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AMERICAN HISTORY

*By America's Leading Authors: JOHN CLARK RID-
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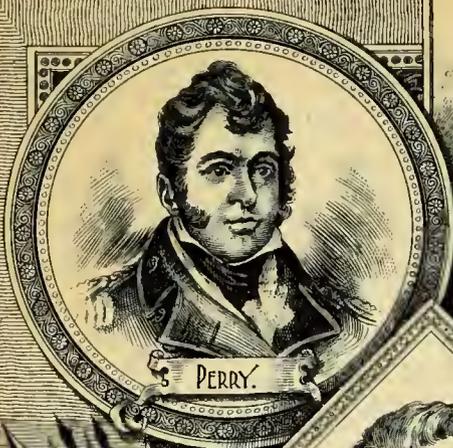
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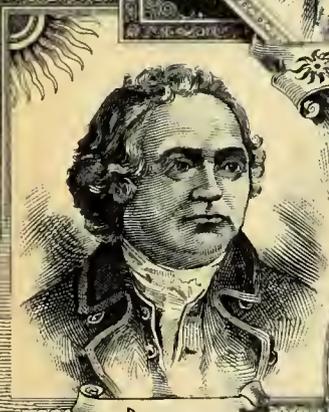
Montgomery.



GREENE.



HULL.



PUTNAM.



JONES.

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ARMY AND NAVY HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION AND WAR OF 1812.

Major-General Nathaniel Greene, the ablest of Washington's Generals, leader of the brilliant campaign in South Carolina, 1780.
Born May 2, 1742; died 1786.

Major-General Israel Putnam, one of the bravest of Continental officers, and commander with Prescott at the battle of Bunker Hill.
Born January 7, 1718; died May 19, 1790.

Brigadier-General Richard Montgomery, commander of the Canada expedition, 1775, and leader of the assault on Quebec, in which he was killed. Born December 2, 1736; killed at Quebec December 31, 1775.

Commander John Paul Jones, whose name is imperishable as the hero of many naval conflicts and as a captain who was never defeated. Born July 6, 1747; died July 18, 1792.

Commander Oliver Hazard Perry, immortalized by his victory over the British squadron on Lake Erie, September 15, 1813, and his laconic dispatch, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."
Born August 23, 1785; died March 4, 1858.

Commodore Isaac Hull, famous as the commander of the frigate "Constitution" when she captured the "Guerriere," August 19, 1812, the greatest naval victory of the war. Born March 9, 1773; died February 13, 1843.

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED
STATES

EPOCHS OF DISCOVERY, PLANTING
AND INDEPENDENCE

BY

JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

Historian

*

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BOOK FIRST.

EPOCH OF DISCOVERY AND PLANTING.

CHAPTER I.

TO the men of the ancient world the character of the globe—its form, its fashion—was a mystery. They knew it not. The greatest minds of antiquity stood puzzled and dumb before the enigma. It is impossible for the man of the present day, by force of imagination, to put himself in the place of the man of antiquity and consider the earth, the sun and the stars as he considered them. With the lapse of time, the increase of knowledge and the diffusion of light, the mystery has cleared away, the unknown has become the known. The sky is no longer a curtain and the ocean no longer a boundless deep. The earth is no longer an impossible plain held up from below by mythical monsters and carried forward through an impossible panorama of seasons and vicissitudes. All things have been resolved from doubt into certainty. The fogs of fear and superstition have been tossed afar by the salubrious wind, and though man does not know all, he does know much of the sphere which he inhabits, the nature of things and the system of universal nature.

The revelation of the form and bigness of the earth was long retarded. It seemed that the darkness of the ancient and medieval night would never give place to day. Every form of ignorance and every spirit of superstition, all the misconceptions of the past and all the folly and fears of the present, stood in the way and brandished weapons and torches like goblins of the night. Nothing less than the sublime law of progress, under the reign of which the old and hurtful darkness gives place at length to the new and beautiful dawn, could have availed to bring in a newer and truer concept of the world and to fix it as an unchangeable scientific belief in the minds of men.

It were an impossible task to discover the origin of the new opinions respecting the form and figure of the earth. It appears that the old belief was never satisfying to the great minds of antiquity. In the writings of Aristotle we already catch glimpses of a conjecture that the earth is a sphere and not a plain. The popular mythology did not suffice with men like Socrates and his companions and followers, and they reached out vaguely to frame each for himself a concept of the world on which he enacted the brief drama of his life.

But scientific views of nature were soon lost in the decadence and darkness that followed the Classical ages. The decline of the Roman Empire was coincident with a decline in the human mind. The triumph of the Goths was not only the triumph of physical violence over the remains of order and civilization, but it was also the victory of ancient barbaric thought over the science, the philosophy and learning which had flourished for a season under the auspices of Greek and Roman scholars. The Christian Church at length fell into league with the barbarians, and though ever struggling with their brutalities and looking backward with yearning and regret to the vast and orderly

society which had flourished under the Empire, she herself became in a measure as barbarous as the world around her.

Then it was that the Ptolemaic system of the universe was accepted, believed and taught not only as a part of science, but as one of the fundamentals of religious truth. The earth was the center of all things. Around it circled the sun and moon and stars. On all sides the oceans washed the unknown shores. Goblins hovered over the deep. Nature was a mystery which it was sacrilege to investigate, and the world was a problem which none might solve.

Such was the condition of the human mind with regard to our planet during the Middle Ages. Meanwhile Nature herself began to be revealed without the purpose and conceit of man. The Western Hemisphere is no doubt as old and perhaps older than the Eastern. It is probable that the two Americas came out of the primeval waters at an earlier period in geological history than did the western parts of Europe. It is also possible that the aboriginal races of our world are, ethnically considered, a more ancient people than those of the European continent. There are evidences that a great land bridge formerly joined Greenland with Labrador, making easy the passage for human beings from the one country to the other. In this way it is possible that there may have been at a very early period a community of inhabitants between the northern parts of Europe and the sub-polar regions of North America.

Meanwhile there can be little doubt that the Polynesians of Southeastern Asia began to make their way islandwise across the Pacific, and at length reached the western shores of South America. Again, we may trace with tolerable certainty the incoming of Asiatic Mongoloid tribes by way of Bering Strait into the northwesternmost parts of our continent. From these sources it is easy to conceive of an aboriginal distribution of peoples in the so-called New

World at a period as early as those events which constitute the subject-matter of ancient history for Europe and Western Asia.

If we confine our attention to those westward movements of mankind by which our hemisphere became known to civilization we should fix our attention upon the Norse peoples of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Here we touch the remotest border of the epoch of discovery. It is not likely that any record made by man will ever be discovered in which the evidences of earlier visitation to our shores are recorded than in the Sagas of the Scandinavians. Nor are we at liberty to dismiss as mythical the now well-determined movements of the Norsemen by which the northeastern parts of the present United States were seen and visited and colonized as much as five hundred years before the epoch of Columbus. Since 1838, when through the efforts of Rafn and the Royal Society of Copenhagen the Scandinavian Sagas have been submitted to the critical judgment of Europe, all ground of doubt has been removed relative to the Norse discoveries in the West at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.

It is now conceded that Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and the northeastern parts of the United States were visited and to a limited extent colonized before the Norman conquest of England. While old Sweyn was flaunting the Danish raven in the face of Ethelred the Unready; while Robert I., son of Hugh Capet, was on the throne of France; while the Saxon Otho III. swayed the destinies of Germany; and while the Caliphate of Bagdad was still flourishing under the Abbassides, men of the Aryan race were establishing a feeble communication between the New World and Iceland. It is appropriate, first of all, to give a brief account of the voyages and explorations made by the Norse adventurers along the coast of America.

From the Sagas above referred to we learn that the Western continent was first reached by Europeans in the year A. D. 986. In that year a Norse sea-captain by the name of Herjulfson, sailing from Iceland to Greenland, was caught by a storm, turned somewhat from his course and carried to Labrador or Newfoundland. Several times the unknown shore was seen, but no landing was made or attempted. The coast was low and bleak. Tall forests abounded. The outline was so different from the well-known cliffs of Greenland as to make it certain that another shore hitherto unknown had been seen in the West.

On returning to Greenland, Herjulfson and his companions spread abroad the story of the new country which they had found, but whether it were continent or island none might know. Fourteen years later, what may be called the actual discovery of America was made by Prince Leif, son of Eric the Red, usually called Leif Erickson. This noted Icelandic captain, resolving to know the truth about the country which Herjulfson had seen, sailed westward from Greenland, and in the spring of the year 1001 reached Labrador. Impelled by a spirit of adventure, he went ashore with his companions and explored the coast for considerable distances. The country was found at that season to be milder and more attractive than Greenland, and Leif was in no haste to return. He coasted far southward, as far as Massachusetts, where his daring company remained for more than a year. Rhode Island was also visited, and it is alleged that the hardy adventurers found their way into New York harbor.

What has once been done, whether by accident or design, may easily be repeated. After the discovery of the new country it was a commonplace task for other navigators to follow the course taken by Herjulfson and Prince Leif. In the years that followed the discoveries of the latter several

companies of Norsemen visited the shores of America. Thorwald, brother of Prince Leif, made a voyage to Maine and Massachusetts in the year 1002, and the captain is said to have been killed in a conflict with the natives at Fall River in the latter State. Then another brother, named Thorstein, came with his band in the year 1005, and two years afterwards Thorfinn Karlsefne, the most distinguished mariner of his day, arrived with a crew of a hundred and fifty men and made explorations along the coast of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and perhaps as far south as the capes of Virginia. Other companies of Icelanders and Norwegians visited the countries farther north and planted colonies in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

Little, however, was known or imagined by these rude adventurers of the character and extent of the country which they had discovered. They supposed, indeed, that it was only a portion of Western Greenland which, bending to the north around an arm of the ocean, had reappeared in the west. The Norse American settlements were feeble and soon broken up. Commerce was an impossibility in a country where there were only a few wretched savages with no disposition to buy and nothing at all to sell. The spirit of adventure soon appeased itself and the Norse sea rovers returned to their own country. To this undefined line of coast now vaguely known to them they gave the name of VINLAND; for the wild grape-bearing vine grew abundantly in many parts. The old Icelandic chroniclers insist that the country was pleasant and beautiful. As compared with their own mountainous and frozen island of the north the coasts of New England may well have seemed delightful.

The men who thus first visited the northeastern parts of the United States were a race of hardy adventurers as lawless and restless as any that ever sailed the deep. Their mariners and captains penetrated every clime, Already be-

fore their discovery of America they had taken the better parts of France and England. All the monarchs of the latter country after William the Conqueror—himself the grandson of a sea-king—are descendants of the Norsemen. They were rovers of the sea; freebooters and pirates; warriors audacious and headstrong, wearing hoods surmounted with eagles' wings and walruses' tusks, mailed armor, and for robes the skins of polar bears. Wo to the people on whose defenseless coasts the Vikings landed with sword and torch! Their wayward life and ferocious disposition are well portrayed in one of their own old ballads:

“ He scorns to rest 'neath the smoky rafter,
He plows with his boat the roaring deep;
The billows boil and the storm howls after—
But the tempest is only a thing of laughter—
The sea-king loves it better than sleep!”

The Norse discoveries in America are clouded with uncertainties of time and circumstance. That settlements were made in Massachusetts and Rhode Island cannot be doubted. New bands of rovers came and others returned to Greenland and Iceland. For about three centuries voyages continued to be made by the Norsemen, and it is believed that as late as 1347 a Norwegian ship visited Labrador and the northeastern parts of the United States. The Norse remains which have been found at Newport, at Garnet Point, on Fall River and several other places seem to point clearly to some such events as are here described. The Icelandic poets and historians give a uniform and tolerably consistent account of the early exploits of their countrymen in Vinland. When the word America is mentioned in the hearing of the Icelandic schoolboys they will at once answer with enthusiasm, “Oh, yes; Leif Erickson discovered that country in the year 1001.”

These events, however, like all others, are to be weighed

by their consequences. From the discovery of America by the Norsemen no historical results followed. Mankind were neither wiser nor better. The nature and significance of the discovery were in no wise understood by the men who made it. Among the Icelanders themselves the place and the very name of Vinland were forgotten. Europe never heard of such a country or such a discovery. Historians have until the last half century been incredulous on the subject, and the fact is as though it had never been. The curtain which had been lifted for a moment was stretched again from sky to sea and the New World still lay hidden in the shadows.

Other traditions of discovery now come into view. It is said that before the final relinquishment of America by the Norse adventurers a sea-wanderer from rugged Wales had touched upon our eastern shores. The tradition runs that the Welsh prince Madoc was not less fortunate than Leif Erickson in finding the western shore of the Atlantic; but the evidence of this exploit is far less satisfactory than that by which the Icelandic discoveries have been authenticated. According to the legend which the Cambrian chroniclers with patriotic pride have preserved and the poet Southey has transmitted, Madoc was the son of the Welsh king Owen Gwynnedd, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. At this time a civil disturbance occurred in Wales and Prince Madoc was obliged to save himself by flight. With a small fleet he left the country in the year 1170, and after sailing westward for several weeks came to an unknown shore, beautiful and wild, inhabited by a strange race of men unlike the people of Europe.

For some time the Prince and his sailors tarried in the new land, delighted with its exuberance and with the salubrious climate. Then all but twenty of the daring company set sail and returned to Wales. It was the intention of

Madoc to make preparations and return again. Ten ships were fitted out, and the leader with his adventurous crew a second time set his prows to the west. The vessels dropped out of sight one by one and were never heard of more. The thing may have happened.

Meanwhile human intelligence and reason had had their growth. In the latter Middle Ages there were many symptoms of a revival, a resurrection from the intellectual death which had so long prevailed in the world. Leading thinkers in many countries began to doubt the correctness of the accepted views respecting the character and figure of the earth. Intellectual curiosity was excited, as it must ever be in the presence of an unsolved problem. Was the world round or flat? Had the ocean another shore? What kind of a verge or precipice was drawn around the cloudy rim of nature? What vision of wonder and peril might arise upon the mariner's sight—

“Beyond the extreme sea-wall and between the remote sea gates?”

