating and exchanging prisoners : but it was not until after the "seven-days' battles" around Richmond, when the number of prisoners held by the Confederates greatly exceeded that held by the Federals, that a regular "cartel" for the exchange of prisoners was agreed on.¹

For some time this was fairly acted on, and made the war less cruel ; but gradually causes arose which interrupted these regular exchanges. The result was that many thousands of prisoners who ought to have been exchanged or paroled under the generous terms of the cartel were detained in prison camps on each side, and suffered with all the discomforts, maladies and privations incident to such places of confinement.

To detail all these causes of interruption would require a volume ; but some of them must be mentioned, as they call for thought and study in their action and reaction on the conduct of the belligerents. The subject of slavery always held close relation to them.

The first cause of interruption came from an order issued by Edwin M. Stanton, the Federal Secretary of War, whose course during the whole contest and after its close was conspicuous in harshness and partisanship. On the very day the cartel was signed, July 22d, 1862, he issued a general order authorizing Federal commanding officers in Virginia and elsewhere to seize and

¹ It was signed July 22d, 1862, by Major-Generals John A. Dix, of the Federal, and D. H. Hill, of the Confederate army. See Cartel in full in *Am. Amer. Encyclop.*, 1862, pp. 713, 714.

use private property, real or personal, for military purposes, and to employ, at reasonable wages, persons of African descent when needed, keeping accounts, however, "as a basis upon which compensation can be made in proper cases."¹

The Federal General Pope was prompt to avail himself of this order, and to pervert and go beyond it. His conduct of the war was so cruel and oppressive that the Confederate government issued an order directing that Pope, Steinwehr, his brigadier, and all commissioned officers serving under their commands should be excluded from the benefit of the cartel, and should not be entitled to parole or exchange, and that severe retaliation should follow any of their threatened outrages.²

Fortunately for honorable war, Pope and his army were so soon met, defeated and driven out of Virginia that little occasion arose for these stern measures.

But numbers of negro slaves were received into the United States armies and were employed as teamsters, wood-cutters, and in other occupations not in regular military line. No serious question of parole or exchange arose as to them until after the noted proclamations of President Lincoln as to slavery.³

In all his public expressions early in the war he had declared that the Federal government had no constitutional power or intention to destroy slavery, nor to impair the rights of slave-owners in the States in which the institution existed.

But the defeat of McClellan, the signal overthrow of Pope, the advance of Lee's army into Maryland, and the capture of Harper's Ferry by Jackson had greatly excited and alarmed President Lincoln. He had for some time contemplated the necessity for a contingent proclamation of freedom to the slaves of the South, dependent on her submitting and returning to the Union. He wrote this proclamation in July, 1862, in the midst of Federal military reverses. Disaster followed disaster, until the battle of Sharpsburg, or the Antietam, was pending. President Lincoln's words were: "I made a solemn vow before God, that if General Lee was driven back from Maryland I would crown the result by the declaration of freedom to the slaves."⁴

But some time prior to this event the strange, rough wisdom, foresight and just intentions of this remarkable man had shown themselves in his policy as to slavery. So far as we can judge, if his policy could have been carried out, the fate of the whole

¹ An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, p. 715.

² Confed. Gen. Order 51, Aug. 1, 1862. An. Amer. Encyclop., p. 716.

³ An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, pp. 760, 761.

⁴ Prof. Steele, Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note from Carpenter, 242, 243. Eggleston's Household U. S., 325.

country, including the South, would have been brighter and happier than it has been.

As early as March 6th, 1862, he addressed a message to the Federal Congress advising the adoption of a joint resolution as follows:¹ “*Resolved*, That the United States, in order to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolition of slavery, give to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State, in its discretion, to compensate it for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system.”

He did not expect the extreme Southern States to be at once influenced by this overture; but he hoped that the border slave States would be, and that, by adopting a system of gradual emancipation, they would deprive the cotton and sugar States of all hope of final separation from the Union. In the same message he said: “In my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all.”²

The Congress adopted, in substance, his proposed joint resolution by large majorities in both Houses. He manifested his caution and moderation by issuing a proclamation, dated 19th of May, 1862, signed by himself and countersigned by William H. Seward, Secretary of State, annulling and declaring void an arrogant and unauthorized order (under the style of General Order No. 11, May 9th, 1862), sent out from Hilton Head, South Carolina, by Major-General David Hunter, of the Federal Southern Military Department, whereby that vain and malignant officer declared all the slaves in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina to be forever free.³

President Lincoln requested the members of Congress from Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia (being all the border region holding slaves still represented in Congress, to confer with him, and earnestly urged on them his policy of gradual emancipation, with money compensation, as wise, and as the best means of putting an end to the war and restoring the Union; but they respectfully submitted to him a long communication, declining to concur with him, urging the immense money value of the slaves, and saying to the President: “Confine yourself to your constitutional authority; confine your subordinates within the same limits; conduct this war solely for the purpose of restoring the constitution to its legitimate authority; concede to each State and its loyal citizens their just rights, and we are wedded to you by indissoluble ties.”⁴

¹ Message in An. Amer. Encyclop., 1862, p. 720.

² *Ibid.*, 1862, p. 720.

³ Order of Hunter and President's Proc. An. Amer. Encyclop., p. 720.

⁴ Reply of Representatives, July 14, 1862. Amer. Encyclop., pp. 722-724.

Thus even the congressmen who adhered to the Federal side failed to see the inevitable tendency of the war, if prolonged, to destroy slavery, and failed to lead in the wise measures suggested by President Lincoln. He was left to his own convictions of duty.

He believed that, as a war measure—a means of strengthening the military power of the United States and weakening that of the Confederate States—the executive department of the government had power and authority to free the slaves in the region controlled by their armies and make soldiers of them; but he proceeded provisionally and with deliberation to this important step.

When the tidings reached him at the “Soldiers’ Home,” near Washington, that McClellan had held his ground, and that Lee was retiring across the Potomac, he brought into the city the completed draft of his proclamation, and submitted it to his cabinet. It was approved and issued. It bore date September 22d, 1862.¹

After stating his purpose again to urge at the next meeting of Congress his policy of gradual emancipation and compensation, and stating the continuance of the war, he proclaimed that, on the 1st of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State continuing in open war against the United States, should be thenceforward and forever free; and that the executive government, including the military and naval authorities, would recognize their freedom, and do no act to repress such persons or any of them in any efforts they might make for their actual freedom. Another proclamation would be made 1st January, 1863, designating such States and parts of States, if any, as might then be “in rebellion” against the United States.

The second proclamation followed accordingly on January 1st, 1863, designating Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, excepting, however, all of the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and excepting designated parts of Virginia and parishes in Louisiana.²

The first proclamation made very little impression on the Southern people, as it seemed to most of them merely an empty menace to do what the executive department of the Federal government had no rightful authority to do under the constitution. But it would have been wise in them to have borne in mind that war—and especially such a war—had enlarged the powers and authority

¹ Proclamation of Pres. Lincoln. *Am. Amer. Encey.*, 1862, pp. 725, 726. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 736, 737.

of the executive to an extent never defined, because the circumstances were unprecedented.

That the Southern people had treated their slaves kindly and humanely, so as to produce among the families of whites and slaves a genial love and confidence, is absolutely demonstrated by the fact that, though nearly all the white males able to bear arms went into the war, the slaves remained quietly on the farms and plantations that were unvisited by the armies, worked faithfully, made their crops and served the white women and children with their accustomed affection.¹ No attempt at bloody insurrection among them was ever known.

But they were *slaves*, and, therefore, when the opportunity to acquire the doubtful blessing of freedom came, most of them were ready to take advantage of it. Nothing else could have been expected; and the failure of the people of the South to avail themselves of the overtures for gradual emancipation, accompanied by pecuniary compensation, made by President Lincoln, must be reckoned as one of the gravest errors of judgment committed by them and their leaders.

When the proclamation of January 1st, 1863, came, declaring actual freedom to the slaves, it was soon felt in the South that it was not merely *brutum fulmen*, empty and harmless thunder. It was a potent war measure. Tens of thousands of slaves in the regions of the South occupied by the Federal armies fled from the farms and plantations. All the males, suited to garrison or field service, were speedily enlisted in the Federal armies.

Then President Davis and his cabinet and the Confederate Congress, for the first time, seemed to awake to the subject. They had had time enough to consider the matter in all its aspects; and yet their action concerning it was the weakest and least tenable, in the light of international law, that could have been taken.

The laws of nations make no discriminations against men because of their color or lineal descent; neither do those laws foster or even recognize slavery, which is purely the result of local usage and law, and has no foundation in natural right, and, therefore, none in international law.²

When the Confederate States took their stand as an independent political power, they had grave cause to believe that war was inevitable, and they prepared for it. They ought to have remembered that in their population were at least half a million of men

¹ See the able address of Isaiah T. Montgomery, a colored member of the Mississippi State Convention of 1890. *Richmond Dispatch*, October 10, 1890.

² Vattel's *Laws of Nations*, LV., LVI. 356. *Am. Amer. Encyclop.*, 1863, p. 762.

who would aid the enemy if the opportunity presented itself. Such was the inherent weakness of slavery.

In his message to the Confederate Congress of January 14th, 1863, President Davis, after commenting on Lincoln's emancipation proclamation of January 1st, 1863, and its effect and tendency, said: "So far as regards the action of the government on such criminals as may attempt its execution, I confine myself to informing you that I shall, unless in your wisdom you deem some other course more expedient, deliver to the several State authorities all commissioned officers of the United States that may hereafter be captured by our forces in any of the States embraced in the proclamation, that they may be dealt with in accordance with the laws of those States providing for the punishment of criminals engaged in exciting servile insurrection."¹

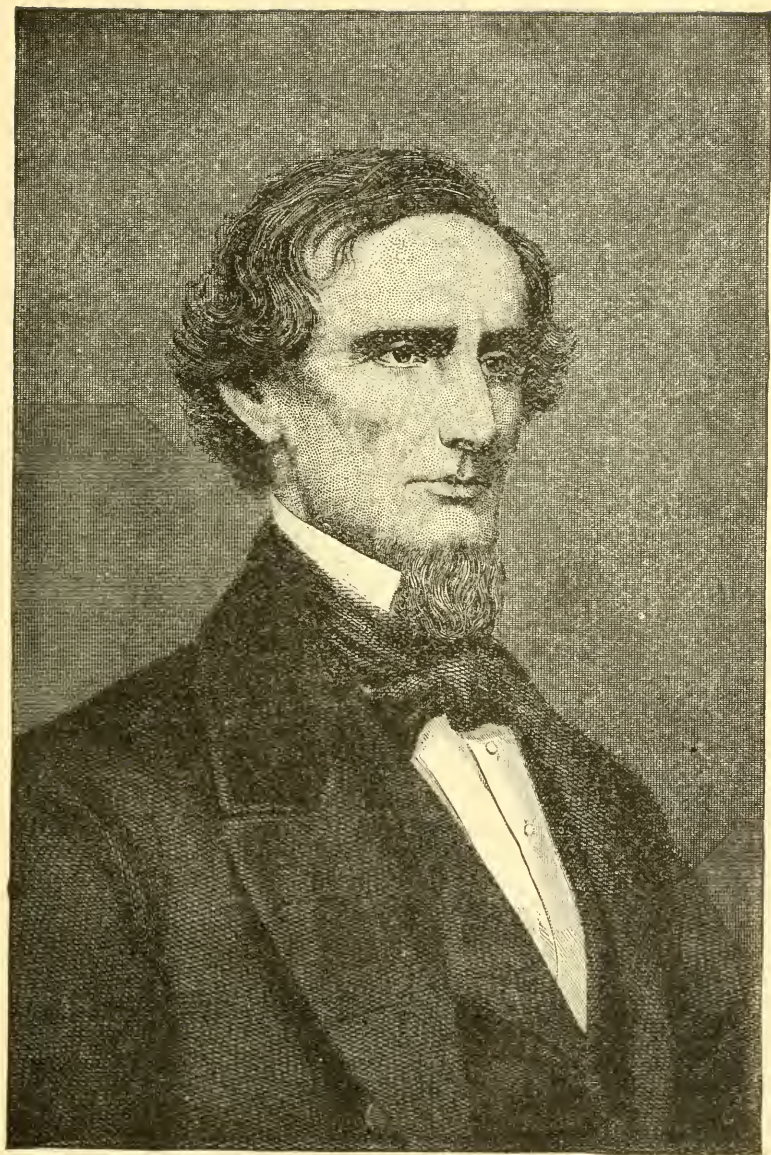
When this part of the message came up for consideration in the Confederate Congress, it was soon apparent that unanimity of opinion and sentiment did not prevail. William Lowndes Yancey, a native of Columbia, South Carolina, but a resident of and senator from Alabama, had been well known as a warm advocate of secession and of Southern independence; but early in the struggle he had been sent by the Confederate States as commissioner to seek recognition of their independence from the sovereignties of Europe. He went in March, 1861, and returned in February, 1862, by way of Nassau and Tampa Bay, cautiously evading the Federal blockade. He had been wholly unsuccessful in the object of his mission; but he had learned something of the view of slavery taken by international law and by the most enlightened modern nations. He had already delivered a speech in New Orleans and one in Montgomery, discouraging any hope of recognition, and saying that "the nations of Europe were radically hostile to slavery."²

And when President Davis' message of January 14th, 1863, came up for consideration in the Senate. Mr. Yancey uttered some truths, which, however unpalatable to perverted tastes, might at least have saved the Southern authorities from adopting injurious errors.

He showed, by unanswerable argument, that neither commissioned officers nor soldiers of the United States army could be held liable for their acts as such under State laws. They were public enemies, and liable only according to international law applicable to war. He showed also that the United States were

¹ Pres. Davis' Message, ext., *Am. Amer. Encyclop.*, 1863, p. 760.

² Art. Yancey, *Amer. Encyclop.*, XVI. 596.



Jeffrey Davis

not violating the law of nations in setting the slaves free and adding them to their armies.¹ If war be a recognized right and power of nations, then it is the right of one belligerent to free any class of men in the enemy's country not enjoying freedom, and to add them to their armies. "A public enemy may stir up insurrection or do any similar act to weaken the power of his foe, without violating the law of nations or military law."²

The Confederate Congress were somewhat moved by his arguments. They refused to adopt President Davis' policy; but they passed resolutions inaugurating a policy even more objectionable, more adverse to the spirit of the laws of nations, and more injurious to the Southern cause in its effects. They declared that the proclamation of President Lincoln and measures under it tending to emancipate slaves in the South and to incite them to insurrection or employ them in war, might properly and lawfully be repressed by retaliation; that every white person being a commissioned officer, or acting as such, who, during the war, should command negroes or mulattoes in arms against the Confederate States, or who should arm, train, organize, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service against those states, or should voluntarily aid negroes or mulattoes in any military enterprise, attack, or conflict in such service, or should excite, or attempt to excite, servile insurrection, should, if captured, be tried by court-martial and put to death, or otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court. They gave the President full powers of commutation and retaliation.³ Negroes or mulattoes captured were to be turned over to the State authorities.

The policy thus inaugurated was not to lie dormant. In July, 1863, an assault on Fort Wagner, in the harbor of Charleston, was bloodily repulsed by the Confederates, and a considerable number of negroes of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts (colored) regiment were captured.

The Northern War Department adopted General Order No. 100. It says:

"57. So soon as a man is armed by a sovereign government, and takes the soldier's oath of fidelity, he is a belligerent; his killing, wounding or other warlike acts are not individual crimes or offences. No belligerent has a right to declare that enemies of a certain class, color or condition, when properly organized as soldiers, will not be treated by him as public enemies.

"58. The law of nations knows no distinction of color, and if an enemy of the United States should enslave or sell any captured

¹ Debate. An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, pp. 226, 227. ² *Ibid.*, p. 227. Mr. Yancey's argument.

³ Joint Resolutions Confed. Cong. An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, p. 227.

persons of their army, it would be a case for the severest retaliation, if not redressed upon complaint. The United States cannot retaliate by enslavement; therefore, death must be the retaliation for this crime against the law of nations."¹

President Lincoln softened the menace of this order by signing an order from the Federal War Department, July 30th, providing that for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a "rebel" soldier should be executed, and for every soldier enslaved by the enemy, or sold into slavery, a "rebel" soldier should be placed at hard labor on the public works, and continued at such labor until the other should be released and receive the treatment due a prisoner of war.²

Meanwhile, a deplorable result came to the unhappy prisoners of war on both sides. The Confederate authorities refused to recognize either the white officers, leading negroes, or colored troops of the enemy, as entitled to the terms of the "cartel." Exchanges stopped, except in very special cases. The prison-camps on both sides became more and more crowded. Sadness, suffering, disease and broken hearts multiplied daily. But, as the cartel expressly provided that no misunderstanding should interrupt the release of prisoners, the Confederates were at all times ready and willing to continue such release in cases free from doubt.

Other causes of interruption succeeded. After Gettysburg, when General Lee was preparing to retire across the Potomac, he held several thousand Federal prisoners. He did not desire to send them to the Southern prison-camps, which were already crowded, and were pressed by want of provisions and a scant supply of medicines. He could not make special agreement with the Federal commander, as contemplated by the "cartel." He therefore paroled these prisoners and released them.

Immediately, General Meade, upon the somewhat flimsy and narrow technicality that these prisoners had not been sent either to Aiken's Landing, on James river, or to Vicksburg (points named in the cartel), and upon the false pretence that General Lee had not "reduced to possession" these prisoners, and was not able to carry them with him, refused to recognize their paroles, and ordered them to duty in his army.³

This course was made an instant subject of protest and complaint by the Confederate authorities. In just compensation, Col. Robert Ould, the Southern Commissioner of Exchange, de-

¹ Extracts from General Order No. 100. An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, p. 762.

² Order, July 30th. An. Amer. Encyclop., p. 762.

³ Annual Amer. Encyclop., 1863, pp. 761, 762.

clared the men surrendered at Port Hudson and sent to Mobile under parole to be released from their paroles and liable to duty.¹

Many sharp letters and military communications passed between the respective exchange officers on this and similar subjects, in which Colonel Ould sustained his views with signal ability; but all this did not either promote or hasten general exchanges under the cartel.

In 1864 and 1865 the cause which, beyond all other causes, prevented exchanges, was the policy of General Grant, who, despairing of direct victory, adopted the plan of wearing out the Confederate strength by constant attrition and abrasion by superior numbers. He did not intend that a single man able to bear arms should be returned to the Confederate ranks by exchange. He knew he could constantly supply his own losses of men, enormous as they were, and knew the Southern armies had no further source of supply.

As early as April, 1864, Grant forbade Gen. B. F. Butler "to deliver to the rebels a single able-bodied man."² So anxious were the Southern authorities to make exchange of prisoners that in August, 1864, Colonel Ould, the commissioner, consented to a proposition which had been repeatedly made, to exchange officer for officer and man for man, leaving the surplus in captivity. This was a departure from the liberal spirit and terms of the cartel, but, rather than have no exchanges, the Confederate commissioner consented to it; but when Colonel Ould made known his consent to General Butler, as that officer afterwards definitely acknowledged, he wrote a reply "not diplomatically, but obtrusively and demonstratively, *not for the purpose of furthering exchange* of prisoners, but for the purpose of preventing and stopping the exchange, and furnishing a ground on which we could fairly stand."³ And on the 18th of August, 1864, Grant wrote to Butler a letter objecting, in strong terms, to any exchange of prisoners.⁴

This whole subject of treatment of "prisoners of war" has been exhaustively examined and discussed since the termination of the conflict. The result has been the complete vindication of the South from every charge of cruelty, ill usage and neglect. The burden of all the sufferings, groans and deaths in the prison-camps, North and South, rests upon the conduct of the war by the Federal government, which treated even medicines and surgi-

¹ Annual Amer. Encyclop., p. 762.

² Words of Gen. Benj. F. Butler, quoted in Rep. on Treatment of Prisoners of War to Cong. Cong., So. Hist., I. 147.

³ Report, So. Hist., I. 147.

⁴ Letter, Aug. 18, 1864, in Richmond Dispatch, June 6, 1890.

cal instruments as contraband of war, and refused to let them pass the lines; which refused to act on the liberal provisions of the cartel, and finally stopped all exchanges, for the purpose of exhausting the South.

The South is further vindicated by ascertained facts. During the war the Confederates captured, in round numbers, two hundred and seventy thousand Federal prisoners. The Federals captured two hundred and twenty thousand Confederates. Of the two hundred and seventy thousand Federal prisoners, twenty-two thousand five hundred and seventy-six died in the hands of the Confederates. Of the two hundred and twenty thousand Confederate prisoners, not less than twenty-six thousand four hundred and thirty-six died in the hands of the Federals.¹ Thus the numbers exhibit a large percentage of evidence in favor of greater humanity and greater exercise of surgical and medical skill on the Southern side.

But the people of the North had been wrought up to artificial excitement and passion on this subject by many agencies, chiefly the sensational reports and photographs of so-called sanitary committees. They clamored for a victim; and after the surrenders of the Southern armies one was found. He was Major Henry Wirz, of Swiss descent, who had been the commandant of the prison-camp at Andersonville, South Carolina.

After the assassination of Lincoln, Major Wirz was brought to trial before a court-martial in Washington city. The trial lasted three months. More than one hundred and sixty witnesses were introduced before the military commission; but there was one witness who was *not* introduced. This was Col. Robert Ould, the Southern Commissioner of Exchange. He was a material witness for Wirz, and by request of the accused was regularly summoned to appear and testify. He attended accordingly. His testimony, if heard and weighed, would have been very important to the accused; but, without request or consent of Wirz or his counsel, the *Judge-Advocate* revoked the subpoena by which Colonel Ould had been summoned, and dismissed him from attendance!² Thus the prosecuting powers deliberately suppressed material testimony for a man tried for his life! No valid precedent for this can be found.

The Federal prosecutors strove earnestly in this trial to find some evidence which would involve President Davis in a charge of complicity in the cruelties said to have been perpetrated at

¹ Reports of Surgeon-Gen. U. S. A. and of Edwin M. Stanton, U. S. Sec. of War. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 837.

² Col. Ould's statement, So. Hist. Papers, I. 212, 213.

Andersonville; but in vain. Not a shadow of suspicion was shown against him.

Wirz was condemned to die. On the night before his execution persons, whose names have not been divulged, came to his confessor, Rev. Father Boyle, and to his counsel, Mr. Schade, and informed each of them that a high cabinet officer wished to assure Wirz that his sentence would be commuted if he would implicate Jefferson Davis. The next morning Father Boyle and Mr. Schade saw Wirz, and he was told of this communication. He simply and quietly replied: "Mr. Schade, you know that I have always told you that I do not know anything about Jefferson Davis. He had no connection with me as to what was done at Andersonville. I would not become a traitor against him or anybody else, even to save my life."¹

Thus, with truth and firmness, Henry Wirz met his fate. All the known facts justify the belief that his execution was a murder, committed under the forms of a military trial, in a period of great excitement, and as an offering to appease intense and morbid popular feeling. Such cases have not been unknown in history. That of the British Admiral Byng, though entirely unlike in the charge and the facts, was similar in the spirit prompting it; but, in Admiral Byng's case, no witness important to the defence was dismissed by the prosecution without being heard!

A military commission was also constituted to try the alleged accomplices of Booth. Their investigations were prompt, and, according to their sentence, Harrold, Payne, Atzerott and Mrs. Surratt were hanged; Arnold, Mudd and O'Laughlin were imprisoned for life, and Spangler was sentenced for six years.² One of the Surratt family, supposed to be guilty as accessory, escaped in time to a foreign country, and, though heard of, was never arrested and brought to trial.

Before the death of President Lincoln he considered the war as so effectually ended that preparations to disband the armies were in progress. The armies of Grant and Sherman, two hundred thousand strong, passed in review before Lincoln and his cabinet. For twelve hours this grand procession of soldiers of all arms, thirty miles long, and with the infantry massed in solid column twenty men deep, poured through Pennsylvania avenue in Washington city. The violent death of the President did not interrupt the preparations for disbandment, and in less than six months a million of men had returned their arms to public ar-

¹ Hon. Ben Hill's statement, So. Hist. Papers, I. 219, Dr. Winder's paper, 220, 221.

² Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 276. Thalheimer, 314. Goodrich, 469.

senals, and quietly retired to the pursuits of private life.¹ Had the civilians of the country exhibited like spirit, peace and prosperity would have sooner come.

The proclamation of President Lincoln of January 1st, 1863, had wrought an important result; but it had not destroyed slavery, even in his own opinion. It is worthy of note that in the "Hampton Roads Conference," of which we have already spoken, the subject of emancipating those who still remained slaves was freely discussed, and both President Lincoln and Secretary Seward expressed a willingness to use all their executive power and influence, and all their persuasive power over the Federal Congress, to effect a closing of the war on the terms that the seceded States should return to the Union, and that the slaves should be freed and paid for out of the public treasury, at least to the amount of four hundred millions of dollars, which sum was considered as about the extra expense needed to force a termination by arms;² but no terms were agreed on.

Early in 1865 the United States Congress, by a vote of more than two-thirds of both Houses, proposed an amendment to the constitution, to the effect that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction. This was assented to by more than three-fourths of the States then in the Union, and is now Article XIII. of the amendments to the constitution. It has been since assented to by all the reconstructed States, and is a part of the supreme law of the land.

President Andrew Johnson's view of the constitution and of the American system led him to adopt the opinion that the seceded States had never been constitutionally, nor actually, legally out of the Union. He considered that in each State, notwithstanding the general prevalence of rebellion (as he held it to be) among the people, there had always been a *scintilla* or remnant of loyalty to the United States constitution and Union, and that this had been enough to keep the State alive as a member of the Union.

As a logical consequence, he put forth a proclamation of amnesty on the 29th of May, 1865, pardoning all the so-called "rebels" except certain designated classes, who were to make special prayer and have pardon accordingly if he deemed it expedient to grant it. It is a curious illustration of the incoherency of his theories that among the excepted classes were to be all

¹ Prof. Steele, Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 281, 282. Goodrich, 469.

² Hampton Roads Conference, App. R, Stephens' Comp. U. S., 1008, 1011.

persons in the South who were worth as much as twenty thousand dollars. Why they should be deemed worse rebels than those who were worth only two thousand or two hundred dollars he never explained; but the exception brought quite a harvest of gain to a class of men who were already in the South, or flocking from the North to the South, and who were afterwards deservedly infamous under the titles of "scalawags" and "carpet-baggers." At first they professed to be only "pardon-brokers" and peace-makers. They abounded most during the four years of Johnson's presidency, but were afterwards gradually sloughed off as morbid impurities by the return of health and strength to the reconstructed system.

Carrying out his ideas, President Johnson, as commander-in-chief of the armies, appointed a provisional governor for North Carolina, and provided for calling a convention in that State, the members of which were to be chosen by voters qualified as required before the war began. They were to adopt a new constitution, to repeal the Act of Secession, to assent to Article XIII. (destroying slavery), and to repudiate all obligations to pay Confederate bonds and notes. On her doing all this, North Carolina was to be considered as in the Union, and entitled to all its privileges.¹

He also pursued the same course towards the States of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas.

Each one of these States acted according to the course indicated, and each *seemed* to be thus quietly restored to the Union. At the instance of the President, General Grant made a tour through the Southern States, setting out on the 27th of November, 1865, and passing through Raleigh, Charleston, Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah and other Southern cities. On his return he made a report, in which he said: "I am satisfied that the mass of thinking people of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have hitherto divided the sentiments of the people of the two sections—slavery and State-rights, or the right of a State to secede from the Union—they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal—arms—that men can resort to."²

President Johnson was so well satisfied with the results of his policy that on Christmas day, the 25th of December, 1868, he issued a proclamation of universal amnesty—a pardon to all.³

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 840.

² Ext. from Gen. Grant's report.

Stephens' Comp. U. S., 840.

³ Prof. Steele, Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 282.

But the mutterings of the storm of opposition began even in the congressional session of 1865-'66. It was not to be expected that the Southern States could come safely into the Union on a theory which made the great mass of their people "rebels" and "traitors." They were neither rebels nor traitors. To the theories of Andrew Johnson and their temporary results might be aptly applied the words of the inspired prophet: "For they have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people *slightly*, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace."¹

The Congress of 1865-'66 contained men of ability, but men also of bitter prejudices against the lately slave-holding States. They soon manifested a purpose not only to repudiate President Johnson's theories of the government, but to undo his work and to force the lately seceded States to reconstruction upon principles entirely at variance from those adopted by him.

By a curious perversity, the only Southern State which he had not deemed it needful to include definitely in his system was his own State—Tennessee; and this was the only State which the Congress admitted to the Union by admitting to Congress her senators and representatives.²

The Republican party had a controlling majority in both Houses, and they became more and more hostile to President Johnson. They were led by Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland. Their policy soon manifested itself, and was so revolutionary and so little in accord with the safest views of constitution and law that they obtained the title of "Radicals," which long clung to them.³

They were the more dangerous because they held *a part of the truth*. They held that the seceded States, by their own action, by passing ordinances of secession, by arresting all Federal powers within them, by levying war and maintaining a long military contest with the States remaining in the Union, had really ceased to be States of that Union. They held that the States remaining in the Union had successfully maintained the war, and had subdued all armed opposition in the seceded States. Therefore, each of those States, though still a State, was out of the Union. If any one of them desired to be restored to the Union, it must come in on terms satisfactory to the United States Congress, which was the only department of the government having power to admit States into the Union.⁴

So far their views were sound, and completely vindicated the

¹ Jeremiah viii. 11.

² Prof. Johnston's U. S. Hist. and Const., 246.

³ Derry's U. S., 330, 331. Blackburn & McDonald, 483.

⁴ Constitution of U. S., Art. IV., sec. 3, 1, 2, sec. 4.

people, officers and soldiers of the seceded States from all charge of being either "rebels" or "traitors."

But the central error of the radical party was this: that they acted upon the theory that the Congress had unlimited authority over the subdued States, and might not only hold them in chains of military power after peace was restored and officially declared, but might impose upon them any terms they thought proper, however unjust, unreasonable, unwise, and oppressive, as conditions precedent to their re-admission to the Union.

This was a palpable error. The seceded States had, it is true, left the former Union, thrown off the Federal constitution, and renounced its benefits; but the United States Congress remained bound by its wise spirit and provisions, and were bound to apply them in settling the terms on which a subdued State should be re-admitted. Though the facts were unprecedented, the principles applicable to them were familiar and of long standing.

But, in truth, the radicals in the Congress were startled and alarmed at the consequences of their own action. The Thirteenth Amendment had destroyed slavery, and had, therefore, made all the negroes and mulattoes of the (former) slave States elements to be counted in full in estimating the representatives to which those States would be entitled in the Congress. This would greatly increase the number of their representatives; and if these representatives were to be chosen by the white voters only, according to the constitutions in force before the war, they would be a formidable power in Congress.

These fears, and the fixed purpose to keep their own party in power, were the controlling motives which inflamed the hostility of the radicals against President Johnson, and induced them to adopt a system of reconstruction for the seceded States, so unwise, cruel and oppressive, and so subversive of the true principles of the Federal Union and constitution, that its evils have continued ever since, and are more and more threatening as the years of the nation pass.

The first step of the radicals was to pass, by a vote of two-thirds of Congress, and submit to the States, the Fourteenth Amendment. This was partly aimed against the "Dred Scott" decision, upon which we have already commented; but was intended, also, for the purposes of the reconstruction already contemplated by the radical leaders. The senators and representatives from Tennessee voted on it, but those from the "ten" States reconstructed under President Johnson's plan were not permitted to vote.¹

¹Stephens' Comp. U. S., 841.

This Amendment XIV. made all persons born in the United States citizens. Section second provided that representation should be apportioned according to total population, excluding only Indians not taxed; but it further provided that when, in any State, the right to vote should be denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State being twenty-one years old and citizens of the United States, the basis of representation therein should be reduced in according proportion. Section third imposed disability upon any person who had ever taken an oath officially to support the constitution of the United States and afterwards engaged in insurrection or rebellion; but the Congress might, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.¹

The "ten" States all voted against this amendment; but their votes were rejected. It is a noteworthy fact that if they were in the Union the Fourteenth Amendment was never adopted, for without those "ten" States three-fourths of the States did not vote for the amendment; but the radicals in Congress did not trouble themselves with this question. Rejecting entirely these "ten" States, and admitting only Tennessee, who voted for the amendment, they declared it adopted.

At the next session of Congress the radical majority passed an act unprecedented in all the past history of republics. They declared the "ten" States to be still in rebellion, although they were perfectly quiet; they divided them up into five military departments and placed a military chief and subordinate officers and soldiers over each, suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in all, removed all State officers, and put the power of appointment in the military hand. They then provided that this state of subjection to martial law should continue in each State until it should adopt a new constitution, the effect of which would be to admit the former slaves over twenty-one years of age to full right of suffrage, and make them voters on the same footing with the whites.²

Thus the deepest principles of the constitution were uprooted. That instrument had been founded on the fixed canon that each State should settle, by its own constitution, the qualifications of its voters, and that these voters should choose representatives and electors for the Federal system.³ To permit the United States Congress to dictate beforehand what qualifications should be required for a voter in a State was to overthrow the equilibrium of the Federal system.

¹ Amendment XIV. Holmes, 331. Goodrich, 520.