If a man go could he return again?

As the shadows of the medieval darkness began to roll away these queries were quick in the adventurous brain of New Europe. The vigorous sailors of the maritime republic of Italy and the daring travelers who had gone *up* (as they thought) to Jerusalem and thence *down* to India imagined that they could perceive the sphericity of the earth. They believed that the Holy City was set on the crest or ridge of the world! More particularly did those who journeyed northward and southward behold the stars rising overhead or sinking to the horizon in a way unaccountable except on the notion that the earth is round.

From the shores of Portugal and Spain, from Brest and Land's End, from the Skaggerack, the Orkneys and Iceland, the man of the fourteenth century looked wistfully,

thoughtfully, to the ocean of Atlas. He would fain try his power in that world of waters.

Rumor, tradition, said that others had gone and come again in safety. The old Knight of St. Albans, Sir John de Mandeville, coming from the far East in the year 1356, thus discourses on the problem which after a hundred and forty years was to receive a final solution at the hands of Columbus and Cabot :

“ Wherefore men may easily perceive that the land and the sea are of round shape and figure, for that part of the firmament which is seen in one country is not seen in another. And men may prove both by experience and sound reasoning that if a man, having passage by ship, should go to search the world, he might with his vessel sail around the world both above and under it. This proposition I prove as follows : I have myself in Prussia seen the North Star by the astrolabe fifty-three degrees above the horizon. Further on in Bohemia it rises to the height of fifty-eight degrees. And still further northward it is sixty-two degrees and some minutes high. I myself have so measured it. Now the South Pole Star is, as I have said, opposite the North Pole Star. And about these poles the whole celestial sphere revolves like a wheel about the axle ; and the firmament is thus divided into two equal parts. From the north I have turned southward, passed the equator, and found that in Libya the Antarctic Star first appears above the horizon. Further on in those lands that star rises higher until in Southern Libya it reaches the height of eighteen degrees and certain minutes, sixty minutes making a degree. After going by sea and by land towards that country [Australia, perhaps] of which I have spoken, I have found the Antarctic Star more than thirty-three degrees above the horizon. And if I had had company and shipping to go still further I know of a certainty that I should have seen

the whole circumference of the heavens, . . . and I repeat that men may environ the whole world, as well under as above, and return to their own country if they had company and ships and conduct. And always, as well as in their own land, shall they find inhabited continents and islands. For know you well that they who dwell in the Southern Hemisphere are feet against feet of them who dwell in the Northern Hemisphere, just as we and they that dwell under us are feet to feet. For every part of the sea and the land hath its antipode. . . . Moreover, when men go on a journey toward India and the foreign islands, they do on the whole route circle the circumference of the earth even to those countries which are under us. And therefore hath that same thing which I heard recited when I was young happened many times. Howbeit, upon a time a worthy man departed from our country to explore the world. And so he passed India and the islands beyond India—more than five thousand in number—and so long he went by sea and land, environing the world for many seasons, that he found an island where he heard them speaking his own language, hallooing at the oxen in the plow with the identical words spoken to beasts in his own country. Forsooth he was astonished, for he knew not how the thing might happen. But I assure you that he had gone so far by land and sea that he had actually gone around the world and was come again through the long circuit to his own district. It only remained for him to go forth and find his particular neighborhood. Unfortunately he turned from the coast which he had reached and thereby lost all his painful labor, as he himself afterwards acknowledged when he returned home. For it happened by and by that he went into Norway, being driven thither by a storm, and there he recognized an island as being the same in which he had heard men calling the oxen in his own tongue;

and that was a possible thing. And yet it seemeth to simple unlearned rustics that men may not go around the world, and if they did they would fall off! But that absurd thing never could happen unless we ourselves, from where we are, should fall toward heaven! For upon what part soever of the earth men dwell, whether above or under, it always seemeth to them that they walk more perpendicularly than other folks! And just as it seemeth to us that our antipodes are under us head downwards, just so it seemeth to them that we are under them head downwards. If a man might fall from the earth towards heaven, by much more reason the earth itself, being so heavy, should fall to heaven—an impossible thing.”

Such were the reasonings of the old Knight of St. Albans at the middle of the fourteenth century. He was himself a traveler of great renown, and came home from the far East to record, in the thirteenth year of Edward III., the things which he had gathered by observation and tradition. To what extent such opinions were abroad among the best thinkers of the age we may never know. It must be remembered that the epoch was one of fear, superstition, dread—that it was an age in which the State taught men what things to do and the Church what things to believe. The correctness of the reasonings and deductions of Sir John Mandeville may well astonish us. It would be difficult to find in them any error except the mistaken reckoning of the length of a degree of longitude, and for that he was in no measure responsible. His suggestions and inferences, however, passed for little. They were regarded as the speculations of an imaginative mind, and the so-called “practical men” of the fourteenth century made no effort to apply them to the circumnavigation of the globe.

Nearly a century and a half now elapsed before the problems of the sea were again taken up by navigators and

adventurers The sun of chivalry set and the expiring energies of feudalism ebbed away in Europe. The elder Capets gave place to the Houses of Valois and Orleans in France. The bloody wars of York and Lancaster made England desolate and barren; but the mystery of the Atlantic still lay unsolved under the shadows of the West. At last Louis XI. rose above the ruins of feudal France, and Henry VII. over the fragments of broken England. In Spain Ferdinand and Isabella, expelling both the Jew and the Mohammedan, consolidated their kingdoms, and prepared the way for the Spanish ascendancy in the times of their grandson. Destiny had decreed that this kingdom should become the patron and bear the honor of that great enterprise by which a New World was given first to Castile and Leon and afterwards to mankind. As to him who was destined to make the glorious discovery, his birth had been reserved for Italy.

The story of Christopher Columbus belongs in its completeness to another part of the present work. There the reader shall see displayed in full the sad disadvantages and endless disappointments to which the discoverer was doomed. For a moment the career of Columbus blazes out in meteoric splendor, shedding a luster over half the world; then he falls into unmerited decline and ignominy, and the tragedy ends with national ingratitude and injustice. There is in the drama every quality calculated to excite sympathy for the greatness of the man and applause for his immortal work.

For the present we pause only to note with keen regret the misadventures, ill-luck and jealousy by which the name of Columbus was withheld from the islands and continents which he discovered. It is known to all the world how Amerigo Vespucci, visiting the shores of South America in 1499, and returning to inform Europe that the new country

was another continent and not a part of India, secured for himself the name of the New World. History at length, however, corrects the mistakes of men. There is a gradual elimination of contrivance and fraud from her immaculate pages. Though the name of America may never give place to Columbia, the latter has fixed itself in the poetry and art of all lands as the true designation of our Western World.

When Europeans first landed on the eastern shores of these continents the country was found inhabited by various races. In some parts, especially towards the north, there was savagery and barbarism. In other portions higher forms of civilization were discovered. In Central America and in the adjacent parts of the two greater continents evidences of the civilized life were found scarcely inferior to the existing conditions in the best parts of the world. In comparing the cities and peoples of Peru, Central America and Mexico with European communities of the same century, or with the civilized races of the ancient world, much allowance must be made for ethnic prejudice and for the fact that the materials of the inquiry have all been gathered by men of the conquering races.

The primitive civilized peoples of the three Americas have had no voice. Their poets and philosophers and advocates have not been heard in the great assizes where the relative merits of the peoples of the Old World and the New were to be decided. It is known, however, that nearly all the arts and sciences which were cultivated by the Arabians and Europeans in the later Middle Ages were known to the Central Americans, the Peruvians and the Mexicans. Pizarro, conqueror of Peru, was constrained in 1531 to acknowledge that the only superiority which the Spaniards whom he led could claim was in military discipline and weaponry. In other respects the Peruvians were fully the equals of the invaders of their country. The physical evi-

dences of civilization were on every hand. Post-roads, aqueducts and temples stood as the tangible evidence of what the Peruvian builders were able to accomplish. Mining and manufacturing flourished. Agriculture was carried to a high degree of perfection. The fine arts were patronized, and sculpture rose to a degree of excellence but little below that of Egypt and Greece.

A similar condition of affairs was found by Cortez in Mexico in 1519. The Mexicans also were adepts in the arts and sciences. The Spaniards chose to affect great horror at the religious rites which were practiced by the Aztecs, and particularly at human sacrifice. But the world has failed to balance the account; for even in this particular the cruelties of the Mexican priests were not equal to those of the Spanish Inquisition. It is forgotten that many races have thought it pleasing to the gods to offer human beings on sacrificial altars. Such practices were common in the Orient. At the time of the Carthaginian ascendancy the offering of human beings was a common circumstance of the national religion. While the Romans did not sacrifice men on altars, they exposed them to wild beasts in the arena, or compelled them to meet their trained gladiators in the bloody circus.

It is now conceded that many of the most elevating discoveries of science were made by the Mexicans before they were made in Europe. The astronomy of the Aztecs was by no means despicable. They were familiar with the planets and stars and with the orderly processes of the heavens. They had perhaps the most complete calendar which men had invented prior to the establishment of the Gregorian system. The great calendar stone which has been preserved from the beginning of the sixteenth century shows conclusively the advanced astronomical knowledge of the people who produced it. The Mexican architecture

was of so high an order as to rival that of the Moors, and their wealth, according to the testimony of their conquerors, was quite incalculable.

For four centuries speculation has been rife respecting the origin of the races of the New World. One hypothesis after another has been started and passed like a wave over the intelligence of the age, only to give place to the next. People without a knowledge of geography or the historical movements of mankind have attempted to show that the native races of America were the descendants of the Semitic peoples formerly living in the valley of the Euphrates; but such a supposition is preposterous and need not occupy the attention of any rational being. Others, again, have believed that the races of the New World were indigenous, like the animals and plants, which differ much from those of Europe and Asia. Some have thought that aforetime—as we have said above—a great land bridge extended from Greenland to Labrador, thus furnishing a means of transit from the Eastern to the Western world. The easiness of passage across Bering's Strait has furnished good ground for the supposition of ethnic kinship between a part of the American aborigines and the peoples of Northeastern Asia. Some of the ablest ethnologists have traced lines of progress from island to island across the Pacific from the Malay peninsula to the western coast of South America. As for absolute knowledge of the origin of the American aborigines, there is none. There are, however, good grounds for holding the belief in the common origin of all mankind, and it is easy to perceive several methods by which in the almost limitless ages of the past communication between the Eastern and the Western Hemispheres might have been found and maintained until both were peopled. It is possible that the expressions Old World and New World have little foundation in fact. Indeed, there are not wanting

geological evidences that—as has already been said—the American continents emerged from the primeval waters at an earlier epoch than did Europe or Africa.

The difference in the physical, mental and moral states of the peoples of the East and West four centuries ago has been greatly exaggerated. Difference there certainly was in manners, customs and laws. Difference we may properly allow in the average grade of civilization. But the most striking particular in which the peoples east and west of the Atlantic differed the one from the other was as it respects aggressiveness, progress and ambition. These qualities belonged to the men of Europe. In the men of the New World they were largely wanting. The civilized communities of Central America, of Peru and Mexico, like some of the Oriental peoples of to-day, were contented with the stage of development which they had reached. They sought nothing beyond, either by discovery or conquest. The peculiar trait which caught the attention of the first Spanish and English marauders in the New World was the general content of the natives with their condition. Doubtless there was among the native communities an imperceptible growth by which the people were slowly carried forward into newer and improved conditions, but the movement was so slow as to escape attention in any given age and to produce results only after long lapses of time.

One of the concomitants—perhaps we might say one of the causes—of this condition was the absence of the commercial spirit and of maritime adventure. Commerce and seafaring came from east to west. Neither spirit prevailed in any part of the New World. Commerce, even in the most civilized communities, hardly rose above the level of barter, and sea-going extended no further than the navigation of rivers and the safe waters along the shores of placid seas.

The Mediterranean countries, on the other hand, were specially favorable for the development of commerce and maritime adventure. Voyages from island to island and from coast to coast were easily undertaken, and the maritime spirit rose at a very early age. It became an enthusiasm, a passion. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians and Greeks were men of the sea. The same spirit at length prevailed in the westernmost parts of Europe. Navigation was improved and new means discovered for reaching distant regions of the globe. But in the New World none of these conditions and motives existed. The native peoples of America were land-peoples, and little ambitious of the sea. Content and possibly the spirit of ease prevailed with the Central American races, and commerce and navigation were therefore little cultivated.

It should not be understood, however, that aboriginal America such as it was four centuries ago was poor in those treasures which excite the ambitions and lusts of men. In many parts of these continents rich mines of gold and silver existed. Many of the gulf waters abounded in pearls. It were long to enumerate the native treasures which might be gathered by brave and adventurous marauders among the peaceable and well-contented peoples who inhabited the central parts of our hemisphere at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

We should remember, however, that the actual treasures of the New World were not comparable with the fabulous. Story and imagination wrought astonishing fictions of the gorgeous wealth which abounded in the new lands. Every adventurer carried the torch of fancy; and though each nightfall found him unrewarded, he slept and dreamed of the riches that should come with the morrow.

From this distance we are easily able to summarize the motives which carried the European adventurers to our

shores. The men who crossed the Atlantic at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century were inflamed, first of all, with the passion of gold-hunting. A second motive was the acquisition of territory, and the third—though less sincere—was the purpose of bringing new races of men to the Christian religion as taught and formulated by the Church of Rome. On the whole it was a matter of gain and conquest. Men, for many generations given over to the struggles of war, of barbarism, of wild adventure in Eastern lands, found at length to the west of the Atlantic vast new regions in which their energies and passions might have free play and reach satiety.

CHAPTER II.

THE long darkness between the beginning of the eleventh century and the modern era was at length broken into dawn. The fifteenth century is one of the most important which history has to consider since the classical ages. It was at that time that the broken-up condition of Europe was amended somewhat by the establishment of better institutions. The political estate of the Continent was greatly improved. In France, during the reign of Louis XI., the feudal institutions of the Middle Ages were made to yield to regular government. In Germany, the same thing happened in the reign of Maximilian. In England, the princes of the House of Tudor became real kings, and confirmed their authority throughout the realm. In Spain in particular, there was a great consolidation of society coincident with the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was for this epoch that the real discovery of the American continents had been reserved. Spain was the destined nation under whose banners the greatest event of modern times was to be accomplished. The man and the leader, however, was to be found in that great central peninsula of Europe in which the ancient Romans had left their progeny. Out of Italy came Christopher Columbus, born of the necessity of the age he lived in, fitted by genius and afterward by education for the great work of crossing the Atlantic and confirming the existence of new lands in the West.

Let us see what part of the discovery of America may

properly be awarded to the man of Genoa. As we have seen, the Norsemen, and possibly other adventurers, had been to our shores before him. He did not originate the idea of the sphericity of the earth. That had been believed in by some of the ancients. The theory of the globular form of our planet had been advocated but not demonstrated. Copernicus and Galileo did not precede but followed Columbus.† The old English traveler, Sir John Mandeville, living at the middle of the fourteenth century and contributing what may be regarded as the first book ever written in the English language, had shown by theory, and in a measure by observation, the spherical form of the world. He had declared that the earth is a globe; that he had traveled northward and observed the polar star rising to the zenith; that he had gone southward and the Antarctic constellations had risen in like manner; that it was possible for a mariner to sail around the world; and that indeed one adventurer had done so. “And therefore,” says the old traveler, “hath that same thing, which I heard recited when I was young, happened many times. Howbeit, upon a time, a worthy man departed from our country to explore the world. And so he passed India and the islands beyond India—more than five thousand in number—and so long he went by sea and land, environing the world for many seasons, that he found an island where he heard them speaking in his own language, hallooing at the oxen in the plow with the identical words spoken to beasts in his own country. Forsooth, he was astonished; for he knew not how the thing might happen. But I assure you that he had gone so far by land and sea that he had actually gone around the world and was come again through the long circuit to his own district. It only remained for him to go forth and find his particular neighborhood. Unfortunately he turned from the coast which he had reached, and thereby

lost all his painful labor, as he himself afterward acknowledged when he returned home. For it happened by and by that he went into Norway, being driven thither by a storm; and there he recognized an island as being the same in which he had heard men calling the oxen in his own tongue; and that was a possible thing. And yet it seemeth to simple, unlearned rustics that men may not go around the world, and if they did *they would fall off!*”

The fourteenth century, however, produced no practical discovery. Mandeville, though believing vaguely, perhaps confidently, in the sphericity of the earth, was not bold enough to undertake the hazardous task of circumnavigation. It remained for Columbus to become the first practical believer in the theory of the old wise astronomers. If he did not himself succeed in circumnavigating the globe, he led the way, and proved the possibility of doing so.

The mistake of the great Genoese navigator was this—that he conceived the earth to be much smaller than it is. In his day the correct measurement of a degree of latitude had not been made. The result was that Columbus confidently expected, in sailing westward, to reach the Indies after a voyage of about 3,000 miles; for he supposed the world to be no more than 12,000 miles in girth. It must be remembered that it was not the purpose of Columbus to sail around the globe, but to discover a new all-water route across the Atlantic to the East Indies.

The true date of the birth of Christopher Columbus remains in dispute. Probably it was in the year 1435. His birthplace has also been in controversy, without sufficient cause. It is now known that he began his existence in a certain street in Genoa, and the very house in which he was born has been determined and suitably inscribed. The discoverer was a scion of a seafaring family. His education was undertaken with some care, but before reaching what

in our times would be called graduation, he left off his studies and went to sea. He had a passion for the sailor's art and for adventure. There is in his life an obscure period of about twenty years, in which he traversed the Mediterranean, issuing at intervals through the Straits of Gibraltar. He visited the western ports of Europe, went to Iceland about 1470, learned there the tradition of new lands in the West, and returned to Portugal and Spain, dreaming, we may presume, of a possibility of sailing westward to the Indies. He was at this time in poverty. For about ten years he went from court to court begging for the support of ignorant sovereigns for his enterprise of a transatlantic voyage. He explained to monks replete with bigotry and scholasticism the ease with which—as he believed—the East Indies could be reached by sailing westward. The court of the King and Queen of Spain was an unfruitful place, but was perhaps the most enlightened in Europe. At last Columbus found an appreciative listener in the Queen Isabella of Castile, the royal spouse of King Ferdinand. She became a constant and faithful friend to the navigator, and never abandoned him to her dying day.

The story of the fitting out of the three ships by Columbus and of their sailing from the harbor of Palos on August 3, 1492, is known to all the world. The voyage to the West Indies occupied seventy-one days. It was with the morning light of October 12 that Triana, a sailor on the *Pinta*, first saw the land. It was calendared, perhaps with truth, that Columbus had on the night before, at about ten o'clock, seen a light on what was afterward supposed to be Cat Island. But the discovery of the following morning was clear and incontrovertible. The signal gun was fired and the ships lay to. A landing was effected. The natives came down to the shore to see their strange visitors. The two races stood face to face. The banner of Castile was set up

on the beach, and the island, called in the native speech Guanihani, was named San Salvador.

Other discoveries quickly followed. The islands of Concepcion, Cuba and Hayti were visited. A fort was erected on the Bay of Caracola in the last-named island, the timbers saved from the wreck of the *Santa Maria* being used in the building of this first structure by Europeans in the New World. The explorations continued for about three months. In the first week of January, 1493, Columbus set sail for Spain, taking with him the indubitable proof of what he had found in the West—vegetable products, birds, animals and human beings. He arrived in the month of March and was greeted with an outburst of applause and enthusiasm such as the age was able to render. At that epoch, owing to the conservative spirit of the times, the prevalent superstitions and the want of communication, no general rejoicings such as those of modern times were possible.

The temper of the Spanish authorities was now completely changed. Columbus was a hero, and might have whatever he pleased. His discovery in the West had not corresponded to his expectations; for the Indies which he had found were not the Indies of Marco Polo. On the second voyage the discoverer had a respectable fleet and more mariners than he could take with him. He reached the Windward Group, and explored the coasts of Jamaica and Porto Rico. A colony was established in Hayti, and Diego Columbus was appointed governor. For nearly three years the voyage was continued in a desultory way among the West India Islands. Not until the summer of 1496 did Columbus a second time return to Spain; and his arrival was by no means greeted as before. The interested race of courtiers had risen against him, among whom were the powerful Fonseca and his Jewish retainer, Breviesca, with

whom Columbus had a personal encounter. His own subordinates had made false reports, and his fortunes and reputation had already begun to decline. He became the victim of jealousies and suspicions from which he never recovered. Persecution followed him during the remainder of his life. On his third voyage he found the island of Trinidad, traversed the Gulf of Para, and reached the mainland of South America not far from the mouth of the Orinoco. On his return voyage he visited Hayti, where he found his colony in a desperate condition. He attempted to restore order, but was seized by Bobadilla, who had been sent out from Spain, and who now, in exercise of a disgusting and cruel authority, put the discoverer in chains and carried him back to Spain. The disgrace, however, was more than could be borne even at the Spanish Court. Columbus was liberated and sent on a fourth voyage to find the coveted Indies. But this expedition was little fruitful in results. Explorations were made for a great distance along the south side of the Gulf of Mexico; but little was accomplished of practical advantage. Columbus, already weakened by maladies and the breaking of his spirit, yielded to the discouragements of the situation and returned once more to Spain. On his arrival he learned that Isabella was dead. That was the end of his hopes; for he was an Italian. They who were stronger than he had gradually torn from him his rights and honors. He was now old and friendless, and soon tottered into the grave. He died in poverty at Valladolid, leaving his hopes and his fame to posterity.

Among the injuries done to the great discoverer was that which gave the name of the New World to another. That honor fell to Amerigo Vespucci, or in the Latin spelling, Americus Vesputius. This navigator was a native of Florence. He was one of those who followed quickly in the wake of the Columbian discoveries. He was not devoid

of abilities and ambitions. In the year 1499 he reached the coast of South America, though the results of his voyage were not conspicuous. In 1501 he made another voyage, and returning to Europe published the first general account of the discoveries made in the Western World. By him it was established that the new islands and mainland on the western shores of the Atlantic were not the East Indies already known to fame, but were in fact the borderlands of another continent. Vespucci slurred over and ignored the part taken by Columbus in the revelation of the New World; and thus by political skill, aided by the stupidity of the age, secured for himself the name which rightfully belonged to the man of Genoa. The continent was henceforth called America and not Columbia.

The transnavigation of the Atlantic and the revelation of new islands and continents in the West gave an electrical shock to the lethargic spirit of Europe. No other event in the history of mankind had opened so large a prospect for enterprise and adventure. Spain in particular, under whose auspices the New World had been found, burned with a zeal that could hardly be quenched. Within ten years after the death of the discoverer, all the greater islands of the West Indian group had been found, explored and colonized. In the year 1510 the first colony was planted on the continent, being on the Isthmus of Darien. From this vantage-ground another great discovery, not of a new world, but of a new ocean, was imminent. In 1513, Vasco Nunez Balboa, governor of the colony of Darien, learning from the natives that a great water lay spread not far to the west, climbed over the slight central range of the narrow isthmus, and from an eminence beheld the limitless Pacific. He and his companions went down to the water's edge. Carrying in his hand the banner of Spain, he waded in, in the pompous fashion of his age and race, and with drawn sword and

flourish, took possession of the great deep in the name of Ferdinand the Catholic.

On the second voyage of Columbus he had had with him a companion named Juan Ponce de Leon. This brave and romantic personage now became a discoverer on his own account. He had been governor of Porto Rico, and had there become rich and grown old. In the meantime, a tradition had gone forth in the Spanish countries that somewhere in the Bahama Islands there was a fountain of eternal youth. Into that all the aged, could they find it, might plunge and be young again. The story appealed to the romantic sentiments of the decaying De Leon, and in the year 1512 he sailed from Porto Rico in quest of the fabulous fountain. He went first to San Salvador and the neighboring islands, and then beating out west came to an unknown coast. It was the twenty-seventh of March and Easter Sunday. De Leon supposed that he had found a new island. The shores were covered with a luxuriant forest. The horizon across the bright waters was banked with green leaves. Birds of song were heard singing there, and the fragrance of blossoms was wafted to the ships. The day on which the discovery was made was called in the calendar of the Church, Pascua Florida, or in Spanish, Pasqua de Flores. This notion caught the imagination of Ponce, and he named the new shore Florida—the Land of Flowers. A landing was made a few days later, near the point of discovery; and there were laid the foundations of St. Augustine. The Spanish banner and arms were planted, and the country claimed for Spain by the right of discovery. De Leon continued his search for the fountain of youth. He went about bathing in many waters up and down the coast, saw the Tortugas, doubled Cape Florida, and then, giving up the quest, sailed back to Porto Rico. The law of nature had prevailed over tradition; he was no younger than before,

The discovery of Florida was of great importance. Here indeed the Spaniards planted themselves on solid ground. The King of Spain appointed De Leon governor of his Land of Flowers, and ordered him to colonize the country. The old knight of adventure was slow in doing this, and it was nine years after the discovery before he returned to his province. He found there the usual results of Spanish cupidity and cruelty. The Indians had become hostile. When De Leon's colony debarked the natives attacked them and killed a great number, and the rest were obliged to fly for their lives. In order to save themselves, they took to ship and sailed away. Ponce de Leon was himself struck with an arrow and mortally wounded. He was taken to Cuba to die.

In the meantime Fernandez de Cordova had in the year 1517 sailed into the Bay of Campeachy, and discovered Yucatan. Exploring the northern coast, he was, like De Leon, attacked by the Indians and mortally wounded. In the following year the coast of Mexico was explored for many leagues by Juan de Grijalva. He had for his assistant the pilot who had conducted the expedition of Cordova. It was in these years that the knowledge of the Spaniards of the main shore of Central America was greatly extended. In 1519, Fernando, or Hernando, Cortez landed at Tabasco, and began the exploration and conquest of Mexico. His coming created the greatest excitement and consternation throughout the Empire of the Aztecs. The native warriors came forth by tens of thousands, to stay the progress of the invaders, but could not stand before them. The coast was cleared by Cortez, and he began to press his way westward to Vera Cruz. From that point it was 180 miles to the city of Mexico, capital of the Aztecs, where Montezuma was Emperor. That monarch sent messengers to the Spaniards, counseling them not to advance into the

interior. Cortez, however, was determined to do this very thing, and he so notified the Mexican Emperor, saying that his business was urgent and that he must see his majesty in person.

The alarmed natives in the next place sought to check the Spaniards with bribes. These, however, only inflamed the lust of the invaders. Cortez put all on the hazard of the die, burned his ships and set out on his march to Mexico. Montezuma vainly forbade him to come nearer. The provincial races made peace with the conqueror as he marched through their territories. The Mexican Emperor knew not what to do. He perceived that he could not bribe the Spaniards to stay away from his capital, and that to attempt to expel them by force would be like tempting the gods. Cortez and his warriors came within sight of the city. There arose the spires and temples of the famous Aztec metropolis. Montezuma came out and welcomed his remorseless enemies. On November 8, 1519, the Spaniards entered the capital and fixed themselves in the great central square before the temple of the Aztec god of war.

For a short time Cortez went about examining the city at will. He visited the altars and shrines where human sacrifices were made to the gods of the race. He inspected the defenses of the capital, and noted the methods of warfare employed by the Aztecs. He found vast treasures of gold and silver, limitless supplies of food, and arsenals filled with bows and javelins. At length, though he was master and in the midst of splendor and abundance, he began to feel alarmed about his situation. The Aztecs numbered millions. They had also become familiar with the invaders. They saw the Spanish cavaliers dismount and no longer believed that the man and the horse were one. They learned that the Spaniards could be killed like other living things.