² Stephens, 841-843. Barnes, 283. Derry, 331.

³ Constitution, Art. I., sec. 2. Art. II. 1, 2, 3.

In several of the Northern States the right to vote had been constitutionally denied to negroes; and interference by the Congress would have been resented as an outrage. Of the primitive "thirteen," Connecticut had confined the right to vote to white males over twenty-one years old who could read and write;¹ and Ohio, formed out of the Northwestern territory to which the great ordinance of 1787 applied, had confined the right to vote to white citizens of full age.²

The policy of the radicals in compelling the "ten" States of the South to admit the recently freed negroes to the right of voting on all the matters of representation and of legislation affecting life, health, society, business, virtue, education, crime and punishment, was not merely a blunder—a grievous political error—but a sin against the laws of God.

As to the providential events which gave to the negroes their freedom and destroyed slavery, the people of the South promptly recognized in them a guiding and Divine Power, in whose decision they humbly acquiesced; but the right to vote stood on a totally different footing.

Had the compulsion exercised by the Congress been that the "ten" States should adopt constitutions giving the right and power to vote to all male children twelve years of age, the world would have stood amazed at such a spectacle of folly, imbecility and wrong; but it would have been far better to have done this than to require the right and power to vote to be given to all male negroes over twenty-one years of age. They had all the ignorance, weakness and unfitness of children, added to matured depravity, prejudice and partisanship. In fact, it was the belief that they would all vote for radical representatives and radical measures which led the radicals of the Congress to pass this act for reconstruction—the most unwise, unstatesmanlike, cruel and injurious ever adopted in the history of the United States.

President Johnson promptly vetoed the bill and returned it with his objections; but it was as promptly passed over his veto by a vote of two-thirds of each House.³ The estrangement between the executive and the legislative departments had already assumed the sharpness of war. In 1866 the Congress had passed a bill erecting a "Freedmen's Bureau," intended specially to sustain the negroes of the South in political power. The President vetoed it and it was passed over his veto. The same events took place as to the bill admitting Nebraska as a State, in 1867, with

¹Art. Connecticut, Amer. Encyclop.

²Art. Ohio, Amer. Encyclop.

³Prof. Johnston's U. S., 247. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 843.

equal suffrage for blacks and whites, and as to the "Civil Rights Bill" in the same year, which was a futile attempt to compel railroad and steamboat lines, hotels and theatres, to force the comingling of black and white people.¹

Finally, in order as far as possible to weaken the President during the vacation, Congress passed the "Tenure of Office Bill," making the consent of the Senate necessary in order to the removal by the President of any person from civil office.² This was a direct attack on the independence of a co-ordinate department of the Federal government. The President vetoed the bill. It was passed over his veto. Soon afterwards the Congress adjourned.

The President, not approving of the temper and policy of Secretary Stanton, removed him from office. Stanton refused to leave, but the President was firm. When the Congress re-assembled, articles of impeachment were presented against the President on the 22d of February, 1868, by the House of Representatives, for removing Mr. Stanton and other alleged acts of malfeasance. The trial was by the Senate.

Chief-Justice Taney had died on the 12th of October, 1864. He was in his eighty-eighth year, and had presided in the court with eminent dignity and ability for twenty-eight years. President Lincoln appointed his Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, to be Chief-Justice. He was confirmed by the Senate, and discharged his difficult duties with noted strength and success, having solved by his decisions some of the most intricate questions arising from the war and relating to contracts founded on Confederate treasury notes.

Chief-Justice Chase presided in the Senate on the impeachment trial of President Johnson. It resulted in an acquittal on the 26th of May, 1868, by a failure, by one vote only, to secure the needed number.³

The rule of "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags" in the South being intolerable, and the military rule doing nothing to relieve it, the "ten" States began to look anxiously for any door of exit therefrom. Unjust and unwise as the compulsion of negro suffrage was, they preferred to encounter its perils rather than remain under martial law. Constitutions were adopted accordingly, and Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina were admitted to the Union and to representation in Congress on the 24th of June, 1868. Georgia was after-

¹ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 283, and note.

² Barnes, 283. Johnston, 247.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 843. Barnes, 284. Johnston, 247.

wards excluded because she refused to vote for the Fifteenth Amendment; but in 1870 she was restored, and Mississippi, Texas and Virginia were all admitted.¹

The Fifteenth Amendment was proposed late in President Johnson's term, and adopted. It provided that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The acts of the European powers, so far as they affected North America at all, had tended to prolong the war. In the fall of 1861, the Confederate States authorities sent James M. Mason, of Virginia, as ambassador to England, and John Slidell, of Louisiana (a native of New York, but thoroughly Southern in opinions and sympathies), as ambassador to France. Mr. Mason was accompanied by his secretary, Mr. Macfarland, and Mr. Slidell by his wife and his two daughters, Mathilde and Rosine, and his secretary, Mr. Eustis, with his wife, who was a daughter of Mr. Corcoran, an enlightened and wealthy banker of the city of Washington, then confined in Fort Lafayette because of his Southern affiliations and sympathies.

Messrs. Mason and Slidell, with their party, successfully eluded the blockade, landed in Havana, Cuba, and on the 7th of November, 1861, took passage for England on the British mail-steamer *Trent*, Commander Williams, an officer of the British navy. She carried the mails for England.

Capt. Charles Wilkes, commanding the Federal war-steamer *San Jacinto*, was in those seas. He had general instructions to arrest the Confederate officials if possible, but no special instructions to seize them in a neutral ship.² But by a superficial reading of a law book aboard his ship, he had satisfied himself of his authority to take forcibly from a neutral vessel the persons of these ambassadors. He acted accordingly. He brought the *Trent* to a stand, November 8th, by firing a round shot across her bows, to which she paid no attention, and then firing a shell, which exploded so near her bow that her further progress would have been reckless imprudence. Wilkes then sent Lieutenant Fairfax (a Virginian related to Mr. Mason) with armed marines aboard the *Trent*, and by a show of force, and against the protest of Captain Williams, removed Messrs. Mason, Slidell, Macfarland and Eustis to the *San Jacinto*. No written dispatches were found on their persons. The *Trent*, with the ladies of their families, was allowed to proceed.³

¹ Derry's U. S., 332-334.

² Wilkes' official report. So. Lit. Mess., 1863, p. 643.

³ New York Herald, Nov. 18. Correspondence between Earl Russell, Lord Lyons and Mr. Seward.

When she reached England her news wrought the English people to high excitement. The government promptly made preparations for war, and demanded from the United States release of the arrested parties and a suitable apology for the aggression.

In the South fervid hopes were aroused that these events would lead to a war between Great Britain and the United States, which could hardly fail to secure the recognition and independence of the Confederate States; but all such hopes were speedily blasted. Secretary Seward's reply to the complaint and demand of England soon appeared. It was one of the most elaborate and astute of his State papers.

He sought to maintain four propositions: first, that the persons of Mason, Slidell, Macfarland and Eustis (and their supposed dispatches) were contraband of war; second, that Captain Wilkes lawfully stopped and searched the *Trent* for them; third, that he exercised this right in a lawful and proper manner; fourth, that, having found the contraband persons on board, and in presumed possession of the contraband dispatches, he had a right to capture the persons.¹ But Mr. Seward thus reached a fifth question, which was: Did Captain Wilkes exercise the right of capture in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations? Upon this question, Mr. Seward said: "It is just here that the difficulty of the case begins."

His conclusion was that such a question must be so decided as to bring the rights of the captured to judicial decision; that the captor could not be allowed to decide it on the neutral vessel's deck; that the persons or property seized might not be contraband of war at all, and that the proper mode of securing such judicial decision was by taking possession of the *Trent* with the persons and papers, if any, and bringing them to the United States for adjudication in the admiralty courts. As this had not been done, Mr. Seward considered the mode of capture illegal, and directed "the four persons in question" to be released from Fort Warren and delivered as Lord Lyons might indicate.

They were conveyed to England, but without triumph, and without benefit to the Southern cause. They were coldly received, and never diplomatically recognized; and thus was the war prolonged.

The unscrupulous adventurer Louis Napoleon had risen to the head of the great empire of France by a series of strange events, which were set in motion chiefly by his name, his bold *coups d'état* and his ambition. Early in the war between the States of Amer-

¹ Seward's letter to Lord Lyons, Dec. 26, 1861.

ica he had, in general, concurred with Great Britain in his policy towards the belligerents ; but as the struggle continued he adopted measures indicating his strong sympathies with the cause of absolutism in Europe and his desire to extend it to America.

Mexico, with all her vast natural wealth, had never long maintained a stable and wise government competent to rule the people for their good. After the revolution which overthrew the Spanish dominion, she established a republic modeled on that of the United States. But her heterogeneous population, made up of a few old Spaniards and pure Spanish families and a multitude of mixed races in which the blood of Indians, negroes and degenerate whites mingled itself, was not well fitted for the safest exercise of self-government. Revolution had followed on the heels of revolution. Santa Anna had overthrown the confederated State system and established a centralized despotism bearing the name, but not the spirit, of a republic, and with himself as dictator. He had been driven out in 1853.

But he was soon followed by another revolution, in which Almonte came to the front—a man who governed like an outlaw, and made the people outlaws, given to robbery and outrage, public and private.

With difficulty he was displaced and banished. The government of President Juarez gave evidence of stability and of sound republican principles. He was at the head of the “Liberals” ; and the “Church party” was the only one who really disturbed his government. Their corruptions, immense wealth, obtained under the influence of superstition, and their fears of the free principles of Juarez’ government, inclined them to seek a monarchy for the country in the person of a member of some European dynasty.¹

England, France, Spain and the United States all had claims against Mexico, founded, to some extent, on loans, but to a much larger extent on losses and injuries, public and private, arising from the lawless courses of the Mexican people. The English claim was almost entirely in Mexican bonds, and amounted to more than sixty million dollars ; the Spanish claims, and those of English people who had suffered from Mexican outrages, had been estimated by convention at about seven million dollars and five million dollars respectively. The French claim was only for injuries, and had been estimated at only two hundred and sixty-three thousand four hundred and ninety dollars. The United States claims amounted to at least ten million dollars.²

¹ An. Amer. Encyc., 1863, pp. 631, 633.

² Statement in An. Amer. Encyc., 1861, p. 465.

Not being able to obtain payment otherwise, on the 31st of October, 1861, Spain, England and France entered into a convention to send a force, naval and military, to the waters of Mexico. It was expressly declared that they had no intention of "wasting powder and shot by waging territorial war upon Mexico."¹ The plan was to take possession of Vera Cruz and all other important sea-ports of Mexico, and collect customs and similar taxes, to be applied to the liquidation of their claims, after allowing to Mexico enough to support moderately her government. They even made provision for inviting the United States to accede to and share the benefits of their plan.²

The Spanish forces, naval and land, amounted to eleven thousand two hundred and fifty men; the English to ten thousand four hundred and twenty-three sailors and marines, and the French to seven thousand and fifty-eight. On the 8th of December, 1861, the Spanish fleet and transports arrived off Vera Cruz. The others soon followed. Of course, Mexico had no force adequate to resist. Under instructions from President Juarez, Vera Cruz was evacuated. The other ports were soon occupied, and the plan was set in motion and kept in operation for some time. Large sums were thus collected.

But in 1862 the artful ulterior purposes of Louis Napoleon began to appear. It became obvious that the payment of the small money claims of France was not what he really sought. Differences and alienations among the commanding officers of the three forces arose and waxed wider and wider, until, after several angry interviews, on the 8th of April, 1862, the Spanish and English commanders-in-chief left Orizaba, returned to Vera Cruz with their forces, embarked on their ships and transports, and left the French alone in Mexico. Their governments at Madrid and London approved their course.³

Meanwhile the outlaw Almonte had been permitted by the allies to return to Mexico, against the earnest protest of President Juarez. He remained quiet for awhile, but soon began again, with the aid of malcontents, a system of robbery, outrage and cruelty, which gave the French ample pretext for marching into the interior. Their troops had suffered heavy losses on the coast from malaria and yellow fever. Early in October, 1862, General Forey arrived with thirty-five thousand fresh troops—part of them negro soldiers from Egypt, lent to the Emperor Louis Napoleon by Said Pasha.⁴

¹Convention and statement, *An. Amer. Encyclop.*, 1861, pp. 466, 467.

²Art. 4th, Convention. ³*An. Amer. Encyclop.*, 1862, p. 584.

⁴*An. Amer. Encyclop.*, 1862, p. 584.

Their arrival, however, and speedy march for conquest worked a happy change in the Mexicans, and united nearly all parties in opposition to the purposes of the French. Santa Anna had ventured over from Havana and had been permitted to land by Marshal Bazaine upon his express agreement that he would abstain from politics, and act and speak merely as a private citizen; but Santa Anna could not keep quiet, and, as his views did not accord with the French plan, Marshal Bazaine courteously, but definitely, ordered him to leave. He returned to Havana.¹

The purpose of Louis Napoleon to establish a monarchy in Mexico under some member of the European royal families and of the "Latin race"—the race least favorable to constitutional freedom—was shown early in 1862. In his letter to General Forey, of July 3d, 1862, he said: "It is not at all to our interest that she (meaning the United States) should grasp the whole Gulf of Mexico, rule thence the Antilles as well as South America, and be the sole dispenser of the products of the New World. If, on the contrary, Mexico preserve its independence and maintain the integrity of its territory, if a stable government be there established with the aid of France, we shall have restored to the Latin race on the other side of the ocean its force and its prestige; we shall have guaranteed the safety of our own and the Spanish colonies in the Antilles; we shall have established our benign influence in the centre of America; and this influence, while creating immense outlets for our commerce, will procure the raw material, which is indispensable to our industry. Mexico, thus regenerated, will always be favorable to us, not only from gratitude, but also because her interests will be identical with our own, and because she will find support in the good-will of European powers."²

The disciplined French armies speedily gained decisive successes over the Mexican levies, who, however, fought bravely and successfully at several points. Juarez, with his cabinet, retired to San Luis Potosi, in western Mexico; but he retained his authority, and the vast proportion of the people were with him.

Meanwhile a small body of Mexicans, whom Juarez properly described as "traitors," representing the "Church party" and the immediate creatures of the French power, went over to Europe, and, under the advice and inspiration of Louis Napoleon, and with the interested assent of a band of two hundred and fifteen people in Mexico calling themselves the "Assembly of Notables,"

¹ An. Amer. Encyclop., 1864, pp. 518, 519.

² Louis Napoleon's letter, July 3d, 1862. An. Amer. Encyclop., p. 643.

offered to the Archduke Maximilian, of Austria, a sceptre of solid gold, representing the crown, under the title of "Emperor of Mexico." He professed to be "touched very deeply," but declared: "I must make my acceptance of the throne dependent upon a *plebiscite* of the whole country."¹ This was on the 3d of October, 1863, at the castle of Miramar, in the neighborhood of Trieste.

No *plebiscite*, no vote of the people of the whole country; was ever taken. The French armies were in power in several provinces, but they were too shrewd to make any such pretence. General Bazaine busied himself with regulating and lowering the high pretensions of the "Church party," and especially of the archbishop and bishops, who held property and revenues amounting to about three hundred million dollars, including fifty million dollars in the shape of incumbrances for performance of masses, and embracing more than one-third of all the real estate in the country.²

As the French armies held the country and the people seemed quiet, it was not difficult to convince Maximilian that they all desired him to be "emperor," although no popular vote had so declared. A small deputation of "traitors" again went to Europe, and, on the 10th of April, 1864, he received them at his castle of Miramar and listened to their specious and false assurances. He made an address in Spanish, accepting the title and position of emperor, and ending with the words: "Upon the way to my new country it is my intention to visit Rome to receive from the hands of the holy father those benedictions so precious to all sovereigns, and which are doubly important to me as called upon to found a new empire."³

He was accompanied to Mexico by his wife, Maria Carlotta, daughter of the King of Belgium. They had no children. A grand display was gotten up at his entry into the City of Mexico, June 12th, 1864; but the people looked on in silence and secret disgust. Letters "of pacification" were sent out to many prominent persons; among them, one was sent to President Juarez. He replied in a letter of the keenest irony and satire, ending however, with some pregnant sentences of warning.⁴

It was not to be expected that, amid all these ominous events, the United States government looked on with indifference and forgetfulness of the "Monroe doctrine," which we have hereto-

¹ Archduke Maximilian's reply to deputation. An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, p. 637.

² Estimates and letters. An. Amer. Encyclop., 1863, pp. 631-644.

³ Archduke Maximilian's address, An. Amer. Encyclop., 1864, p. 519.

⁴ Letter of Benito Juarez to "the Agent of Napoleon." An. Amer. Encyclop., pp. 521, 522.

fore explained; but the pending war imposed a difficult and delicate task on Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State. His country was not in condition to maintain the "Monroe doctrine" by arms; therefore he did what he could during the war. Through Mr. Dayton, the minister to France, he informed the French emperor that the United States did not claim the right to control the people of Mexico in the establishment of any form of government which they might freely choose to establish, but that the American government was well aware that the normal opinion of the Mexican people favored a republic in preference to any monarchical institutions "to be imposed from abroad," and that widely-spread evils would come from such attempts.¹

In the House of Representatives, on the 4th April, 1864, Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, introduced a resolution to the effect "that it did not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge any monarchical government erected on the ruins of any republican government in America, under the auspices of any European power."² This resolution was passed by a vote of yeas, one hundred and nine, nays, none. In the Senate it was referred to a committee, who failed to report. But Mr. Dayton, in his communications to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, frequently stated that any action of the French government interfering with the form of government in Mexico would be looked upon with dissatisfaction by the United States.³

In the latter part of 1864, although General Grant felt assured that, by his system of persevering attrition and abrasion, he would exhaust the Southern armies; yet he shared the fears of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton that, as a last resort, the Confederate armed forces would pass from Texas into Mexico, join the French, and uphold the empire of Maximilian.

There was really little danger of this, as most of the leading Confederates were as much opposed to a monarchy in Mexico upheld by the bayonets of the adventurer Louis Napoleon as were the Federals; but the danger seemed sufficient to justify extraordinary preventives. Armed with Lincoln's authority, Gen. Lew Wallace went secretly to Brazos Santiago, an island near the mouth of the Rio Grande, where the United States still held a military post. Here he put himself in communication with General Carvajal, commanding a remnant of Juarez' republican forces in the mountains of Tamaulipas. Carvajal came on with General Wallace to Washington, conferred with Romero, the Mexican minister, and,

¹ Seward to Dayton, Sept. 22d, 1863. *An. Amer. Encyclop.*, p. 644.

² Resolution, *An. Amer. Encyclop.*, 1864, p. 314.

³ Dayton's letter, 528.

with the secret aid of the United States, bought and forwarded very large quantities of the best arms and munitions, which went to the armies of Juarez, and enabled them to cope successfully with the French invaders, and finally to overthrow Maximilian's pretence of empire.¹

And very soon after the close of the War between the States the United States government gave notice to France that she would be expected, as soon as practicable, to withdraw her armies from Mexico.² Louis Napoleon did not feel it to be safe to neglect this admonition. He withdrew his forces, including the "foreign legion," which had a motley collection of troops from many nations. He invited, even urged, Maximilian to withdraw with them; but that unfortunate archduke, led astray by certain quixotic notions of honor and of assumed duty to a country which had never chosen him emperor, refused to leave Mexico.

Some time before his downfall his unhappy wife, Carlotta, had shown such evidences of insanity that she had been removed from Mexico and carried back to Europe. It is not impossible that "coming events cast their shadows before them" over her sensitive spirit; but those writers who attribute her mental malady to her husband's misfortunes commit distinct anachronism.³ She was descended from a family in which insanity was hereditary, and her malady began to appear long before her husband's downfall.

If Maximilian had ever, in good faith, believed that the Mexican people desired him as emperor, and desired that his empire should rise on the ruins of their popular government, he was effectually undeceived by the events following the withdrawal of the French armies. He found himself without soldiers and without friends. The republican forces advanced on him, and at Queretaro he was besieged. Pretended followers proved treacherous, and he fell into the hands of the Mexicans. He was tried by a military court, sentenced and shot to death with musketry on the 19th of June, 1867.⁴ He deserved death, for his crime was the gravest possible against the laws of nations, being an attempt, carried out in overt act, to force himself as monarch and by foreign arms upon a republic whose people never invited nor desired him.

The financial system adopted by the South contributed to the causes of the long duration of the war, as well as to the disas-

¹ A Chapter of Secret History. *Detroit Tribune*. Philadelphia Pres., Nov. 2d, 1889.

² D. B. Scott, 387. Barnes, 285. Holmes, 266. Derry, 333.

³ Ex. Thalheimer's *Eelec. U. S.*, 320. Prof. Fisher's *Outlines of History*.

⁴ Holmes' *U. S.*, 266. Scudder's *U. S.*, 423.

trous result to her people. Had she really anticipated serious war, she had it in her power, during the five months between the election of President Lincoln and the outbreak of actual hostilities, to send enormous quantities of cotton out to Europe, and especially to England and France, where it would have been safe from hostile seizure or confiscation and would have been a gold basis for her operations.

But it is easy to look backward at failures. To look forward is not in the power of man, except to a limited and deluding extent. The South conducted her movement of secession and subsequent war as revolutionary movements have been generally conducted in modern times, and with the same general results. Her Confederate bonds bore eight per cent. annual interest, and were at first eagerly taken up by men, women, guardians, trustees and other fiduciaries. These investments were authorized by State legislation. Her Confederate treasury notes were poured out year after year, and with constantly increasing depreciation in value as their volume increased and as they were brought into contact with the gold standard. In May, 1864, the following were prices for needed articles in Confederate notes: "Boots, two hundred dollars; coats, three hundred and fifty dollars; pantaloons, one hundred dollars; shoes, one hundred and twenty-five dollars; flour, two hundred and seventy-five dollars per barrel; meal, sixty to eighty dollars per bushel; bacon, nine dollars per pound; chickens, thirty dollars a pair; shad, twenty dollars each; potatoes, twenty-five dollars a bushel; turnip greens, four dollars a peck; white beans, four dollars per quart, or one hundred and twenty dollars per bushel; butter, fifteen dollars a pound; wood, fifty dollars per cord."¹

And the prices increased, so that in 1865 eleven hundred dollars was paid for a barrel of flour!

The actual loss in property (estimating the slaves as property) sustained by the people of the Southern States by the war and its results, has never been a subject of accurate computation. It has been estimated by competent minds at a sum as high as six thousand million dollars in gold!²

The United States, having greater resources, established credit, and the world open to them, had managed their financial operations without serious difficulties. In fact, the war itself rather increased their mechanical and business successes. Early in the struggle Secretary Chase, of the Treasury Department, had intro-

¹ A Rebel War Clerk's Diary, quoted by Prof. Johnston's U. S., 223, 224.

² This was Prof. M. F. Maury's estimate.

duced the system of national banks, whose issues of paper currency were to be founded on the purchase by them of United States certificates of debt. This greatly aided the government, and sustained for a long time the purchasing value of the paper currency.

Yet it soon fell below the gold standard, and reached, on the 16th of July, 1864, its greatest depreciation, which was two hundred and eighty-five dollars in treasury legal-tender notes to one hundred dollars in gold.¹ As the Federal prospects of success improved, this depreciation grew less, and on the 26th of December, 1864, was two hundred and seventeen dollars in such notes to one hundred dollars in gold.

The maximum point of the United States debt was reached August 31st, 1865, when it was two billion eight hundred and forty-five million nine hundred and seven thousand six hundred and twenty-six dollars and fifty-six cents. This huge amount seemed sufficient to crush the nation; yet such were the activities and sources of wealth in the country that, in 1866, before all the troops in the Federal armies were disbanded, the debt had been diminished by seventy-one millions of dollars.²

In 1867, Mr. Seward negotiated with the diplomatic agents of the great Russian empire a treaty by which the country known as "Alaska," with all waters and water-rights appurtenant and all Russian territory and rights in that region, was sold and transferred to the United States for the sum of seven million two hundred thousand dollars.³ Many persons at the time of the treaty regarded the acquisition as of small value; but subsequent events have vindicated the wisdom of the purchase.

During this period the attention of scientists and tourists was turned to the "Northern Wonder Land" in the northwestern corner of Wyoming Territory. It so abounded in marvelous, grand and beautiful natural scenery, great volcanoes, spouting hot springs, and mountain ranges and broad basins and green dells, that it was thought worthy of permanent preservation as a national reserve. Movements looking to this were commenced during President Johnson's term, and in February, 1872, an act of Congress was passed, setting aside an area, containing these wonders, estimated at three thousand five hundred and seventy-five square miles of land. This is called "The Yellowstone National Park," and is worthy of an enlightened and cultured people. It is withdrawn from settlement, occupancy or sale, and dedicated to the purposes of a public park and pleasure ground.⁴

¹ Table in An. Amer. Encyclop., 1864, p. 377.

² Prof. Johnston's U. S., 213. Prof. Steele, Barnes, & Co.'s U. S., 283.

³ D. B. Scott's U. S., 389.

⁴ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 846, 846.

In the fall of 1868 came on another presidential election. The Democratic party held their convention in the city of New York, and on the 4th of July put in nomination Horatio Seymour, of New York, for President, and Gen. Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, for Vice-President. Their platform denounced in definite terms the reconstruction policy and measures, and declared them unconstitutional, null and void.

The Republicans, including the radicals, met at Chicago on the 19th of May, and put in nomination Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, for President, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, for Vice-President. In his reply to their letter of nomination, General Grant, accepting it, made no allusion to politics, but announced his policy in the simple words: "Let us have peace."¹

The result was that Grant and Colfax received two hundred and seventeen electoral votes, and Seymour and Blair received only seventy-seven. Grant and Colfax were elected.

But the popular vote was somewhat significant. It was two million nine hundred and eighty-five thousand and thirty-one against two million six hundred and forty-eight thousand eight hundred and thirty, showing a majority of only three hundred and thirty-six thousand two hundred and one for the Republicans. The negroes in the reconstructed and other States had been made voters. Virginia, Mississippi and Texas, not having been re-admitted to the Union, were not allowed to vote. Had they voted, it is probable the popular majority would have been for the Democratic candidates, though the electoral majority would still have been for Grant and Colfax.

President Johnson retired, at the close of his term, to his home in Greenville, Tennessee. He was more popular than ever in his own State. He was afterwards elected to the United States Senate. He was a strong man, and a patriot according to his views of duty.

¹ Stephen's Comp. U. S., 846.

CHAPTER LX.

THE PRESIDENCY OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

THE presidency of Ulysses S. Grant may be considered as closing the epoch of history of the United States contemplated in this work, and set forth in one of the opening chapters as the advance of the human race under three heads :

First. The self-government of man.

Second. The religious rights and knowledge of man.

Third. Human slavery.

For, in each one of these three great avenues of advance, the triumph, as shown in this history, had been complete and decisive.

First. Every vestige of monarchy had been uprooted and destroyed. The right of man to self-government had been vindicated, and the power of men, when cultured and elevated in morality, to govern themselves had been demonstrated.

Second. Perfect freedom in religion had been established by the destruction of hoary superstition and the final divorce between church and state—a divorce so perfect that civil government in the United States, whether Federal or State, “knows no heresy, and is committed to the support of no dogma, the establishment of no sect.”¹ And yet, in no country is Christianity, in her highest and purest doctrines and influence, more cherished by the prevalent numbers and power of the people than in the United States.

Third. Human slavery had been extirpated by the results of a war of four years, which began when the institution was in its fullest vigor and in the most benign form ever known, and when it was upheld by six millions of enlightened Christian people; but which, under the wise rulings of an all-powerful Providence, resulted in the final destruction of slavery, not merely in the United States, but in every other civilized nation of the earth.

Therefore, nothing more will be needed in completing this history than a glance at important subsequent events, as they affected the general happiness and prosperity of the people, and at

¹ Justice Miller, in *Watson vs. Jones*, Wallace 13th, Sup. Ct. Rep., 728.

the condition of the African race, who had been so unwisely made an element of anxiety and disturbance in the body politic.

General Grant entered upon his duties as President on the 4th of March, 1869, in the forty-seventh year of his age. His inaugural address was brief, pointed, worthy of a soldier. He said he should have no policy of his own, except to execute the laws as made by the legislative department and expounded by the judiciary. "Laws," he said, "are to govern all alike—those opposed as well as those who favor them. I know of no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution."¹ This was a weighty utterance.

For his cabinet he at first nominated Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, Secretary of State; Alexander T. Stewart, of New York, of the Treasury; John D. Rawlins, of Illinois, of War; Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, of the Navy; Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, of the Interior; John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; and Ebenezer R. Hoar, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General. But it was soon ascertained that Mr. Stewart, who was a great dry-goods merchant, was involved in questions of custom duties, which disqualified him as head of the Treasury Department. George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was substituted for him. Mr. Washburne also, being appointed minister to France, gave up the State Department, and Hamilton Fish, of New York, was appointed in his place.

On the 10th of May, 1869, the greatest railroad line in the world was completed. It connected San Francisco, in California, on the Pacific Ocean, with the Eastern cities on the Atlantic by way of Omaha, in Nebraska. The engineers and workmen of the western division, known as the "Central Pacific," met the like working party of the eastern section, known as the "Union Pacific," on the prairie near Ogden, and not far from Salt Lake City, in Utah Territory. The important junction was made, and the last spike, made of pure gold, was driven into its place with a golden hammer.² The distance from San Francisco to Ogden is eight hundred and eighty-two miles; from Ogden to Omaha, one thousand and thirty-two miles; from Omaha to New York city, one thousand five hundred miles.

On the 8th October, 1869, Franklin Pierce died at his home in Concord, New Hampshire, leaving an unsullied fame as statesman and patriot. On the 24th of December, Edwin Stanton, former Secretary of War, died. He had just been nominated and confirmed as one of the judges of the Supreme Court.

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 848.

² Goodrich's U. S., 473, 474. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 849.

In 1869, President Grant manifested his high sense of justice and sound policy by granting the petitions forwarded to him by many prominent citizens of Virginia, and submitting to her voting people the alternative power of adopting the proposed constitution with or without what was known as the "iron-clad" restriction, which would have shut out from office and from the voting franchise many of her best white citizens, because of the part they had taken in the war. The result of the vote was that the constitution was adopted without the restriction, and Virginia was admitted and resumed her normal functions as a State of the Union in 1870.

The country recovered rapidly from the losses of the war. The price of gold fell to one hundred and ten, and within the first two years of Grant's administration, two hundred million dollars of the national debt were paid. The census of 1870 showed that the total population was over thirty-eight million. The manufacturing establishments and their products had doubled in value.

And yet this season was noted for a panic in the "gold market," which for a time caused widely-spread ruin. It was the result of conspiracies and "corners" attempted by unscrupulous speculators, which were indicative of one of the greatest dangers of the country, viz.: "the making haste to be rich." The 24th of September, 1869, was afterwards known as the "black Friday," because of the numerous and widely-spread financial disasters it witnessed or commenced.¹

In February, 1870, Congress adopted a plan for a "Signal Service Bureau," which has since become one of the largest and most useful branches of public business. Under its chiefs, Albert J. Myer and William B. Hazen, it is estimated that the probabilities as to coming weather for twenty-four hours, announced by this office, have saved to farmers and owners of shipping not less than twenty millions of dollars annually.

After the surrender at Appomattox, Gen. Robert E. Lee had been elected President of Washington College, at Lexington, Virginia. He accepted, and devoted the rest of his life to the care and education of young men. His institution rose in dignity until it was known as "Washington and Lee University." He died on the 1st of October, 1870, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His death called out appropriate honors to his memory throughout the country.

On the 31st January, 1871, an act of Congress was passed repealing the provisions as to what had been known as the "iron-

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 849.

clad" oath previously. This had excluded from office the best people in the South, because they had sympathized and taken part with their section. The new oath substituted was simply the former constitutional oath.¹

On the 8th and 9th October, 1871, a fire occurred in the city of Chicago, which destroyed a large part of the business and private buildings. Seventeen thousand houses were burned and a hundred thousand people for a time rendered homeless. The loss in property was estimated at two hundred millions of dollars, and two hundred and eighty human lives were lost.² Yet such was the elastic recuperative energy of her people, and so great was the active sympathy shown, that Chicago has been restored to more than her pristine beauty and strength. In 1872 Boston was visited by a similar misfortune, which destroyed property valued at eighty millions of dollars.

The claims of the United States against Great Britain, arising out of all the circumstances attending the building and launching of the *Alabama*, her leaving England, her equipment on the high seas as a Confederate man-of-war, and her voyages of destruction against the ships and shipping interests of the United States, had been made a subject of diplomatic correspondence between the two countries during President Johnson's term, but had not been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Great Britain thought she had used "due diligence" and denied her liability. This, with questions of fishing interests and questions of boundary, threatened seriously the continuance of peace.

President Grant, with incisive vigor, urged the matter to a conclusion. A commission, consisting of five wise representatives from each nation, met in the spring of 1871, and concluded a "treaty of Washington," which was duly ratified.

This treaty allowed equal rights to American and British fishermen on the eastern coasts of Canada and the United States. It made the St. Lawrence, from its mouth to the head of navigation, free, for purposes of commerce, to citizens of the United States; and, by reciprocity, it allowed to British subjects the free right of navigating the Yukon, Porcupine and Stikine rivers, in Alaska. It referred the questions, under the treaty of 1846, relating to the northwestern boundary and Vancouver's Sound to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany. In due time his award was made. It was favorable to the United States, establishing a boundary giving them all they had claimed.³

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 851.