Their courage rose, and there were signs of an insurrection. Cortez, perceiving the danger, devised a scheme for seizing the person of Montezuma and holding him as a hostage for his people. News came that the natives at Vera Cruz had attacked the Spanish garrison ; and this gave color for the intended outbreak. Montezuma was seized, and was compelled to acknowledge himself a dependent of the King of Spain. The Emperor was also obliged to agree to pay an indemnity to Spain of \$6,300,000, and an annual tribute.

For the time it seemed that Spanish dominion was established in Mexico. Cortez, however, was soon imperiled by a movement in his rear. Valasquez, governor of Cuba, claiming to be superior in authority to Cortez, sent a force to Mexico to arrest his progress and to supersede him in command. The expedition was conducted by Pamphilo de Narvaez, and embraced a force of 1,200 heavy-armed soldiers, beside Indian auxiliaries. Cortez, however, was on the alert. Leaving behind him in the capital his subordinate Alvarado, he marched to the coast with fewer than 200 men. On the night of the 26th of May, 1520, he burst with his handful into the camp of De Narvaez at Vera Cruz, and compelled the whole force to surrender ! He induced the conquered army, six times as strong as his own, to join his standard, and with this great force he returned to the capital.

In that city affairs were in a desperate condition. The Mexicans had risen against Alvarado and cooped him up in a palace. When Cortez reached the city, he entered without serious opposition, and rescued Alvarado's command ; but the Aztecs could no longer be placated, and the conflict broke out in earnest. The scenes that ensued could never be described. Tens of thousands of the natives were cut down in the streets. Blood ran in rivulets. Some of the Spaniards fell. For months together there was in-

cessant fighting in and around the city, and Cortez, to save himself from destruction, was obliged to adopt another perfidious stratagem. He compelled the captive Montezuma to go out into an exposed place and counsel his people to submit. In their rage and vexation they let fly a shower of javelins, and Montezuma was fatally wounded. Cortez was driven out of the city; but he continued the siege and gradually prevailed. A great battle was fought in which the Spaniards were victorious. In August of 1521, the city was taken and the Empire of the Aztecs extinguished; Mexico became a province of Spain.

While these events were passing on the mainland, even a greater was enacted on the sea. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese navigator, succeeded at last in making real the dream that had possessed the adventure of the age. He discovered an all-water route westward to the Indies. His patron in the enterprise was the King of Spain, now Charles V. For the King of Portugal had given no encouragement. A Spanish fleet of five ships, fitted and manned at public expense, was given to Magellan, who sailed from Seville in August of 1519.

The navigator crossed the equinoctial line, and reached the coast of South America. He sought to find on that shore some opening into the Pacific. He passed the winter on the coast of Brazil, and in the following year voyaging southward, came to the mouth of the strait which still bears his name. Through this he sailed into the open waters of the Pacific. He set his prows to the north of west. After four months, he came, in March of 1520, to the Ladrões, midway between Australia and Japan. Thence he reached the Philippines, and was there killed in a battle with the natives. The fleet, however, continued to sail westward, reaching the Moluccas and gathering there a cargo of spices. Now for the first time men of the white race sailing west-

ward had come into known parts of the Indies. All of Magellan's ships except one were so injured that they could proceed no further ; but in the remaining vessel the crews were gathered, and setting sail that lone ship came by way of Good Hope and the western coast of Africa to Spain, where it arrived on the 17th of September, 1522, having completed under the Spanish flag the first circumnavigation of the globe.

To this time belongs also the expedition of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. He was a wealthy planter of Hayti. Accompanied by six others like himself, he fitted out two ships, and went abroad through the West Indies, to gather slaves. This was in 1520. The ships of Ayllon got to the coast of South Carolina, to which the leader gave the name of Chicora. The natives were friendly, and made presents to the strangers. They were easily induced to throng the decks of the ships ; and then De Ayllon, watching his opportunity, weighed anchor and sailed away. After two days a storm came down and sent one of the slave ships to the bottom. The Indians on the other vessels had been confined below the hatches, where, crowded together and huddling in terror, most of them died before reaching a worse destination.

Emperor Charles V. rewarded De Ayllon with the governorship of Chicora. In 1525, the Spaniard returned to his province, and found the natives hostile. One ship ran aground in the mouth of the Cambahee, and the Indians, attacking the crews of the rest, drove them to flight. De Ayllon returned to Hayti in humiliation and ruin. His enterprise as slave trader ended in shame and failure.

In 1526, De Narvaez was appointed governor of Florida ; his territory extended around a large part of the Gulf of Mexico. With a force of 300 men, he arrived in April of 1528 at Tampa Bay. The cunning natives, showing their

trinkets, pointed to the north. The Spaniards caught the hint, and plunged into a country of swamps and rivers. They found the expected city of gold to be an Appalachee village of forty cabins. The adventurers at last got back to the harbor of St. Marks, and put to sea in some brigantines which they built. They were driven ashore, and all perished except four men, who under Lieutenant de Vaca reached the village of San Miguel on the Pacific coast, and were taken thence to the city of Mexico.

A new expedition was planned in 1537, and put under direction of the cavalier Ferdinand de Soto. The King of Spain appointed him governor of Cuba and Florida, with the usual privilege of exploration and conquest. Six hundred high-born young Spaniards flocked to his standard. They were clad in the manner of knights, with all the trappings of chivalry. The expedition was fitted with all things requisite for an adventure into the New World under the inspiration of conquest and romance. The squadron, including ten vessels, sailed from San Lucar to Havana, where De Soto left his wife as governess, and then proceeded to Tampa Bay. Some of the adventurers were frightened when they saw the unbroken forests of the New World, and turned back; but in June of 1539 the leader, with the greater number of his followers, set out into the interior. For three months they marched about, swimming rivers, wading morasses and fighting Indians. October found them on Flint River, where they established themselves for the winter. In the following spring they set out in a northeasterly direction to find a great city, of which a woman was empress. The Spaniards reached the Ogechee in April of 1540. During that month they struggled on into South Carolina; then turned westward into the mountains of North Carolina and Tennessee; thence into Northern Georgia; and thence to Lower Alabama.

At Mauville, or Mobile, they attacked the Indian town, and killed or burned to death 2,500 Indians. Arriving at Pensacola, they found the supply ships from Cuba; but not satisfied with the results thus far, they turned to the north into the country of the Chickasaws. They wandered far until February 15, 1541, when the Indians set on fire the town in which they were encamped, and well-nigh destroyed the invaders.

Native guides brought De Soto to the Mississippi. The point of discovery was just below the Chickasaw Bluffs. Barges were built, and in May the Spaniards crossed into Arkansas. They lived on the wild abundance of the land of the Dakotas. They marched on to the St. Francis, thence to the Hot Springs, passing the winter of 1541-2 on the Wachita. They cruelly abused and destroyed the Indians who fell into their power, but became more and more desperate with their progress. They followed the Wachita to the Red River, and that stream to the Mississippi. De Soto was broken down. His dreams of conquest and empire had passed away. A fever seized him, and he died on the banks of the great river, and in the turbid waters his coffin was sunk by night.

After the death of De Soto his successors wandered about until the summer of 1543, when they reached the Gulf of Mexico, and finally found shelter at the Spanish settlement at the mouth of the River of Palms.

The next important enterprise of the Spaniards was intrusted to Pedro Melendez, a criminal and soldier of fortune. In the year 1565 he was commissioned by Philip II. to colonize Florida. He was to receive a large gift of land and a liberal salary. He gathered together a colony of 2,500 persons, and in July of 1565 sailed from Spain. On the 28th of August he reached the coast of Florida, near the mouth of the St. John's. On this river, thirty-five miles in

the interior, a colony of thirty Huguenots had been established ; and the extermination of this settlement was a part of the instructions of Melendez. He reached Florida on St. Augustine's day and named the harbor and river in honor of that saint. Philip of Spain was proclaimed monarch of North America, and on the 8th of September the foundations were laid of St. Augustine, the oldest town built by white men within the limits of the United States.

Melendez next attacked and destroyed the Huguenot settlement on the St. John's. The French were butchered without mercy. The atrocity was indescribable. More than 700 of the colonists were massacred. Only a small number of servants and mechanics were permitted to live. Bloody were the auspices under which the first permanent European settlement was made in our country.

The present chapter may be properly concluded with a paragraph on the discoveries and adventures of the Portuguese. John II., King of Portugal at the time of the first Columbian voyage, paid little attention to the New World. In 1495 he was succeeded by his son Manuel, who would gladly have taken part in the achievements of the Spaniards and the English ; but he was too late on the sea to gain for his countrymen a permanent footing on the North American coast. Not until the summer of 1501 was Gaspar Cortereal commissioned to sail on a voyage of discovery. To him a fleet was given, and he reached America in the summer of that year. He explored the American coast from Maine northward for about 700 miles. At that point he met the icebergs, and could go no farther. He succeeded in kidnaping fifty Indians, whom on his return to Portugal he sold as slaves. Another voyage was undertaken, with the distinct purpose of capturing natives for the slave market of Europe ; but a year went by, and no tidings came from the

expedition. Then the brother of Cortereal sailed in search of him ; but neither the one nor the other was heard of afterward forever. The fate of the first Portuguese slave ships that came to our shores has remained a mystery of the sea.

CHAPTER III.

MANY writers have dwelt upon the state of enthusiasm and fervor which prevailed at the European courts when the news was borne abroad that Columbus had returned from the western shores of the Atlantic. True, there was great confusion in the reports. The navigator himself supposed that he had found the Indies—the land of Cathay which Marco Polo and other story-telling travelers had described as lying on the easternmost parts of Asia. One thing was certain ; he had found land. Many islands had been circumnavigated. Others were so extensive as to seem to be continents. Clearly it was but the beginning of discovery. All imaginations were inflamed with the intelligence. Incredulity was brushed aside, and a vast transatlantic world rose upon the imagination like a mirage beyond the desert.

All the maritime nations immediately prepared to discover and to occupy the new lands in the West. The seafaring communities were quickest in sending forth their captains on the lines of discovery and adventure. England held—as she has ever done—a peculiarly favorable situation for the work of navigation and conquest over sea. Her mariners were bold and skillful. They had in them the courage of the Vikings, the hardihood of the Saxons and the imaginations of the Normans. When the news of Columbus' discoveries were spread abroad in the harbors of Merry England her captains, not a few, were ready to take up the work and go forth in search of the New World.

Among the many who were excited to ambition and activity by the great event of 1492 was Giovanni Gabotto or Kaboto, or as his name appears in English John Cabot. His birthplace was probably Venice, but his home was in Bristol, in West England. He was a seaman from his childhood. His voyages had reached to the easternmost parts of the Mediterranean. While in that far realm he had visited Mecca and had seen the incoming caravans from India laden with spices and gems. He believed as Columbus did that the far East might be reached by sailing to the westward, and this notion he succeeded in impressing upon three English merchants of Bristol who agreed to bear the expense of an expedition to be commanded by Cabot.

The consent of the crown, however, was necessary. Henry VII., first king of the House of Tudor, recently victorious over his enemies at the battle of Bosworth Field, cold and calculating, hesitated long before assenting to the request of Cabot. The latter hovered about the court for many weeks; but at length the envy of the King, jealous of the great things which had been accomplished under the banners of Castile and Leon, prevailed over his narrow and parsimonious spirit; and on the 5th of May, 1496, he issued a charter to John Cabot, "mariner, of Venice," granting him privilege and authority to make discoveries and explorations in the Atlantic and Indian oceans, to carry the English flag and to take possession of all islands and continents which he might discover. The expenses of the expedition were to be borne by the three merchants of Bristol; but one-fifth of all the profits gained by the expedition should be given to the crown.

The months of the following autumn and winter were spent in preparations for the voyage. A fleet of five vessels was prepared and provisioned; but only one ship, a small caravel called the *Matthew*, carrying a crew of

eighteen men under the immediate command of Cabot, sailed on the expedition. Among the crew were John Cabot's three sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Santius. The *Matthew* left Bristol in the latter part of April, and after a tempestuous voyage reached the coast of Labrador in the latitude of 56 degrees north, on St. John's Day, the 24th of June, 1497. *This was the real discovery of North America.* Indeed, it was the true discovery of the American continents, for nearly fourteen months elapsed before Columbus himself touched the mainland on the Gulf of Paria. More than two years passed before Ojeda and Vespucci traced the shore of South America.

Although it was the season of midsummer, Cabot found the country which he had discovered to be icebound and wrapped in the solitude of an apparently perpetual winter. The coast was forbidding. A few wretched natives ran down to see the ship, which appeared to them a prodigy of the sea. The commander attempted to open communications with the natives, but it is believed that no landing was made. The shore line was explored, however, for several hundred miles. Cabot supposed that he had found the kingdom of the Grand Khan of Tartary; but neither the character of the country nor the appearance of the natives warranted the conclusion.

Before setting sail for England the navigator went on shore, and according to the terms of his commission planted the flag of England and took possession in the name of the English King. The tradition runs that by the side of the flag of his adopted country, Cabot also set up the banner of his native land, the Republic of Venice; nor will fancy fail to discover in the event the auspicious omen of a far-off day of greatness when the flag of another and greater Republic should wave from sea to sea.

The good ship *Matthew* returned to Bristol on the 6th of

August, 1497. From the dates we may easily discover the brevity of the voyage. Twice on the right hand the coast of Newfoundland was seen. After a little more than three months of absence the captain and his crew came safely to shore. Bristol had her holiday. The Admiral Cabot was received with rejoicing. An entry in the private accounts of Henry VII. for the 10th of August, 1497, is as follows: "For him that found the new isle, ten pounds." But the reports of the event are meager, and we are left to conjecture with respect to much that followed. At the present time an ancient manuscript is preserved in a book shop in Bristol in which a brief announcement is made of the safe return of the *Matthew* and of the discovery by Cabot of a new country beyond the Atlantic.

The cautious King at length issued a new commission more liberal than the first, and the same was signed in February of 1498. New ships were fitted and new crews enlisted for a second voyage. Strange as it may seem, after the date of this second patent the very name of John Cabot disappears from the annals of the times. Where the remainder of his life was passed and the circumstances of his death are involved in complete mystery.

But Sebastian Cabot, second of his father's sons, had inherited not only the plans and reputation of the latter, but also his genius. Indeed the younger Cabot appears through the shadows of four centuries as a man of greater capacity and enterprise than his father. As we have said, the younger Cabots accompanied the elder on his famous first voyage. Sebastian now took up the cause with all the fervor of youth. It is probable that the same fleet, the equipment of which had been begun for the father, was intrusted to the son. However this may be, Sebastian in the spring of 1498 found himself in command of a squadron of well-manned vessels and on his way to the new continent. But

the new continent was still supposed to be that India which had been the dream of navigators and cosmographers for many generations. The particular object of Sebastian was the common folly of the times, namely, the discovery of a northwest passage across the Atlantic to the Indies.

At the close of the fifteenth century nothing was known about the general character of the great ocean currents which so largely modify the temperature of the seas and lands. Navigators had no notion of the great difference in climate of the parts of Europe and America situated on the same parallels of latitude. The humidity and comparative warmth of Great Britain were naturally supposed to exist in the new lands at a corresponding distance from the equator. It remained for the Cabots to discover the much greater rigor of the climate on the western shores of the north Atlantic. The voyage of Sebastian proceeded prosperously until he reached the seas west of Greenland. Here he was obliged by the icebergs to change his course.

It was now July and the sun scarcely set at midnight. Seals were seen in abundance and the ships plowed through such shoals of codfish as had never before been heard of. The shore of Labrador was reached not far from the scene of the elder Cabot's discoveries. Then the fleet turned southward, but whether across the Gulf of St. Lawrence or to the east of Newfoundland is uncertain. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and the coast of Maine were successively explored. The whole shore line of New England and of the Middle States was now for the first time since the days of the Norsemen seen and traced by Europeans. Nor did Cabot desist from this work which was bestowing the title of discovery on the crown of England until he had passed beyond the Chesapeake. After all the disputes about the matter it is most probable that Cape Hatteras is the point from which Sebastian began his homeward voyage.

It was in this manner that the right of England to the better parts of North America was first declared. The "right" in question may be strongly criticised by posterity, as it rested wholly upon the fact of *first view* by a company of English sailors looking shoreward from their vessels in the summer of 1498. But this first view was called discovery, and the Christian kings of Europe had agreed among themselves that discovery should hold—that it should constitute a right which they would mutually respect and defend. In this compact not the slightest attention was paid to the rights of possession and occupancy enjoyed for unknown generations by the native peoples of the new lands. All the claims of the aboriginal races were brushed aside as not of the slightest consequence or validity. The flag of Tudor had been carried in a ship along the coast from Labrador to Cape Hatteras, and English sailors had *seen* the New World before any of their European rivals; therefore England had a right to the possession of the continent thus "discovered"!

As for Sebastian Cabot himself, his future career was as strange as the voyages of his boyhood had been wonderful. The dark-minded, illiberal Henry VII., although quick to appreciate the value of Cabot's discoveries, was slow to reward the discoverer. He, as well as all the Tudor kings who succeeded him, was a scheming and selfish prince. When Henry VIII. died, Ferdinand the Catholic enticed Sebastian Cabot away from England and made him Pilot-major of Spain. While holding this high office he had for a season almost supreme control of the maritime affairs of the kingdom and sent out many successful voyages. He lived to be very old, but the circumstances of his death have not been ascertained, and the place of his burial is unknown to this day.

We may here pause to note the rapid unfoldings of dis-

covery in the last years of the fifteenth century. The true concept of the world came with 1498. That year may be fixed upon as the most marked in the history of modern times. In the month of May, Vasco da Gama, of Portugal, succeeded in doubling the Cape of Storms, afterwards known as the Cape of Good Hope, and after a long and successful voyage reached Hindustan. We have just seen how in the same summer Sebastian Cabot traced the eastern coast of North America through more than twenty degrees of latitude, thus establishing for all future time the claims of England to what proved to be the better parts of the new continent. In August of the same year Columbus himself, now sailing on his third voyage, reached the mainland of South America not far from the mouth of the Orinoco. Destiny had decreed that of these three great discoveries that of Cabot should prove to be most important in practical results.

A strange obstacle, however, interposed itself for a while in the way of English discovery. In the first place it may be doubted whether the Tudor kings, from Henry VII. to Elizabeth, were much concerned about the character and possibilities of the New World. Henry VIII. during his reign of nearly forty years was occupied with the domestic affairs of his kingdom and with those threatening foreign intrigues which resisted, as their ulterior object, the growth and greatness of England. Meanwhile, as soon as America was discovered the kings of Spain and Portugal began to contend for what the first had found and the second had neglected to find. Pope Alexander VI. was called in to settle the dispute, and in 1493 did so by issuing the famous Bull whereby an imaginary line was drawn north and south in the Atlantic three hundred miles west of the Azores, and all the islands and countries west of that meridian given to Spain. Thus by a stroke of the pen about three-fourths

of the human race, including their countries and cities, were handed over to Ferdinand the Catholic as if they had been a basket of figs presented to a friend!

The Pope, taking advantage of the turmoils, wars and cross-purposes of Europe, had risen to such power that crowned heads bowed before him. Henry VIII., always contending that he himself was the truest of Catholics, was little disposed to dispute the decision which the Pope had rendered during the reign of his father. For the time it appeared that Spain and Portugal had succeeded, under the Papal sanction, in dividing the new islands and continents between them. For this reason the claims which had originated with the discoveries of the Cabots were allowed to lie dormant. The right of the English king to hold and possess the long continental line between Newfoundland and Carolina was not pressed by the first Tudor kings lest they should quarrel with the Pope. It was not until after the Reformation had been accomplished in England that the Papal decision came to be disregarded and finally despised and laughed at.

With the event of the Reformation, which may be dated in the reign of Edward VI., came a revival of English maritime adventure. When the break with Rome was once final, or seemed to be final, the decisions of the Pope relative to the rights of the various European crowns were not likely to be much regarded by the ministers and advisers of young Edward. In the year 1548 that King's council voted a hundred pounds sterling to induce the now aged Sebastian Cabot to quit Spain and become Grand Pilot of England. The old Admiral yielded to the temptation, left Seville, and once more sailed under the English flag. The omens were auspicious for the speedy recovery of whatever England had lost to her rival by the apathy and indecision of half a century.

But the reign of Edward VI. came suddenly to an end. To him succeeded his half-sister Mary, to whom history has given the unpleasing name of the Bloody Mary. The Catholic reaction set in with full force. England was bound to Spain as if she were an appanage by the marriage of her Queen to Philip II. Under such conditions it was out of the question that the power of England on the sea should be materially extended. With the accession of the Princess Elizabeth, however, in the year 1558, a wonderful impulse was given to all enterprises which promised the aggrandizement of her kingdom.

Elizabeth Tudor was a Protestant by necessity. Destiny had contrived it so before her birth. She had in her the nature and dispositions of a Catholic princess; but she had also the accumulated ambitions of the House of Tudor. The alternative was sharp before her. She must choose the one thing and reject the other. She must plant herself like adamant forever against Rome and become the impersonation of English Protestantism. For her to be a Catholic was not only to admit the invalidity of her mother's marriage to her father, the illegitimacy of her own birth, but also to cast to the winds all legal and rightful claims to the English crown. By being a Protestant she could maintain the rightfulness of her father's first divorce, the lawfulness of her mother's marriage, and her own consequent claims to be a legitimate princess of the line established by her grandfather. Thus by the contrivance of History England was broken away from the continental system, including allegiance to Rome, and was thus freed to pursue her course of insular consolidation and her career of foreign adventure.

No sooner had the affairs of the kingdom been well established after the accession of Elizabeth than maritime enterprises began again to be prompted. The spirit of dis-

covery found impersonation in that bold and skillful sailor, Martin Frobisher, of Doncaster. Without means himself to undertake an expedition into foreign seas, he received aid from Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who fitted out three small vessels and placed them under Frobisher's command, to go in search of the mythical northwest passage to India. Three-quarters of a century had not sufficed to destroy the fanatical notion of reaching the rich countries of the East by sailing around America to the north.

Frobisher departed from Deptford on the 8th of June, 1576. One of his ships was lost on the voyage. Another was terrified at the prospect and returned to England; but the dauntless captain proceeded in the third far to the north and west, attaining a higher latitude than had ever before been reached by Europeans on the western shore of the Atlantic. About the sixtieth parallel he discovered the group of islands which lie in the mouth of Hudson's Strait. Still farther to the north he came to a large island which he—under the common delusion of the age—supposed to be the mainland of Asia. To this he gave the name of *Meta Incognita*. North of this island, in latitude sixty-three degrees and eight minutes, he entered the strait which has ever since borne his name, and then believing that he had found the open way to Asia, set sail for England. He carried home with him one of the natives called Esquimaux and a stone which was thought by the English refiners to contain particles of gold.

Great was the excitement in England. London was stirred to action. Queen Elizabeth herself contributed one ship to the new fleet which in the month of May, 1577, departed for *Meta Incognita*. All these vessels were to come home laden with gold! Strange and vicious delusion which for thousands of years has held dominion over the imaginations of men! Frobisher's ships soon came among the icebergs

of the far North, and there for weeks together they were in imminent danger of being crushed between the floating mountains. The summer was cold and unfavorable for discovery. The fleet did not succeed in reaching the same high point which Frobisher had gained in his single vessel in the previous summer. The sailors were alarmed at the gloomy perils of sea and shore and availed themselves of the first opportunity to escape from these dangerous waters and return to England.

But this unfruitful experience did not suffice. The English gold-hunters were by no means satisfied. They regarded the return of the expedition as a cowardly failure to accomplish an enterprise which was already in sight. A third fleet of fifteen vessels strong and new was fitted out, and Queen Elizabeth again contributed personally to the expense of the voyage. In the early spring of 1578 the squadron departed for the land of gold. It was the intention to plant there a colony of diggers. Some were to remain, others to return with the fleet. Twelve ships were expected to come back freighted with gold-ore to London.

But the third summer was as severe as the others. At the entrance to Hudson Strait the floating icebergs were so thick that the ships could not be steered among them. For a long time the vessels were buffeted about in constant peril of destruction. At last they succeeded in reaching Meta Incognita and soon gathered their cargoes of--dirt! The provision ship slipped away from the fleet and returned to England. The affairs of the expedition grew desperate. The northwest passage was forgotten. The colony which was to be planted was no longer thought of. Faith in the shiploads of mica and dirt which they had gathered in the holds gave away; and so with disappointed crews and several tons of the spurious ore under the hatches the ships

set sail for home. The Eldorado of the Esquimaux had proved to be an utter delusion.

After the death of Queen Mary the break between England and Spain became ever more ominous. The hostility between the two powers amounted almost to constant war. Even when the Spanish and English crowns were nominally at peace and when Philip and Elizabeth were exchanging the hypocritical compliments of princes, a state of secret enmity existed, which on the sea at least showed itself in many acts of violence and robbery. It was at this time that the great English Admiral, Sir Francis Drake, sought fortune by privateering. Without much regard for the law of nations he began, about 1572, to prey upon the merchant ships of Spain, and gained thereby enormous wealth. Five years later, following the route of Magellan, he sailed around to the Pacific coast and became a terror to the Spanish vessels in those waters. He greatly enriched himself and his crews by a process not very different from piracy. But satisfied at length with this form of marauding, he formed the project of tracing up the western coast of North America until he should find perchance the north-west passage at its Pacific mouth, hoping to sail thence eastward around our continent.

With this object in view, Drake followed the Pacific coast as far north as Oregon, discovering San Francisco harbor on the way, where he built a fort, spent the winter and was crowned King by native Indians. But his sailors who had now been for several years within the tropics began to shiver with the cold, and the enterprise which in any event must have ended in failure was given up. Sailing southward, the navigator passed the winter of 1579-80 in a harbor on the coast of Mexico. To all that portion of the western shores of America which he had thus explored he gave the name of New Albion; but the earlier discovery of the same

coast by the Spaniards had rendered the English claim of but little value. Thus far no permanent colony of Englishmen had been established in the New World.

Among the first to conceive a rational plan of colonizing America was Sir Humphrey Gilbert. This remarkable personage had already produced a treatise on the possibility of finding a northwest passage to India, which work is said to have been the inspiring cause of the voyages of Frobisher. The results had not equaled expectation, and Gilbert began to brood over the notion of establishing somewhere on the shores of the new continent an agricultural and commercial State. If the hopes of finding gold had been thus far delusive, certainly the hope of agriculture and commerce would not so prove. Sir Humphrey brought his views to the attention of the Queen and sought her aid. Elizabeth received his propositions favorably and issued to him a liberal patent authorizing him to take possession of any six hundred square miles of unoccupied territory in America, and to plant thereon a colony of which he himself should be proprietor and governor.

With this commission Sir Humphrey Gilbert, assisted by his illustrious step-brother, Walter Raleigh, prepared a fleet of five vessels and in June of 1583 sailed for the West. Only two days after their departure the best vessel in the fleet treacherously abandoned the rest and returned to Plymouth. Gilbert, however, continued his voyage and early in August reached Newfoundland. There he went on shore and took formal possession of the country in the name of his sovereign. Unfortunately some of the sailors discovered in the side of the hill scales of mica, and the judge of metals whom Gilbert had been unwise enough to bring with him declared that the glittering mineral was silver ore. The crews became at once insubordinate. Some went to digging the supposed silver and carrying it on board the vessels, while

others gratified their piratical propensities by attacking the Spanish and Portuguese ships that were engaged in cod-fishing in the neighboring waters.