² An. Amer. Encyclop., 1871, p. 391. Quackenbos, 512, 513.

³ Quackenbos' U. S., 512. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 857.

The most impressive clause of this treaty was the one referring the questions of the "Alabama claims" to a tribunal of international justice, to be composed of five "High Commissioners," one to be appointed by Great Britain, one by the United States, and one by each of the sovereignties of Switzerland, Italy and Brazil.

The five arbitrators met in Geneva, Switzerland, on the 15th December, 1871. They adjourned to the 15th July, 1872, and dissolved their board finally on the 14th September of that year. Great Britain was represented by a learned and brilliant jurist, Sir Alexander Cockburn; the United States by Charles Francis Adams; Switzerland by her ex-president, Jakob Staempfli; Italy by Count Frederick Sclopis, and Brazil by the Baron Marcos A. De Itajuba.

A majority were of opinion that Great Britain, after receiving information of the character and designs of the *Alabama*, had not used "due diligence" to prevent her from leaving her ports, and was therefore liable for the direct losses caused by her, but not for indirect or remote damages, such as the loss from expected profits or loss from the prolongation of the war. Mr. Adams had once claimed these, but had, in substance, abandoned such claim. The direct damages were large enough. They were ascertained and awarded by the board of arbitration at fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars.¹ Great Britain promptly paid them to the United States treasury. Thus was achieved a triumph for peace and arbitration among the nations of the world.

The Indians of the West were still giving trouble. In the spring of 1872 the Modocs, a tribe living on Lake Klamath, near the bounds between Oregon and California, resisted attempts to remove them to their "reservation," and took refuge in the "lava beds" of their region, from which it was hard to dislodge them. General Canby, commanding the department, and peace commissioners sent by the United States, met them in April, 1873, by appointment; but the Indians, with their usual treachery, fired and killed General Canby and one of the commissioners—a kind-hearted clergyman, Rev. Dr. Thomas. Another commissioner was wounded. The assassins were followed into their fastnesses. A number of them were captured, and Captain Jack and others, proved guilty, were executed by hanging. The remnant were removed to the Indian reserves.²

Meanwhile the white people of the South had been sorely exercised by the problem how they could be relieved from the dan-

¹Holmes' U. S., 270, 271, and notes. Goodrich's U. S., 474, 475.

²Thalheimer's Elec. U. S., 333. Quackenbos, 514. Barnes, 291.

gers threatening civilization from the votes of the lately enfranchised negroes. These dangers were greatly increased by the presence among them of the white "scalawags" of the South, the white "carpet-baggers" of the North, and a class of intrusive, yet well-intending, people, consisting of school-teachers, male and female, who came in numbers from the North and undertook to teach the negroes not only "reading, writing and arithmetic," but also the higher mystery of how they ought to vote.

The whites of the South knew the negroes thoroughly—knew them as the whites of the North did not know them—knew them from infancy and childhood, and by an association which, though always that of a superior to an inferior race, had been intimate and affectionate. They knew, therefore, how radically unqualified they were to exercise the right of voting, and how certain it was that if they exercised this right under the guidance of the "scalawags," "carpet-baggers" and school-teachers from the North, or exercised it according merely to their own childish judgments and their own depraved affections, instincts and desires, they would bring ruin on every social interest.

It was indispensable, therefore, that means should be used by which these evils should be averted. In several of the Southern States—notably in Louisiana and South Carolina—the "carpet-bag" rule had already resulted in frightful evils—such as extravagant accumulation of public debt, wasteful expenditures, open bribery and corruption, incompetent and oppressive executive measures, absurd and dangerous legislation, and such disturbance of the relations of labor that the blacks were rapidly becoming idle, worthless, drunken and disorderly. These evils, if continued, would have brought the Southern States to a condition worse than that of Mexico or St. Domingo.

The Southern whites cannot be justly censured for arresting these evils by methods which, they knew, would work most effectually on the minds of the negroes. Far and widely there extended the mysteries of a secret organization designated as the "Kuklux" by those who knew least of its nature and principles.¹ It was a name given officially first by a Federal judge, who tried in vain to grasp its impalpable and weird elements.

Though not pure Greek, the word sufficiently indicated a mystic "circle." Its methods were perfectly adapted to affect the souls of the negroes with superstitious fears of demons, hobgoblins and preternatural monsters, who would certainly invade and harry them if they attempted to assemble under the lead of "scala-

¹ Holmes' U. S., 272, and note as to Judge Bnsteed in Alabama in 1871.

wags," "carpet-baggers" or Northern school-teachers, but who would be propitious to them if they voted with the Southern whites, and who would, as they hoped, not interfere with them if they did not vote at all.¹

In addition to these mysterious means, for which few could be justly held responsible, the whites of the South exercised a wise and legitimate influence over the negroes, and had no serious difficulty in satisfying the great mass of the better classes of them, especially in the cotton and sugar States, that their interests were really identical with those of the whites, and that their true welfare would be promoted either by voting with the whites or by not voting at all.

The "Enforcement Act," which had been passed over the veto of President Johnson, was expected to guard the purity of elections by supervisors of the different political parties and by the presence of soldiers at the polls if called for. Notwithstanding this act and its rigid enforcement, the elections in Georgia, in December, 1870, resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Democratic party and the complete delivery of the State from "carpet-bag" rule.²

Similar tendencies showed themselves in all the Southern States. The Republicans had confidently expected the negroes to vote with them, and were, therefore, greatly incensed at these results.

In the summer of 1871, very numerous prosecutions were instituted in the Federal court in South Carolina for alleged violations of the Enforcement Act. In the counties of Newbury, York, Laurens, Spartanburg and Chester, and in several counties in the lower part of the State, the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended, and the people were put under martial law. Gross outrages on individual rights and liberties were committed. The courts of the State were closed. Numbers of the best citizens were seized and carried, some to Columbia, some to Charleston, where, exposed to severe weather and without proper shelter or food, they were kept for months without hearing the charges against them.³

Dr. John A. Leland, President of the Laurens Female College, a gentleman of the highest character, honesty and piety, was imprisoned for five weeks with every indignity and cruelty, and then discharged on bail without ever being informed of the offence for which he had been arrested.⁴

¹ The best exposition of the working of the "Kuklux" is probably that in "Thorns in the Flesh," by N. J. Floyd, 1884.

² Life of Linton Stephens, by Waddell, 330. Stephens, 852.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 854, 855.

⁴ "A Voice from South Carolina," by Dr. Leland, 231 pages. Stephens, 854, 855.

Quite a number of persons were tried under a special act of Congress, called the "Kuklux Act," were convicted on *ex parte* testimony, and condemned to imprisonment in Northern penitentiaries. With few, if any, exceptions they were pardoned by President Grant.

In 1871, the republic of Hayti, in the island of St. Domingo, inhabited almost entirely by negroes, applied for admission as a State to the North American Union. President Grant sent a commission of eminent men to examine the island. They reported favorably; but the Congress, in 1872, rejected the measure.¹

During the summer of this year, a visitor to the battle-field of Gettysburg, in wandering over the Cemetery Ridge, found a broken drum, in which a swarm of bees were building their comb and storing honey gathered from the innumerable flowers growing from a soil once moistened with the blood of brave men of both sections.² The politicians, not the soldiers, sought to continue the strife.

In this year (1872) eminent men died: Samuel Breeze Finley Morse, the inventor of the electric telegraph, on the 22d of April, in his eighty-first year; William H. Seward, after making a voyage around the world, died on the 10th of October, in his seventy-second year; and General George G. Meade died on the 6th of November, in his fifty-seventh year. Another death of a noted man, under noted circumstances, occurred.

Some Republicans, who disapproved of coercion and military occupation in the South, broke away from their party and formed a new party, under the name of "Liberal Republicans." They went into convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, and put in nomination Horace Greeley, of New York, for President, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice-President.

The Democrats held their convention at Baltimore on the 9th of July, 1872. They esteemed it good policy to make no nomination, but simply to endorse the nominees of the Cincinnati convention.

The regular Republican convention met in Philadelphia on the 5th of June, 1872, and put in nomination General Grant for reelection as President, and Henry Wilson for election as Vice-President.

Horace Greeley had gained the good opinions of many people by becoming surety on the bail bond of Jefferson Davis and by his open advocacy of the most liberal measures of pacification; but very large numbers of Democrats, especially in the South,

¹ Prof. Steele, Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 289, 290, and note.

² Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 288.

could not forget the bitter and vindictive spirit he had exhibited in the columns of his paper, *The Tribune*, early in the war. He had urged that, when the war was over, Southerners should not be permitted to return to "peaceful and contented homes. They must find poverty at their firesides, and see privation in the anxious eyes of mothers and the rags of children."¹ Campaign documents, with pictorial illustrations presenting the scenes he had advocated, were freely used against Mr. Greeley. His motives, his disinterestedness and his consistency were all unsparingly criticised. Nevertheless, his enthusiastic temperament made him sanguine of success. He worked day and night in organizing his friends and belaboring his foes.

The election resulted in giving to Grant and Wilson two hundred and eighty-six electoral votes. Only sixty-five electoral votes were secured for Greeley and Brown, and the popular majority against them was seven hundred and fifty thousand—the largest ever known.²

Mr. Greeley's wife had died about the close of the canvass. This family affliction, uniting with the intense strain of the struggle and the deep disappointment and mortification attending the result, overthrew the powers of his mind. He became insane and died in a private asylum about a month after the election.³ In the electoral college the sixty-five votes intended for him were scattered among many names of small notoriety.

The Congress of 1872-'73 was noted for three proceedings, all indicating the want of magnanimity and purity in the body itself and in the great money centres of the country. One was known as the "Credit Mobilier" investigation. It took its name from a previous financial scheme of the same character in France. It had much unsound relation to the raising of the immense sums expended in railroads, and especially in the great continental line to San Francisco.

Persistent rumors of the dishonest participation of members of Congress in these schemes led to investigating committees of both Houses, which took evidence and made reports. The result was that a deep shadow of lasting suspicion was cast over the hitherto fair fame of several eminent congressmen. The Senate committee reported in favor of the expulsion of one member of that body, and he was only saved from this dire disgrace by intervening influences. The House passed resolutions of censure upon two of its members.⁴

¹ New York Tribune, in Whig, May 24th, 1861.

² Goodrich's U. S., 475. Stephens, 858.

³ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., note, 291. Quackenbos, 513. Stephens, 858.

⁴ Quackenbos' U. S., 513, 514. Derry's U. S., 336.

The second sinister proceeding has since been known as the "Salary Grab." Although the members of Congress were already enjoying ample money compensation for their services (amounting to about five thousand dollars per annum, and mileage allowances for travel which far exceeded expenses), yet they passed a bill increasing their pay to about seven thousand dollars per annum, and putting its operation back so as to secure to many former members a large amount of extra pay. They increased the President's salary from twenty-five thousand dollars to fifty thousand dollars per annum. This last named sum is a very moderate compensation, and has since been continued.¹

But their unbecoming and selfish act in so largely swelling their own pay was greeted with such a storm of indignation by the people of the country that many congressmen hastened to deny all approval of the proceeding, and to refuse the extra compensation. The act was speedily repealed.

The third error was financial, and was one of the causes of widely-spread money trouble and disaster, beginning in 1873. It had its origin in the plans of Wall Street, New York, and was without foundation in statesmanship and justice. Silver coin had always been reckoned as a just legal tender for debts or other payments, and had been definitely recognized as such by the constitution of the United States;² and the nations of the world had given a like recognition. At the time when this unfortunate legislation was attempted, gold and silver coin was circulating as money in the world to the amount of eight thousand millions of dollars. Of this vast sum, at least four thousand five hundred millions were in silver coin.

From the beginning of the government the only unit of value in the United States had been the silver dollar of three hundred and seventy-three grains of standard silver, estimating at fourteen hundred and eighty-five parts of fine silver in sixteen hundred and forty-two parts. This had never been changed. The legal-tender dollar was four hundred and twelve and a half grains at the standard established. All the public bonds and certificates of debt were payable in gold or silver at this standard. All public and private debts or contracts had reference to this standard, unless another had been expressly stipulated.³

But gradually, and under influences manipulated largely by the great banking houses of Europe, where Great Britain and Germany had made gold coin the sole legal tender, and the gold spec-

¹ Holmes' U. S., 274.

² Constitution, Art. I., sec. 10.

³ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 858. Compare with Art. Coins, Amer. Encyclop., V. 441. Judge R. W. Hughes.

ulators of Wall Street, New York, gold bullion had risen in value as compared with silver. This did not, in the slightest degree, affect the moral relations of the subject; but it gave vast room for speculation and for working, by specious and illogical reasoning, on the unwise in Congress.¹

They passed a bill, in February, 1873, ostensibly relating only to the operations of the United States mints. The silver dollar was not specially mentioned, and it was only known to the wire-workers and manipulators from Wall Street that the final result sought was the demonetization of silver. This was followed up by the enactment in June, 1874, of what were called "The Revised Statutes of the United States." In this code, a brief section, numbered three thousand five hundred and eighty-six, was quietly interpolated, the effect of which was that, except for amounts not exceeding five dollars in any one payment, the silver coin of the United States ceased to be legal tender. It has since been ascertained that many members of Congress who voted affirmatively did not realize to their own minds what would be the effect of their legislation, and that President Grant would not have signed these acts had he understood their effect upon the legal-tender silver dollar. Other causes, indicating unsound finances, doubtless contributed to the failures and distress which began in the fall of 1873 and continued for more than a year. In 1878 the Congress saw the error of their ways and restored the silver standard dollar to its legal-tender power; but they have not yet reached the full measure of right policy on this subject, which requires a free coinage at standard value of all silver bullion offered at the United States mints.

General Grant was inaugurated President for his second term on the 4th day of March, 1873. The weather was inclement, but the crowd was immense, and the ceremonies were impressive. The address was brief and pointed, and was received with enthusiasm.

Chief-Justice Chase administered the oath. On the 7th of May he was stricken by paralysis and died at the home of his daughter in New York. Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio, an able jurist, was appointed and confirmed as his successor.

In March, 1875, Colorado was admitted as the thirty-eighth State of the Union. She is called the "Centennial State," because her people ratified the act of admission July 1st, 1876.

And now the unhappy results of the war, the uprising of "scalawags" and the advent of "carpet-baggers," stimulated by the

¹ Bland Silver Bill. Prof. Steele, Barnes, 295. Stephens, 858. Letters of Judge Ro. W. Hughes on Silver, Richmond Dispatch, April 10, 1891. *

wretched policy which had forced the right of voting upon the negroes, began to appear in forms deeply embarrassing to the United States government.

In Louisiana, under the elections of November, 1873, two separate and conflicting governments made their appearance, each claiming to be the rightful one and each furnishing the returns of boards, each of which claimed to be the true returning board. The experience of the inchoate days of Kansas was repeated.

Two men, each claiming to be governor, appeared—Warmouth, Greeley Republican; Kellogg, regular Republican. Two legislatures fulminated against each other; two senators claimed the vacancy in Congress. President Grant sent a message informing Congress of the leading facts and stating that “recent investigations of the said elections had developed so many frauds and forgeries as to make it doubtful what candidates received a majority of votes actually cast.”¹ He asked Congress to act about this chaotic crisis.

But the Congress, not knowing what to do, did nothing. Meanwhile the contending parties came to actual collision in the streets of New Orleans in September, 1874. Twenty-six persons were killed, and Governor Kellogg was obliged to take refuge in the United States custom-house. President Grant acted as a soldier might have been expected to act. He sent soldiers to the scene, who restored order and upheld Kellogg.

Congress sent a committee to investigate, of which William A. Wheeler (afterwards Vice-President) was chairman. Their report developed some ugly frauds by the Warmouth party. Governor Kellogg was temporarily sustained and kept in power.²

But the elections of the next year (1875) gave rise to a similar *embroglio*. Nicholls (Democrat) claimed to be governor; so did Packard (Republican). The President refused to interfere, except so far as to command and keep the peace by his soldiers.³ At the close of his term both claimants still kept the field; but hardly had Grant’s successor withdrawn the soldiers before the Republican claimant collapsed, and Governor Nicholls quietly ruled the State.

From such scenes of misgovernment and its results we turn gladly to a brighter and happier scene which adorned the administration of President Grant. It was the great “Centennial Exposition,” held in memory of the establishment of the independence of the United States by the Declaration of 1776.

¹ Message 25th February, 1873, in Stephens, 860, 861.

² Stephens’ Comp. U. S., 863.

³ Quackenbos, 515.

Long and anxious preparations had been made for it, in which all the nations of the earth had been invited to take part. Congress had made liberal appropriations of money, and public corporations and private citizens of wealth and means had poured out their resources lavishly to make it a success. The result exceeded even the most sanguine expectations.

The buildings were erected in the beautiful grounds of the "Fairmount Park," at Philadelphia. The main exhibition building covered twenty acres, and its annexes covered nearly as much more. Two hundred smaller structures were scattered over the extensive grounds. In these buildings were gathered all the best and highest specimens of the genius and industry of the world in painting, sculpture, statuary, machinery, and every form of art. The exhibition was opened with imposing ceremonies on the 10th day of May, 1876. The machinery was all started at a given signal by one gigantic "Corliss" engine. Crowds of people from all parts of the United States—North, South, East and West—and from all parts of the habitable world continuously flocked from day to day to the exhibition. On the night of the 3d and on the 4th of July all business was suspended, except such as related to the grand civic and military procession and ceremonies of those days. General Hawley was commander-in-chief. High officers and volunteer companies of North and South mingled with amity and enthusiasm in these movements. The re-union of the whole country was made manifest. Dom Pedro, the enlightened Emperor of Brazil, and President Grant together took part in the ceremonies.

The exposition was kept open from the 10th of May to the 10th of October, 1876. The total number of visitors was registered by the counting turnstiles as nine million nine hundred and ten thousand nine hundred and sixty-six.¹

The return of prosperity was manifest everywhere. Large harvests followed agricultural labor. The Congress of 1876 felt that it was safe to provide for the redemption of treasury notes in coin on and after the 1st day of January, 1879; and, as the time drew near, so complete was the restoration of public confidence that the premium on gold coin sunk and sunk until it reached zero, and the resumption of specie payments became universal after a suspension of nearly eighteen years.

Only two centres of actual hostility gave trouble. One was the chronic case of Cuba. Since 1868, insurrectionary spirit against Spain had never been quiet in that island. On the 31st

¹ Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 291, 292. McCabe, in Stephens, 866-875.

October, 1873, the *Virginus*, a vessel sailing under the United States flag, was captured on the high seas by the Spanish cruiser *Tornado*, on the alleged ground that she was bound for Cuba with men and arms for the insurgents. Captain Fry and many others were taken from her to the shore and shot without formal trial, against the spirit of the treaty between Spain and the United States, and against the protest of the American consul. Excitement rose high in the United States, and war with Spain was clamored for. Congress appropriated four million dollars for the navy. A fleet assembled in the waters of Cuba; but it was ascertained that the *Virginus* was not a ship owned in the United States and not entitled to carry their flag. Spain made reparation for all actual injuries, and the difficulty was peaceably settled.¹

The other trouble was with the warlike Sioux Indians. They committed outrages and murders in Wyoming and Montana Territories. General Custer (who had gained a decisive success over the Indians at Washita in November, 1868), with a small command of the Seventh cavalry, was detached to march upon them. On the 25th of June, 1876, he came suddenly on a large body of the Sioux, occupying a strong position near the Big Horn river. Without waiting for reinforcements Custer bravely, but somewhat rashly, determined to attack them. He sent Colonel Reno, with three companies, to fall on the rear of the Indian position while he charged directly on their front. A bloody conflict ensued. Custer, his two brothers and his nephew, all fell on the field, and all the men with him, two hundred and fifty in number, were slain. Colonel Reno was surrounded, but, rapidly throwing up slight intrenchments, he held his ground on the bluffs until reinforcements arrived.² The Sioux were driven off, but not before they had gained a partial success, which encouraged them to continue the war; but they were followed up with ceaseless vigor during the summer, autumn and winter, and defeated again and again with severe loss. Finally, a small remnant of them, under their chiefs Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, took refuge in British territory.

As the time approached for nominations for the next presidential term, some evidences of curious anxiety appeared. Many warm admirers of General Grant proposed his renomination for a third consecutive term.³ Nothing in the constitution forbade it, and though he himself never gave personal evidence of unseemly

¹ Quackenbos, 516, 517. Holmes, 275.

² Barnes, 292, 293. Thalheimer, 335. Quackenbos, 518.

³ Holmes' U. S., 277, 278.

ambition on the subject, yet he submitted himself to the views of his political friends in expressions indicating that he did not consider the precedents of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson as conclusively binding on him; but the people of the country received the idea of a *third-term* President with so little favor that the Republican leaders did not venture to press it.

The Republican convention met at Cincinnati, Ohio, and on the 14th of June, 1876, nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democratic convention met at St. Louis, Missouri, and on the 27th of June nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Republican platform was nearly a repetition of its predecessor. The Democratic platform made a strong appeal for reform and free government.

The canvass was urged with vigor in every part of the country. The result came near to involving the United States in another bloody strife in arms. The electoral votes were known to be nearly equal; both sides claimed the victory. The whole number of electoral votes was three hundred and sixty-nine; therefore one hundred and eighty-five votes were required to elect.

But, unhappily, the disturbed conditions arising out of the war and the reconstruction measures gave rise to a state of returns never before known. Two returns as to electoral votes were made from several States. This compelled the electoral college to refer the whole matter of the election to the Congress.

They were thus brought face to face with questions never before presented. The Democrats contended that, by a right count, they were entitled to the electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, which would give them two hundred and three votes; but that, if the votes of those three States were counted for Hayes, Tilden would still have one hundred and eighty-four undisputed votes, and one vote from Oregon was justly his by official return, which would give him one hundred and eighty-five votes;¹ but the Republicans insisted that, by the official returns certified by the governors, as always theretofore received, Hayes and Wheeler had a majority of the electoral votes.

The Democrats had a majority in the House; the Republicans in the Senate. Thus, agreement of the two Houses seemed impossible. The country looked on in breathless anxiety. Already the unstable and fighting elements were beginning to come to the surface, and to prepare for bloodshed.

¹ Stephens' Comp. U. S., 876.

In this alarming crisis, Samuel J. Tilden wrote a patriotic letter, which was made public, and which urged some amicable settlement by a compromise bill in Congress to prevent open war.

The Congress adopted the plan of a "Joint High Commission," to whom the disputed election should be referred for decision. The bill for this purpose received the votes of many earnest Southern members, among whom were Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, and John Randolph Tucker, of Virginia. Some doubted the constitutionality of the bill, on the ground that the Vice-President of the United States (being president of the Senate) was the functionary authorized to receive and count the votes in the presence of the Congress.¹ But the bill passed both Houses, and was signed by the President.

The "Joint Commission" consisted of five senators—Edmunds, Morton, Frelinghuysen, Bayard and Thurman; five representatives—Payne, Hunton, Abbott, Garfield and Hoar; and five justices of the Supreme Court—Clifford, Miller, Field, Strong and Bradley. The papers relating to the dispute were referred to them. They sat constantly and worked diligently. Their decision and award were not made until the second day of March, 1877, only two days before the time for inaugurating the new President.

The questions of fact and law, fraud and force of official returns, were presented fully and argued lucidly before the "Commission" by the best legal minds of the country, among whom Jeremiah Black and Charles O'Connor were conspicuous.² The decision was that Rutherford B. Hayes, for President, and William A. Wheeler, for Vice-President, had received one hundred and eighty-five electoral votes, being a majority of one vote, and were duly elected.³

The country breathed more freely, and acquiesced. But the Democrats failed not to notice that the vote in the "Joint Commission" was eight Republicans to seven Democrats, and that the grave justices of the Supreme Court voted on each side of the political lines as the members of Congress did—that is, according to their previously known party views. This disputed election and its decision have been held to be strong evidence of the failure of the republican form of government; but this would be a crude and false conclusion.

The decision was simply that the counting authority could not go behind the official returns certified by the governors of the

¹ Art. XII., Amendments to U. S. Constitution.

² "The Republic as a Form of Government," by John Scott, of Fauquier, Va., pp. 266-286.

³ Stephens, 876. Eggleston, 356. Seudder, 418. Thalheimer, 337.

States, and thus plunge into the chaotic sea of evidence as to fraud, intimidation and invalid ballots which lay behind. On this basis all previous elections had been decided. It seemed safer to rest on this, and hope for better times and more honest rule in all the States. The result was proof of conservatism rather than failure in the republic.

Soon after the close of his second term, General Grant set out on an extended course of travel. He passed through Great Britain and nearly all the enlightened countries of Europe, receiving everywhere, alike from crowned heads and subjects, marks of courtesy and honor. He then traveled in Asia and the extreme East, passed round the world, and returned to his home through the Pacific, by San Francisco and the great continental line of railroad.

He settled in the city of New York. Here he became a partner in a banking house with his son-in-law, Mr. Ward, whose financial ventures were somewhat perilous. The result was disastrous failure, which involved the worldly fortunes of the ex-President, but did not affect his honor. He died of cancer of the throat on the 23d July, 1885. His funeral was one of pomp and magnificence, attended by the highest dignitaries of the land and the surviving generals of both Northern and Southern armies. His remains were interred at Riverside Park, in New York city.

CHAPTER LXI.

THE PRESIDENCIES OF HAYES, GARFIELD AND ARTHUR.

WHATEVER doubts the Democrats, North and South, may have felt as to the good faith exercised in the elections which had been decided in favor of President Hayes, it is certain that the South had no reason to complain of his administration.

He was inaugurated on Monday, March 5th, 1877, and served until March 4th, 1881. Among his first official acts was an order withdrawing from Louisiana and other Southern States the United States troops theretofore quartered therein. The effect was immediate and highly salutary. The "carpet-baggers," "scalawags" and negro politicians rapidly collapsed in numbers and influence. Stable government and security took the place of anarchy and disorder.

But now began to appear in the United States an element of danger, intensified by the prevalence of free institutions. In no country in the world had labor, in every form, been more remunerative. Wages, even of ordinary and unskilled laborers, had been higher than in any other country, making the sober workman and his family comfortable and prosperous. Skilled labor in every department commanded the best prices.

From the Old World had been introduced the principle and usage of organization of workmen into guilds and societies. So long as these were confined to legitimate co-operation for purposes of mutual help in sickness, advantageous purchases of food and clothing, and special emergency, their effect was good; but restless and leading minds among the working classes, and especially of those who had migrated from Europe, began to conceive of purposes far wider and wilder than mere co-operation. A huge organization emerged, known as "Knights of Labor," to which all were invited who, in any form, worked with hands and heads in mechanical or industrial art.

Their methods of relief and remedy in cases in which they conceived themselves to have suffered grievance were chiefly two, viz.: "strikes" and "boycotts." Their "strikes" involved not merely the ceasing to work themselves and falling back upon

a common fund previously contributed from their wages to maintain them during a protracted "strike," but involved also active and sometimes forcible and bloody opposition to other laborers employed to take the places of the "strikers." The "boycott" was a system first practiced in Ireland. Its essence was a cessation of all purchases, dealings or business with all who in any manner opposed their proceedings. It was essentially a conspiracy, on the largest scale, against good feeling and liberal dealing, and was, therefore, against the spirit of the English common law and of Christianity.

In July, 1877, some reduction in the high rate of wages previously paid by the "Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company" having been made, the brakemen and train hands "struck" and refused to work at Martinsburg, in West Virginia.¹ Other railroad workmen joined in the movement. Soon all transfer of passengers or freight was suspended. The efforts of the companies to obtain other laborers were forcibly and brutally resisted by the strikers. Twenty thousand organized insurgents held possession of Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, for more than two days. One hundred and twenty-five costly locomotives and two thousand five hundred freight and express cars, besides many engine-houses and other buildings, were burned by the strikers. State troops were ordered out, and United States soldiers were hurried to the scene. Bloody conflicts followed, in which not less than one hundred lives were destroyed. Gradually the insurgents learned that the arm of orderly government was too strong for them. They began to return to their work, after having caused irreparable loss. Similar riots occurred at Chicago and St. Louis, and with like results. In San Francisco a mob attacked the employers of Chinese laborers, and were, with blood and difficulty, dispersed.

But there is certainly a reverse side of this labor question strongly favorable to the "Knights" and to all who seek for fair treatment of workmen and workwomen in every department by employers. In the United States as well as in England, Thomas Hood's "Song of the Shirt" has met a response in thousands of souls. Seamstresses in New York and other cities have toiled at wages barely sufficient to keep soul and body together, while their employers were becoming millionaires. Other forms of labor have met similar oppression at the hands of the rich.

If it be true that, in 1886, in New York, the Widow Landgraf was "boycotted" by organized laborers, and handbills were distributed urging people not to buy bread at her bakery, simply be-

¹ Thalheimer's Elec. U. S., 340, 341.

cause she had declined to conform to some of the guild rules, it is equally true that employers have banded themselves together for the purpose of crushing "strikes" and keeping down wages. The cloakmakers in New York, not long ago, by concerted action "locked out" and dismissed all their workmen and women because of a "strike" in one single shop. Similar hardships have been visited on cigarmakers, collar and paper-box workmen, and shoemakers and binders, men and women.¹ No influence less than real, personal Christianity in employers and laborers will furnish a solution of these sad questions.

In Idaho Territory, early in the autumn of 1877, the Nez Perces Indians broke out into open war; but the United States troops, under Colonel Miles and General Howard, marched promptly against them and subdued all hostile movements by the end of October.²

The second session of the Forty-fifth Congress was held in 1877-'78. An act was passed relieving Southern soldiers who, by reason of wounds or invalidity, were pensioned by their States, from all operation of the "iron-clad" oath. The "Bland Silver Bill" was also passed, by which the silver dollar of four hundred and twelve and a half grains of standard silver was restored to its money power as legal tender, though its coinage was limited to four million dollars per month. Resumption of specie payments was provided for, to take effect on the 1st of January, 1879; and, as gold by that time was at par with the government's treasury notes in Wall Street, New York, the resumption was so quiet and easy that no financial strain attended it.

In the summer of 1878, the yellow fever made its appearance in New Orleans, and spread with alarming rapidity up the rivers and into Missouri and Tennessee. At least seven thousand persons died.³ Under an act of Congress, scientific researches as to the nature and origin of this disease were made, and measures of health and cleanliness have been adopted.

Notwithstanding the heavy public debt, the country grew fast in prosperity and population. The census of 1880 showed a total of more than fifty million—an increase of about twelve million in ten years.

By the treaty of Washington, in 1871, difficulties and questions of damage between Great Britain and the United States, concerning the fisheries of the northeastern coast, had been referred to a commission. They sat at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1878, and after

¹ Art. "Industrial Discontent," Belford's Mag., Feb., 1891.

² Stephen's Comp. U. S., 881.

³ Prof. Steele, Barnes, 295.

careful investigation awarded to Great Britain the sum of five million five hundred thousand dollars.

In 1880, two treaties with China were made and ratified. One regulated commerce between the two countries; the other granted to the United States power to regulate and restrict the nature and extent of immigration of Chinese people to our country.

As the time for the presidential nominations of 1880 drew near, increasing anxiety was felt. It was known that President Hayes positively declined to permit his name to be used as a candidate. The attempt to renominate him would have opened afresh magazines of explosives too dangerous to be used. General Grant's friends—prominent among whom was Roscoe Conkling, of New York—enthusiastically urged him for a third term and presented his name to the Republican convention, which met in Chicago on the 2d day of June, 1880. But the opponents of the third-term idea prevailed. The votes for Grant never rose above three hundred and six. James G. Blaine led the opposition. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, was nominated for President, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President.

The Democratic convention met in Cincinnati, on the 22d of June, 1880, and nominated Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, of New York, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President.

A party or sect known as the "Greenback party" had arisen, whose leading principle was that the government ought to issue an enormous volume of paper currency, and make it legal tender, basing its acceptance at par simply upon the credit of the government, and not upon its power of convertibility into gold or silver coin at the pleasure of the holder. This was known as the theory of "fiat money," and it was ingeniously upheld in argument by Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and others. It had seductive fascinations for many minds; but it could not delude those who remembered the lessons of history. Nevertheless, the "Greenback-Labor" party held a convention and nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, as President, and Benjamin I. Chambers, of Texas, as Vice-President. The vote they received was comparatively small.

The Republicans were successful. James A. Garfield was inaugurated on Friday, the 4th of March, 1881. The day was bleak, stormy and blood-chilling; yet the military and civic display had never been more imposing. Fifty thousand non-residents crowded the city of Washington.

The new President was, in the highest sense, a self-made man. He was one of nature's noblemen. Born in Cuyahoga county, Ohio,

in 1831, he was one of a family living in poverty on a small and recently cleared farm in what was then a wilderness.¹ His father's death, while he was yet in boyhood, made it necessary for him to toil with his hands for his mother and her family. His early education was limited; but his soul was of high order and could not be suppressed. By patient exertions he entered Williams College and graduated with great credit in 1854. He distinguished himself in the Northern armies and attained the rank of major-general. During the war he was elected to Congress and was a leader in the House of Representatives. He was elected senator from Ohio, but, being nominated for the Presidency, never took his seat in the Senate. He had been a hard student, and had gained wide knowledge of the history of man. He was a faithful Christian, and was a member of the denomination who discourage human creeds and prefer to call themselves simply "Christians." Frank, winning and generous in character and manner, he had hosts of friends and was beloved by many who differed from him in party questions.