In a short time it was found that one of Gilbert's vessels was unfit for sea. This ship was abandoned, but with the other three Sir Humphrey left Newfoundland and steered for the South. Off the coast of Massachusetts the largest of the remaining ships was wrecked and the whole crew and cargo, consisting of a hundred men and a great amount of spurious silver ore, went to the bottom. The disaster was so great that Gilbert gave up the expedition and set sail for England.

The weather had now become stormy and the two ships that remained were unfit for navigation in such rough waters. Sir Humphrey's ship, which was the weaker of the two, was a little frigate called the *Squirrel*. This he had chosen in order that the other crew might have the advantage in the attempt to return to England. Both vessels were shattered and leaking. The storm howled around them. At midnight when the ships were within hailing distance of each other, but out of sight, the raging sea rose between them and the *Squirrel* was suddenly engulfed. Not a man of the courageous crew was saved.* The other ship finally reached Falmouth in safety.

* The fate of Sir Humphrey Gilbert has been embalmed in song by Longfellow :

“ In the first watch of the night,
Without a signal's sound,
Out of the sea mysteriously
The fleet of Death rose all around.

* * * * *

“ Southward through day and dark
They drift in close embrace,
With mist and rain o'er the open main ;
Yet there seems no change of place.

It would appear that these reverses and disaster rather quickened the ambitions than aroused the fears of Sir Walter Raleigh. In the following spring that remarkable man obtained from the Queen a new patent fully as liberal as the one granted to Gilbert. The scheme now embraced a form of government for an American colony. Sir Walter was to be the Lord Proprietary of an extensive tract of country extending from the thirty-third to the fortieth parallel of north latitude. The territory was to be held in the name of the Queen. A State was to be organized and peopled by emigrants from England.

The character of the northern seas and coasts had now been sufficiently revealed to turn the attention of explorers to a more hospitable region. The frozen North was henceforth avoided. The sunny country extending from Cape Fear to the Delaware was to be chosen as the seat of the rising empire. A squadron of two ships was fitted out to forerun the enterprise, the command being given to Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow. The first of these was a sea captain from Hull, and the second of unknown origin but distinguished as a navigator.

The expedition left England on the 27th of April, 1784. The ships touched first at the Canaries and then the West Indies, from which point they made the coast of Carolina. It was on the 13th of July that they entered Ocracoke inlet. The coast was found to be long and low, the sea smooth and glassy. The woods were full of beauty and song. The journal of Barlow is filled with exclamations of delight. The sailors seemed "as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden." The natives were found to be generous and

"Southward, forever southward
They drift through dark and day;
And like a dream in the Gulf-stream
Sinking, vanish all away."

hospitable. Explorations were made along the shores of Albemarle and Pamlico sounds and a landing finally effected on Roanoke Island, where the English were entertained by the Indian queen. Neither Amidas nor Barlow, however, had the genius necessary for the prosecution of so great an enterprise. After a stay of less than two months they returned to England to exhaust the rhetoric of description in praising the beauties of the new land. In allusion to her own life and reign Elizabeth gave to her delightful country in the New World the name of VIRGINIA.

Sir Walter Raleigh now carried his enterprise to Parliament. In December of 1584 he secured the passage of a bill by which his former patent was confirmed and enlarged. By this means he secured public attention. The mind of the people was turned more than hitherto to the project of emigration. It was perceived by many that Sir Walter's proposed province in the New World offered the greatest inducements to emigrants and adventurers. The plan of colonization was accordingly taken up anew with zeal and earnestness. The Lord Proprietary soon fitted out a second expedition. He appointed the soldierly Sir Ralph Lane to be governor of the colony and gave the command of his fleet to Sir Richard Grenville. Sir Ralph was connected with the royal family and had been in the service of Mary and Elizabeth for more than twenty years. Sir Richard was a navigator from Cornwall, had been a soldier, a civil officer, a member of Parliament and finally a knight under patent from Queen Elizabeth. He was a cousin to Raleigh, and embarked eagerly in the project of colonization.

As for emigrants, they were made up to a considerable extent of the adventurous and gallant young nobility of the kingdom. The fleet consisted of seven vessels. The voyage extended from the 9th of April to the 20th of June, when the shore of Carolina was reached in safety. Soon

afterwards a storm arose and the whole squadron was in imminent danger of destruction—a peril which suggested to Grenville the naming of *Cape Fear*, which the outjutting coast has borne to the present day.

Escaping from the storm, the vessels six days afterwards came to Roanoke. Here it was determined to plant the colony. A hundred and eight men were landed and organized under Governor Lane. For several days explorations were made in the neighborhood. One of the Indians ignorantly took away a silver cup, whereupon Sir Richard laid waste the fields of maize and burned an Indian town. He then set sail for England, taking with him a Spanish treasure-ship which he had captured in the West Indies. Privateering and colonization went hand in hand.

The Indians were enraged at the cruelties of the white men. The spirit of gentleness which they had hitherto displayed towards the Europeans gave place to jealousy, suspicion and hatred. Lane and some of his companions were enticed with false stories to go on a gold-hunting expedition into the interior. Their destruction was planned, and only avoided by a hasty retreat to Roanoke, Virginia. The Indian king and several of his chiefs were now in turn allured into the power of the English and inhumanly murdered. Ferocity and gloom followed this crime; then despondency and a sense of danger, until the discouragement became so great that when Sir Francis Drake, returning with a fleet from his exploits on the Pacific coast, came in sight the colonists prevailed on him to carry them back to England.

It was thus by the cupidity, injustice and crime of the whites done on the unoffending natives that the chasm of hostility was opened between the English-speaking race and the aborigines of North America. Nor have three hundred years sufficed to bridge over the abyss! The event

soon showed that the abandonment of the colony had been needless and hasty. Within a few days a shipload of stores arrived from the prudent Raleigh, but the captain found no colony. The vessel, therefore, could do nothing but return. Two weeks later Sir Richard Grenville came in person to Roanoke with three well-laden ships and made a fruitless search for his colonists. All were gone. Not to lose possession of the country altogether, the governor left fifteen men on the island and set sail for home.

The general result in England was discouraging. The ardor of the people cooled when it was known that the enterprise had ended in failure. Nevertheless truthful descriptions of the magnificent coast of Virginia and Carolina had now been published, and it was only a question of time when the spirit of enterprise and adventure would revive. Sir Walter himself did much to promote and encourage emigration. A new company of colonists consisting largely of families was made up, and a new charter of municipal government was granted by the Proprietary. John White was chosen governor, and every precaution was taken to secure the success of the city of Raleigh soon to be founded in the West.

In April of 1587 the new fleet departed from England and in the following July arrived in Carolina. The dangerous Capes of Hatteras and Fear were avoided and the ships came safely to Roanoke. A search was made for the fifteen men who had been left there the year before; but the sequel showed that they had been murdered by the now hostile Indians. Nevertheless Captain White selected the northern extremity of the ill-omened island as the site for his "city," and on the 23d of July the foundations were laid.

But fortune was still adverse to the enterprise. The new settlers and the Indians renewed their hostilities and went

to war. After some destruction of life peace was concluded, and Sir Walter conceived the plan of uniting the fortunes of the two races by a common interest. He accordingly gave his sanction to a project which, as the events showed, was sufficiently absurd. The Indian king of Roanoke was Manteo. Him Sir Walter selected as the link of union between the English and the natives. Manteo was recognized as one of the rulers of the land, and was made a peer of England with the title of Lord of Roanoke! Of course no salutary results could follow such a piece of silliness and misapprehension.

Notwithstanding the presence of their copper-colored nobleman, the colonists continued to be gloomy and apprehensive. They pretended to fear starvation. In the latter part of August they became half-mutinous and almost compelled the governor to return to England for additional supplies and new immigrants. The governor, in a mistaken spirit, yielded to the pressure and sailed away. Had the colonists been content to employ the summer in useful labor—in planting and gathering and preparation—they might have easily provided themselves against the exigency of winter. But they imagined that their stores must be constantly replenished from abroad, and the spirit of independence was thus destroyed.

An incident of these days was the birth of the first-born of English children in the New World. They gave to the babe the name of Virginia Dare, and her birthday, the 18th of August, was recorded as a date to be remembered. The colony had fair prospects for the future, and when White set sail for England he left the immigrants, a hundred and eight in number, in full expectation of ultimate success. What their fate was, however, has never been ascertained. The story of their going ashore and joining the Indians is unlikely in itself and has no historical evidence to support it.

Great was the disturbance which now prevailed in England. From a European point of view it might well seem doubtful whether the House of Tudor could longer hold the throne, or indeed whether the English monarchy could survive the coming ordeal. For the Invincible Armada of Spain was now bearing down upon the English coasts. All the resources and energies of the realm were demanded for defense. Although Sir Walter managed to send out two supply-ships to succor his starving colony, his efforts to reach them were unavailing. The vessels which he dispatched for that purpose went cruising after Spanish merchantmen, and were themselves run down and captured by a man-of-war. Not until the spring of 1590 did Governor White finally return to search for the unfortunate colonists. The island was a desert, tenantless and silent. No soul remained to tell the story of the lost.

By this time Sir Walter had expended two hundred thousand dollars of his own means in the attempt to found and foster a colony in America. Not able to prosecute the enterprise further, he gave it up and assigned his proprietary rights to an association of London merchants. It was under the auspices of these that Governor White had made his final search for the settlers of Roanoke. The result bore so much of discouragement that during the last decade of the sixteenth century the effort at American colonization was not renewed. It was not until the year 1602 that maritime enterprise in the direction of America was again promoted under the flag of England. Bartholomew Gosnold was the man to whom belongs the honor of renewing the work and of carrying a successful expedition to our shores.

More than a century had now elapsed since the discovery of the Western Hemisphere by Columbus and the Cabots. During all this time the old route first taken from Europe

to America had continued to be followed by the navigators of England, Spain and France. This route was very circuitous. Ships from the western parts of Europe sailing for America voyaged first southward to the Canary Islands, thence to the West Indies, and thence northward to the coast line of our continent. Abandoning this path as unnecessarily long and out of the way, Gosnold in a single small vessel called the *Concord* sailed directly across the Atlantic and in seven weeks reached the coast of Maine. The distance thus gained was fully two thousand miles, and the demonstration was another evidence that the Atlantic was no longer to constitute an impassable barrier between the Old World and the New.

Like his predecessors, Gosnold contemplated the founding of a colony, and with this end in view he brought with him to America a company of emigrants; but the selection of a site for his proposed settlement was difficult and for several weeks he continued to explore from the coast of Maine southward. Capes Elizabeth and Cod were reached, and at the latter place the captain with four of his men went ashore. It was the first landing of Englishmen within the limits of New England. Cape Malabar was also passed, and the vessel was at length steered into Buzzard's Bay. Selecting the most westernly island of the Elizabeth group, the colonists debarked and there began the first New England settlement.

But the work had been badly planned. The true instinct of colonization was wanting. A traffic was opened with the natives and the *Concord* was laden with sassafras root, already known in Europe and greatly prized for its fragrance and its supposed virtues in healing. For a season the affairs of the immigrants went well; but when the ship was about to depart for England the settlers became alarmed at the prospect before them and prevailed on Gosnold to take

them back to their friends at home. Thus the island was abandoned and the *Concord* returned to England.

Although failure followed failure, the accounts which the sailors and colonists invariably gave of the American shores were filled with praises and notes of astonishment. Interest was thus kept alive in the mother country and one expedition quickly succeeded to another. The next squadron of discovery and settlement was fitted out for Martin Pring. Two vessels called the *Speedwell* and the *Discoverer* were loaded with merchandise suited to the tastes of the Indians, and in April of 1603, a few days after the death of Queen Elizabeth, the little fleet sailed for America. They came safely to Penobscot Bay and afterwards explored the harbors and shores of Maine. The coast of Massachusetts was traced southward to the sassafras region, where Pring loaded his ships at Martha's Vineyard and thence returned to England. The two vessels reached Bristol in safety after an absence of about six months.

It seems that at this time the idea of trade almost superseded the notion of colonization. The English voyagers came one after another, loaded their ships, and either left certain of their companions to perish or took the intended immigrants back to England. The purpose of planting was for a while feeble and uncertain. In 1605 George Weymouth, under the patronage of the Earl of Southampton, made a voyage to America and came to anchorage among the islands of St. George on the coast of Maine. He explored the harbor and sailed up the outflowing river for a considerable distance, noting the fine forests of fir and the beauty of the scenery. He also opened a trade with the Indians, some of whom learned to speak a broken English, and were persuaded by him to visit England. The home-bound voyage was safely made, the vessels reaching Plymouth about the middle of June. This was the last of the

trial voyages made by English navigators preparatory to the actual establishment of an American colony.

In these movements, extending from the middle of the sixteenth to the first decade of the seventeenth century, the reader may easily discover the prevailing and ever-recurring features of English progress. It is the peculiarity of the race that it *does everything by tentative stages*. The epoch of which we speak was experimental. The English race seemed to touch and handle the coast of America as if to test its qualities and possibilities. The expeditions seemed to be characterized by timidity and caution. It were hard to discover any other reason than the fundamental character of English enterprise and method for the fact that the navigators of Britain were *so long* in getting a foothold in the New World. Spanish enterprise was marked with dash and boldness. True, there was in it much of the impractical, much of the Quixotical spirit. But the English mariners and first emigrants seemed *afraid* of the New World, though they longed to possess it. We shall see hereafter that when once the men who spoke English had obtained a footing in Virginia and New England they held it with a persistency equal to the caution which they had displayed in making their first settlements.

CHAPTER IV.

DIFFICULT is it to say precisely at what date the French sea captains first attempted to follow the pathway of Columbus and Cabot across the Atlantic. It is certain that the government of France was in a condition at the close of the fifteenth century to patronize and encourage such adventures as had given a New World to Castile and Leon. Certain it is also that not many years elapsed after the West Indies and mainland of the new continents were revealed to Europe before the French were abroad at sea, seeking to share in the treasures of discovery. France was very willing to profit by what the man of Genoa and the man of Venice had done for the world.

As early as 1504 the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany began to ply their craft on the banks of Newfoundland. A map of the Gulf of St. Lawrence was drawn by a Frenchman in the year 1506. Two years afterwards a French ship carried home for the astonishment of the Court of Louis XII. some of the American Indians, and in 1518 the project of colonizing the New World was formally taken up by Francis I. In 1523 the first voyage of discovery and exploration was planned and Giovanni Verrazzano, a native of Florence, was appointed to conduct the expedition. The particular thing to be accomplished was the discovery of the supposed northwest passage to Asia.

It was near the end of 1523 that Verrazzano left Dieppe, on the frigate *Dolphin*, to begin his voyage. He reached the Madeira Islands, but did not depart thence until January

of the following year. The weather was unfavorable, the sailing difficult, and it required fifty-five days of hard struggle against wind and wave to bring him to the American coast. This he reached in the latitude of Wilmington. Coasting thence northward, he discovered New York and Narragansett Bays. At intervals he made landings and opened traffic with the natives. The Indians were found to be gentle and confiding. A Frenchman who was washed ashore by the surf was treated by them with great kindness and was permitted to return to the ship.

On the coast of Rhode Island, perhaps in the vicinity of Newport, Verrazzano anchored for fifteen days and there continued his trade with the natives. Before leaving the place, however, the French sailors repaid the confidence of the Indians by kidnapping a child and attempting to steal away one of the maidens of the tribe. After this the expedition was continued along the broken line of New England for a great distance. The Indians in this part of the country were wary and suspicious. They would buy neither ornaments nor toys, but were eager to purchase knives and weapons of iron. Passing to the east of Nova Scotia, the bold navigator reached Newfoundland in the latter part of May, taking possession in the name of his king. On his return to Dieppe, in July of 1524, he wrote for Francis I. a rather rambling account of his discoveries. His work, however, was recognized by the sovereign, and the name of NEW FRANCE was given to that part of our continent the coast line of which had been traced by the adventurous crew of the *Dolphin*.

The condition of affairs in Europe at the close of the first quarter of the sixteenth century was unfavorable in the last degree for carrying forward the work of discovery and colonization abroad. The Reformation had broken out in Germany. Three great monarchs, Francis I. of France,

Henry VIII. of England and Charles V. of Spain and Germany, loomed up to a kingly stature that had not been hitherto attained since the days of Charlemagne. Mutual jealousy supervened among them. Each watched the other two with ill-concealed animosity and dread. On the whole, Francis I. and his government suffered most in the contest of cross-purposes which held all things in its meshes. Ten years elapsed after the discoveries and explorations of Verazzano before another expedition could be sent out from France. In 1534, however, Phillippe de Chabot, of Poitou, Admiral of the kingdom, selected Jacques, or James, Cartier, a sea captain of St. Malo, in Brittany, to make a new voyage to America. Two ships were equipped for the enterprise, and after no more than twenty days of sailing * under cloudless skies came to anchor on the 10th of May off the coast of Newfoundland. By the middle of July Cartier had circumnavigated the island, crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence and found the Bay of Chaleurs.

Like his predecessors, Cartier had expected to discover somewhere in those waters a passage westward to Asia. Disappointed in this hope, he changed his course to the north and followed the coast as far as Gaspé Bay. Here upon the point of land he set up the cross, bearing a shield with the lily of France, and proclaimed the French king monarch of the country. Following his explorations, he next entered the estuary and River St. Lawrence. Thinking it impracticable, however, to pass the winter in the New World, Cartier turned his prows toward France and in thirty days reached St. Malo in safety.

The news of this voyage and its results produced great

* So say all the authorities, but it is incredible that a rude ship of the early part of the sixteenth century should cross the Atlantic in twenty days. The Author suggests that the error in the calendar, then amounting to nine or ten days, should be added to the twenty of the books.

excitement. As had been the case in England, the young nobility of France became ambitious to seek fortune in the New World. Another squadron of three vessels was fitted out and many men of high rank joined the expedition. The sails were spread by zealous hands and on the 19th of May, 1535, the new voyage was begun. In this instance, however, stormy weather prevailed on the Atlantic and Newfoundland was not reached until the 10th of August. It was the day of St. Lawrence, and the name of that martyr was accordingly given to the gulf and river. The expedition proceeded up the noble stream to the island of Orleans, where the ships were moored in a place of safety.

Two Indians whom Cartier had taken with him to France now gave information that higher up the river there was an important town on an island called in the native tongue Hochelaga. Cartier proceeding in his boats found it as the natives had said. A beautiful village lay at the foot of a high hill in the middle of an island. Climbing to the top of the hill and viewing the scene, Cartier named the island and town Mont Real—a name which has been transmitted to history by the city of Montreal. The country was declared to belong “by the right of discovery” to the King of France, and then the boats dropped down the river to the ships. During the winter that ensued twenty-five of Cartier’s men were swept off by the scurvy, a malady hitherto unknown in Europe.

Other hardships came with the season. Snows and excessive cold prevailed for months together. Unaccustomed to the rigors of such terrible weather, the French sailors and colonists shrank from it, and their enthusiasm died out, so that with the coming of spring preparations were made to return to France. The cross and shield and lily were again planted in the soil of the New World and the homeward voyage began. But before the ships left their anchorage

the good king of the Hurons, who had treated Cartier and his men with great generosity, was enticed on shipboard and carried off to die a captive in the hands of the French. On the 6th of July the fleet reached St. Malo, but the accounts which Cartier was able to give of the new country and his experiences therein were such as to produce great discouragement. Neither silver nor gold had been found on the banks of the St. Lawrence. What was a New World good for that had not silver and gold?

After the return of Cartier there was another lull of five years. At length Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, in Picardy, revived the project of planting a colony beyond the Atlantic. Following this purpose, he received from the Court of France a commission to carry an expedition with emigrants to the country of the St. Lawrence. He was given the titles of Viceroy and Lieutenant-General of New France, and much other vainglorious ceremony attended his preparations. Roberval was wise enough to avail himself of the experience and abilities of his predecessor. Cartier was retained in the service and was induced to conduct the new expedition with the titles of Chief Pilot and Captain-General.

We here reach one of the astonishing circumstances which have recurred time and again in the founding of distant States. The promoters of such enterprises find difficulty in securing a sufficient number of emigrants. Hereupon the government comes to the rescue with the offer to discharge its criminal classes through the vent of the colonial enterprise. Roberval made but little headway in collecting his colony, and appealed to the court for aid. The government responded by opening the prisons of the kingdom and giving freedom to whoever would join the expedition. There was a rush of robbers, swindlers and murderers, and the lists were immediately filled. Only

counterfeiters and traitors were denied the privilege of gaining their liberty in the New World.

The equipment of the squadron was completed, and the emigrant colony made up—for the most part of criminals, and the refuse of French society. Five ships under the command of Cartier left France in May of 1541, and reached the St. Lawrence in safety. The expedition proceeded to the present site of Quebec, where a fort was erected and named Charlesbourg. Here the colonists passed the winter. There was, however, neither peace nor promise of good. Cartier, offended at his subordinate position, was evidently willing that the enterprise should come to naught. He and Roberval were never of one opinion, and when the latter, in June of 1542, arrived at Quebec, bringing immigrants and supplies, Cartier secretly got together his own part of the squadron and returned to Europe. Roberval found himself alone in New France with three shiploads of criminals, some of whom had to be whipped and others hanged.

During the autumn the viceroy, instead of laboring to establish his colony, spent his time in trying to discover the northwest passage. The winter was passed in gloom, despondency and suffering, and the following spring was welcomed by the colonists, for the opportunity which it gave them of returning to France. Thus the enterprise which had been undertaken with so much pomp came to naught. In 1549 Sir Francis de la Roque again gathered a large company of emigrants and renewed the project of colonization. The expedition departed under favorable omens, but the squadron was never heard of afterwards.

Such was the effect of these failures and such the weakness of French adventures that a half-century now elapsed before the effort to colonize America was renewed by the government. Private enterprise, however, and religious

persecution in the meantime worked together to accomplish in Florida and Carolina what the government of France had failed to accomplish on the St. Lawrence. For Protestantism had appeared in France, and had begun to suffer at the hands of the King and the Catholic Church. It was about the middle of the sixteenth century when the celebrated Gaspard de Coligni, leader of the French Huguenots, and now serving as Admiral of France, formed the design of establishing in America a refuge for his persecuted fellow-countrymen. It would appear that the King was at this period not unwilling that the Huguenots should escape from the country to foreign lands. In 1562 Coligni obtained from Charles IX. the privilege of planting a French Protestant colony in the New World. John Ribault, of Dieppe, a brave and experienced captain, was selected to lead the Huguenots to the land of promise.

A company of the exiles was soon collected. The squadron sailed away and reached the coast of Florida in safety. The River St. Johns was entered by the French, and named the River of May. The fleet then sailed northward to the entrance of Port Royal. The colonists were landed on an island, where a stone engraved with the arms of their native land was set up to mark the place. A fort was built and in honor of Charles IX. was named CAROLINA. Here Ribault left a garrison of twenty-six men and returned to France for additional emigrants and supplies. Civil war, however, was now raging in the kingdom, and it was found impossible to procure the needed stores or other emigrants. Meanwhile the men left in America became mutinous with long waiting, killed their leader, constructed a rude brig and put to sea. For a long time they were driven at the mercy of the winds and waves, but were at last picked up, half starved, by an English ship and were carried back to France.

Admiral Coligni, however, resolved to prosecute his enterprise. He planned a second colony and appointed as its leader Rene de Laudonniere. But the character of the second company of emigrants was bad. The event showed that they were for the most part abandoned men, idle and improvident. The leader on reaching the American coast avoided the harbor of Port Royal, and chose the River St. Johns for the proposed colony. Here he built a fort, but the immigrants—the larger part—as soon as opportunity offered and acting under the pretense of an escape from famine, contrived to get possession of two of the ships and sailed away. Instead of returning to France, however, they took to piracy until they were caught, brought back and hanged. The rest of the settlers were on the eve of breaking up the colony when Ribault, who had commanded the first expedition, arrived from France with a cargo of supplies. It was at this juncture that the Spaniard, Melendez, discovering the whereabouts of the Huguenots and regarding them as intruders in the territory of Spain, fell upon and destroyed the entire company.

The news of this atrocity created great sorrow and indignation among the Huguenots of France. Dominic de Gourges, a soldier of Gascony, prepared to avenge the death of his countrymen. He planned an expedition against the Spanish settlements in Florida and soon came down upon them with signal vengeance. His squadron was fitted at his own expense. With three ships and only fifty seamen he arrived in midwinter on the coast of Florida. With this handful he surprised successively the three forts on the River St. Johns and made prisoners of the garrisons. Then when he was unable to hold his position any longer he condemned and hanged his leading captives to the branches of trees, putting up this inscription to explain what he had done: "Not Spaniards, but murderers."

The sixteenth century drew to a close. It was not until 1598 that the attention of the French government was once more directed to the claims which the early navigators had established to portions of the American coast. In this year the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of influence and distinction, took up the cause and obtained a commission authorizing him to found an empire in the New World. Unfortunately the colony was again to be made up by opening the prisons and granting immunity to such of the inmates as would emigrate. The expedition soon reached Nova Scotia and anchored at Sable Island, a place of desolation and gloom. Here the Marquis left forty men to found the colony while he himself returned to France for a cargo of supplies. Soon after his arrival at home he died, and for seven dreary years the new French empire, composed of forty convicts, languished on Sable Island. At last they were mercifully picked up by passing ships and carried back to France. It was reckoned by the authorities that the punishment of the poor wretches had been sufficient and they were never remanded to prison.

At last, however, the time came when a permanent French colony should be established in America. In the year 1603 the government of France granted the sovereignty of the country from the latitude of Philadelphia to one degree north of Montreal to the French Count, Pierre du Guast, commonly known as De Monts. He received from the King a patent giving him a monopoly of the fur trade in the new country and conceding religious freedom for Huguenot immigrants.

In March of the following year De Monts sailed from France with two shiploads of colonists and reached the Bay of Fundy. The summer was spent in explorations and in trade with the Indians. At length Poutrincourt, captain of one of the ships, having discovered on the northwest coast

of Nova Scotia an excellent harbor, obtained a grant of the lands adjacent and went ashore to plant a colony. The viceroy, with the remainder, crossed the bay and built a rude fort at the mouth of the River St. Croix. But in the following spring this place was abandoned and a company returned to the settlement of Poutrincourt. Here on the 14th of November, 1605, the foundations of the first permanent French settlement in America were laid. The name of PORT ROYAL was given to the ford and harbor and the country was called ARCADIA.

Now it was that the famous Samuel Champlain appeared on the scene. Already he had justly earned the reputation of being one of the most soldierly men of his times. As early as 1603 he had been commissioned by a company of Rouen merchants to explore the country of the St. Lawrence and establish a trading-post. The discovery had at last been made that the abundant furs of these regions were a surer source of riches than impossible mines of gold and silver.

The expedition of Champlain reached the St. Lawrence in safety, and the spot on which Quebec now stands was chosen as the site for a fort. In the autumn the leader returned to France and published a favorable account of his enterprise. It was not for five years, however,—namely, in 1608,—that Champlain succeeded in returning to America. On the 3d of July in that year the foundations of Quebec were laid. In 1609 the leader and two other French adventurers joined a company of the Hurons, then at war with the Iroquois of New York. On this expedition Champlain ascended the Sorel River until he discovered the narrow lake which has ever since borne his name.