His nominations for his cabinet were confirmed by the Senate. They were: James G. Blaine, of Maine, Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, of the Treasury; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois (son of the deceased President, Abraham Lincoln), of War; William H. Hunt, of Louisiana, of the Navy; Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, of the Interior; Thomas L. James, of New York, Postmaster-General; Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General.²

Hardly had the new presidency opened before a bitter conflict began to develop itself between Republican forces. Roscoe Conkling, of New York, had urged the renomination of General Grant as long as there was hope, and had favored the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, as Vice-President. He and his special party friends took some pride in denominating themselves as "Stalwarts." His chief ground of hostility to President Garfield was concerning the lucrative office of collector of the port of New York. The President declined to nominate the man urged by the "Stalwarts." This quarrel would be beneath the notice of history had it not led to a blood-red tragedy.

The President's wife, Mrs. Lucretia R. Garfield, a lady of more than ordinary force and beauty of character, had suffered with malarial fever after coming to Washington. She was removed to Long Branch, New Jersey, where she gradually improved in health.

¹ Prof. Steele, Barnes, (note) 296. Stephens, 892.

² Stephens' Comp. U. S., 896.

After passing through the opening labors of his administration, which had been aggravated by the course of the "Stalwarts," the President felt at liberty to seek some respite. He prepared to visit Long Branch, and to go thence to attend the commencement exercises in Williams College. On July 2d, 1881, accompanied by Secretary Blaine, he was driven in a carriage to the reception-rooms of the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad Company. Some members of the cabinet had preceded him. They were to take a car on the limited express train which was to leave the station at half-past nine o'clock in the morning. All were ready, and the President and Mr. Blaine were cheerfully conversing, when, as they were passing through the ladies' saloon on their way to the car, a pistol-shot was heard. The ball inflicted a slight wound on the President's arm; but another shot immediately followed, and the bullet penetrated the body of President Garfield in the back near the spinal column and in the region of the kidneys. He fell heavily to the floor.

Amazed and almost paralyzed by the scene, the members of the cabinet nevertheless hastened to have the President raised and removed to his home. The assassin had a hired hack waiting for him and attempted to fly, but was promptly seized by Captain Kearney and Policeman Parks. He brandished his pistol, waving a sealed letter and shouting in a loud voice: "Arthur is President of the United States now. I am a Stalwart. This letter will tell you everything. I want you to take it to General Sherman."

He was soon identified as a man named Charles Guiteau, who had been an office-seeker and loungeur in Washington and elsewhere. His letter to General Sherman deserves preservation as a sign of the times. It was as follows:

"To General Sherman:

"I have just shot the President. I shot him several times, as I wished him to go as easily as possible. His death was a political necessity. I am a lawyer, theologian and politician. I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts. I was with General Grant and the rest of our men in New York during the canvass. I am going to the jail. Please order out your troops and take possession of the jail at once.

Very respectfully,

"CHARLES GUITEAU."

General Sherman, with considerate prudence, endorsed on the letter that he did not know the writer and never saw or heard of him to his knowledge, and that the letter was remitted to Major Twining, Commissioner of the District of Columbia, and Major Brock, chief of police, as testimony in the case.¹

¹ Letters in Stephens' Comp. U. S., 897-899.

The wound received by the President was in its nature mortal from the beginning ; but, by medical and surgical skill and careful nursing, he was kept alive for more than two months. During this time the sympathy manifested was not confined to the United States, but was literally world-wide. Frequent inquiries and expressions of sorrow came from the Old World, and especially from Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India.

The slowly dying President bore his sufferings with patience and Christian fortitude. With the hope that change of air might do good, he was conveyed to Long Branch. Here, in Francklyn Cottage, at Elberon, he died at 10:35 P. M. of the 19th September, 1881. His wife had watched and nursed him with patient love to the end.

The assassin, Guiteau, was carefully guarded against all "lynch law" punishment. The nearest approach to it was a shot fired at him through the grated window of the jail by a subordinate officer or private soldier of the guard, who bore the name of Mason. The shot missed. The soldier was duly tried and punished for this breach of military duty ; but he was pardoned before his term of imprisonment expired.

A regular indictment was found on the 8th of October, 1881, by a grand jury against Charles Guiteau, for the murder of James A. Garfield. The trial lasted from the 16th November, 1881, to the 25th January, 1882, and was eminent in judicial caution and fairness to the accused. George Scoville, who had married Guiteau's sister, led as counsel in his defence. The plea was insanity, though the accused himself protested against it, and insisted that he had killed the President as a political necessity and moved by a Divine impulse. His whole demeanor previous to, during and after his trial fully entitled him to the designation of "crank," which has ever since been a recognized American word, the meaning of which is well understood. It describes a man who is eccentric, but not insane.

The jury found him "guilty," and he was sentenced to be executed by hanging on the 30th day of June. Efforts for a new trial and appeals for pardon were all ineffectual. The sentence was carried out, in the jail and in the presence of a limited number of spectators, on the day appointed.

Sombre and disturbing as some of the reflections of Chester A. Arthur on the tragic events which had made him President of the United States probably were, he promptly assumed his high office and grave duties as soon as he received official notice of the death

of President Garfield. He took the oath of office before Hon. John R. Brady, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of New York, on the 20th September, and sent to the cabinet of the dead President information of his act, with renewed expressions of sorrow and sympathy.¹ The cabinet had advised this prompt action to avoid the disorders of an interregnum. From this time to the end of his term, May 4th, 1885, he continued diligently to discharge his high duties.

One of his seasons of recreation was spent in a visit to the great National Park, in the Yellowstone region of Wyoming Territory. Its natural wonders have continued to attract yearly a crowd of visitors.

The series of gigantic manœuvres for dishonestly making money, commonly known as the "Star Route Frauds," early attracted the attention of the Garfield and Arthur administration. These frauds involved malpractices on a large scale in the Postoffice Department. In two months the investigations made led to the annulling of contracts amounting to nearly two millions of dollars.²

The population of the country had become so large and so conflicting in the character and interests of its elements, that the question of restricting immigration became serious in the law-making power and its counsels.

From the teeming lands of China great numbers of her people were constantly making their way across the Pacific Ocean to the United States, and chiefly to California. By the year 1880 they were estimated at one hundred thousand, of whom not less than seventy-five thousand were in California.³ They were heathen in their religious faith, and, therefore, were gross in their vices and usages; but they were neither so corrupt nor so dangerous as the "communists," "anarchists" and "atheists," who came chiefly from Europe, and who, born and raised under systems of Christian teaching more or less false and heretical, had discarded entirely the religion of Christ, and abandoned belief even in the existence and righteous government of God.

The Chinese made themselves useful and efficient as workers on railroads, in mines, in factories, in market-gardening, in laundries and in domestic service. It is a fact, beyond truthful denial, that the chief opposers of their continued residence and migration were the working Irish and other European foreigners and the classes with whom the Chinese competed by furnishing cheaper labor; but whatever its source, this opposition became bitter and persistent.

¹ Telegrams in Stephens, 907.

² Prof. Steele, in Barnes, 297.

³ Thalheimer's *Eccles.* U. S., 341.

Early in 1879 a bill passed both Houses of the Congress forbidding, except under close restrictions, the further immigration of the Chinese. President Hayes vetoed the bill, because it was in plain violation of the "Burlingame" treaty between the United States and China, made in 1868. Hence the amended treaty in 1880, of which we have given an account.

In 1882 the opposition to the Chinese resumed its career and with better prospects of success. A bill was passed forbidding Chinese immigration for twenty years. President Arthur returned this bill, with grave objections; but another was soon passed suspending Chinese immigration for ten years, forbidding the naturalization of all Chinese, and imposing fines and penalties on masters of vessels who should bring unauthorized Chinese immigrants to this country. This bill the President was induced to approve.¹

In subsequent debates in Congress on this subject, arguments open to serious question have been urged. It is difficult to maintain logically such prohibitions, unless the United States shall carry them out against other nations than China. In the Senate an attempt, somewhat hazardous, was made to impeach the Christian doctrine of the unity of the human race, and to uphold as sound the error in the textual criticism of the New Testament which seeks to strike the word *αἷμα* (blood) out of Acts xvii. 26, and thus to deny that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."²

In 1881, a claim to a new insular land was asserted in behalf of the United States. A Mr. Bennett had dispatched from San Francisco, July 8th, 1879, the steamer *Jeannette*, to make explorations in the Arctic regions. She had long been missing. With the hope of finding her, the United States revenue cutter *Thomas Corwin*, Capt. C. L. Hooper, went to those seas.

She did not find the *Jeannette*, but on August 12th, 1881, she reached the southeast coast of Wrangell Island, northeasterly from Siberia. In the belief that the right of discovery applied, Captain Hooper raised the United States flag and took possession in the name of his country.³ The island proved to be about sixty-six miles broad by forty long, with a range of hills culminating in a peak two thousand eight hundred feet in height. The bones of the mammoth and specimens of fossil ivory were found.

The fate of the *Jeannette* was sad. Lieutenant De Long, her commander, was obliged to abandon her in the ice. With his

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 527. Barnes, 298.

² Senator Jones' speech in U. S. Senate, and Dispatch, Va., December 21, 1887.

³ Quackenbos' U. S., 526.

crew he reached the mouth of the Lena in September, 1881; but by a series of exposures and misfortunes he and most of his men perished. A few survived to tell.

In March, 1882, the bill making bigamy and polygamy in United States Territories misdemeanors punishable by fine and imprisonment, became a law. It was specially intended for Utah. We have noted its effect, and may hope for its complete success. At the subsequent registration in Utah one thousand polygamists were disfranchised.

In the same session the new Apportionment Bill became a law. It fixed the number of representatives at three hundred and twenty-five, apportioned as follows: Alabama, eight; Arkansas, five; California, six; Colorado, one; Connecticut, four; Delaware, one; Florida, two; Georgia, ten; Illinois, twenty; Indiana, thirteen; Iowa, eleven; Kansas, seven; Kentucky, eleven; Louisiana, six; Maine, four; Maryland, six; Massachusetts, twelve; Michigan, eleven; Minnesota, five; Mississippi, seven; Missouri, fourteen; Nebraska, three; Nevada, one; New Hampshire, two; New Jersey, seven; New York, thirty-four; North Carolina, nine; Ohio, twenty-one; Oregon, one; Pennsylvania, twenty-eight; Rhode Island, two; South Carolina, seven; Tennessee, ten; Texas, eleven; Vermont, two; Virginia, ten; West Virginia, four; Wisconsin, nine. A subsequent apportionment, increasing the number, but preserving the ratio, has been made.

In 1883 the wire suspension bridge across the wide expanse of East river and connecting New York with Brooklyn was completed and opened for use. It was commenced January 3d, 1870, and is reckoned among the wonders of the age in mechanical engineering.

In the same year a "Civil Service Bill" was passed, the object of which was to destroy as far as practicable the war canon, "to the victors belong the spoils," in its application to peaceful civil appointments, and to require competitive examinations as to competency. Yet a curious sequel has shown how impracticable it is to satisfy all men. The President, who sought in good faith to execute this law, was assailed therefor with deliberate obloquy; but it was noted that his assailants were chiefly those who were disappointed as to getting office.

On the 1st October, 1883, postage was greatly reduced on all matter mailable for the public. On letters not weighing more than half an ounce it was reduced from three cents to two cents. Subsequent legislation has made a two-cent stamp carry a letter of an ounce.

On the 11th October, 1883, a "General Railway Time Convention," held at Chicago, introduced an ingenious and scientific system by which perfect regularity in computation of time prevails among all the railways of the United States. It is done by dividing the country by meridians and applying fixed laws of computation to the sections according to designations, as "Eastern Time," "Central Time," "Mountain Time" and "Pacific Time." It went into effect for the United States at noon of November 18th, 1883.¹

A territorial bill for the newly acquired Alaska main-land, waters and islands was approved in 1884.

In the fall and winter of 1884-'85 a cotton exposition was held in New Orleans, which was highly successful, though not more so than another which had preceded it in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1881-'82, and which rivaled, in its extent and in the numbers who attended it, the great Philadelphia exposition of 1876.²

The time for presidential nominations came in 1884. Secretaries Blaine and Windom had resigned soon after the death of President Garfield. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen and Charles J. Folger had been nominated and confirmed in their places respectively. Chester A. Arthur was not pressed as a candidate for the presidency.

The regular Republican nominees were James G. Blaine, of Maine, for President, and John A. Logan, of Illinois, for Vice-President. The Democratic nominees were Grover Cleveland, of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The steadily growing party, known as "Prohibitionists," who were in favor of prohibiting (except for medical, sacramental and mechanical purposes) the manufacture, traffic and sale of intoxicating wines and liquors, nominated for President John P. St. John, of Kansas. A few, styling themselves the "People's party," nominated Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts. The "Women's Rights Convention" nominated Belva A. Lockwood, of the District of Columbia. The "American Political Alliance" nominated W. L. Ellsworth, of Pennsylvania. Candidates, therefore, were plentiful in 1884.

Cleveland and Hendricks were elected. The vote of New York, which was heavy and decisive in the college of electors, was somewhat close in the numerical vote. Some disposition to contest it was manifested by prominent Republicans; but this effort would have been too perilous to be serious. The laws of New York as to elections were definite, and had been definitely

¹ Quackenbos' U. S., 529, 530.

² Barnes & Co.'s U. S., 298. Stephens' Comp. U. S., 912.

carried out, with a counted result in favor of the Democratic nominees.

Amid these excitements, hopes and disappointments felt by many, the whole country was cheered by the success of the expedition sent by the Navy Department to look for Lieutenant Greely and his men, who, in the *Proteus*, had penetrated into the Arctic seas years before. He and seven men survived of the twenty-five who had sailed in the *Proteus*. They were on the point of starvation when they were found and rescued at Cape Sabine, in Smith's Sound. But he and his officers had discovered Lake Hazen and Mount Arthur, the highest peak of which reaches four thousand five hundred feet above sea-level, and Lieutenant Lockwood and Sergeant Brainerd, in 1882, reached, on the coast of Greenland, the highest point in latitude ever attained by man. It was called Lockwood Island, and is only three hundred and ninety-five miles from the North pole.

CHAPTER LXII.

THE PRESIDENCIES OF CLEVELAND AND HARRISON.

THE incoming of a Democratic presidency, after twenty-four years of continuous executive rule by Republicans, was a change welcome to many thousands of people. Democratic principles, when truthfully asserted and acted on, are the real principles of a vast majority in the United States; but those principles have been often misrepresented and abused to evil ends.

Grover Cleveland was the son of an unpretending clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, and was born in Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18th, 1837. Soon after his birth his father removed the family by schooner to Albany, and thence by packet on the Erie Canal to central New York. The son, aged sixteen, was pursuing academic study when the father's death left the family very poor. Against difficulties, which nothing less than singular courage and resolution would have surmounted, the young man made his way to the bar and the practice of law in Buffalo, in 1859. His merits soon raised him. His "marked industry," unpretentious courage and unswerving honesty won for him rapid promotion.¹ He was elected Mayor of Buffalo, and, as such, reformed abuses, broke up rings, and enforced the proper use of the city funds and the proper discharge of municipal duties. He fearlessly vetoed many acts of the city council, and gave his reasons in language not to be misunderstood. In 1882 he was nominated and elected Governor of New York, receiving a majority of about one hundred and ninety thousand votes over his opponent. His course as governor displayed all his best traits.

After his inauguration as President he named as his cabinet: Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Secretary of State; Daniel Manning, of New York, of the Treasury; William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts, of War; William C. Whitney, of New York, of the Navy; L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, of the Interior; William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, Postmaster-General, and A. H. Garland, of Arkansas, Attorney-General. The Senate confirmed them.

¹ Prof. Steele, in Barnes, 300. Thalheimer, 350.

President Cleveland, in his presidency, acted out his character as previously developed. He approved the "Civil Service Act" in principle, and honestly sought to carry out its provisions. He was thus relieved from a duty which to him would have been specially annoying, viz., the duty of deciding among office-seekers; but thousands of people, whose so-called democracy consisted in gathering spoils from success, were thus disappointed by him and alienated from him.

The readjustment of the tariff was the chief legislative issue of his administration. His principles and policy on that subject were never a subject of doubt. He repudiated the whole scheme of protective tariffs, in all their varied forms. He did what he could, in messages and influence, to defeat the protective policy. He was aided by leading Democrats, chiefly from the South, prominent among whom was Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, who was in the House of Representatives and chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means; but the protectionists, and especially the rich men in the Senate, who had become rich largely by the dishonest policy of protection to special interests to the injury of all others, were too strong for the Democrats. They succeeded in defeating every effort at fair readjustment of the tariff.

One weapon of defence President Cleveland held in his own hands, and he wielded it with keen and startling energy. This was the "veto" power. He sent back more bills with his reasons for dissent than any former President had ever done. His vetoes were unsparingly applied to partisan bounty and pension bills, and to lavish and inequitable appropriation bills. His objections were generally sustained, because the House of Representatives was Democratic.

The Vice-President, Thomas A. Hendricks, never took his seat as presiding officer of the Senate.¹ After a brief illness he died at his home in Indiana, on the 25th day of November, 1885. Tidings of this death reached many communities at the very time their people were engaged in the churches in the Thanksgiving services recommended by public proclamations.

A Department of Agriculture had been established by act of Congress, and to provide against the disorders which might arise in case of the death or permanent inability to act both of President and Vice-President, the Congress of 1886 passed the "Presidential Succession Act," already alluded to herein.² The order of succession is as follows: Secretaries of State, Treasury and War, the

¹ Prof. Steele, Barnes, (note) 300.

² In Chapter XLIV.

Attorney-General, the Postmaster-General, the Secretaries of the Navy, the Interior, and Agriculture.

Strikes and labor disturbances continued and greatly impeded business success. In several instances railroad traffic was suspended. Switches were displaced with intent to derail trains, and often this intent was realized in the fact. Valuable property was destroyed, and lives were lost or serious bodily injuries sustained.

But something even worse was coming, which proved that the Chinese were not the most ungodly and inhuman among the immigrants. Avowed communists, atheists and anarchists appeared in all the larger cities and began to preach their doctrines of pillage and murder. In Chicago they were especially blatant, chiefly harangued and incited by one Parsons, who claimed to be a native American, and by his wife, who sympathized in his teachings. To preserve order it was found needful to disperse some of their meetings by the police force.¹

Incensed at this organized opposition, the anarchists deliberately prepared to murder the policemen. On the 4th of May, 1886, a large meeting of the conspirators was attempted on the streets. The police, after warning them, without effect, to disperse, were proceeding to more vigorous measures. At that moment a bombshell, loaded with dynamite, was thrown among the policemen. It exploded and killed seven of their number and wounded many others. The murderers instantly dispersed and fled.

But the worst of them had been marked and were known. They were chiefly foreigners, with names savoring of Germany and Austria. They were arrested, regularly indicted, and fairly tried by jury. The proof of their complicity and of their presence, aiding and abetting when the murder was committed, was so definite that seven of them were convicted and sentenced to death. Some doubts as to two existing, the governor of the State commuted their punishment; one committed suicide; and the remaining four were left to the fate they had invoked. Strenuous efforts by zealous counsel were made to have the records in their cases reviewed by the Supreme Court of the United States; but that august tribunal promptly decided that it had no jurisdiction in the premises. The four men, one of whom was Parsons, were hanged by the neck until they were dead. Anarchists began to realize the fact that the atmosphere of the United States was more certainly fatal to them than that of the countries whence they came.

¹ Prof. Steele, Barnes, 300. United States newspapers of the times.

In the evening and night of August 31st, 1886, a series of earthquake shocks were experienced from the Canada line down to the Gulf of Mexico. They were most violent and destructive in and about Charleston, South Carolina. Three shocks, with alarming tremblings of the earth, followed each other in rapid succession. The people rushed from their houses into the streets to find them blocked with tumbling walls and chimneys. Fires broke out in many places. For days the people dared not to re-enter their houses. Through the streets stretchers were borne carrying the dead and wounded. Public and private buildings, venerable churches and historic edifices tottered and fell, or else settled down with huge chasms in their walls and damages almost irreparable. In the regions near the city great fissures suddenly opened, hot streams of sulphurous water poured out, and the earth subsided in many places from three to eight feet.¹

But after the emotions of horror and alarm began to give place to faith and confidence in God and themselves, the Charleston people evinced wonderful courage and perseverance. They were aided by active sympathy and help from the North and South. Nearly every building of value has been restored to more than previous beauty and strength.

On the 18th of November, 1886, after a long illness, the ex-President, Chester A. Arthur, died in the city of New York.

President Cleveland had not been married up to the time of his administration; but in 1887 he was united in marriage to Miss Frances Folsom, of New York, a lady who, by her beauty, wit and tact, made a favorable impression on all who came within her influence. The marriage took place at the White House, the presidential residence in Washington.

In 1888, Chief-Justice Waite, of the Supreme Court, died, after a judicial career reflecting honor on him. President Cleveland nominated as his successor Melville W. Fuller, of Illinois, who was confirmed by the Senate, and now holds this high office.

The Samoan group consists of three small islands lying in the Pacific Ocean about twenty-seven hundred miles south of the Sandwich Islands, and in latitude 14° south, longitude 170° west of Greenwich. They would be unimportant but for the fact that they lie on the line of the usual sea route to New Zealand and Australia, and are suited for a coaling station. In 1888 the German empire manifested a disposition and purpose to assume control of these islands by a protectorate, which displaced the reigning king. The United States and Great Britain both made

¹ Contemporary United States journals. Barnes, 300, 301.

protest against this, and the court at Berlin yielded to their remonstrances and assented to the restoration of the native kingdom.

But though the controversy was thus ended, it had a sombre sequel. Early in 1889, a number of war-ships of Germany, Great Britain and the United States were anchored in supposed security in the broad strait of water between the largest island of Samoa and the outer reef. On the 15th of March a furious wind-storm arose. The ships were driven on the reef, in wreck and ruin, and with serious loss of life. Only one escaped—the British steam frigate *Calliope*, who, by her mighty engines, was able to keep her head to wind and wave, and move against the storm, and thus gained the open sea and was saved. The German war-ships lost were the *Adler*, *Olga*, and *Eber*; American war-ships lost, the *Trenton*, *Vandalia*, and *Nipsic*.

In the nominating conventions of 1888 the Democrats renominated Grover Cleveland for President, and placed on the ticket with him the veteran and popular statesman, Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio. The Republicans put in nomination Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, for President, and Levi P. Morton, of New York, for Vice-President. Harrison is a grandson of Gen. William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States, of whom we have heretofore had much to narrate in this work. The grandson was a lawyer, but had been in the Federal army during the war of the States and had risen from the rank of second lieutenant to that of brigadier-general. After the war his State had elected him to the United States Senate. Levi P. Morton was an astute politician of enormous wealth, his property and money being estimated by millions of dollars. This fact was not without weight in securing his nomination.

The Republican candidates were elected by a considerable majority of the chosen electors, although in the popular vote a majority appeared for the Democrats. President Cleveland gave no signs of depression or mortification, but, on completing the duties of his term, quietly resumed the station and avocations of a private citizen.

The inauguration of the new President, Benjamin Harrison, took place on the 4th of March, 1889, and was attended by an immense crowd and by imposing ceremonials. But the day was cold, rainy and inclement, being one in a season marked by water floods which did very great damage to railways and growing crops.

The most appalling disaster accompanying these floods was that at Johnstown, Cambria county, Pennsylvania. On the 31st of

May, 1889, a massive stone dam on the South Fork creek, which had held a deep and broad body of water above the level of the town, after some indications of failure, suddenly gave way. The waters swept in a huge torrent over the town, carrying destruction of life and property everywhere in their course. Not less than two thousand two hundred and ninety-five persons perished. The day express train of the Pennsylvania Railroad was swept from the track, with its ponderous locomotive and all its cars, and twenty-five passengers were drowned.¹ So grave were these disasters that public sympathy was excited through all the land, and large sums of money were donated to relieve the families of those who had perished.

The presidency of Benjamin Harrison is now in progress. It is not ended. It is not an era of time passed, and therefore it is not a legitimate subject for the final recitals and conclusions of history. A few allusions to the prominent events as thus far developed are all that can be hazarded.

The new President nominated as his cabinet gentlemen of prominence: James G. Blaine, of Maine, Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, of the Treasury; Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, of War; Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York, of the Navy; John W. Noble, of Missouri, of the Interior; Jere. M. Rusk, of Wisconsin, of Agriculture; W. H. H. Miller, of Indiana, Attorney-General; John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General. Mr. Blaine, as Secretary of State, has not held a sinecure. Novel events and questions have occupied his attention.

Among the sources of material wealth coming to the United States with the acquisition of the lands, islands and waters of Alaska, purchased from Russia, none is more interesting and important than the seal fishery. Enterprising sealers from Canada competed with the people of the United States for the seals; but, under orders from Washington, the revenue steam-cutter *Bear* captured some of these Canadian adventurers and found them red-handed with the slain bodies and the skins of the seals they had taken.

Canada insisted on the fishing rights of her people, and the questions involved speedily became a subject of correspondence between the State Departments of Great Britain and the United States. The Behring Strait of deep water between the main-land of Alaska and the continent of Asia is sixty miles wide, and the

¹ Alden's *Manifold Encyclop.*, XX, 606-608. Compare with official statement in N. Y. *World Almanac*, 1890, p. 52.

distance between the shore of Alaska and her nearest island is much more than six miles. Thus a question of international law has emerged, viz., whether these waters can be considered as *mare clausum*—a closed sea—that is, a part of the waters of the ocean to which the United States have exclusive right, and from which they may lawfully exclude the sealers and fishermen of other nations.

If this were all the case the question would seem easily solved, and against the United States, by the fixed principle of international law which confines the right of a nation to the waters of her coasts to a distance of three miles.

But the United States claim that the right to preserve and enjoy the seal fishery of the Alaska coasts and waters passed to them by the purchase of the whole region and its appurtenances from Russia, who had always claimed and enforced such right, and that, as the seals, by their fixed habits, annually make their way from shore to shore across deep waters and to distances exceeding six miles, the right would be entirely nugatory unless it carried the right to protect these valuable animals against the wasteful invasions of indiscriminate sealers.¹

The correspondence on each side has resulted in a mutual expression of willingness to refer the questions in controversy to arbitration and decision by sovereign judges. Meanwhile, by reason of wide preparations and reliance on success by Alaskan sealers, the United States ask the privilege of taking not more than seven thousand five hundred seals in the current season.

Another source of anxiety and diplomatic research to Secretary Blaine has arisen out of events in New Orleans.

Italy and her dependency, the large island of Sicily, have for many years been yielding their full share of immigrants to the United States. Some of these have become good citizens, but a very large number, and especially of those who have settled in and about New Orleans, have manifested all the treachery, malignity, cruelty and superstition which enter into the worst forms of the Italian character.

It is a proved fact that a secret society, known to its members and to those who have discovered its methods as "The Mafia," had existed in Sicily and the most southern parts of Italy. Its members were oath-bound. Their object was to put personal enemies out of the way by the stiletto, the poisoned cup or food, and other secret modes of murder. Many of its members were

¹ Ex-Minister Phelps' article in N. A. Review. Secretary Blaine's letters to Earl Salisbury. Montague's letter, Dispatch, Va. Times, Va., April 12th, 1891.

in New Orleans and her suburbs, and mysterious murders often took place.

The chief of police in the city was David C. Hennessey. He was acute and indefatigable in following up the traces of these murderers, in seeking to bring them to justice, and in gathering proofs of the existence and methods of the "Mafia." His success was so great that nothing less than his death seemed to promise safety to those conspirators against the human race. Their plots were carried out. Hennessey was murdered on the 15th of October, 1890, on one of the streets of the city while discharging his official duties.

A number of Italians were arrested. Evidence was gathered, which justified a grand jury in finding indictments against them. They were regularly tried in the city criminal court having jurisdiction. The trial lasted twenty-five days. The evidence seemed, to patient and just minds, conclusive to prove their guilt; but, much to the amazement of the great body of the people of New Orleans, the jury found a verdict of "not guilty."

Meanwhile facts leaked out tending strongly to prove that the jury had been tampered with, and that direct efforts to bribe them had been made, and, moreover, that threats of the secret and murderous methods of the "Mafia" had been suggested to influence them against an adverse verdict.

Thereupon the people of New Orleans assembled in righteous wrath. They were harangued by influential leaders, prominent among whom were W. S. Parkerson, Walter D. Deneger, John C. Wickliffe and James D. Houston. A large and resolute body of men, armed with double-barreled guns, Winchester rifles and revolvers, marched to the jail. No effective resistance could be made to them. They entered the cells and put to death eleven Italians against whom the evidences of murder and complicity in the "Mafia" methods had been strongest. A slight wound was inflicted on one of the assailants. Having done their work, they dispersed to their homes.¹ This was on the 14th March, 1891.

When news of these events reached Washington city by telegraph, the Italian diplomatic representative—Baron Fava, who had for many years been his country's minister to the United States—made to Secretary Blaine earnest complaint and claim for redress. He insisted that among the men put to death were three or more subjects of the King of Italy, entitled under treaty to special protection. Mr. Blaine's first action was somewhat hasty. He sent by telegraph a message to Francis T. Nicholls,

¹ Tel. narrative to Dispatch, Va., March 20, 1891. Washington Post.

Governor of Louisiana, in which, after alluding to the "deplorable massacre" and the complaint of the Italian minister, he said: "The President deeply regrets that the citizens of New Orleans should have so disparaged the purity and adequacy of their own judicial tribunals as to transfer to the passionate judgment of a mob a question that should have been adjudged dispassionately and by settled rules of law. The government of the United States must give to the subjects of friendly powers that security which it demands for our own citizens when temporarily under a foreign jurisdiction."¹

But when more deliberate reflection came, the State Department took ground constitutionally unassailable. Baron Fava and the Count Rudini, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs at Rome, were informed that the government of the United States had no power whatever to arrest and bring to trial in her courts the killers of the Italians; that such power was vested only in the State authorities and courts of Louisiana, and must be the result of an indictment by a grand jury of that State, and that the treaty with Italy only required that the United States should give to the subjects of that kingdom the same measure of protection and redress given to citizens of the United States.

But the Count Rudini, with strange ignorance concerning the United States constitution and Federal system, professed great indignation, and ordered Baron Fava to return home, leaving only a *chargé*, whose functions should be strictly limited to "current business." The Italian consul in New Orleans, who, by his course, had rendered himself unacceptable to her authorities and people, was also called back to Italy.

An elaborate report was forwarded to Washington from the authorities of Louisiana, concerning which it is expedient only to say that it shows that all the Italians killed, save one, had made the needed declarations of purpose to become citizens of the United States, and had actually voted in Louisiana; and the one who had not thus lost all claim on Italy was a man who had been convicted of crime in Sicily and had fled from justice.

During the term of President Harrison, as thus far current, six new States have been admitted to the Union—viz.: Montana, Washington, North Dakota, South Dakota, Idaho and Wyoming. The motives and methods of the dominant party in the Congress as to the admission of these States have been freely called in question. It has been urged that their condition as to population and readiness to exercise the functions of State sovereignty have

¹ Telegram of Secretary Blaine, March 15th, 1891.

not been made manifest, and that they were admitted rather to increase the power of the Republican party in the Senate than for any higher considerations : and as to some of them the method adopted was a prospective act of Congress to be recognized and perfected by a presidential proclamation. This was thought by many to be unconstitutional.¹ And it cannot be truthfully denied that disorder and irregularity, both in the internal action of some of the new States and in the Senate chamber, have already manifested the crude conditions and indirect motives that were in active force. But these admissions of States are all recognized by the United States government as complete, and on the 4th of July, 1891, the flag of the nation bore forty-four stars.

On the 6th December, 1889, Jefferson Davis, who had been the only President of the Confederate States, died in New Orleans. His death awakened anew, in the hearts not only of the people of the South, but of many in the Northern States, sentiments of admiration and sympathy, in view of his devotion to, and sufferings for, the cause he loved so well. Measures were set in motion to erect a monument to his memory. Statues worthy of their fame have already been erected to Lee and Jackson, and the unveiling in each case was attended by very large and enthusiastic civic and military processions and ceremonies.

The long term of the Congress of 1889-'90 and the limited term of 1890-'91, with the intervening period of elections, involved one of the most serious strains to which the institutions of the United States have been subjected.

The enduring question of a protective tariff again came up in forms not so threatening to peace, but actually wider in division of opinion than ever before ; and to it was added a persistent purpose to adopt laws under which a dominant party might become actually sovereign, even against the will of the people.

The tariff bill, known as the "McKinley Bill," from the name of its leading advocate in the House of Representatives, passed both Houses of Congress, received the signature of the President, and is, at least for the present, the law of the land. It is strongly protective in its construction and policy, although it contains some provisions known as "reciprocity sections," intended to adapt the rates of duties on imported goods to the rates charged by nations adopting reciprocity on products and manufactures from the United States. This feature is understood to be earnestly favored by the Secretary of State, James G. Blaine. But thus far it has very little affected the "McKinley Act." That

¹ U. S. Constitution, Art. IV., sec. 3.

act continues and strengthens all the previous legislation favoring special manufactures and other interests protected and enriched at the expense of agriculturists and the masses of the people.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, elected in December, 1889, by rigid party methods, was Thomas B. Reed, of Maine. He embodied all that was tenacious and obdurate in party spirit and purpose.

Thomas Jefferson and his true disciples had taught that minorities in the people and minorities in houses of legislation had rights which must be respected and preserved in order to maintain the safe balances of the Union; and the rules both of the Senate and the House had recognized these rights of minorities. They did not impeach the established democratic canon that the majority must govern; they did not, under any circumstances, authorize a minority to enact positive legislation. All that these rules did was to enable a minority, in extreme cases, to impose delays, theoretically, but not practically, endless, upon legislation threatened by a dominant majority in violation of inherent right, and oppressive and injurious to special sections or interests.

But the House of 1889-'90 revised and remodeled its rules so as to eliminate, to a large extent, the methods by which a vigilant and resolute minority might protect its rights. Speaker Reed promptly availed himself of the new rules. When members of the minority declined to answer to their names or to reckon themselves as present so as to make a *quorum* for business, he nevertheless directed their names to be taken down and counted by the clerk, thus securing what he decided to be a quorum for business, and making inevitable a decision by a mere majority, and annihilating a conservative right of a minority which had been recognized by the fathers of the republic from its foundation.

The leaders of the minority failed not to protest, and stormy scenes were enacted in the House: but Speaker Reed was moved neither by argument nor invective nor pathetic appeal, and his followers fell into the condition of automata worked by his hands.

A bill was introduced, called by its advocates an "Elections Bill"—by its opponents a "Force Bill." It is not necessary to detail herein its provisions. It was founded upon the hypothesis, asserted, but never proved, that the white people of the States in which were the largest number of negroes, exercised methods of intimidation, fraud and violence, to deter them from voting or to compel them to vote for Democratic candidates.

This bill, if made law, would have operated to put every step of the process of elections for members of Congress in the States

into the hands of commissioners and officials chosen by the United States government, and, of course, by the party in power. The superintending of the polls, counting of the votes, and making out and certifying of the results, would have been in partisan hands; and, if they deemed it needful, they were to have power to call in the aid and action of the military force of the country.

So alarmingly radical was this bill that some of the more moderate Republicans shrunk back, at first, from voting favorably to it. To insure its passage, therefore, the Republicans of the House used party methods without scruple, and decided a number of contested election cases in favor of Republican contestants, even when the evidence established the existence of majorities for the seated members. Some of these decisions were so grossly partisan and unjust as to draw indignant comment from the general public.

Yet this "Force Bill" passed the House of Representatives and went to the Senate for consideration. Here it was watched and delayed until the Congress adjourned late in the summer of 1890.

Between this time and the re-assembling of the Congress in December, 1890, the most signal display of popular opinion and sentiment in favor of Democratic principles took place that had ever been known in the United States. It was like an organized storm—a tornado under intelligent direction and power. It was not the work of Democratic orators or leaders to any large extent; neither was it the result of public debates between contestants representing the two parties. If any influence is to be predicated as chiefly potent in the movement, it was the public press—the newspapers, magazines and periodicals—which had given all the facts and arguments applicable to the situation. The people had been thoroughly enlightened, and they voted accordingly.

Curious questionings have taken place as to the relative efficiency of the varied causes of this strange political upheaval. Was it the "McKinley Act," or the act of the House in changing its rules, and in seeking to annihilate the rights of minorities, or the rough pertinacity and partisanship of Speaker Reed, or the gross violations of justice in the decision of the contested elections, cases, or the passing of the "Force Bill" by the House? The only answer history can make is that all these causes existed, and all tended to work the result. That result was, that in the elections North, South, East and West, in the fall of 1890, a sufficient number of Democrats were returned to give a practical working majority of more than one hundred votes in the House against the

Republicans, and changes occurred which will tend to secure, in reasonable time, a majority in the Senate favorable to Democratic principles.

Notwithstanding this ominous storm, the Republican leaders in the Senate, during the winter session of 1890-'91, sought earnestly to bring the "Force Bill," with some amendments, to a successful vote. President Harrison was understood to be strongly in favor of the bill, and he used his influence and that of his executive department, as far as safety would permit, to obtain its passage. But in the Senate it was watched with ceaseless vigilance and skillful opposition by a number of strong men, among the foremost of whom was Senator Arthur P. Gorman, of Maryland. It became evident that, even among the Republican senators, some were intellectually too clear-sighted to be really friendly to such a bill, and some were too much alarmed at the late upheaval to be enthusiastic in its support. It was once laid aside to take up a bill for "free coinage of silver," which passed the Senate, but was not passed by the House of Representatives.

The rules of the Senate still recognized the right of debate so long as senators thought it their duty to throw additional light on important questions. To smother this right was a dangerous and invidious task, upon which few desired to enter; yet, without some such step, it was known to be impossible to pass the "Force Bill." Therefore, precedents were sought in the usages of the English House of Commons and of the French Chamber of Deputies. A "cloture" resolution was invented for closing debate; but the tactics of the opposition prevailed. The "cloture" was evaded. The fourth day of March, 1891, arrived. The session of Congress was ended, and the "Force Bill" was dead.

Thus the institutions of the United States escaped the most dangerous rock of centralization and party tyranny that had ever threatened them with destruction.

The Congress which expired on the 4th of March, 1891, has often been designated as the "Billion" appropriation Congress. While its votes of money did not literally reach a thousand of millions of dollars, yet for pensions and doubtful purposes they were so extravagant that their results have brought serious embarrassment to the United States treasury.

Early in April, 1891, occurred another of those deplorable conflicts between laborers and organized powers of order and government, which are growing into signs of the times. The miners and workmen in the "coke regions" of Pennsylvania, near Morewood, in Westmoreland county, struck for increase of wages and

decrease of hours of labor, left their work, and prepared to resist by force and brutality all efforts of the owners or lessors of the works to obtain other laborers. These strikers were chiefly foreigners. They organized a movement on the Frick Company's plants and buildings at Morewood; but they were met by men who, though few, were firm.

Superintendent Pickard called together and organized a small body of brave and experienced citizens, all of whom were sworn in as special deputies of the sheriff. Captain Loar commanded them. They wore no uniforms, but were heavily armed. Superintendent Pickard furnished to each man a Winchester rifle and twenty-six cartridges. He made a brief address, urging them to protect the company's property, protect the men at work and protect their own lives, and concluding by saying that any one not willing to accept and do his duty might drop to the rear.

Not a man dropped back. The strikers advanced in three parties and in some disorder. They had battered in the telephone office, had cut the wires, and when they reached Morewood they threw stones, which shattered the windows of the company's store. They broke down the gate and were preparing torches to fire the buildings. Captain Loar three times commanded them to halt and desist. They answered with jeers and with three shots from revolvers. He ordered his deputies to fire. They obeyed and fired several volleys with steady aim. Eleven of the raiders were killed and sixty wounded. Dismayed by this stern resistance, the mob broke and retreated.

Upon information reported by the Sheriff of Westmoreland, Governor Pattison promptly ordered two regiments of the State military to the spot; but no more force was required.¹ The strikers, especially the foreigners, were thoroughly cowed. They had showed no timidity in the attack, for every one who fell received the shot in the front of his body; but they found law and order too formidable to be overcome. The funeral of the slain was at Mount Pleasant, and drew ten thousand people together; but Generals McClelland and Wiley, with staff and regimental officers and five companies of the Eighteenth regiment, were in attendance. Perfect order prevailed.

These and like indications prove that the dangers from violence and bloodshed are no longer from Indians in this country.

In July, 1891, a serious disturbance occurred in the mining regions of East Tennessee. The miners rose, not because of dissatisfaction as to wages or hours, but because, under a law of the

¹ Narrative in *Saturday Tidings*, Buffalo, N. Y., April 11, 1891.

State, convicts for crime were made workers in the mines. They were guarded by a squad of State soldiers, and were called "zebras," by reason of their striped convict dresses. The armed miners drove off the soldiers and dispersed the convicts. Governor Buchanan acted firmly. He ordered out the military, and gave the miners notice that force would be used. Negotiations resulted in quiet. They returned to their work, with the understanding that efforts to repeal the obnoxious law would be made. But these troubles have been renewed. About the close of October, 1891, near Briceville and Oliver Springs, in Tennessee, miners released and dispersed five hundred convicts employed in the mines from the stockades, in which they were kept by the guards. There will always be opposition to the employment of convicts for crime in open competition with honest and reputable laborers.

The Sioux Indians, under their great chieftain Sitting Bull, had shown unrest and a disposition to attack the whites in the fall of 1890. Ghost dances and other savage rites had been practiced. The United States authorities had made earnest efforts to preserve peace. A number of Big Foot's band, of Sitting Bull's followers, had agreed to surrender; but when a party, under Captain Wallace, of the Seventh cavalry, and embracing armed Indians, employed as a police force, went into the "Bad Lands," on Porcupine creek, near the Pine Ridge agency, to disarm these Indians, an irregular fight took place on the 28th of December, 1890, in which both Sitting Bull and Captain Wallace were killed. The circumstances led to inquiries of the War Department, in which some blame was suggested as due to officers in command.¹ But Indian treachery has never died out.

The frequent quarrels and wars, internal and external, of the republics of South America have, from time to time, involved the United States in embarrassing questions. Two of these cases in the term of President Benjamin Harrison call for historic notice.

One occurred during the war between Guatemala and San Salvador in 1890. General Barrundia, of the latter State, had become specially the object of hostility in Guatemala. It was known that he had embarked on the *Acapulco*, a merchant steamer of the United States, which would touch at a port of Guatemala. An order for his arrest had been issued. Mr. Mizner, the United States minister to Central America, had become satisfied that if the merchant steamer, with Barrundia on board, came into a port of Guatemala, she passed under the jurisdiction of that State. In

¹ Report in Balto. Sun, Dec. 30th, 1890.

this a merchant-ship differs from a "man-of-war" or armed national ship. These principles had been definitely affirmed by a decision of Secretary Bayard during President Cleveland's term.

But Minister Mizner sought to shield General Barrundia from inhumanity. He obtained a written guaranty from the President of Guatemala and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Central America that in no event should the life of the general be endangered after his arrest. He then gave written advice of his views (using nearly the words of Secretary Bayard) to Captain Pitts, of the steamer *Acapulco*, who caused the document to be translated and read to General Barrundia. But, unhappily, that impulsive officer adopted a course which resulted in his death. When the Guatemalan warrant of arrest, borne by an officer and soldiers, came on board the *Acapulco*, Barrundia refused to suffer arrest, drew his pistols and sword, and was preparing to use them when he was shot dead by a volley from the soldiers.

It is believed that President Harrison's cabinet have not approved of Mizner's course, and have even gone so far as to censure and punish the United States naval officer whose armed ship was in or near the harbor, on the ground that he did not interfere to prevent the arrest. Such a position will not be maintained if international law, rather than temporary excitement, shall govern the case.

The other complications affecting the United States arose out of the late civil war in Chili. It is not needful to give herein the history of that war any further than to show how it touched our country. Chili has been a constitutional republic since 1833. In 1886, Jose Manuel Balmaceda was elected President. He behaved well early in his term, but towards its close manifested an ambitious purpose to perpetuate his power, or at least to interfere unconstitutionally in the election of his own successor. The Congress opposed him. In January, 1890, Balmaceda demanded the resignation of the cabinet officers and appointed others, naming as their chief the man whom he wished to force on the country as President. Clashings between him and the Congress continued until, in January, 1891, he resorted to the usual plea of the usurper—declared it to be impossible to carry on the government with the obstructions resisting him, dissolved the Congress, and assumed, practically, the claims of a dictator. Both parties took up arms; civil war raged. Balmaceda, after some fighting, held the southern provinces with a considerable army, the port of Valparaiso and the town of Santiago as his capital. The Congressionals held the four upper provinces, with Iquique as their

capital, and with the strong fleet and a small, but resolute, land force.¹

The United States government, in accord with established precedents, continued to recognize Balmaceda and his officers as the government *de facto* in Chili. Patrick Egan, an appointee of President Harrison, was the minister at Santiago. He was a native of Ireland and had suffered imprisonment for alleged political offences under the British rule. In Chili his course was such as to draw on him the unfavorable regard of the Congressional party.

Desiring to increase their land force, and to arm it efficiently, the Congressionals sent a steamer of considerable size, named the *Itata*, to the coast of California, near San Diego, to receive from parties in the United States a large number of rifles and other improved modern arms. This purpose was intended to be kept a secret, but information concerning it having been communicated to the United States government, they considered the plan a violation of international laws of neutrality, and directed their law officers at San Diego to proceed against the *Itata*. A libel was filed in the District Court and a marshal, with process, was actually aboard the *Itata*. But, in contempt of the process, she steamed out to sea, put the marshal ashore by a boat, and, at a distance of more than three miles from the coast of California, she met the expected ship and received the arms contracted for. She then steamed rapidly southward. The United States steam frigate *Charleston* was promptly sent in pursuit of her. Finding herself hard pressed, the *Itata* reached Iquique and was immediately surrendered by the Congressionals to the United States admiral commanding the squadron there. Five thousand rifles were aboard of her and were given up with her, with the assurance (which has been, apparently, accepted as true by the United States government) that they were all the arms she had received.² But a belief has been publicly expressed that in her run through the Pacific she was met by the powerful war-steamer *Esmeraldas* (belonging to the Chilian Congressionals) and had put aboard of her the larger part of the arms received, and that the subsequent successes of the Congressional army were greatly promoted thereby.

The *Itata*, with her cargo, was carried back to San Diego to await the decision of the libel. The district judge decided favorably to her, but on grounds which the law officers of President

¹ Dispatches and reports, Washington Post, August 29th, 1891.

² President Harrison's Message, Dec., 1891.

Harrison regarded as so untenable that an appeal has been entered,¹ and the case will probably reach the Supreme Court for final decision.

After several land and naval conflicts, the war in Chili was substantially ended by a complete victory gained by the Congressional army over the forces of Balmaceda, in the neighborhood of Valparaiso, on the 28th of August, 1891. The victors gained possession of that city, and the usurper and his officers, with the few of their troops who were not captured, fled in terror and rout. Balmaceda took temporary refuge at the official residence of the Argentine legation, in Santiago, and there, on the morning of the 19th September, 1891, he is represented to have ended his own career and life by a pistol shot fired through his temple.

The Congressionals re-established the republic. Jorge Montt was elected President, and the government was recognized by the United States; but the events of the year left hostile feelings, which threaten to disturb the continuance of peace. On the 16th of October, 1891, a considerable number of the sailors of the United States steam frigate *Baltimore*, then lying in the port of Valparaiso, were permitted, under established usages of comity, to go ashore unarmed. They were violently assaulted by a number of Chilians. One petty officer was killed, and eight seamen were seriously wounded, one of whom has since died. So savage and brutal was the assault that several of the men received more than two wounds, and one as many as eighteen stabs.²

The United States government promptly demanded satisfaction. The government of Chili claimed time to make judicial investigation, which resulted in a report charging one or more Chilians with making the assault, but acquitting the police and the municipal government.³

Another source of disturbed feeling has been the right of asylum and protection for political refugees in the official residence and grounds of the United States minister in Santiago. Mr. Egan has firmly claimed and given efficacy to this right. A United States war-steamer has borne these refugees to a port of safety.

Chili has withdrawn an offensive note, and has signified her willingness that Mr. Egan shall remain as minister, and that the questions between her and the United States shall be referred to sovereign arbitrators, or to the Supreme Court of this country. It is hoped that peace may be preserved.

¹ President Harrison's Message, Dec., 1891.

³ Report in Washington Post, Jan. 4th, 1892.

² *Ibid.*

President Harrison spent a part of the year 1891 in an extended tour of observation, chiefly through the southwestern part of his country and in her Pacific States.

On the 1st day of July, 1891, a train of railroad cars, propelled by steam, made a successful ascent to the top of "Pike's Peak," in Colorado. The track ran round the peak in the hardest forms of engineering. The point of *terminus* is fourteen thousand one hundred and forty-seven feet above the level of the sea—by far the highest point inhabited by man and reached by such means. Mount Washington, in New Hampshire, comes next, reaching by railroad a height of six thousand two hundred and eighty-eight feet. Mount Pilatus, overlooking the Lake of Lucerne, in Switzerland, is third, with a height, by railroad, of six thousand feet. Sixty-five persons were in the cars which gained the top of Pike's Peak. They wore light summer clothing when they set out, but before they reached the summit they were glad to put on the heaviest winter overcoats they had brought with them.¹

On the 19th of August the President attended and took a prominent part in the dedication of a monument commemorating the "Battle of Bennington." For many years the people of Vermont had been contemplating it, and, at last, one hundred years from the time when she became a State, the purpose was accomplished. The monument is an obelisk, built of native stone and faced with sand-hill dolomite. It is three hundred and one feet high, and stands on a commanding site two hundred and eighty-three feet above the Wallasoc river. The principal address was delivered by Edward J. Phelps, formerly United States minister to Great Britain.

The Congress of 1890-'91 passed an "International Copyright Law," under which the benefits and protection given are to be enjoyed by authors and artists of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Switzerland and Germany, inasmuch as those sovereignties by their laws give like benefits and protection to authors and artists of the United States.

After delays which had caused surprise and disappointment, the Senate of the United States, in executive session, on the 11th day of January, 1892, ratified the Brussels treaty, which had been assented to by seventeen sovereign powers on the 2d of July, 1890. Thus the United States co-operates with the strongest nations of the world for the repression of the slave-trade in Africa, and for restricting the importation of intoxicating liquors into the valley of the Congo river.

¹ Letter from Colorado Springs, Washington Post, July 3, 1891.

Extended preparations are in progress for a "World's Fair," to be held in the city of Chicago, Illinois, in 1892 and 1893. Several cities—New York, Washington, St. Louis and Chicago—competed before the Congress for the honor of being the site of this great exposition. Many concurring circumstances determined the choice. Chicago now has a population approaching in numbers that of New York, and her great advantages of position, as to transportation both by water and land, give her facilities and prospects not exceeded by those of any city in the world. It is hoped that nearly all the nations of the earth will take part in the approaching exposition, and that it will aid in bringing men together in universal amity and peace.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY.

IT now only remains that we shall give a brief review of and hopeful glance at the present condition and future prospects of the United States.

(1) The first point to which attention is naturally directed is how far the history and example of this country have affected other sovereignties of the earth on the paramount question of self-government by man; and assuredly on this point the present outlook is full of hope and promise.

When the United States became a confederated republic, only three other republics existed in the world, viz.: Switzerland, Holland and San Marino. Of these, the first had many drawbacks on the free exercise of her republicanism; the second was ruled by William V., a stadtholder with power and state essentially royal, and the third was so small that her weakness was her chief protection.

But in 1884, after the lapse of barely a century, we find forty-one controlling sovereignties in the world, and of these not less than twenty were republics. It is true that, under causes set in motion by surrounding kingdoms, Holland had become the "Kingdom of the Netherlands;" but among the forty-one we reckon the great German empire as one, although she embraced in her imperial union not less than twenty-five minor states, among which were Alsace-Lorraine with her Ober Präsident and elements of republicanism, and the free cities Bremen, Hamburg and Lubeck.

Since 1884 another great republic has been added to the world's sovereignties, viz., that of Brazil, which has an area of three million two hundred and eighty-seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-four square miles, and a population of fifteen millions. Her adoption of the essence and forms of republicanism make one of the wonders and prophecies of this age. Her action was quiet and without bloodshed. Her Emperor, Dom Pedro, born on her soil, was respected and beloved, but his daughter was the power behind the throne and had shown strong aversion to civil and religious freedom. Therefore the reigning family were quietly sent out of the country. This is a precedent that

may be easily followed by the people of other monarchies. Dom Pedro died in Paris, the capital city of another republic, on Friday, the 4th day of December, 1891. The people of Brazil really loved him, and his death removes the last hope of his dynasty as to reigning in Brazil. An attempt at usurpation and dictatorship by the late President, Da Fonseca, has been so promptly rebuked and crushed by the republican spirit there that Brazil must be reckoned as lost to the monarchic cause. Fonseca resigned, and the Vice-President, Floriano Peixotto, became President. He had aided in constructing the present constitution, and is thought to be soundly republican.

France is the great republic of Europe, and is the living prophecy of what is coming there, though, perhaps, not without a mortal struggle of kings for the retention of their power. The revolutionary *furor* and excesses of France in the close of the last century were the proximate result of the attempts of the surrounding kings to crush her republicanism; and yet those very excesses were used by Edmund Burke and equally shallow reasoners to uphold monarchy and discourage political freedom. But France has triumphed. The Bourbons and the Bonaparte dynasty have fallen—it is to be hoped, to rise no more to power. France is acknowledged as a republic even by the sagacious Pontiff of the Roman church, who concentrates in his “cathedra” the political wisdom of a thousand years.

It is a mere question of time when other monarchies will become republics. The republics are already in the majority among the sovereignties of the earth. As fast as the people gain the education and morality needed for self-government, they will discard kings and establish republics.

(2) The next subject of inquiry is as to the effect of American institutions in developing the power of thought, especially as manifested in works of literature. On this subject, able men in the Old World for a long time thought the argument and experience unfavorable to America. Sydney Smith, and others equally satirical, ridiculed the early literary attempts of America. The question “Who reads an American book?” did not immediately find an answer soothing to the people of the United States; but facts have given the answer.

Greece had passed out of her legendary infancy and had lived more than eight hundred years before she produced all of her greatest writers, her poets, philosophers and historians, her Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides. Plato, Aristotle and Plutarch; Rome, as monarchy, republic and empire, had

lived nine hundred years before she produced her Ennius, Livy, Sallust, Lucretius, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Suetonius, Tacitus, Jerome and Augustine; England had been a British, Danish, Saxon and Norman monarchy for thirteen hundred years before she had given to the world her Alcuin, Bede, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Locke, Boyle, Addison, Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith, Hallam, Macaulay, Scott, Byron and Tennyson. It is not, therefore, a just subject of reproach to the United States, whose whole life, as colonies and republics united, has not yet reached three hundred years, that she should not yet have attained the high ideals in literature which have been reached by Greece, Rome and England.

But she has already accomplished enough in this sphere to show what she can do and may do in the future. The student need only read the thirty-five closely printed columns of the "New American Encyclopædia" relating to the literature of the United States up to the year 1865, to find evidence that no other nation has ever, in so short a time, done so much and done it so well.

The Virginia colony had hardly lived fourteen years before George Sandys, on the banks of the James, made a poetical translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which was published in London in 1626, and eagerly read by competent scholars. In colonial times, Jonathan Edwards wrote a book on "The Freedom of the Human Will," which Robert Hall and Sir James Mackintosh, of England, praised as being "unmatched, certainly unsurpassed, among men in any age or country." David Rittenhouse wrote on astronomy and mathematics, and Benjamin Rush and James McClurg on disease and remedy, works which enlightened both worlds. Benjamin Franklin exhibited in his writings a genius and wit equally applicable to the highest science and the "Poor Richard" philosophy.

And in the period of barely one hundred and sixteen years which has passed since she became a nation, the United States has produced among poets, Longfellow, Lowell, Dana, Sprague, Percival, Bryant, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Preston, Drake, Halleck, Bayard Taylor, Edgar A. Poe, Willis, Cooke, John R. Thompson, and others, whose works have not died.

Among historians, she has produced Bancroft, Irving, Prescott, Lossing, Headley, Palfrey, Simms, Gayarré, Motley, Stephens, and many others, who, by research and patient labor, as well as by sound induction, have made history a teacher.

Among novelists and writers of fiction, she has produced Charles Brockden Brown, Washington Irving, Fenimore Cooper, Pauld-

ing, Kennedy, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Miss Sedgwick, Miss Leslie, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Poe, Willis, Harriet Beecher Stowe, John Esten Cooke, J. G. Holland, Mrs. Southworth, Mrs. Hentz, Mrs. Terhune, Amèlie Rives, Thomas Nelson Page, and many others, who have exhibited versatility and power.

As to the orators of the United States, it is now a reasonable claim that they would not suffer by comparison with those of any age or any country; and the law books written by American jurists are cited as authority in the highest courts of the civilized world.

One form of literature America has brought to a point so near to perfection that her readers are in danger of being seduced into the bad habit of reading nothing else. This is the newspaper. In the year 1775 only thirty-seven papers circulated in the colonies. In 1884 not less than twelve thousand newspapers and magazines were printed and circulated. The number has increased largely since that time, and the great "dailies" and "weeklies" of the larger cities are, in each issue, volumes and encyclopædias of information on the special subjects discussed.

(3) Our third subject will be the effect of the civilization and republican principles of the United States on the advance of population.

On this point the phenomena presented are certainly amazing, and such as the world had never known before. Some have raised questions as to this test, and have urged the populousness of the empire of China as evidence that the human race may multiply enormously when no favorable conditions of freedom in government, and intelligence and morality in the people, existed. But they leave out of view the material facts which differentiate the cases.

China, as a nation, is so old that authentic history declines to decide how old she is. Four thousand years would be a moderate estimate. Her soil is rich, and rice and vegetables, with animal food in abundance and with scant fastidiousness as to its kind or quality, have sustained her millions, who, though in some respects ruled with the iron hand, in most respects have been left free to live and multiply as they pleased.

But the national life of the United States does not extend beyond one hundred and sixteen years. In her colonial life, population grew very slowly. The difficulties, dangers, diseases and mortalities which attended a constant struggle with forest, river, swamp and field, with deceitful and malignant savages, and with white men more destructive than the red men—all these causes

tended to check population. The result was that, in 1776, when the United States declared their independence, their total population did not much exceed three millions, of whom at least half a million were slaves.

These premises authorize the inference that if the United States, since obtaining her independent sovereignty, has outstripped, in her ratio of increase of population, other civilized and Christian nations, her free and liberal system of government and civilization must be predicated as one of the most efficient causes of such progress. This will bring us to the facts.

In 1790, barely a year after her first President was inaugurated, her population had reached, in round numbers, nearly four millions; in 1800, she had more than five and a quarter millions; in 1810, she had nearly seven and a quarter millions; in 1820, she had considerably more than nine and a half millions; in 1830, she approached thirteen millions; in 1840, she had more than seventeen millions; in 1850, her number ran beyond twenty-three millions; in 1860, she came very near to thirty-one and a half millions; in 1870, she had more than thirty-eight and a half millions; in 1880, she had fifty million one hundred and fifty-five thousand seven hundred and eighty-three; in June, 1890, according to a census which has been questioned and criticised, but never proved to be substantially erroneous, she had sixty-two million four hundred and eighty thousand five hundred and forty, exclusive of white persons in Indian Territory, Indians on reservations and the people of Alaska. It is a moderate estimate, therefore, which numbers her present population at sixty-four millions.

This population is far beyond that of Germany, or of Austria and Hungary united, or of France, or of Great Britain and Ireland, or of Italy or Turkey or Japan.

To account for this immense increase we have in the United States her freedom, her conditions of general health and cheerfulness, her genial and fertile soils and great abundance of varied and nutritious food, all of which tend to normal increase by natural propagation.

But this mode of increase will not account for her present numbers. Immigration of millions from foreign lands—from Germany, Scandinavia, Austria, Switzerland, Hungary, Italy, France, England, Scotland, Ireland, and more distant lands—this has been a potent factor in the marvelous increase. Ireland, chiefly by reason of immigration to America, has been, within a few decades, brought down from a population of about nine millions to about four and a half millions.

The dangers threatening the United States from foreign immigration have been becoming more and more obvious to thoughtful men. Remedial and restrictive laws have been enacted by the Congress, but only in the case of China have these laws made nationality a ground of exclusion. The prevalent grounds of exclusion thus far are disease, destitution as to means of support, crime and ascertained proclivity to crime and lawlessness, and a pre-contract for coming as a skilled laborer to the United States. A strong feeling exists in the country to extend and make more efficient the grounds of exclusion.

(4) The fourth subject for consideration will be the material successes in industrial arts beneficial to man and productive of wealth, which have attended the civilization of the United States with such persistence as to indicate the relation of cause and effect.

On this subject we need not seek anything new. The facts are patent and are known to the world. Never was such activity displayed in any nation in any age in inventing appliances to aid human labor, and in devoting them to the accumulation of comfort and wealth, as in the United States, both in colonial and sovereign States. The one hundred and fifteen years of independent nationality have been so specially affluent in these sources of wealth that none can doubt the potency of freedom as a cause therein.

The cotton-gin, electric telegraph and telephone, and all the forms of the modern mower, reaper and binder, are of American origin, and they have revolutionized the labor of the world and have gone far in annihilating the obstacles of time and space. American ingenuity and skill have reduced the number of separate pieces in a well-made watch from the eight hundred, formerly considered indispensable in the Old World, to one hundred and twenty. The "Waltham" and "Elgin" watches of the United States have achieved a success so complete that the Geneva watch-makers have failed in competition. Nearly all the parts of the best of these American watches are made by machinery, and yet so perfect is their action that railway companies find it to their interest to furnish them to their conductors on both passenger and freight trains, where an error of five minutes would often lead to appalling disaster.

Railways were not an American invention. The "tramway," first of wood and afterwards of wood strengthened by an iron rail, had been used in the coal regions of England from about the year 1676. For many years horses, oxen and human beings

were the motive power. It is certain that, in 1782, Oliver Evans, of Philadelphia, patented a steam wagon, of which the drawings and specifications were sent to England in 1787. This was the origin of the modern locomotive.

As early as 1826, the first railway was commenced in the United States, connecting the granite quarries of Quincy, Massachusetts, with the Neponset river, a distance of three miles. The cars were drawn by horses.

In the spring of 1829 a tractor-engine, built by the English engineer, George Stephenson, at his works at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, arrived in New York; but it was more an object of curiosity than of use. In the same year another English-built locomotive arrived, and was used in drawing cars on the railway running from the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company to Honesdale, the terminus of their canal.

The Southern mind was fully awake on this subject, and before the locomotive had been permanently used either in England or the United States, the directors of the Charleston and Hamburg Railway, in South Carolina, had approved the advice of Horatio Allen, then chief engineer, given in November, 1829, and had voted to adopt this motive power. It was employed soon afterwards.

Since that time the building of railways and improvement of locomotives have gone forward continually in the United States. In 1838, eighteen hundred and forty-three miles were in use; in 1860, more than thirty-one thousand miles had been completed. In 1882, the railways covered one hundred and seven thousand one hundred and fifty-eight miles. In 1883, nearly eight thousand miles were added, and the total mileage in actual use was about one hundred and fifteen thousand, at a cost, in roads and equipments, of nearly seven thousand millions of dollars. In June, 1891, the total mileage in railways completed was one hundred and sixty-three thousand four hundred and twenty.¹ The latest railroad statistics accessible gave Germany about twenty-five thousand miles; France, twenty-two thousand; Great Britain and Ireland more than twenty thousand; Russia about nineteen thousand, and Austria about sixteen thousand.

It has often been asserted by the people of the Old World that recklessness and frequent accident and loss of life or limb are constant incidents of the enormous development of the railway system of the United States. Jules Verne's ingenious fiction, "Round

¹ Introduction to Manual of Railroads for 1891, by H. V. and H. W. Poor, 70 Wall street, New York.

the *World in Eighty Days*," has given increased currency to this idea ; but it is a charge not sustained by the preponderance of evidence from facts. In no country is railway traveling attended with so much of comfort, convenience and safety as in the United States. No collisions nor disasters on railroads therein have equaled in horror and extent of injury to life and health three which have occurred in Great Britain and Europe within a few years past.

One of these was by the breaking down of a railroad bridge across a frith in Scotland, in which a number of persons, never definitely made known, were killed or maimed or otherwise injured. The most gloomy fact in this case was that the rupture of the bridge was the direct result of criminal dishonesty in a contractor. Another case was the breaking down of the bridge on the Jura-Simplon Railway, which crosses the Birs river, near the town of Mönchenstein, in Switzerland. This bridge was the work of the great engineer, Eiffel, who was the architect of the tower of the Paris Exposition ; yet the bridge was ruptured in July, 1891, and a long train of passenger cars was precipitated into the yawning chasm below, with a loss of one hundred and fifty lives and the maiming or wounding of about three hundred and fifty of the unfortunate passengers. The third horror occurred on the twenty-sixth day of July, 1891, at St. Mandé, in France. It was the result of collision of the engine and cars of an excursion train and the telescoping of the cars upon each other, crushing and imprisoning the hapless pleasure-seekers ; and it was complicated by the firing of a reservoir of gas on one of the damaged cars, whereby many of the people caught in the wreck were roasted to death. The number of victims was not less than two hundred.

No cases as fatal and fearful as these have occurred on American railways. A strong proof that they are normally safe is the fact that, on nearly every passenger train, agents of solvent insurance companies can be found, who, for twenty-five cents, will issue to the assured a policy for one thousand dollars, insuring him as to life and limb on his trip, provided it does not exceed twenty-four hours in duration.

And, for a number of years, an " Interstate Railroad Law," enacted by the Congress, has been in operation, which tends to public safety and correction of all inequitable and injurious charges and practices of railway companies, if brought to light.

The estimated value of the real and personal property owned in the United States in 1890 was sixty-two thousand six hundred

and ten millions of dollars. No previous year equaled the year ending November 30th, 1891, in the value of exports and imports. For that year the exports, made up largely of agricultural products, breadstuffs, provisions and cotton, reached the immense sum of nine hundred and forty-nine millions of dollars. The imports of all kinds for the same year reached the aggregate sum of eight hundred and nineteen million three hundred and seventy-two thousand four hundred and eighty-nine dollars. The balance of trade, therefore, for that year in favor of the United States was nearly one hundred and thirty millions of dollars, payable in money.

But, notwithstanding all these evidences of prosperity, prophets of woe are not wanting, who predict a coming downfall for our country, and undertake to point out the efficient causes. Some brief allusions to these will bring this work to a close.

First is predicted the failure of democracy and self-government. We have seen enough to demonstrate the danger on this score, but enough also to encourage the hope that the conservative powers of the people's government will prevail. So long as State sovereignty, within the proper sphere, is maintained, so long will centralization be impossible, and freedom in church and state be preserved.

Secondly. Ruin is predicted from the increasing power and influence of wealth and its attendants—bribery, gambling and corruption. This is a real danger, and within the past ten years has been watched with growing alarm. Millionaires have become so common in the United States that, in the largest cities, a man worth less than a million of dollars is not accounted a rich man; and some count their millions up to twenty, thirty, fifty, a hundred or more. The "love of money" (*φιλαργυρία*) is among the most subtle, ingenious and potent forms of evil known among men. It has invented special modes of business, known as "trusts," in which many unite their means so as to secure a monopoly of supply and sale even in such articles as wheat, sugar, and the twine used on the reaper and binder by which the harvests are secured. Legislative control and prohibition have been attempted as to these "trusts," but with doubtful success.

The immense wealth of the United States is in comparatively a small number of hands. More than one-half of it is estimated to be in the hands of thirty-one thousand people. Some millions of families are in the happiest condition known on earth, having "neither poverty nor riches"; but some millions of families are also in a very sad condition, holding lands and homes so heavily

incumbered by mortgages that no escape from temporal ruin seems practicable under existing conditions. What the form of relief is to be has not yet appeared. Creditors have not yet shown the kindly and loving dispositions which would spare oppressed debtors and their families, and would remove from our land the warning reproach of the English poet Goldsmith :

“ Ill fares the land—to hast’ning ills a prey—
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.”

The late census has disclosed the fact that two million two hundred and fifty thousand families in this country hold farms and houses mortgaged for amounts which would be barely realized by foreclosure and forced sales. The incumbrances are estimated to have amounted to two thousand five hundred and sixty-five millions of dollars at the close of 1890. The immense harvests and better prices of 1891 have reduced the amount, but enough remains to bring torturing anxiety to millions of hearts. And it has been noted that when the creditors holding these mortgages have consented to renew the loan, they have, with few exceptions, imposed the terms that interest and principal shall be paid *in gold*, thus securing to themselves the artificial and inequitable profit which we have heretofore explained.

Speculators in grain, and especially in wheat, during the years from 1884 to 1890, inclusive, did much by combinations and “corners” to buy the products of the farmers’ hard toil at prices too low to yield the cost of production and any reasonable surplus. Thus the agriculturists were continuously oppressed. One noteworthy effect has followed these evils. The owners and tillers of the soil had, in previous years, made imperfect combinations under the name of “Grangers.” Within a few years past, in self defence, they have extensively combined their persons, powers, resources and counsels in combinations known as “Farmers’ Alliances.” They are not a political party and have no methods of party politics. Some of their theories and plans may not be wise; but they are already a power in the land, watching and seeking to avert the evils coming from a selfish money power.

One of the most injurious and degrading results coming from the plutocracy which threatens this land is the wide prevalence of bribery in elections and the indifference with which this deeply dyed immorality is regarded. Bribery is universally forbidden by law, and as universally practiced in fact. It has been openly intimated in the pages of a respectable American magazine, that a well-known citizen, afterwards appointed and confirmed to a

high office, contributed a sum estimated in its total at four hundred thousand dollars as a "contribution to the campaign fund," which was known to be a prevalent power in the election aided by him.

So universal and bold has become the use of money by candidates for office, for bribing voters, that it has been proposed, with a satire all the keener because it is edged with truth, that all offices shall be sold at public auction and the proceeds applied to the support of the government!

We know what this means. When the office of emperor ("imperator") was offered, in the year 193 A. D., at public auction, in the Roman camp, by the Pretorian guards, and when Sulpicianus and the rich old senator Didius Julianus began to bid against each other, and when Julianus rose to a bid of six thousand two hundred and fifty silver drachms (about one thousand dollars) to each soldier, then his bid triumphed. He was proclaimed as emperor. But Rome was already rotten, and was hastening to her ruin.

No remedy for this threatening evil in the United States will avail, except the power of personal Christianity.

Thirdly. The prevalence of the use of intoxicants in the United States is thought to portend final ruin. History does not deal with this subject in its supernatural relations. It has a definite force in the historic and temporal sphere. It has been ascertained that liquors which will intoxicate are sold in the United States to the amount of nine hundred millions of dollars yearly; and the late census has shown that, for the year ending 31st December, 1889, only two million three hundred and thirty-five thousand and fifty-six gallons of intoxicants, including pure alcohol, cologne spirit, high wines, whiskey, brandy, rum and gin were used in medicines and in the arts and manufactures. As one million seventy-four thousand four hundred and twenty-five gallons of whiskey are included in this total, it may be reasonably estimated that three dollars per gallon would be a fair valuation. This would give a deduction of about eight millions of dollars, leaving eight hundred and ninety-two millions of dollars yearly expended in intoxicants actually drunk as beverage by the people. Moreover, it has been proved that one hundred and fifty thousand persons die annually from the immediate effects of intemperance, and a number, estimated by millions, of women and children are brought to poverty, suffering and crime by its prevalence. The police offices, jails, penitentiaries and lunatic asylums all bear testimony that the proportion of crime caused by drinking intoxi-

cating liquors is as nine to one compared with any other cause. If, therefore, the temporal good and order of society be a proper subject for human law, this evil is such. Unhappily, craving habits and wide indulgence make intoxicants popular, and fill bar-rooms and saloons with voters. A great political party has ventured to put into its platform of principles a declaration against "sumptuary laws," meaning thereby to include laws forbidding or restricting the sale of intoxicants as beverages; but the Supreme Court of the United States, from the days of Chief-Justice Taney down to the present time, have made a series of consistent decisions to the effect that laws of the several States regulating or prohibiting sales of intoxicants are not "sumptuary laws," but are police regulations, for the maintenance of morality and good order, and as such are to be upheld by the courts and obeyed by the people.

These decisions, working in unison with an aroused public conscience, and constantly spreading public sentiment, will, it is hoped, save this country from ruin by intoxicants and narcotics.

Fourthly. The existence in the United States of a vast population of African descent, supposed to number, on the 1st of June, 1890, about seven million four hundred thousand souls, is thought by some to threaten the permanent prosperity of the country. The fear felt is a conflict of force between the races, such as took place in Hayti; and though no thoughtful men doubt that, in a bloody struggle in this country, the whites would prevail, yet they fear that, in the war of extermination, the institutions and prosperity of the land would receive a fatal shock.

All such fears are without adequate foundation. They began in the errors of the census of 1870, which produced the impression that the negro race in the former slave States was growing in population at a ratio far greater than that of the white race.

These errors have been corrected, and the truth on this subject has appeared by the statistics of the census of 1890. It is proved that between 1880 and 1890, the colored population of those regions increased at a ratio not exceeding fourteen per cent., while the white population increased at a rate of about twenty-five per cent.—nearly twice as rapidly as the colored element.

Nevertheless, vague fears on this subject, mingled with religious speculations equally vague, have caused many persons to desire that the negro population should be removed from the soil of the United States to some other country. No less than five definite efforts have been made to inaugurate a grand exodus of the African race back to the country whence their forefathers came.

But all such projects are visionary and utopian. They are wanting in one element, without which the attempt to carry them out would be worse than the bloodiest persecution. That element is the consent of the negro race themselves. They do not desire to be transferred to Africa.

Neither would the white people of the United States be profited by any such exodus. If all the negroes could be removed to another country by the 1st day of July, 1892, then it is probable in a high degree that the crops of cotton, rice, maize and sugar-cane in the Southern States for the current year and for several years thereafter would be diminished by about nineteen-twentieths in amount and value.

So far as the ordinary habits and dispositions of the negroes are manifested, they give little cause to fear any widely-spread and bloody collisions between the races. Individual cases of brutal lust and murder by negroes have, indeed, arisen, and have been promptly punished by summary justice; but a large number of persons of African descent in our country are consistent Christians, and many, by industry and economy, have acquired wealth and influential business position.

The only real danger lies in the persistent effort of the negro to run counter to the inexorable laws and providential orderings of God, and to force himself into social equality with white people in marriage, public schools, conveyances, hotels, amusements and festive assemblies. This is a weakness in him which will be corrected by good sense and Christianity. He will gradually learn that his true welfare and happiness will be promoted by the fixed convictions of the whites, both in the North and the South, which forbid marriages with negroes and all comminglings tending to social equality and, therefore, to marriage. His equality as a political factor, a citizen and a voter, is recognized. With this he will learn to be content.

Fifthly. The last element of supposed danger which is deemed worthy of notice is the malign power of religious differences, and especially those differences which assert and seek to maintain the *imperium in imperio*—the practical union of church and state—with the church dominating the state. Some have carried their apprehensions of this evil so far as to suppose that on the soil of the United States shall be fought the final field of Armageddon—"the battle of that great day of God Almighty"—the coming of which was foretold in the Apocalypse of John the Divine; and they argue that "the spirits of devils" will "go forth unto the kings of the earth" and induce them to unite all the armies they can

raise and hurl them upon the United States to crush freedom forever in this world.

Independently of the material impossibilities which attend any such interpretation, we have safeguards in the very atmosphere created in North America by the institutions of freedom which invest her. These institutions have already wrought a potent change in the religious spirit of the world. Old beliefs and forms are passing away. Human symbols and creeds, however hoary with age, have lost their power to bind the conscience. With few and abnormal exceptions, the creed of the people of the United States is that God has revealed to fallen and sinful man the way of salvation of both soul and body for time and eternity, and that Christ is that revelation; and Christ is revealed in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which, in their original forms, were given by holy men of old, who spake and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. The creed of the people of the United States is that these Scriptures are verbally inspired and infallible.

Within a few years past a prominent American secular magazine obtained from a number of eminent ministers of various Christian denominations their carefully matured views as to the nature and extent of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and published them; and Stuart Robinson, a Protestant theologian widely known and esteemed, reviewed these articles, and expressed the belief that the article written by a well-known divine of the Roman church was the soundest of all—the fullest, safest, best view of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

In the last year of Jubilee, President Cleveland, with wisdom and discrimination, sent to the Pontiff at Rome, as a gift, a copy of the constitution of the United States, printed in the most elaborate style, on the heaviest and whitest of paper, and splendidly bound and embossed. And since the decrees of the Council of Trent were promulgated, Rome has learned much concerning freedom, civil and religious, and has profited thereby.

The Roman church, through her accredited ministers, has frequently declared that she approves the American principle which separates church and state and confines the church to her legitimate spiritual authority.

The subject of the public schools sustained by State funds has been the chief source of trouble. These schools do not profess to teach religion in any form; but they do profess to teach morality, which is indispensable to the good citizen; and in teaching morality they necessarily use forms and expressions coming

from the Holy Scriptures, which are the supreme source and fountain of morality. The common English version gives these forms and expressions.

It is to these that the Roman church has objected. She has gone so far as to insist that she may establish parochial schools of her own, and that these schools, although not under the authority of the civil State, are entitled to draw their full proportion of the civil State funds. This claim is too obviously illogical and unfounded to be generally sustained. It will probably find a peaceful end as the Roman church becomes more and more permeated by the American spirit.

Evidences of the triumph of this spirit in her counsels have lately appeared. An attempt had been made in Europe (finding expression in what is known as the "Cahensley" memorial) to introduce the policy of sending sectional and national teachers—Austrian, German, Italian, Belgic, Irish, Spanish—to their several peoples who have migrated to America. It has been made known that this policy is not only opposed by the highest United States officials, but by Cardinal Gibbons and by the present Roman Pontiff.

Another signal evidence of the advance of the Roman church in sound Christian principle and policy appeared in a decision of the highest ecclesiastical court of that church (Leo XIII. himself presiding therein), rendered on the 16th day of August, 1891, in Rome. The question was the validity of a marriage solemnized in Bridgeport, Connecticut, some years previously, between William Grant, then a Protestant, and Mary Reilly, a member of the Roman church. The marriage was by an ordained minister of the Methodist church and according to the forms thereof. Grant afterwards became a communicant in the Roman church. Estrangements between the husband and wife arose, resulting in a separation, and a decree of divorce by a secular court. Grant sought to have the marriage annulled by the ecclesiastical courts of his church; but the Vicar-General, James Hughes, decided that the marriage was valid. Grant appealed to the Archepiscopal Court in Boston, which reversed the decree of the Vicar-General. Appeal was then taken to the highest church court in Rome. After full hearing and mature consideration, that court reversed the decree of the Archepiscopal Court, and affirmed that of the Vicar-General, thus deciding that the marriage was valid.

The census officers of the United States include with the Roman church the Greek religionists (Uniates) who acknowledge the authority of the Roman Pontiff, the Greek orthodox church,

the Russian orthodox church, the Armenian, the old Catholic, and the organization calling itself the "Reformed" or "Converted" Catholic church. All these have adherents in the United States.

The custom of these churches is that baptized children partake of their first communion between the ages of nine and eleven. Therefore, children, though baptized, if under the age of nine, are not included in the census. On this basis, the total number of communicants in all these organizations in the United States was, about the close of June, 1890, six million two hundred and seventy-six thousand four hundred and ninety-nine. The communicants in the Roman church proper numbered six million two hundred and fifty thousand and forty-five.

This number is exceeded by the total of two Protestant communions—viz.: the Methodists and the Baptists. The Methodists numbered four million seven hundred and forty-seven thousand one hundred and thirty; the Baptists three million nine hundred and seventy-four thousand five hundred and eighty-nine—total, eight million seven hundred and twenty-one thousand seven hundred and nineteen. And if all the other Protestant communions are added to these two, the total membership will be found to run so far beyond that of the Roman and Greek united that little fear of overweening claim and power on the part of the two last named need be felt in the United States. Moreover, the admission has frequently been made that a large proportion of immigrants of the Roman communion who come from Europe to the United States fall away and are lost to the jurisdiction of Rome, under the influence of American teachings and environment.

All these facts are operating powerfully in the great North American republic to produce true Christian unity, which is necessary to the highest development of the Christ-life and character. Numerous as are the religious denominations of this country, the sectarian spirit is becoming every day more and more repulsive to the millions who read and hear and think. Christ is the only King recognized as supreme in our country. His reign, universally established, will make liberty and happiness permanent and secure.

INDEX.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Abenakis, Indians	246, 257	Anglican Church	81, 118, 170, 214
Abercrombie, General	294, 821	Anthracite Coal	581
Abercrombie, British colonel	500	Anne, Queen of England	140, 255, 264, 265
Abolition of Slavery	552, 682, 685, 827, 837	Annapolis, Maryland	156, 160
Abraham, patriarch	54	Anti-Rentism	135
Acadia	43, 82, 249, 277	Anjou, Philip of	257, 263
Ackland, Major	422, 424, 426	Appalachee Indians	174
Ackland, Lady Harriet	422, 426	Appomatox, Queen of	70
Accomac, Virginia	225	Appomatox C. H.	809
Acuna, Don Diego	85	Aquetneck Island	116
Adam, first man	52	Arguin Islands	58
Adams, Samuel	335, 352, 361	Archer, Gabriel	67, 76
Adams, John	335, 345, 361, 567-581	Archdale, John	170
Adams, John Quincy . 613, 647, 649, 662-665,	669, 682, 692	Area of United States	11
Adams, Charles Francis	724, 859	Argyll, Duke of	14
Adet, M.	563	Argall, Capt. Samuel	78, 80, 83, 85, 127
Adolphus, King Gustavus	129	Argus, U. S. brig.	606
Africa, Southern	13	Arista, Mexican general	703
African Slavery	58, 311, 320, 596	Aristotle	19
Ahasistari, Huron	238	Arkansas	36, 676, 779, 828, 843
Agriculture, Department of	885	Armada, Spanish	40, 84
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of	270	Arlington, Henry, Earl of	218
Alabama	36, 648, 768, 828, 843	Armstrong, Col. John	289
Alabama, Confederate war-ship	787, 796, 858	Arnold, Benedict	358, 371, 372,
Alaska	11, 853, 858, 882, 889	397, 409, 412, 418, 424, 458-469	
Albemarle, N. C.	164-170	Armstrong, Gen. James	623, 721, 722
Albany, N. Y.	133	Armistead, Major George	634
Algiers, Dey of	565	Arthur, Chester A.	875-882, 887
Alien and Sedition Laws	576, 580, 583	Ashburton Treaty	633
Algonquins	15	Assiento	264, 323
Alexander III., Pontiff	58	Asia	12, 889
Alexander VI., Pontiff	31, 49	Assembly, First General	86
Allen, Col. Ethan	358, 369	Assembly, General, New York	133
Allen, Capt. Wm. H.	606	Assembly of Notables	848
Allerton, agent	115	Asiatic Cholera	669
Almonte, Mexican ruler	700, 846, 847	Assunpink River	394, 537
Almagro	35	Ashe, General	444
Altham, Father John	158, 160	Ashley, Lord	164
Amazon Queen	35	Atlantic Ocean	12
Ames, Fisher	540	Attakulla-kulla	316
Amelia Island	648	Attucks, Crispus	345
Ambrister and Arbuthnot	649	Atherton, Representative, of N. H.	682
America, United States of	11	Aurania, Fort	126
America, North	15	Austin, Anne	121
America, South	26, 28, 35	Austin, Moses	694
Amidas, Capt. Philip	40	Austria	733, 737
Amherst, Gen. Jeffrey	293, 303, 319	Ayllon, De	59
American System	656	Ayscue, Sir George	97
Amputia, Mexican general	701	Aylwyn, Sailing-master	601
Ancient Colonies	234	Azilia, Margravate of	180
Andre, Major John	459-465	Azores	23
Anarchists, Atheists, Communists	886	Aztecs	14
Andros, Sir Edmund	136, 149-155		
Anderson, Richard C.	664	Bacon, Nathaniel	221-228, 230
Anderson, Major Robert	770, 776	Bacon's Laws	222
Angel, Colonel, of R. I.	458	Bacon's Rebellion	212-230
		Bacon Quarter Branch	221

- Badger, George E. 687
 Bainbridge, Captain 603, 604
 Bailey vs. Poindexter 52
 Balboa, Vasco Nunez de 34, 35
 Baldwin, Virginia colonist 89
 Balfour, British colonel 489-491
 Baltimore, Lord 113, 146, 157
 Baltimore, City of 162, 634
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad 873
 Balmaceda, Jose Manuel 899
 Balcarras, Earl of 468
 Bancroft, George 700
 Bank of United States 543, 644, 674, 688-691
 Baptists 119-120
 Baptism of Negroes 321
 Barbary States 564, 587, 644
 Barclay, Robert 139
 Barclay, British Captain 607-610
 Baratarians, New Orleans 640
 Barlow, Capt. Arthur 40
 Barney, Commodore Joshua 632, 633
 Barnwell, Col. John 175
 Barre, Isaac 291, 307, 334
 Barre, De La 236
 Barras, President French Directory 569
 Barreault, Capitaine 572
 Barron, Commodore Samuel 588, 590, 591
 Barrow, English martyr 102
 Barry, William T. 667
 Barrundia, General 898, 899
 Batcheler, Stephen 113
 Bates, Edward 774
 Battle of—
 Acadia Neck, 278. Aiken, 810. Alabama
 vs. Hatteras, 787. Alamance, 346. Alamo,
 the, 695. Allatoona, 795. Algiers, ships, 644.
 Argus vs. Pelican, 606. Arkansas Post, 786.
 Ayersboro, 810.
 Baker's Creek, 786. Ball's Bluff, 782. Bal-
 timore, 631. Banks' Ford, 789. Belden, 717.
 Belmont, 782. Bemis Heights, 421-425. Ben-
 nington, 414. Bentonville, 810. Big Bethel,
 782. Big Black River, 786. Big Blue River,
 798. Big Horn River, 868. Bloody Brook,
 198. Bloody Run, 225. Bloody Angle (Spot-
 sylvania), 793. Blackstocks, 474. Bladens-
 burg, 633. Bon-Homme Richard vs. Serapis,
 446. Boonsboro or South Mountain, 783.
 Boonville, 782. Buckland's, 790. Brandy-
 wine, 400. Brashear City, 791. Bull Run,
 782. Bunker's Hill, 363. Buena Vista, 708.
 Bushy Run, 319.
 Callabee, 636. Camden, 453. Carrick's
 Ford, 782. Carnifex Ferry, 782. Carthage,
 782. Carthage, 267. Campbell's Station,
 791. Carlisle Barracks, 803. Cassville, 804.
 Cedar Mountain or Slaughter's Mountain,
 781. Cedar Creek, 797. Cerro Gordo, 712.
 Chapultepec, 716. Chantilly or Ox Hill, 784.
 Chancellorsville, 788, 789. Charleston Har-
 bor, 788. Chesapeake vs. Shannon, 605. Chi-
 huahua, 710. Chippewa, 628. Churubusco, 715.
 Chickasaw Bayou, 785. Chickamauga, 791.
 Combabee, 176. Cold Harbor (first), 784,
 (second), 801. Constellation vs. Insurgent,
 572, vs. Vengeance, 573. Constitution vs.
 Guerriere, 601, vs. Java, 603, vs. Cyane and
 Levant, 615. Corinth (first), 783, (second),
 783. Cowpens, 475. Contreras, 714. Crater
 (Petersburg), 803. Crow's Creek, 315. Craney
 Island, 630. Cross Keys, 784. Chrysler's, 628.
 Cumberland Gap, 787.
 Dahlgren's Raid, 799. Dallas, 794. Dalton,
 804. Danbury, 397. Deatonsville, 809. De-
 catur, 794. Deerfield, 258. Defeat of Wilson
 and Kautz, 802. Drewry's Bluff (first), 784.
 Drewry's Bluff (second), 800.
 Elkhorn or Pea Ridge, 783. Enterprise vs.
 Boxer, 607. Essex vs. Phoebe and Cherub,
 610. Eutaw Springs, 492.
 Fishdam Ferry, 474. Fishing Creek, 454.
 Fisher's Hill, 797. Five Forks, 808. Fleet-
 wood or Brandy Station, 789. Fort Brown,
 703. Fort Carolina, 38. Forts Clinton and
 Montgomery, 419. Fort Chumblee, 369. Fort
 De Russy, 792. Fort Detroit, 263. Fort Don-
 elson, 783. Fort Duquesne, 299. Fort Fisher,
 805. Fort Frontenac, 298. Fort Gregg, 808.
 Fort Grissold, 467. Fort Henry, 783. Fort
 McHenry, 634. Fort McAllister, 796. Fort
 Macon, 783. Fort Mifflin, 406. Fort Mimms,
 636. Fort Meigs, 624. Fort Morgan, 797.
 Fort Motte, 486. Fort Moultrie, 380. Fort
 Niagara, 303. Fort Pillow (first), 783. Fort
 Pillow (second), 798. Fort Pulaski, 783. Fort
 Powell (Mobile), 796. Fort Schuyler, 412.
 Fort Steadman, 808. Fort Stephenson, 625.
 Fort Sumter (first), 777, (second), 788. Fort
 Wagner, 787. Fort William Henry, 291. Fort
 Washington, 387. Franklin, 795. Frayser's
 Farm, 784. Fredericksburg, 785.
 Gabriel, 710. Gaines' Mill and Cold Har-
 bor, 784. Galveston, 787. Germantown, 403.
 Gettysburg (first day), 790. Gettysburg (sec-
 ond day), 790. Gettysburg (third day), 786,
 819-821. Goliad, 696. Goose Creek, 176.
 Great Meadows, 275. Great Bridge, 374.
 Grand Gulf, 790. Grierson's Raid, 786. Guil-
 ford C. H., 482. Gwynn's Island, 376.
 Hadley, 196. Hampton (first), 374. Hamp-
 ton (second), 630. Hanover, 781. Harper's
 Ferry, 784. Hatcher's Run (first), 804, (sec-
 ond), 810. Hatteras Inlet, 782. Haverhill,
 259. Helena, 787. Hobkirk's Hill, 485. Holly
 Springs, 785. Honey Hill, 805. Hornet vs.
 Peacock, 604. Hornet vs. Penguin, 615. Hun-
 ter routed, 801.
 Island No. 10, 783. Iuka, 783.
 Jamestown, 227. Jamestown Island, 496.
 Kaskaskia, 439. Kearsarge vs. Alabama, 796.
 Kecoughtan, 67. Kent Island, 159. Keowee,
 314. Kernstown (first), 783. Kernstown (sec-
 ond), 797. Kenesaw Mountain, 804. Kettle
 Creek, 444. King's Mountain, 470. Kingston,
 R. I., 197. Kinston, N. C., 810. Kittanning,
 289. Knoxville, 787.
 La Chine, 246. Lake Champlain, 610. Lake
 George, 286. Lake Erie, 607. Lexington,
 Mass., 352. Lexington, Mo., 782. Little Ten-
 nessee, 316. Lookout Mountain, 787. Long
 Island, 382. Louisville (first), 269, (second),
 294. Lovejoy Station, 794. Lundy's Lane,
 628. Lynnhaven Bay, 252.
 Macon Road, 794. Macon, 805. Malvern
 Hill, 783. Manassas (first), 782, (second), 784.
 Manassas Junction, 784. Mansfield or Sabine
 Cross Roads, 799. Martinsburg, 789. Marye's
 Heights, 786. Maumee River, 550. Memphis,
 783. Mechanicsville, 784. Merrimac (after-
 wards Virginia) vs. Cumberland, 783, vs. Con-
 gress, 783, vs. Monitor, 785. Michilimackinac,
 318. Miami Villages, 546. Mill Springs, 783.
 Missionary Ridge, 787. McCowan's Ford, 479.
 McDowell, 783. Monmouth, 431. Monk's

Corner, 449. Monongahela, 231. Monterey, 704. Molinos del Rey, 716. Montank and als. vs. Nashville, 786. Monocacy Creek, 797, 802. Mumfordsville, 785. Murfreesboro, 785, 792. Mystic River, 193.

Paintsville, 783. Palmetto Rancho, 814. Pamunkey River, 92, 95. Palo Alto, 702. Pascual, 710. Peacock vs. Epervier, 615. Peach Tree Creek, 794. Perryville, 785. Petersburg, 802. Philippi, 782. Philadelphia Station, 791. Pickett's Mills, 804. Pittsburg Landing, 783. Plains of Abraham, 307. Plattsburg, 612, 629. Pleasant Hill, 799. Plymouth, N. C., 799. Point Pleasant, 232. Point Judith, 435. President vs. Little Belt, 598. President vs. British fleet, 614. Princeton, 394. Port Royal (first), 82, (second), 782. Port Republic, 784. Potomac River, 785. Providence, Md., 162. Port Hudson, 787, 791. Pyle's Royalists, 481. Quebec, 372. Queenstown, 622.

Raisin River, 623. Raymond, 786. Reams' Station, 804. Red Bank, 405. Red River, 799. Resaca, 804. Resaca de la Palma, 702. Richmond, Ky., 785. Rich Mountain, 782. Ringgold, 791. Roanoke Island, 783. Rome, 791. Sackett's Harbor, 627. Saint Augustine, 185. Saint John's River, 37. Saint Simons, 186. San Jacinto, 696. San Antonio, 715. Santa Fe, 710. Savannah River, 443. Savannah, 445. Savage's Station, 784. Sabine Pass (first), 788, (second), 792. Scary Creek, 782. Shiloh, 783. Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, 785. Sharpshooter or the Antietam, 786. Sillery Wood, 303. Sorel River, 370. Spotsylvania C. H., 801. Springfield, N. J., 457. Springfield, Mo., 782. Spring Hill, 791. St. Clair's Camp, 547. San Cosme Gate, 717. Stonington, 631. Stamford, 437. Stony Point, 438.

Tallahatchee, 637. Thames River, 626. Thirteenth Pennsylvania captured, 804. Ticonderoga, 297. Tippecanoe, 618. Tishamingo Creek, 805. Tohopeka, 637. Trenton, 390. Trevilian's Station, 802. Tripoli, 587.

United States vs. Macedonian, 603. Upper James, 98. Upper Manhattan, 128.

Vera Cruz, 711. Vicksburg, 790, 822. Villere's Canal, 640. Vincennes, 440.

Wachusett vs. Florida, 796. Washita, 868. Waxhaw, 451. Waynesboro, 808. Wasp vs.

Frolic, 603. Weehawken vs. Atlanta, 786. Weldon Railroad, 804. West Point, 783.

White Oak Swamp, 784. White Plains, 385. Wilderness, 801. Williamsburg, 783. Williamsport, 790. Winchester (first), 783. Winchester (second), 789. Winchester (third), 797. Wintermoot, 434.

Yalabusha, 266. Yellow Tavern, 793. York, 627. Yorktown Forts, 495.

Batte, Capt. Henry 219
Baum, Colonel 413, 415
Baxter, George 131
Bayard, Colonel 137
Bayard, James A. 613
Bayard, Thomas F. 884, 889
Baxter, Rev. Richard 206
Beatrice Enriquez 22
Bear, U. S. steam cutter 889
Beauregard, Gen. P. G. T. 712, 777, 791, 800
Beecher, Henry Ward 743
Beckwith, Sir Sidney 630
Behring Strait 12, 889
Bell, John 687, 690, 766

Bellamont, Earl of 252

Bellarni, M. 570, 571

Bemis Heights 421

Bennett, Gov. Richard 98

Benton, Thomas H. 671, 675, 681, 697

Bennington 413, 902

Bermudas 77, 78, 85

Bermuda Hundreds 81

Berkeley, Sir William 94-99, 213-230

Berkeley, Lord John 165

Berry, Sir John 229

Bernadotte, General 584

Berlin Decree 592, 598

Berrien, John M. 667

Beverley, Major Robert 228

Biard, Jesuit father 82

Bibb, George M. 691

Biddle, Captain James 615

Bigotry and Witchcraft 201-211

Bidlack, Captain 434

Bill of Rights, Virginia 526

Billion Appropriation Congress 896

Birney, James G. 697

Bjarni Herjulf 18, 22

Bland, Giles 226, 229

Bland, Col. Theodore 400

Bland, Richard 336, 342

Bland Silver Bill 874

Black Hawk, Indian chief 672

Black, Jeremiah S. 747

Blaine, James G. 875, 876, 882

Blennerhassett, Harman 589

Blood Hounds 36

Bloody Brook 198

Bloody Run 220, 225

Bloody Belt, The 317

Bloody Angle, Spotsylvania 801

Blair and Rives, editors 699

Blair, Montgomery 774

Blair, Francis P. 807, 854

Bladensburg 591, 633

Blue Laws, Alleged 124, 125

Blythe, Lieut., H. M. R. N. 607

Bolsius, Rev. John Martin 183, 184

Bolivar Y Ponte, Simon 658

Bonetta, sloop of war 500

Bon-Homme Richard 446, 447

Bonaparte, Napoleon 553, 570, 574, 584, 591-594, 598, 632, 646

Boone, Daniel 514, 773

Book of Mormon 748

Borgia family 31

Borie, Adolph E. 856

Border States 768, 827

Boston 111, 115, 379

Boston Massacre 345

Boston Tea Party 344

Boston Port Bill 346, 523

Boscawen, Admiral 293, 294

Booth, John Wilkes 810, 811

Botts, John Minor 689

Boutwell, George S. 856

Bouquet, Colonel 319

Botetourt, Lord, governor 340, 341, 342

Bovadilla 26

Boxer, British brig 607

Boycott 872-874

Bradford, William, governor 103, 109

Bradstreet, Simon, governor 154, 207

Bradstreet, Gen. John 296, 298, 319

Branch, John, of North Carolina 667

Bragg, Gen. Braxton 708, 785, 787, 791

Brandywine River	130, 400	Campbell, James, of Pennsylvania.	735
Brandt, Indian chief	410, 433, 435	Campbell, Judge John A.	776, 807
Breda, Netherlands	97	Canada . 42, 43, 82, 236-241, 288-298, 302-310,	358, 369-372, 617-629, 682, 858, 889
Brent, Colonel	227	Canaries.	23, 40
Brent, William	376	Canonicus, Sachem	109
Braxton, Carter	341	Cameron, Simon.	774
Brewster, William	103, 106	Canby, U. S. Gen.	859
Brebeuf, Jean De	240	Caribbees	21
Bull of Pope Alexander VI.	31	Carleton, Gen. Sir Guy . . 304, 369, 370, 502, 529	
Brockenbrough, Judge William	52	Carolinas	37, 166
Brunswickers	351, 409	Carolina, North	41, 163, 178, 779, 828, 843
Breyman, Colonel	415	Carolina, South . . . 37, 59, 170, 171, 178, 768,	828, 843, 860, 861, 869
Brudenell, Rev. Mr.	426	Caroline, steamer	682
Brown, Col. Thomas, Tory.	451, 469, 487	Caroline, U. S. war schooner.	640
Brown, General, U. S. A.	627, 628	Caron, Sir Noel De.	62
Brown, Milton.	697	Canonchet, Indian chief.	197
Brown, William J., of Indiana.	726	Carr, Dabney	342
Brown, John (Osawatamie)	745, 759-765	Cary, Archibald.	312
Brown, Aaron V.	747	Carver, John, governor	101, 105
Brown, B. Gratz.	862	Carthage	54, 56
Breckinridge, John C.	746, 766, 800	Cartier, Jacques.	42
Brooke, Lord	123	Cambridge, Mass.	115
Brookfield	196	Carteret, Sir George	138, 165
Braddock, Gen. Edward	276, 280-283	Carteret, Philip	139
Broke, P. B. V. British captain.	605-606	Carteret, James.	139
Brock, British general	620-622	Cartel for Exchange of Prisoners. . 384, 825, 833	
Brooks, Preston S.	743	Carthageua, S. A.	267
Bribery and Corruption, Alleged	663	Carson, Kit, hunter	710
Brussels Treaty	902	Carpet-baggers	838, 843, 860, 865, 872
Buchanan, Scottish scholar	103	Catawbas	188, 313
Buchanan, James	739, 746, 747-772	Causes of Revolution	311-346
Buchanan, Admiral Franklin	783, 785	Cavaliers	62
Burgesses, House of	86, 98	Cayugas	236
Burras, Anne	73, 87	Cassen, George.	68
Buccaneers	618	Casimir, Fort.	130
Bull, Capt. Thomas	152	Cass, Lewis	668, 723, 747
Bullet, Captain.	300, 374	Census of United States	550
Burgoyne, Gen. John	360, 377, 409, 427	Central Pacific Railroad.	856
Bunker's Hill	363	Centennial Exposition in 1876	866
Buford, Colonel	451	Challons, Capt. Henry	84
Burr, Aaron.	371, 580, 585, 590	Champe, Sergt. John.	464
Burroughs, Rev. George.	208	Champlain, Samuel De.	43, 235, 237
Burrows, Lieut. William.	607	Chadd's Ford	400
Butler, Col. John.	433	Chambersburg, Penn.	803
Butler, Col. Zebulon	433	Chance, Indian	89
Butler, Benjamin F., N. Y.	678	Chatham, Earl of	349
Butler, Gen. Benjamin F.	766, 800, 805, 834	Charles V., Emperor	14, 33, 36, 121
Buraside, Gen. Ambrose C., 783, 785, 787, 791, 821		Charles, Cape	63
Byng, Admiral	836	Charles I., of England.	92, 93, 110, 142
Cabot, John.	30, 31	Charles II., of Eng., 97, 99, 110, 132, 142, 213, 218	
Cabot, Lewis.	30	Charles IX., of France	375
Cabot, Sebastian.	30, 31	Charlestown, Mass.	115, 365
Cabot, Sanctius.	30	Charleston, S. C.	170, 448-450, 788
Cabrillo	35	Chauncey, Commodore	626
Calef, Robert.	210	Chase, Judge Samuel	577, 586
Calvert family	93, 113, 157	Chase, Salmon P., Ch. J. . 760, 774, 843, 852, 865	
Calvert, George	157	Chew, Benjamin.	403
Calvert, Cecelius.	157	Cherry Valley, N. Y.	434
Calvert, Leonard.	158	Chesapeake Bay.	31, 63, 157
Calvin, John.	101	Cherokees.	15, 182, 188, 312, 316, 664
Cadianne, Mohawk	236	Chickahominy River.	67
California	35, 244, 709, 719, 733	Chickasaws	15, 182, 266, 313
Caldwell, Rev. James	456, 457	Chicken, Captain	176
Caldwell, Murder of Mrs.	457	China	12, 693, 873, 875, 879
Calhoun, John C.	599, 649, 654, 655, 657, 662, 665, 671, 682, 691, 723	Chitomachen, sachem	160
Callender, James Thompson.	577	Chichely, Sir Henry	219
Cadwalader, General	393, 430	Chicago, Ill.	242, 622, 858, 903
Campbell, Scottish poet	433	Chieseman, Captain	228
Campbell, English officer	443, 444	Chesterfield, Lord	301
Campbell, Col. William	470, 471	Chevalier of St. George.	255, 256

- Cheeves, Langdon 599, 727
 Choiseul, French minister 310
 Choctaws 15, 188, 313
 Cholula, Mex. 14
 Chrysler's Spring 628
 Chili, S. A. 664, 899-901
 Choate, Rufus 732
 Christianity 11, 46, 62, 113, 914
 Christian Sabbath 105
 Church Establishments . 48, 94, 115, 166, 323, 326, 328, 520
 Church Party, Mexico 846, 848
 Church, Captain 198
 Cilley, Colonel 424
 Cincinnati 617
 Cipango 20
 Civil Service Act 881, 885
 Clark, Captain, pilot 84
 Clark, George Rogers 439-441
 Clark's Island 105
 Clarke, John 116
 Clarke, Walter, governor 152
 Clarke, Col. Elijah 444, 470
 Clarke, Capt. William 551, 586
 Clarendon, Earl of 110
 Clayborne, William 156-162
 Clarendon, Lord 164
 Clifton, Richard 103
 Clinton, Sir Henry . . . 379, 381, 382, 419, 429, 438, 447, 450, 463, 497, 501, 419 589,
 Clinton, George, governor 434
 Clinton, Gen. James 470
 Cleveland, Colonel 882-888
 Cleveland, Grover 509, 605, 613, 654, 656, 658, 662, 669, 671, 688, 727, 733, 784
 Clay, Henry 624, 625
 Clay, General, of Kentucky 725
 Clayton, John M. 205, 207
 Cloyce, Sarah 241
 Colbert, French minister 629
 Cockburn, Admiral Sir George 859
 Cockburn, Sir Alexander 632
 Cochrane, English admiral 636, 640
 Coffee, General 727, 747
 Cobb, Howell, of Georgia 854
 Colfax, Schuyler 865
 Colorado 824
 Colored Half Orphan Asylum 11
 Colleges and Universities 551
 Columbia River 11, 29, 575, 682
 Columbia, District of 13, 17, 20, 21-26
 Columbus, Christopher 22
 Columbus, Fernando 29, 30
 Columbus, Bartholomew 37, 42
 Coligny, Admiral 41, 104
 Cod, Cape 60, 117
 Coke, Sir Edward 116
 Coddington, William 334
 Coddin, Lieutenant-Governor, N. Y. 173
 Colleton, James, governor 165
 Colleton, Sir John 126
 Communipaw 78, 84
 Comfort, Point 205
 Common Prayer, Book of 248
 Congress, First Colonial 337
 Congress, First American 348
 Congress of 1774 261, 266
 Cordon of French Posts 49
 Como, Diocese of 47
 Constantine, Emperor 450
 Connecticut 18, 112, 123, 132, 450
 Converts 88
 Constitution of Virginia 90, 524
 Constitution of United States 532, 535, 538
 Confederation, Articles of 517, 527
 Confederate States 771, 779, 829
 Confederate Treasury Notes 852
 Collamer, Jacob 725
 Collier, Admiral Sir George 441
 Copenhagen 19
 Cordova 35
 Cotton, John 116
 Cotton, Culture of 177, 852
 Cornbury, Lord, governor 140, 253, 254
 Coree Indians 174
 Cory, Giles 208
 Cornstalk, Indian chief 232
 Cornplanter, Indian chief 435
 Concord, Mass. 353, 354
 Convention, Virginia, 1775 350
 Conway, General 399, 430
 Convention Troops 440
 Continental Currency 450
 Conkling, Roscoe 875
 Conner, Commodore 706, 707
 Conrad, Charles M. 729
 Cornwallis, Lord, 381, 393, 400, 401, 452, 493, 499
 Cortez, Hernando 14, 35
 Courtlandt, Mayor 137
 Country Life, Southern 329, 330-332
 Cooper, Thomas 579
 Cooper, J. Fenimore 135, 518
 Corbett, Boston 811
 Cowpens, Hannah's 475
 Cox, Jacob D. 856
 Coxe, Daniel 274
 Craven, William, Earl of 165
 Craven, Charles, governor 176
 Crawford, William H. 606, 647
 Craney Island 630
 Crawford, George W. 725
 Credit Mobilier 863
 Creswell John A. J. 856
 Crittenden, John J. 687, 729, 813
 Crampton, English charge 737
 Crusaders 35
 Cromwell, Oliver 97, 115, 124, 132, 213
 Creek Indians 182, 313, 316, 663, 664
 Cruger, British colonel 451
 Croghan, Major George 625
 Crockett, David 694
 Crystal Palace Exposition 736
 Cuba 25, 29, 692, 730, 731, 739, 867
 Culpepper, John 168
 Culpepper, Lord 218
 Cumming, Arthur, governor 752
 Cushing, Caleb 694, 735
 Custer, Gen. George A. 868
 Dacres, Capt. James A. 601, 602
 Dade, Major, U. S. A. 673
 Dakota, North 892
 Dakota, South 892
 Dallas, George M. 697
 Dale, Sir Thomas 79, 80
 Danbury 397
 Danes in New Jersey 138
 Daniel, Father Anthony 239
 Daniel, Robert, governor 170
 D'Artaguet, French officer 266
 D'Auvergne Sans Tache 499
 Davie, Colonel 469
 Davidson, Brig.-Gen. 479
 Davenport, Colonel 469

Davies, Rev. Samuel	283	Eaton, Theophilus	124
Darien, Isthmus of	34	Eaton, William, consul	588
Daston, Sarah	209	Eaton, John H.	667, 668
Davis, Jefferson . 708, 735, 772, 781, 794, 812, 821, 830, 853, 862, 890	839, 853	Edmondson, William, Friend	167
Davis, Henry Winter	40	Edward VI., King	101
Davis, John, navigator	40	Egan, Patrick	900, 901
Davenport, John	112, 124	Egypt	13, 54
Dare, Ananias	41	Elizabeth, Queen	39, 40, 46, 59, 101
Dare, Eleanor	41	Elizabethtown, N. J.	138, 456, 538
Dayton, William L.	746, 850	Eliot, Rev. John	191
Deane, Silas	348, 393, 399	Elliott, Lieut. U. S. N.	609, 613
Dearborn, General	619, 626	Ellsworth, W. L.	882
Decatur, Captain Stephen, Sr.	572	Elskwatawa, Indian prophet	618
Decatur, Captain Stephen, Jr. 109, 572, 587, 591	603, 614, 644	Embargo	593, 594
Declaration of Independence, 212, 392, 509, 512	258	Endicott, John	116
Derfield, Mass.	13	Endicott, William C.	884
Degeneracy, Theory of	15	Enforcement Act	861
Delawares	75, 78, 79, 85	England's Naval Power	600
Delaware, Lord	85	English, William H.	875
Delaware, Lady	129, 143, 147	Enterprise, U. S. brig	607
De Kalb, Baron	399, 453, 454	Epervier, British brig	615
De Long, Lieutenant	880	Episcopacy, Prelatic, 62, 81, 89, 98, 102, 117, 150, 324	101
De Monts, Huguenot	43, 235	Erasmus, Desiderius	648, 655
Denys, French navigator	42, 235	Era of Good Feeling	17, 19
Deunis, Captain	97, 98	Eric the Red	607, 610
Democrats, party	567, 895	Erie, Lake	597
D'Estaing, Admiral	435, 444	Erskine, British minister	420
De Soto, Ferdinand	36, 37	Esopus, N. Y.	35
Detroit, Mich.	263, 317, 620, 621, 624	Espejo, Spanish leader	17
Development Theory	13	Esquimaux	610
Dickerson, Mahlon	678	Essex, U. S. frigate	738
Dieskau, Baron	281, 287	Espy, Prof. James P.	431
Diggs, Edward, governor	98	Esther, Indian Squaw	435, 444
Diggs, Dudley	342	Esteban, Admiral D'	36
Discovery of America	17, 26	Estremadura	492
Diuiddie, Gov. of Va.	273	Entaw Springs	731, 766
Dobbin, James C.	735	Everett, Edward	759, 790, 819
Dongan, Thomas, governor	136, 149	Ewing, Thomas	687, 689, 725
Doniphan, Colonel	710	Exeter	113
Donop, Count	382, 405	Exploring Expedition, 1838	683
Dollar, U. S. Silver	864	Exploration by Lewis and Clarke	551
Donelson, Andrew J.	746	Exports and Imports	551, 596, 912
Dorchester, Mass.	115	Fabius, The American	396, 438
Dorchester Heights	377	Farragut, Admiral D. G.	783, 796
Dorr, Thomas W.	525, 692	Fairfax, Earl of	515, 516
Dover, N. H.	112	Fairfax, George Wm.	515
Downie, British captain	611	Fairfax, Lieutenant	844
Downing, Major Jack	669	Fava, Baron	891
Douglas, Stephen A.	655, 728, 741, 766	Fauchet, French minister	556, 562
Draft, The	823, 825	Fayette, Marquis Gilbert Motier De La 399, 400, 431, 446, 459, 467, 493, 495, 659, 660, 667	567
Dred Scott Case	756, 759, 840	Federalists	58
Drummond, William	167, 223	Feudal System	23
Drummond, Sarah	225, 229	Ferdinand, King of Spain	429
Drake, Sir Francis	39, 41, 721	Ferguson, Dr. Adam	470
Duane, Wm. J.	674	Ferguson, Col. Patrick	447, 449, 469, 470
Duel	109, 588, 591	Fenwick, John	139
Dudley, Joseph, of Mass.	150	Field, Cyrus W.	754, 756
Dudley, Gov. of Mass.	257	Fifteenth Amendment	844
Ducoudray, French artilleryist	399	First Ocean Steamer	647
Dunderberg, The	419	Fillmore, Millard	723, 734, 746
Duplessis, Col. Manduit	405	Fish, Hamilton	856
Dunmore, Gov. of Va. 342, 347, 360, 373, 374	376	Fishing Creek	454
Durant, George	164, 168	Fisher, Mary	321
Dustin family	249	Financial Troubles	679, 857
Dutch people	126, 127, 171, 238, 328	Five Nations	15, 68
Du Thet, Gilbert, Jesuit	82	Fitzgerald, Colonel	395
Earthquakes	887	Fletcher, Gov. of N. Y.	154
Early, Gen. Jubal A.	786, 797, 801, 802, 803	Floyd, John B., governor	747, 769, 770

- Florida, .18, 34, 36, 184, 443, 636, 638, 649, 650, 698, 768, 828, 843, 869
Folger, Charles J. 882
Folsom, Miss Frances 887
Foote, Commodore A. H. 783
Forey, French general 847
Forrest, Edwin 726
Forrest, Gen. N. B. 785, 791, 798, 804
Forrest, Mrs. 73
Force Bill, The 671, 894
Fort Dearborn 622
Fort Edward 285
Fort Griswold 467
Fort Loudon 313, 315
Fort Mercer 405
Fort Mifflin 405, 406
Fort Miami 550
Fort Mimms 636
Fort McHenry 634, 635
Fort Necessity 275
Fort Prince George 313, 315
Fort Moultrie 380, 450
Fort Motte, S. C. 486
Fort Washington 385, 386
Forty Fort 434
Fordyce, Captain 374
Forbes, General 294, 299, 300
Forsyth, John 678, 776
Forsyth and others, commissioners 776
Fourteenth Amendment 841
Fox, George 141, 167
Fox, Charles, M. P. 484
Foster, British envoy 597, 599
Foy, Secretary 374
France 45, 399, 427, 430, 553, 584, 676, 846
Francis I., King 42
Franklin, William 140
Franklin, Benjamin 148, 268, 271, 272, 280, 288, 301, 330, 333, 339, 342, 365, 393, 427, 552
Franciscan Monks 237
Fraser, General 409, 424, 425
Fraunces' Tavern, N. Y. 530
Fra Paolo 121
Fredericksburg, Va. 373, 508
Free Schools 215, 331
Free-Soil Party 723
Freedman's Bureau 842
Frelinghuysen, Theodore 693
Frelinghuysen, Frederick T. 882
Fremont, Gen. John C. 709, 746
Frederica, Ga. 185
Friends (Quakers). 120, 141
French Protestants 37
Frobisher, Martin 40
Frolic, British war brig 603
Frontenac, Count 243, 245, 249
Fry, Colonel Joshua 275
Fulton, Robert 595
Fugitive Slave Laws 730, 732, 740
Fuller, Melville W., Chief Justice 887
Gabrinski, Count 420
Gadsden, Christopher 313
Gadsden, Gen. James 719
Gage, Gen. Thomas 339, 344, 347, 349, 352, 364, 377
Gallatin, Albert 584, 599, 613
Galveston Island, Texas 645
Gansevoort, Colonel 412
Garfield, Mrs. James A. 782, 875-878
Garfield, Mrs. Lucretia R. 876, 878
Garland, A. H. 884
Garrison, William Lloyd 685
Gascony 38
Gaspee, British armed ship 346
Gates, Sir Thomas 61, 75, 77, 79
Gates, Gen. Horatio 407, 418, 452, 453
Geary, John W. 745
Geiger, Emily 487
Genet, Edmond Charles 555, 556
Geneva Witchcraft 49
George I., King 265
George II., King 267
George III., King 309, 360, 381, 409, 502
Georgia 36, 179-188, 768, 828, 843
Germain, Lord George 409, 501
Germany 45, 858, 887
Germans 73, 145, 170
Germantown 145, 402
Gerry, Elbridge 569, 571, 613
Gettysburg, Penn. 786, 790, 818-821, 862
Ghent, Treaty of 599, 613, 643
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey 40
Gilbert, Raleigh 100, 112
Giles, William B. 565
Gilmer, Thomas Walker 691
Gloucester County, Va. 69, 145, 224
Glover's Marblehead Corps 383
Goffe, Colonel, regicide 197
Gold and Silver 27, 719, 720
Golden Hind, ship 39
Godyn, Hollander 129
Gondomar, Count De 85
Gooch, William, governor 232, 267
Goodwin, John 204
Goose Creek Militia 176
Gorges, Ferdinando 100, 112
Gosnold, Bartholomew 41, 63, 66
Government Status of Colonies 506
Gourgues, Dominic De 38
Graham, William A. 729, 732
Granganamel, Indian chief 41
Grand Model, Locke's 165-172, 329
Graffenreid, Baron De 174
Grant, Major 299, 314
Granger, Francis 687, 690, 698
Grant, Gen. Ulysses S. 782, 783, 785, 786, 787, 790, 792, 793, 797, 801, 803, 806, 809, 822, 834, 838, 850, 854, 855-871
Grasse, Admiral Count De 497, 500, 501
Gravesend Bay 132
Gray's Elegy 305, 306
Gray, Capt. Robert 551, 721
Great Britain, Empire of 11
Great Meadows 275
Great Bridge, Virginia 374
Greenland 17
Greenwood, English martyr 102
Green, Thomas 162
Green, Roger 164
Greene, Gen. Nathaniel 363, 400, 432, 455, 474, 478, 479, 485
Green Mountain Boys 370, 410, 418
Greenback Party 875
Greece, Slavery in 55
Greek Church 46, 47, 48
Grenau, Salzburgher 183
Grenville, Sir Richard 40
Gregory VII., Pontiff 47, 58
Grenville, George 333
Greeley, Horace 732, 774, 812, 862, 863
Greely, Lieutenant 883
Grey, British general 400, 404, 436, 458
Grinnell, Henry 731

Grotius, publicist	121	Hendricks, Thomas A.	869, 882
Gridley, Colonel, engineer	363, 378	Hennessey, David C.	891
Gudrid, wife of Karlsefne	19	Henry, Prince, the Navigator	20, 58
Guacanagari, Indian chief	32	Henry VII., King	29, 30, 46
Gulf of Mexico	16	Henry VIII., King	39, 46, 101
Guatemala	36, 898, 899	Henry, Cape	63
Gulana	40, 60	Henrietta Maria	97
Guiteau, Charles	877, 878	Hennepin, Father Louis	243
Guilford C. H.	482	Henry, Patrick	325, 336, 342, 350, 373
Guerriere, British frigate	600, 601	Henry, John, British emissary	636
Guadaloupe Hidalgo, Treaty of	718	Heriot, Thomas	41
Gunboat Defences	592, 630	Herjulf, Bjarni	18
Guthrie, James	735	Hervey, Sir John, governor	93
Gwynn's Island	376	Hertel, French officer	247-258
Habeas Corpus, Writ of	164, 861	Herkimer, General	411, 412
Habersham, Joseph	358, 368, 379	Hessians	382, 405, 421
Hackensack, N. Y.	127	Hildebrand, Pontiff	47
Hadley	196	Hill, Col. Edward	220
Hakluyt, Richard	61	Hill, Brig. Gen. John	262
Hale, Sir Matthew	50, 207	Hill, Gen. Ambrose P.	785, 788, 789, 804, 819
Hale, Capt. Nathan	383, 384, 464	Hiram, King of Tyre	13
Hale, John P.	732	Hispaniola	21, 25, 33, 59
Halket, Sir Peter	280, 282, 301	Hoar, Ebenezer R.	856
Hamilton, Alexander	109, 386, 498, 514, 540, 542, 559, 584, 588	Holland	62, 125, 132
Hamilton, English governor	438-440	Holliman, Ezekiel	119
Hamet, rightful bey	588	Hobkirk's Hill	485
Hall, U. S. Dist. Judge, La.	639	Holmes, Rep. from Mass.	652
Hall, Nathau K.	729	Hooker, Gen. Joseph	787, 788, 791, 818
Hampden, John	115	Hooker, Thomas	112, 123
Hampton, Va.	374, 630	Horican, Lake George	285
Hampton Roads Conference	807, 837	Holt, Chief Justice	50, 203
Hampton, Gen. Wade	802	Homer, Greek poet	54
Hanno, of Carthage	17	Horse-Neck Stairs	437
Handcock, Indian chief	175	Howard, Colonel, Maryland	476
Hansford, Thomas	228	Howe, Sir William	187, 304, 377, 389, 396
Hancock, John	349, 352, 361, 507, 543	Howe, Lord	294, 295, 296
Hamtramck, Major	548	Howe, Gen. Robert	443
Hamlin, Hannibal	767	Hornet, U. S. war sloop	664, 615
Harrison, Benjamin	342, 350	Honston, Gen. Samuel	695
Harrison, Gen. Wm. H.	608, 609, 618-627, 685, 687, 688	Huguenots	37, 172
Harrison, Benjamin, President	888	Hudson's Strait	40
Harmer, Brig. Gen.	545, 546	Hudson, Henry	82, 125, 129
Hartford, Conn.	112, 123, 152	Hunt, Thomas	101, 104
Hartford Convention	635	Hunt, Rev. Robert	62
Harvey, John, governor	168	Hull, Capt. Isaac	600
Harney, Colonel	713	Hull, Gen. William	619-621
Hartstene, Captain U. S. N.	746	Huger, General	449, 478
Hancock, Gen. W. S.	875	Hungary	733
Hardy, Admiral Sir Thomas	631, 632	Hunter, Ro. M. T.	807
Harvard University	327, 331, 674	Hunter, Gen. David	800, 802, 827
Harvie, Lewis E.	778	Hunt, William H.	876
Hawley, Gen. Joseph R.	867	Hughes, Archbishop	824
Haverhill	259	Hurons	15, 238-240
Hayes, Rutherford B.	869-875	Hutchinson, Anne	113, 116, 117, 128
Hayne, Isaac	488-491	Hyde, Edward, governor	170-175
Hayne, Robert Y.	667, 669	Hyde, Anne	255
Hayti	25, 862	Iceland	17, 20
Hay, George	578	Idaho	892
Hawkins, Sir John	59, 323	Illinois	439, 648
Hazen, William B.	857	Imperium in Imperio	47, 916
Hazelwood, Commodore	405, 406	Impeachment of Justice Samuel Chase	586
Hebrews, people	13, 54	Impeachment of President Johnson	843
Heath, Sir Robert	93, 163	Importation of Slaves	322, 523
Hell Gate, N. Y.	117	Impressment of Seamen	558, 597
Helwys, Thomas	119	Incas	14, 35
Helluland	18	Indian Characters	15, 189
Hemans, Mrs. Felicia	106	Indies	25
Henlopen, Cape	129	Indians	311-320
Hendrick, Indian chief	286	Indiana	644
		Ingham, Sam'l D.	666, 668
		Ingersoll, of Connecticut	335

- Ingoldsby, Major 137
 Ingraham, Capt. Duncan N. 737, 788
 Innocent VIII., Pontiff 49
 Insurrection of Negroes 321
 Internal Improvements 647
 International Copyright 902
 Iowa 698
 Iroquois 15, 43, 236, 238, 240, 246, 257
 Iron-clad Oath 857, 874
 Isabella, Queen 23, 24
 Itajuba, Baron Marcos A. De 859
 Italy 45, 890-892
 Itata, case of the 900-901

 Jack of the Feather 88
 Jackson, Gen. Andrew 566, 636, 637, 648-
 650, 662, 665, 666-677
 Jackson, British minister 593
 Jackson, Gen. Thomas Jonathan . . . 783, 788,
 815-817, 893
 James I., King 46, 60, 88-91, 103, 501
 James II., King 136, 147, 153
 Jamaica 25
 James River 63
 Jamestown 63, 89, 227, 231
 Jamestown Island 495
 Jameson, Colonel 463
 James, Thomas L. 876
 Japan 20, 730, 754
 Japazaws, Indian chief 80
 Jasper, Sergt. William 381, 446
 Java, British frigate 603
 Jay, John, of N. Y. 510, 559
 Jay's Treaty 560, 561
 Jefferson, Thomas 327, 342, 440, 466, 494,
 507, 518, 521, 540, 551, 580, 582-596, 652, 894
 Jefferson's Manual 568
 Jeffries, Herbert 229, 231
 Jesuit Fathers 190, 237
 Jessup, General 628, 673
 Job, patriarch 13
 Jogues, Isaac 238, 239
 John XVII., pontiff 19
 John II., King of Portugal 20, 22, 23
 Johnson, Gen. Sir William 284, 287, 320, 367
 Johnson, Sir John 367, 410, 413
 Johnson, Col. Richard M. 627, 678
 Johnson, Cave 701
 Johnson, Reverdy 725
 Johnson, Herschel V. 766
 Johnson, Andrew 806, 812, 815, 854
 Johnstone, English Com'r 429, 430
 Johnston, Gen. Albert Sidney 751, 753
 Johnston, Gen. Joseph E. 786, 793, 808, 812
 Johnstown, Penn. 888
 Joint High Commission 870, 871
 Jones, Wimberley 358
 Jones, Lieut. David 415-417
 Jones, Admiral John Paul 446
 Jones, Capt. Jacob 603
 Jones, Anson, president 698
 Joseph, the boy 53
 Juarez, President of Mexico 816, 848, 849
 Juet, Robert, mate 126
 Julian, George W. 732
 Jumonville, M. 275, 276

 Kalb, Baron De 399, 453
 Kansas 7, 6
 Kansas-Nebraska Act 655, 741
 Kane, Dr. Elisha Kent 731
 Kane, Col. Thomas L. 750, 752

 Karlsefne, Thorfinn 19
 Kaskaskia, Ill. 439
 Kearney, Colonel 710
 Kellogg, Governor 866
 Kemp, Richard, governor 96
 Kemper, General 827
 Keesoughtan, Va. 67
 Kendall, George 63, 67
 Kendall, Amos 678
 Kennebec River 100, 370
 Kent Island 156, 160
 Kentucky 514, 545, 577
 Kettle Creek, Ga. 444
 Key, Francis Scott 635
 Kieft, Wilhelmus, governor 127, 130
 Kidd, Capt. William 252, 253
 King William's War 234
 King George's War 235, 268
 Kings, their characters 45, 119, 155, 503
 King's Mountain 470-472
 King, William R. 732, 733
 Kirke, Sir David 235
 Kirkwood, Samuel J. 876
 Kittanning, Indian town 289
 Knights of Labor 872-874
 Know-Nothing Party 738
 Knyphausen, General 387, 400, 456
 Knox, Gen. Henry 377, 403, 530, 531, 540
 Kosciuszko, Thaddeus 399, 421
 Kossuth, Lajos (Louis) 733
 Koszta, Martin 737
 Kuklux Organization 860-862

 Labrador 17, 30
 Lactantius 24
 Laconia, N. H. 112
 Lakes, Northern 16, 607
 Lake George 285, 296
 La Pite, freebooter 640
 Lallemand, Gabriel 240
 Langdon, President of Harvard . . . 364
 Lambert, British general 641, 643
 Lamar, L. Q. C. 884
 Lane, Gen. Joseph 766
 Lands, Public 533, 534
 Laudonniere 37
 Laud, Archbishop 115, 160
 Larrimore, Captain 226
 Laurens, Henry 428
 Lardner, Dr. Dionysius 683
 Lawrence, Capt. James 604-606
 Lawrence, Bacon's follower 224, 230
 Las Casas 58
 La Salle 242-244
 Laydon, John 87
 Lee, Gen. Charles 290, 361, 375, 380, 387,
 388, 389, 398, 431, 432, 452
 Lee, Richard Henry 336, 342
 Lee, Henry (Light Horse) 341, 400, 452, 455,
 464, 481, 486, 558, 574
 Lee, Arthur 393
 Lee, Gen. Robert E. 712, 761, 786, 809, 817-
 822, 857, 893
 Lee, Capt. Sidney Smith 821
 Lear, Tobias 543, 548
 Ledyard, Col. William 467
 Leisler, Jacob 136, 138, 248, 252
 Leland, John, farmer 583
 Leland, Dr. John A. 861
 Leigh, Benjamin Watkins 671
 Lemmi Lenape Indians 15, 144
 Legare, Hugh S. 690, 691

Leon, Ponce De	34	Manning, Daniel	884
Leo X., pontiff.	49	Mandeville, Sir John	20
Letcher, John, governor	779, 801	Mannahoes, Indians	68
Lewiston, Del.	129	Maine	112, 115, 648, 652, 683, 713
Lewis, Gen. Andrew	232, 376	Mantco, Indian chief	41
Lewis, Capt. Meriwether.	551, 586, 721	Martha's Vineyard.	42
Leslie, British general.	465, 473, 478	Martial Law	79, 80, 639
Lenoix, Duke of	112	Markham, William	143
Lexington, Mass.	351	Margravate of Azilia.	180
Leyden, Holland.	103	Marie Antoinette, Queen.	392
Lief, son of Eric	18, 19	Marcy, William L.	666, 700, 735
Lillington, Major	169	Mary, the Bloody, Queen	101
Lincoln, Gen. Benj.	413, 423, 444, 450, 500, 821	Maryland	113, 156, 157
Lincoln, Abraham.	767, 773-814	Maryland Gazette	162
Lincoln, Robert	876	Marquette, Jacques	241, 242
Little Sarah, The.	556	Marion, Gen. Francis	313, 452, 473
Little Belt, The	598, 601	Marshall, John	569, 574, 580, 589
Livingston, Major H. B.	410, 461	Martin, Luther.	577, 587
Livingston, Chancellor.	595	Martin, John.	63, 71, 76
Livingston, Edward	668	Massachusetts.	78, 111
Locke, John.	165	Massawomecs, Indians.	68
Loofococs, party name.	697	Massasoit, Indian chief	108, 110
Loar, Captain	837	Mason, Capt. John.	112
Logan, Gen. John A.	882	Mason and Dixon's Line.	146
Lockwood, Belva A.	882	Mason, Capt. John, Conn.	192
Lockwood Island.	883	Masham, Mrs.	262, 264
Long Island, N. Y.	18, 381, 383	Mason, George	473, 516
London Company.	61, 86, 90, 91, 156	Masonry	670
Longfellow, poet.	278	Mason, John Y.	691, 701
Longstreet, Gen. James. 787, 788, 791, 801, 819, 821	821	Mason, James M.	844
Loudon, Earl of	288, 290	Marco, Polo	20
Louiallier, M., of La.	639	Matoaka (Pocahontas).	70
Lopez, Gen. Marcisco	730	Mather, Richard	202, 203
Louis XIV., King	245	Mather, Increase	153, 202
Louis XV., King.	276	Mather, Cotton.	198, 202, 210, 520
Louis XVI., King	392, 430, 551	Matagorda, Bay of	243
Louisburg	269, 270, 294	Matthews, Samuel, governor	98, 99
Louisiana	243, 581, 585, 599, 636, 768, 828, 843, 860, 866, 869, 892	Mayflower, The	103
Louis Philippe, King	676	Mayhew Family	191
Louis Napoleon, Emperor.	739, 845, 847, 848	Mauzy, Rev. James	324
Lovelace, Col. Francis.	136, 149	Mawhood, Colonel.	394
Lowndes, William.	599	Maxwell, Gen. N. J.	457
Loyal Hanna	299	Maysville Road	667
Ludwell, Philip.	169	Maximilian, Archduke.	849, 851
Ludlow, Lieutenant, U. S. N.	605, 606	Meade, Gen. Geo. G.	789, 818, 833, 862
Lundy's Lane	628, 629	Mecklenburg, N. C.	508
Luther, Martin	101	Meigs, Colonel.	397
Lymbry, English spy.	81	Merida, Ruins near.	14
Lynn, Mass.	115	Melendez, Pedro	27, 37, 38
Lyon, Matthew, Vt.	578	Medici, Lorenzo De.	29
Lyons, Judge Peter.	325	Mercer, Gen. Hugh	389, 394, 395
Lyons, Lord, English minister.	845	Mexico	13, 35, 658, 713
Lyttleton, governor S. C.	312-316	Memphis, Tenn.	36
Macaulay, historian	147	Merodith, William M.	725
Maclean, Colonel.	369, 370	McCrea Family	415
Macedonian, British frigate	603	McCrea, Jane.	415, 417
Macdonough, Capt. Thomas	611, 612	McIntosh, General	438
Macomb, Gen. Alexander	610, 612	McHenry, James	567, 569
Madoc of Wales	17	McLane, Louis.	668
Madison, James.	534, 576, 584, 595, 597-645	McClellan, Gen. Geo.	712, 784, 785, 806, 825
Maerady, W. C.	726	McClelland, Robert	735
Mafia, Society of the.	890	McVeagh, Wayne	876
Magnetic Telegraph	693	McKinley Tariff Act.	893
Magruder, Gen. John B.	787	Meteoritic Display.	675
Magellan, Fernando.	35	Michigan	676
Manhattan Island	82, 125	Micmacs, Indians.	249
Maltravers, Lord.	163	Michilimackinac	318
Majoribanks, British major	492	Middle Plantation, Va.	225
Mangum, Willie P.	678	Milbourne, of N. Y.	137, 138, 148
Mann, A. Dudley	733	Milledge, John.	358
		Miller, Col. James.	629
		Mills, Roger Q.	885

- Miller, W. H. H. 889
 Milton, John. 117
 Milan Decree. 592, 598
 Miners' Troubles, Tenn. 897
 Minigerode, Lieut.-Colonel. 406
 Minnesota. 756
 Minnits, Peter. 127, 130
 Mississippi. 15, 36, 648, 768, 828, 844, 854
 Mississippi River. 36, 37, 241
 Missouri. 648, 655
 Missouri Compromise. 652, 655, 696, 722, 742
 Mobile, Ala. 251, 266, 796, 810
 Modena, Princess of. 255
 Modocs, Indians. 859
 Mohawks. 128, 236, 246
 Mohicans. 15, 192, 200
 Molina, Spaniard. 84
 Monk, Gen. George. 165
 Monk's Corner, S. C. 449
 Monarchy. 44, 45, 503-513
 Monarchs, Indians. 67
 Monocacy River. 797, 802
 Monongahela. 281
 Monmouth C. H. 431, 432
 Monro, Colonel. 291
 Monroe, James. 390, 564, 581, 599, 623, 645-661, 721
 Monroe Doctrine. 659, 849, 850
 Montcalm, Marquis De. 288, 290, 292, 297, 302, 304, 308
 Montgomery, Colonel. 314, 316
 Montgomery, Gen. Richard. 294, 370, 372, 420
 Montana. 892
 Montt, Jorge, Chilian President. 901
 Montezuma, King. 35
 Montreal. 42, 246, 309
 Moore, James, governor. 174, 175, 257
 Montiano, Manuel De. 185
 Montgomery, Sir Robert. 180
 Morgan, Va. colonist. 88
 Morgan, Gen. Daniel. 409, 421, 424, 475, 476, 558
 Morgan, William. 670
 Morgan, Gen. John. 785, 787
 Morris, Lewis. 140
 Morris, Robert. 430, 450, 531
 Mormons, Sect. 747, 753
 Morrison, Francis. 229
 Morristown, Heights of. 396
 Morse, Samuel F. B. 692, 862
 Morton, Levi P. 838
 Mound Builders. 15
 Mount Desert, Canada. 82
 Mount Vernon. 328
 Moultrie, Gen. Wm. 380
 Moyes, Count, of Transylvania. 64
 Mulberry Island Point. 78
 Musgrove, Mary. 181
 Muskogee Indians. 182
 Murray, Wm. Vans. 573
 Myer, Albert J. 857
 Nansmonds, Indians. 72
 Napoleon, Louis. 739, 845, 847, 848, 852
 Narragansetts, Indians. 108, 197
 Narvaz, Spanish leader. 36
 Nash, Thomas, English seaman. 579
 Natchez Indians. 15
 Natchez, Miss. 37
 Nauvoo, City of. 749
 Nautilus, East Indian armed ship. 616
 Navigation Laws. 216, 234
 Nausites, Indians. 104
 Nelson, Thomas, governor. 494, 498
 Nelson, Captain. 71
 Negroes. 32, 58, 87, 182, 320, 832, 842, 915
 Netherlands. 37
 Neutrality, Policy of. 554
 Neutral Ground, The. 461
 New Albion. 39, 721
 New Amsterdam. 126
 Newcastle, Del. 143
 New England. 41, 101, 593, 594, 635
 Newfoundland. 18, 40, 42, 157, 736
 New France. 42, 234, 244
 New Haven, Conn. 112, 124
 New Hampshire. 112, 113
 New Jersey. 138
 New Netherlands. 126
 New Orleans. 266, 639, 643, 890
 New Mexico. 27, 35
 New Sweden. 130
 Newtown Ecclesiastical Synod. 116
 New York. 133, 333
 Newport, Christopher. 62, 63, 71, 75
 Neyon, De, French officer. 320
 Nicholas V., Pontiff. 31
 Nicholas, Robert Carter. 342, 350
 Nicholas, Philip Norborne. 578
 Nicholls, Richard. 132
 Nicholson, Sir Francis, governor. 136, 155, 260
 Niebuhr, historian. 13
 Nipmuck Indians. 195
 Ninety-six, S. C. 314, 487
 Non-Intercourse Laws. 594, 597
 Norfolk, Va. 72, 374, 375
 Norsemen. 18
 North, Frederick, Lord. 187, 341, 342, 428, 501, 502
 North Castle, N. Y. 389, 463
 Norway. 17
 Nouc, Father Anne De. 239
 Nova Scotia. 18, 43
 Noyes, Salem minister. 209, 210
 Nullification. 667, 670
 Nurse, Rebecca. 206
 Nevada. 814
 Nebraska. 842
 Nez Perces, Indians. 874
 Noble, John W. 889
 Nicholls, Gov. F. T. 891
 Occum, Rev. Samson, Indian. 190
 Ocean Telegraphs. 751, 755
 Oconostata, Indian chief. 313, 315
 Ocracoke Inlet. 41
 Ogden, Captain Aaron. 464
 Ogleshorpe, Gen. James Edward. 179, 187, 267
 O'Hara, British general. 479, 484, 500
 Ohio. 15, 272, 534, 586
 Ohio Company. 272, 274
 Ojeda, Alonzo De. 29
 Old Dominion, Origin of Title of Va. 97, 99
 Old World Conditions. 12
 Oliver, Mary. 203
 Oliverian Plot. 217
 Oldtown Creek, N. C. 163
 Omnibus Bill. 727, 729
 Oneidas, Indians. 236
 Onondagas, Indians. 236
 O'Neil, Mrs. 416
 Ophir. 12, 13, 17
 Opachisco, Indian. 81
 Opeancanough, Indian chief. 68, 69, 74, 88, 95, 96

Oregon	39, 720, 722, 723, 756,	869	Pet Banks	674, 675, 679
Orders in Council, England	592, 598, 599,	623	Pickard, Superintendent	897
Ordinance of 1787	534		Pickens, Col. Andrew	444, 476
Orapaques	69		Pickett, Gen. George	819, 820
Oriskany	411		Pierson, Mrs. Helen W	432
Orinoco River	61		Pierce, Gen. Franklin	715, 731, 733, 735-746, 856
Oscocla, Indian chief	672, 673		Pike, Col. Zebulon	622
Ostend Manifesto	739		Pike's Peak	709, 902
Oswego, N. Y.	284, 289		Pillow, General	716
Ottawas, Indians	240		Pirates	252, 255, 658
Otis, James	326, 335		Piuckney, Charles Cotesworth	564, 568, 571
Ould, Col. Robert	833, 834, 835		Pinekney, Thomas, of S. C.	559, 565
Onsamequin, Indian chief	118		Pettigrew, General	820
Owen, Allen F.	731		Pilgrims, title	103, 158
Oxford University	117		Pigott, Gen. Sir Robert	435
Oxenstiern, Swede	130		Pitcairn, Major	353, 366
Pace, Richard	89		Pitcher, Capt. Molly	432
Pacific Ocean	12, 13, 34, 35, 61		Pitt, William, English minister	289, 293, 301, 308, 310, 365, 379, 383, 418, 437
Packenham, Gen. Sir Edward	640, 642, 821		Pizarro	14, 35, 36
Paine, Thomas	509		Plains of Abraham	304, 306
Palmer, Edmund, spy	418, 419		Plato	19
Palos, Spain	24		Plymouth, England	39
Panama, Isthmus of	39		Plymouth Company	61, 100
Panama Mission	664		Plymouth Rock	105
Paoli, Penn.	401		Plymouth Rock Monument	106
Paraguay, South America	754		Pocahontas, Princess, Indian	70, 74, 76, 80, 82, 181
Paria, South America	29		Poitiers, British 74-gun ship	603
Pamunkey River	69, 92		Poinsett, Joel R.	664, 678
Paris, Treaty of	188, 310		Poles, settlers	73
Parker, Admiral Sir Peter	379		Point Pleasant	232
Parker, Commodore Hyde	443		Polk, Col. Thomas	509
Parris, Rev. Samuel	206, 210		Polk, James K.	681, 693, 698, 699-724
Patroon, Land Tenure	133, 135		Polk, Gen. Leonidas	782, 804
Patton, John M.	684		Pollock, Thomas, governor	175
Patuxent, Md.	161		Ponce de Leon	34
Paulding, John	462, 465		Porto Rico	34
Pavonia, N. J.	126		Port Royal, S. C.	37, 170
Paulus Hook	455		Port Royal, Canada	43, 82, 235, 261
Pawnees, Indians	15		Popham, Sir John	100
Peace Commissioners, English	429		Popham, George	100, 112
Peace Congress, 1861	769		Porter, John, Burgess	214
Pedriaras, Spaniard	35		Pontiac's War	317, 320
Peck, Jared, of N. Y.	579		Poor, Colonel	421, 424
Peacock, British war sloop	604		Porterfield, Colonel	453
Pelican, British brig	607		Porter, Captain David	610, 613, 658
Pemberton, Gen. J. C.	790, 822		Postal Service	330, 581, 881
Pendleton, Edmund	336, 342, 518		Portugal	20, 23, 58
Pendleton, George H.	806		Pope, Roman pontiff	46, 47, 781
Penn, William	142, 148		Pope, General John	784, 826
Penn, Admiral William	142		Potomac River	69
Penn, Granyille Jones	144		Portsmouth, N. H.	112
Pennsylvania	111, 210		Powhatan River	63
Pensacola, Florida	638, 639, 649		Powhatan, King	67, 71, 73, 85
Percy, Lord	355, 365, 378		Potts, John, governor	92
Percy, George	62, 76		Potts, Isaac	408
Pequot Indians	119, 192, 194		Population of U. S.	11, 585, 908
Peronnean, Mrs.	490		Preble, Commodore Edward	587
Perry, Commodore Oliver H.	607, 610		Presbyterians	124, 138, 141, 142
Perry, Commodore Matthew C.	730		Prescott, Col. William	363, 364
Peru	13, 14, 35		Prescott, British general	398
Peruvian Bark	66		President, U. S. frigate	598, 613, 614
Peters, Samuel	125		Prevost, British general	443
Philadelphia	143, 145, 401, 402, 431		Prevost, Sir George	610, 612, 627
Philip II., King	33, 37		Princeton College	140
Philip III., King	33, 38, 84		Praying Indians	191, 195
Philippine Islands	36		Princeton, N. J.	394
Phoenicians, The	54		Prideaux, General	302
Persimmon, The	67		Privileged Orders	515, 517
Philip of Pokanoket, King	194, 199		Privateers, American	612
Phillips, British general	409, 411, 440, 466			
Phipps, William, governor	207, 248			

- Princeton, U. S. steamer 691
 Preston, William Ballard 725, 778
 Price, Gen. Sterling 782, 783, 787, 798
 Prisoners of War 53, 834, 855
 Proctor, British general 623, 626
 Proctor, Redfield 829
 Proclamation of President Jackson 671
 Proclamations of Pres. Lincoln 828, 829, 830
 Protective Tariff 656, 664, 885, 893
 Puritan, Origin of Name 102
 Puritan Compact 104
 Puritans, Proper Names 109
 Providence, R. I. 118, 119
 Providence, Md. 160, 162
 Putnam, Gen. Israel 256, 295, 355, 365, 379, 383, 418, 437
 Pulaski, Count 399, 416
 Pyle, Colonel, Tory 481
 Pynchon, Commissioner 132
 Quakers 95, 120, 121, 141, 214, 370
 Quaker Hill 435
 Quebec 42, 43, 235, 248, 303, 309, 370
 Queen Anne 255, 265
 Queen Anne's War 234, 257
 Queen Esther, Indian 434
 Quiney, Josiah 345
 Rabbi Benjamin, of Tudela 20
 Rahl, Colonel 386, 390, 391
 Raisin River 623, 624
 Raleigh, Sir Walter 40, 60, 61
 Raleigh Tavern, Williamsburg 347
 Ramsour's Mills 478
 Randolph, Peyton 336, 337, 342, 349
 Randolph, Edmund 534, 535, 540, 562, 563
 Randolph, John, of Roanoke 622
 Randolph, George W. 775
 Rappahannocks, Indians 72
 Rappahannock River 69
 Ratcliffe, Capt. John 63, 72, 76
 Rawdon, Lord 420, 448, 453, 485, 487, 491
 Ratification of U. S. Constitution 536, 562, 563
 Rawlins, John D. 856
 Raymbault, Charles, Jesuit 238
 Rechaheerians, Indians 220
 Red Jacket, Indian chief 412, 435
 Reed, Gen. Joseph 430, 450
 Reed, Thomas B. 894, 895
 Religious Rights and Errors 44, 48, 158, 323, 521, 855
 Religious Freedom Act 521
 Regulators, N. C. 345
 Remigius, Bishop 49
 Reformation, The 48, 101
 Rene, Duke of Lorraine 28
 Reindeer, British brig 613
 Republican Party (old) 567
 Republican Party (new) 746, 766
 Rhett, Robert Barnwell, from S. C. 684
 Rhode Island 18, 119, 120, 150, 692
 Ribault, John 37
 Rice in South Carolina 177
 Rich, Lord 85, 86
 Richelieu, French Minister 235
 Richmond, Duke of 491
 Richmond, Va. 65, 466, 779, 808
 Riddick, Colonel 441
 Riedesel, Baron 409, 422
 Riedesel, Baroness 422, 425
 Rigdon, Sidney, Mormon 748
 Rising, Swedish governor 130
 Ripley, General 628
 Riverside Park, N. Y. 871
 Rives, William C. 676, 688, 696
 Ritchie, Thomas, editor 700
 Resolute, English exploring ship 735
 Revere, Paul 352
 Roberval, Lord of 42
 Robinson, John 103
 Robinson, Col. Beverley 459, 460
 Robbins, Jonathan, Case of 579
 Roanoke Island 41, 783
 Rochambeau, Count De 453, 497
 Rodney, Admiral 459, 499, 501, 570
 Rodney, Caesar A., Delaware 597
 Rodgers, Commodore John 598
 Rodrigues Canal, La 640
 Rolfe, John 81, 82
 Roman Church 19, 33, 45, 46, 781, 917, 919
 Roque, De La 42
 Rome, Slavery 55, 56
 Ross, British general 632, 634
 Roxbury, Mass. 115
 Rush, Dr. Benjamin 395
 Russel, Dr. Walter 71
 Russell, Jonathan 613
 Rusk, Jeremiah M. 889
 Rudini, Count, Italian 892
 Rugeley, Colonel, Tory 474
 Ryswick, Peace of 251, 255
 Sable Island 43
 Sacs and Foxes, Indians 263, 672
 Sagadahoc 78, 100
 Sag Harbor 398
 Salary Grab 864
 Salem, Mass 111, 206, 211
 Salle, Cavalier Robert De La 242, 244
 Salzburghers 181, 183
 Samoan Islands 887
 San Salvador 24
 San Francisco 39, 720, 730, 856
 San Marino 44
 Santa Anna, Gen. Antonio 695, 707, 846, 848
 Santa Fe 27, 35
 Sandys, Bishop 102
 Samoset, Indian 108
 Sanderson, William 40
 Sandys, George 906
 Saratoga, N. Y. 426
 Sassacus, Indian chief 192-194
 Sassamon, Indian 195
 Saybrook 124
 Say-and-Sele, Lord 123
 Sayle, William, governor 170
 Savannah, Ga. 181, 443
 Scandinavia 18
 Scalawags 838, 843, 860, 865, 872
 Schuyler, Major 137
 Schenectady, N. Y. 247
 Schuyler, Peter, N. Y. 251, 260, 262
 Schuyler, Gen. Philip 362, 367, 372, 409, 418
 Scrivener, M. 72
 Selopis, Count Frederick 859
 Scott, Gen. Winfield 622, 628, 704, 706, 711-718, 732, 772
 Serooby, Eng. 103
 Search, Asserted Right of 590, 591, 614
 Seal Fisheries 889, 890
 Secession 594, 768, 838-840
 Seekonk River 118
 Seminoles, Indians 15, 672-674, 648
 Sedition Laws 576, 583

- Semmes, Admiral Raphael 780, 787, 796
 Self-government 41, 522, 855
 Senecas, Indians 236
 Separatists, Puritans 103
 Senat, Father 266
 Serapis, English frigate 446
 Sever, Colonel 470
 Sergeant, John 661
 Seward, Anna 464
 Seward, Wm. H. 732, 774, 777, 807, 812,
 845, 850, 853, 862
 Seymour, Horatio 854
 Seddon, James A. 797
 Seoville, George 878
 Shaftesbury, Earl of 164, 168
 Shakamaxon, Penn. 144
 Shay's Rebellion 523
 Shannon, British frigate 600, 605
 Sherwood, Grace 210
 Shelby, Colonel 470
 Sherman, Gen. Wm. T. 708, 785, 792, 793,
 794, 795, 796, 798, 804, 805, 807, 813, 877
 Sherman-Johnston Convention 812, 813
 Sheridan, Gen. Philip H. 793, 797-798, 808
 Shippen, Miss Margaret 458, 463
 Shirley, Governor 277, 283, 287
 Signal Service Bureau 857
 Sillery Wood 308
 Silliman, General 397
 Simcoe, British colonel 466, 494
 Sioux Indians 15, 240, 868, 898
 Silver and Gold 27, 864, 865
 Six Nations 15, 175
 Sitting Bull, Indian chief 868, 898
 Skeene, Colonel, Tory 413, 414
 Skelton, Rev. Mr. 117
 Slade, representative from Vermont 684, 685
 Slavery 21, 44, 51, 87, 182, 311, 451,
 552, 823, 826, 829, 855
 Slave markets 51, 57
 Slave traders 57
 Slavery, African 58, 59, 87, 650
 Slavi 57
 Sliedell, John 701, 844
 Sloat, Commodore 710
 Slaughter, Henry, governor 137, 138
 Smith, Capt. John 63, 64-70, 74, 75, 76,
 81, 101, 105, 156
 Smith, Sir Thomas 75, 85
 Smith, Rev. Ralph 118
 Smith, Judge, N. Y. 125
 Smith, Joshua Hett 459, 460
 Smith, Gen. Persifer F. 714, 715
 Smith, Joseph, Mormon 748-750
 Smith, Caleb B. 774
 Smith, Gen. Kirby 785, 814
 Smithsonian Institution 683, 684
 Smyth, John 119
 Sneyd, Honora 464
 Social Customs 327
 Socinianism 211
 Soldiers' Home 828
 Solomon, King 13
 Soderluf, Piere 28
 South American Republics 658, 664
 Southey, Robert, poet 17
 Somers, Sir George 61, 75, 77, 78
 Sothel, Seth 169, 173
 Soule, Pierre 728, 739
 Sovereignty of the States 524, 529
 Spain 21, 23, 27, 31, 60, 83, 846
 Spalding, Solomon 748
 Specie Circular 679, 680
 Specie Payments 680, 681, 864, 867, 874
 Spanish Succession, War of 256
 Spotswood, Alexander, governor 261, 266
 Spencer, John C. 690
 Spoils Policy 666
 Speedwell, ship 103
 Sprenger, persecutor 49, 208
 Standish, Miles 109, 110
 Stamp Act 335-339
 Stanton, Edwin M. 825, 843, 850, 856
 Stalwarts, party 876-878
 Staempfli, Jakob 859
 Stadacona Rock 42
 Stark, Gen. John 295, 365, 413
 Star Spangled Banner 635
 Star of the West 771
 Star-Route Frauds 879
 Steam Navigation 595
 Steele, Mrs. Elizabeth 479
 Stephens, Samuel, governor 167
 Stephens, Alex. H. 738, 807, 812, 870
 Steinwehr, Brigadier-General 826
 Stevens, Bishop 179
 Stevens, Thaddeus 839
 Steuben, Baron 399, 408, 448, 467, 494
 Stevens, General, Va. 453, 483
 Sterling, British general 457
 Stewart, Alex. T. 856
 Stewart, British colonel 483, 484
 Stewart, Capt. James, U. S. N. 614
 Stingray Point 72
 Stirling, Lord 382, 431
 Stillwater, N. Y. 426
 Stone, William, governor 161
 Stoughton, William, judge 207
 Stony Point, N. Y. 437, 438
 Stono Ferry 445
 Stonington, Conn. 637
 Stockton, Capt. Robert F. 691, 710
 Stuart, British colonel 491
 Stuart, James Francis Edward 255
 Stuart, Alex. H. H. 729, 778
 Stuart, Gen. J. E. B. 784, 788, 789, 790, 793
 Stuyvesant, Peter, governor 127, 128, 130
 Strikes, Labor 872, 886, 896-898
 Stringfellow, Benj. F. 743
 Susquehannoes, Indians 68, 219
 Sullivan, Gen. John 363, 382, 400, 434, 435
 Sullivan's Island 380
 Sugar Hill 411
 Suffolk, Va. 441
 Sumter, Gen. Thomas 452, 454, 474
 Sub-Treasury Scheme 681
 Sutter, Captain 719, 720
 Sumner, Charles 743
 Succession to Presidency 885
 Surratt, Mrs. 836
 Switzerland 44, 45
 Swedes and Finns 130
 Swanzy 195
 St. Clair, Gen. Arthur 395, 546, 549
 St. Croix River 43
 St. Croix, Canada 82
 St. Clements' Island 158
 St. George, Sagadahok 100
 St. John's, Florida 37, 38
 St. Lawrence River 42
 St. Mary's, Md. 158
 St. Augustine 27
 St. Pierre, French commander 273
 St. Luc, French commander 410, 417
 St. Leger, Colonel 410, 411
 St. Simon, Marquis De 497
 St. John, John P. 882
 St. Thomas, Spanish town 61

Talbot, Captain	777	Twiggs, General	712, 715
Tallapoosa Indians	185	Tybee Island	368
Talleyrand, French diplomat	468, 570	Tyler, John, governor	373
Tallmadge, Major	463	Tyler, John	678, 685, 687-698, 769
Tampa Bay	36, 37		
Taney, Roger B., Chief Justice	668, 674, 675	Uncle Tom's Cabin	740
Tarleton, Col. Bannastre	447, 449, 451, 473-477	Uncas, Mohican chief	192, 200
Tartary, Great Cham of	31	Underhill, John	128
Taxation without Representation	333-352	Union Pacific Railroad	856
Taxus, Indian chief	249	United States, confederated	527-529
Taylor, Gen. Zachary	674, 701, 703, 709, 723, 725-729	United States Debt	542, 676, 853
	791, 799	United States, frigate	603
Tazewell, Littleton W.	686	Universities and Colleges	11, 327, 331, 595
Tea, Cargoes of	342, 343, 344	Utah	747, 750, 856, 881
Tecumseh, Indian chief	608, 617-627	Upshur, Abel P.	691, 692
Telfair, Edward	358	Utrecht, Treaty of	263
Tenacharison, Indian chief	271, 273, 275	Uxmal, Ruins of	14
Tennessee	15, 346, 564, 779, 839, 840, 841		
Tenure of Office Act	843	Valladon, Spain	26
Ternay, Chevalier De	459	Valley Forge	407, 408
Terra Del Fuego	35	Valley of Wyoming	133
Test Act	157	Valentinian III	47
Texel, Zuyder Zee	129	Vanbraam, Captain	275
Texas	243, 693, 698, 701, 768, 828, 844, 854	Van Curler, Dutch leader	123
Thames River	626, 627	Van Buren, Martin	666, 668, 678-686, 700, 723
Teach, John, pirate	253	Vancouver's Island	722, 858
Third Term, precedents against	565, 594,	Vanderpoel, Captain	823
	644, 868	Van Dorn, Gen. Earl	783, 791
Thirteenth Amendment	837, 840	Van Rensselaer, Killian	133, 134, 517
Thomas, Senator, of Illinois	653	Van Rensselaer, General	622
Thomas, Rev. Dr., com'r	859	Van Rensselaer, Colonel	622
Thomas, Gen. Geo. H.	795	Van Twiller, Wouter	127, 133
Thompson, Gen. Wiley	672, 673	Van Wart, Isaac	462, 465
Thompson, Jacob	747	Vane, Sir Harry	116
Thompson, Waddy	689	Vaudreuil, Marquis De	257, 260, 262
Thompson, Charles, Penn.	335	Vaughan, General	420
Thorpe, George	89	Vega, La, Mexican general	703
Thornton, Captain, U. S. A.	702	Velasco, Alonzo De	84
Thurman, Allen G.	888	Venango, French post	272
Ticonderoga	296, 358, 410, 429, 433, 444	Vera Cruz	706, 711, 847
Tilden, Samuel J.	869-870	Veran, Marquis De Montcalm	288
Time, General R. R. Convention	882	Verrazani, navigator	42, 235
Tituba, Indian	206	Verplanck, of N. Y.	671
Tobacco	83, 324	Vespucci, Amerigo	28, 29
Toombs, Robert	726, 728	Veto Power	885
Tompkins, D. D.	657, 660	Victoria, Queen	878
Tomoichi, Indian	181	Vilas, William F.	884
Tories in America	333, 385, 396, 404, 409	Villeinage in Hispaniola	21, 83
Torquemada, persecutor	208	Vinland the Good	18, 19
Torres, Antonio De	33	Vincennes, French officer	266
Toronto (York), Canada	627	Vincennes, Ill.	439, 440
Toscanelli, Paulo	21, 23	Virginia, 30, 41, 60-99, 233, 779, 828, 844, 854, 857	
Totopotomoi, Indian	98, 210	Virginius, The	868
Townshend, Charles	334, 339	Von Bramer, Adam	19
Toucey, Isaac	747	Von Reck, Baron	183
Tracy, Benjamin F.	889	Von Holst, German publicist	527, 762
Treasurer and Company, Virginia	75	Voluntary System	48
Treat, Governor, of Connecticut	152	Voorhees, D. W.	763
Treaty with Iroquois	236	Vries, De, Dutch leader	129
Trenton, N. J.	390		
Trent, British mail steamer	844	Wadsworth, Joseph	153
Tribune, The	863	Wadsworth, Captain	154
Trinidad Island	26	Waldron, Richard	246
Troup, Governor of Georgia	663	Wahab, Captain	469
Trist, Nicholas P.	715, 718	Waite, Morrison R., Chief Justice	865, 887
Tripoli	587, 588	Wales	115
Truxtun, Capt. Thomas	572, 573	Walker, Sir Hovendon	262
Trumbull, Colonel	411	Walker, Robert J.	698, 700
Tryon, Governor	315, 367, 396, 428	Walker, William	753, 754
Turkey	45	Wallace, Sir James	420
Tucker, St. George	534	Wallace, Gen. Lew.	797, 802, 850
Tucker, John Randolph	870	Wallys, Samuel, Conn.	153
Tuscaroras, Indians	15, 174, 175	Walrus Teeth	37
		Wampanoags, Indians	108

- Wanamaker, John. 889
 Wanchese, Indians 41
 War, State of 53
 War of Anglo-American Advance 274
 Warner, Col. Seth 359, 370, 414
 Warren, Dr. Joseph 352, 359
 War of the Revolution 352-502
 War, Second with Great Britain 599-645
 Warren, English commodore 270
 Warren, British admiral 623
 Warrington, Capt. Lewis 615, 616
 War with Mexico 700-718
 War Governors 776, 778
 Washington, Capt. John 219
 Washington, George 273, 275, 280, 282, 300, 312, 329, 362, 366, 390, 392, 395, 401, 404, 407, 428, 448, 497, 514, 535, 537, 540-575, 767
 Washington, Col. William 449, 451, 474, 477, 492
 Washburne, Elihu B. 806, 856
 Washington City 575, 633
 Washington and Lee University 857
 Washington State 892
 Warwick, Earl of 40, 123
 Watertown, Mass. 115
 Wasp, United States sloop of war 603
 Wasp, new United States sloop of war 613
 Waterloo 646
 Waxlaw river 451
 Wayne, Gen. Anthony 401, 403, 406, 438, 493, 496, 513
 Wealth of the United States 11, 911, 912
 Webb, General 291, 293
 Welles, Gideon 774
 Welsh Language 17
 Webster, Daniel 667, 683, 687, 690, 691, 728
 West, Thomas, Lord Delaware 75
 West, Francis, governor 92
 West, Capt. John 93
 West India Company, Dutch 131
 Westminster, Treaty of 136
 Wesley, John 183
 Wesley, Charles 183
 West, Benjamin 308
 West Virginia 814
 Weymouth, Capt. George 42
 Whately, Archbishop 14
 Wheeler, William A. 866, 869
 Wheelwright, John 113, 116
 Whitaker, Rev. Alexander 81, 190
 Whitgift, Archbishop 102
 Whiskey Insurrection 556-558
 White River Valley 36
 White, Governor John 41
 White Mountains 113
 White, Father Andrew 158, 160
 Whitefield, George 184
 Whiting, Col. Nathan 286
 White Plains 385
 Whipple, Commodore 346, 448, 449
 Whitney, Eli, inventor 551
 Whig Party 675
 White, Hugh Lawson 678, 688
 Whitney, William C. 884
 Wickliffe, Charles A. 690
 Wilford, Captain 228
 Wilcox, General 821
 Williamson vs. Coalter 52
 Williams, Roger 113, 117, 119, 128
 William and Mary 202, 232, 255
 William and Mary College 231, 331, 332
 Williamsburg, Va. 225, 231, 310
 Williams, Eunice 258
 Williams, Col. Ephraim 286
 Willet, Colonel 412
 Wilkinson, Gen. James 423, 627, 628
 Williams, David 462, 465
 Williams, Colonel 470, 472
 Williams, Col. Otho G. 480
 Williamson, Scotch Tory 489
 Wilkins, William 691
 Wilkes, Capt. Charles 683, 844
 Wilmington, N. C. 42, 485
 Wingfield, Edward Maria 63, 65
 Winslow, historian 105
 Windsor, Conn. 112, 123
 Wethersfield, Conn. 112
 Weymouth, Mass. 110
 Winthrop, John 111
 Winthrop, John, governor 124, 132
 Winchester, General 619-624
 Winder, General 632
 Wethersford, Creek sachem 636-638
 Winnebagoes, Indians 672
 Wilmot Proviso 722, 723
 Winthrop, Robert C. 727
 Wilson, Henry 862
 Windom, William 876, 889
 Wirt, William 578, 589, 648
 Wirz, Major Henry 835, 836
 Wire Suspension Bridge, N. Y. 881
 Witchcraft 49, 50, 201-211
 Wise, Henry A. 688, 739, 762-765, 814
 Wisconsin 723
 Wococo Island 41
 Woodford, Colonel 371, 375, 448
 Woodbury, Levi 668, 678, 683
 Wool, General 704, 706, 710
 Worth, General 715, 716, 717
 Wolfe, Gen. James 293-295, 302, 304, 305, 307, 308
 Wooster, General 397
 World's Fair 736, 866, 903
 Wright, Silas, governor 135, 681
 Writs of Assistance 326
 Wright, Sir James, governor 379
 Wrangell Island 880
 Wurtzburg 49
 Wyatt, Sir Francis 86, 89, 92, 93
 Wythe, George 336
 Wyoming Valley 433
 Wyoming 853, 892
 Yale College 124, 327
 Yamaeraw Indians 182
 Yancey, Wm. Lowndes 830
 Yankee Doodle 355
 Yeamans, Sir John 167, 170
 Yeardley, Sir George 85, 86, 90, 92
 Yellow Fever 874
 Yellowstone National Park 853, 879
 Yemassee, Indians 15, 175, 176
 Yeopim Indians 164
 Yonkers, N. Y. 126
 York, Canada 627
 York, James, Duke of 132
 York River 71
 Yorktown, Va. 69, 497, 501
 Young Women, Marriageable 87, 88
 Young, John, N. Y. 135
 Young, Brigham 750, 753
 Yucatan 14, 36
 Yukon River, Alaska 858
 Yusef, Bey 588
 Zollieoffer, Gen. Felix H. 783
 Zuniga, Don Pedro De 62