For three or four years the settlement at Quebec languished; but in 1612 the Protestant party in France came into power and Champlain was enabled by the favor of the

great Condé, Protector of the Protestants, to prosecute his American enterprise. For the third time he returned to New France bringing with him a company of Franciscan friars to preach to the Indians. They and the Huguenots quarreled not a little and Champlain a second time joined the Indians. His company was defeated in battle and he himself, seriously wounded, was obliged to remain all winter among the Hurons. In the summer of 1617 he returned to the colony. Three years afterwards the foundation of the fortress of St. Louis was laid, and in 1624 the structure was completed—a circumstance which secured the permanence of the French settlements in the valley of the St. Lawrence.

We have now followed with some care the lines of English exploration and French adventure down to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Let us in the next place note the efforts made by the people of Holland to gain a footing in the New World. The first Dutch settlement in America was made on Manhattan Island. The story of the planting introduces to us one of the most remarkable men who left a name and impress on the primitive history of our country. This was no other than the illustrious Henry, or Hendrik, Hudson. By birth this great navigator was an Englishman. The year 1607 found him in the employ of a company of London merchants, by whom he was commissioned to traverse the North Atlantic and discover a route either eastward or westward to the Indies.

On his first voyage, made in a single ship, Hudson endeavored to circumnavigate Europe to the north. He succeeded in reaching the island of Spitzbergen, but was there obliged by the rigor of the seas, filled as they were with icebergs, to return to England. In the next year he renewed the voyage, but was unable to find the northeastern passage. His courage, however, would not brook defeat, and when his employers declined to furnish the means for

further explorations he went to Holland and succeeded in finding in Amsterdam the patronage which had been denied him in his own country.

At this time there existed at Amsterdam a powerful commercial corporation known as the Dutch East India Company. Before the officers of this association Sir Henry appeared, and from them soon obtained assistance. He was given a small ship called the *Half-Moon* and was directed to prosecute his search for an all-water route to the Indies. In April of 1609 he sailed on his third voyage into the seas north of Europe. He passed the capes of Norway, reached the seventy-second parallel of latitude, turned eastward, gained the frozen passage between Lapland and Nova Zembla, but was there turned back by the icebergs. Perceiving that it was impossible to beat his way to the east through these inhospitable waters, he turned his prow to the west, determining if possible to find somewhere on the American coast an open channel by which he might reach first the Pacific and afterwards the shores of Asia.

It was the month of July, 1609, when Sir Henry reached Newfoundland. Repairing his ship he sailed southward, touched Cape Cod, and by the middle of August came to the Chesapeake. Still the northwest passage was not found. Turning to the north, Hudson began to examine the coast more closely than any of his predecessors had done. On the 28th of the month he entered and explored Delaware Bay. He next traced the coast line to New Jersey, and on the 3d of September the *Half-Moon* found a safe anchorage within Sandy Hook. Two days afterwards a landing was made; the Indians came in great numbers to the scene, bringing their gifts of wild fruits, corn and oysters. New York harbor was explored, and on the 10th of the month the *Half-Moon* entered the noble river which has ever since borne the name of Hudson.

For eight days the *Half-Moon* ascended the stream. On either hand were magnificent forests, beautiful hills, palisades, fertile valleys between, planted with Indian corn, and mountains rising in the distance. On the 19th the ship was moored at the place afterwards called Kinderhook. Hudson and a part of the crew proceeded in the boats as far as the site of Albany. The up-river exploration continued for several days, when the party returned to the *Half-Moon*, the vessel dropped down stream, and on the 4th of October sailed for Holland. On the home-bound voyage Hudson, not unwilling that his former employers should know of his great discoveries, put in at Dartmouth, where the ship was detained by orders of King James and the crew claimed as Englishmen. Hudson was obliged to content himself with sending to Amsterdam an account of his great discoveries and his enforced detention in England.

The sequel showed that Sir Henry was not greatly discomposed by his captivity. The English merchants came forward with alacrity, furnishing the money for another expedition. A ship called the *Discovery* was given to Hudson, and in the summer of 1610 he again sailed for the West. The vision of the Indies was before his imagination, but he was destined never to see the land of gems and spices or to return to his own country.

It had now been determined by actual exploration that no northwest passage existed between Florida and Maine. The whole coast had been minutely traced and no inlets found except bays and the estuaries of rivers. Therefore the coveted passage must be found far to the north between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Greenland. Sir Henry now followed the track of Frobisher, and on the 2d of August reached the strait which was henceforth to bear the name of Hudson. No ship had ever before entered these waters. At the entrance the way was barred with many islands; but further

to the west the bay seemed to open, the ocean widened to right and left, and the route to Cathay was at last revealed ! So believed the great captain and his crew ; but further to the west the inhospitable shores were seen to narrow again on the more inhospitable sea, and Hudson found himself surrounded with the terrors of winter in the frozen gulf of the north.

He bore up against the hardships of his situation until his provisions were almost exhausted. Spring was at hand and the day of escape had well-nigh arrived when the crew broke out in mutiny. They seized Sir Henry and his only son with seven others who had remained faithful to the commander, threw them into an open boat and cast them off among the icebergs. Nothing further was ever heard of the illustrious mariner who had contributed so largely to the geographical knowledge of his times and made possible the establishment of still another nationality in the New World.

Meanwhile, in 1610, the *Half-Moon* was liberated at Dartmouth and returned to Amsterdam. The Dutch merchants reached out eagerly to avail themselves of the discoveries made by Hudson. Ships were at once sent out to engage in the fur trade on the banks of the river which that mariner had discovered. This traffic was profitable in the highest degree and one voyage followed another. In 1614 the States-General of Holland passed an act granting to the merchants of Amsterdam exclusive rights of trade and establishment within the limits of the country explored by Sir Henry Hudson. Under this commission a squadron of five trading vessels soon arrived at Manhattan Island. Here some rude huts had already been built by former traders ; but now a fort for the defense of the place was erected, and the name of NEW AMSTERDAM was given to the settlement.

In this same summer of 1614 Captain Adrian Block, com-

manding one of the trading ships, made his way through East River into Long Island Sound. Thence he explored the coast as far as Narragansett Bay and even to Cape Cod. Meanwhile Cornelius May, captain of the *Fortune*, sailed southward along the coast as far as Delaware Bay. Upon these various voyages Holland set up her uncertain claim to the country which was now named NEW NETHERLANDS, extending from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod.

CHAPTER V.

WHILE the colonial enterprises of the Spaniards foreran those of the English by more than half a century in time, the latter people were finally more successful than their rivals in the work of colonizing the new continent. They were also more fortunate—if fortune is a part of history. For they obtained possession, as if by auspicious accident, of the better parts of the New World. They struck the eastern shores of America in the latitude of its broadest and most favorable belt. The circumstances of settlement also, though by no means attended with the pomp and patronage that followed the enterprises of France and Spain, were nevertheless of a kind to foretoken permanence, development and empire.

We shall here note in brief paragraphs the leading features of the colonization of Virginia and Massachusetts. The beginning of the seventeenth century brought in a condition of affairs more favorable than hitherto to the planting of English settlements in North America. At the very beginning of his reign the attention of King James I. was turned to the project of colonizing his American possessions. On the 10th of April, 1606, he issued two great patents to men of his kingdom authorizing them to possess and colonize that portion of North America lying between the 34th and 45th parallels of latitude.

Geographically, the great territory thus granted extended from Cape Fear River to Passamaquoddy Bay, and westward to the Pacific. The first patent was directed to cer-

tain nobles, gentlemen and merchants residing in London. The corporation was called the London Company and had for its bottom motives colonization and commerce. The second patent was granted to a like body of men which had been organized at Plymouth, in Southwestern England, and was known as the Plymouth Company. In the division of territory between the two corporations the country between the 34th and 38th parallels was assigned to the London Company, that between the 41st and 45th parallels to the Plymouth Company, and the narrow belt of three degrees between the two to each corporation equally, but under the restriction that no settlement of one party should be made within less than one hundred miles of the nearest settlement of the other.

The leader in organizing the London Company was Bartholomew Gosnold. His principal associates were Edward Wingfield, a rich merchant; Robert Hunt, a clergyman; and Captain John Smith, a man of genius. Others who aided the enterprise were Sir John Popham, Chief-Justice of England; Richard Hakluyt, a historian; and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a distinguished nobleman.

As to the government of the proposed colony, the royal prerogative was carefully guarded. There was to be a Superior Council resident in England. The members of this body were to be chosen by the King and might be removed at his pleasure. An Inferior Council residing in the colony was provided for; but the members of this body were also to be selected by the royal authority and might be removed at the pleasure of the King. All the elements of government were virtually reserved and vested in the monarch. Paternalism was carried to the extreme in one of the restrictions which required that all the property of the colonists should be held in common for the first five years after organization. The emigrants, however, were

avored in one particular, and that was in the concession that they should retain in the New World all the personal and social rights and privileges of Englishmen.

As early as August, 1606, the Plymouth Company sent out their first ship to America. This vessel, however, was captured by a Spanish man-of-war. Later in the year another ship was dispatched by the company and spent the winter on the American coast. In the following summer a colony of a hundred persons was gathered and carried safely to the mouth of the River Kennebec, where a settlement was planted under favorable omens. A fort was built and named St. George. For a while affairs went well with the settlers. Later in the season about one-half of the company returned to England; a dreadful winter set in; the storehouse was burned; some of the settlers were starved, some frozen; and with the coming of the next summer the miserable remnant escaped to England.

The efforts of the London Company were attended with greater success. A squadron of three vessels was fitted out under command of Christopher Newport. A colony of a hundred and five members was collected on board, and on the 9th of December, 1606, the ship set sail for the New World. The principal men of the company were Winfield, Smith and Newport. The expedition followed the old line of sailing, by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, and did not reach the American coast until April of the following year. The leaders of the colony had steered the fleet for Roanoke Island; but a storm prevailed and the ships were borne northward into the Chesapeake Bay.

On the southern shore of this broad water the pilots soon found the mouth of a beautiful river which was named in honor of King James. Proceeding up this stream about fifty miles, Newport chose a peninsula on the northern bank as the site of his settlement. Here the colonists were de-

barked and the ships were moored by the shore. On the 13th of May (old style), 1607, were laid at this place the foundations of Jamestown, the oldest English settlement in America. It was within a month of a hundred and ten years after the discovery of the continent by the elder Cabot. So long had it taken in an age of war and doubt and semi-darkness and unprogressive conditions to possess the first square mile of that vast and virgin New World which had been revealed by the adventurers of Spain and England in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Nearly forty-two years had elapsed since the founding of St. Augustine by the Spaniards and twenty-five years from the planting of Santa Fé by Antonio de Espago.

In this way did the London Company anticipate its rival in establishing an American plantation. For several years the Plymouth Company made little progress. Meanwhile personal genius contributed not a little to the prospects of England in America. Captain John Smith, who had shown himself to be the leading spirit of the Virginia settlement, had been wounded by an accident and had returned in 1609 to England. No discouragement could daunt the spirit of such a man, and on recovering his health he formed a partnership with four merchants of London with a view to engaging in the fur trade and the work of colonization within the limits of the grant made three years previously to the Plymouth Company.

Two ships were accordingly equipped under command of Captain Smith. The summer of 1614 he spent on the lower coast of Maine, carrying on a profitable trade with the Indians. The crews were well satisfied with their gains and with the profitable pleasures of fishing. Captain Smith, however, engaged his energies in the work of exploration. He traced the whole coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod and drew a map of the country which is still extant

and is a marvel of accuracy and careful work. In this map the name of NEW ENGLAND was written as the title of the country—a name which Prince Charles confirmed and which history has well preserved for posterity.

At this juncture we touch the story of the English Puritans. This body of religionists had suffered much in England and many had exiled themselves into Holland. Though not subject to further persecutions they were nevertheless ill at ease in the land of their banishment. They were Englishmen; the unfamiliar tongue of the Dutch grated harshly on their ears, and they pined for some other land where they might be secure from molestation and found for themselves a new State in the wilderness.

With a view to promoting this vague project John Carver and Robert Cushman were dispatched from Leyden to England to act as commissioners for the Puritans before the King and his ministers. The agents of the London Company and the Council of Plymouth gave some encouragement to the petitioners, but the King and the ministry, especially Lord Bacon, set their faces against all measures which might seem to favor heretics. The most that King James would do was to give an informal promise that he would *let the Puritans alone in America*.

Such was the poor report which Carver and Cushman were able to bear back to Holland. But the exiles were not easily put from their purpose. They resolved of their own motion to seek a new home in the wilds of America. With the King's permission or without it they would go and plant a new State in the Western wilderness. They accordingly, by sacrifice and contribution, provided two vessels, the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*, for their voyage across the Atlantic. The *Speedwell* was to carry the emigrants from Leyden to Southampton, where they were to be joined by the *Mayflower* with another company from London.

The Puritan congregation in Leyden followed the emigrants to the shore. There under the open heaven their pastor, John Robinson, gave them a parting address and benediction. Both vessels with the Pilgrims on board came safely to Southampton, where the expedition was reorganized. On the 5th of August the two ships put to sea; but the *Speedwell* was found to be unfit for the voyage and was obliged to put back to Plymouth. The more zealous of the emigrants collected on board the *Mayflower*, and on the 6th of September the first colony of New England, numbering a hundred and two souls, saw the shores of Old England grow dim and sink behind the sea.

The *Mayflower* had a stormy voyage of sixty-three days' duration. The vessel was carried out of its course and the first land sighted was the bleak Cape Cod. On the 9th of November the ship came to anchor in Cape Cod Bay; a meeting was held on board and a compact adopted for the government of the colony. The emigrants declared their loyalty to the English crown and covenanted to live together in peace and harmony, conceding equal rights to all and obeying just laws made for the common good. The compact was signed by all and John Carver was chosen governor of the colony.

For some days the *Mayflower* lay at anchor while the boats were repaired and other preparations made for debarkation. Miles Standish, the great soldier of the company, went ashore with a few of the braver of the colonists and made explorations through the dreary country, but found nothing of value or interest. Storms of snow and sleet beat upon the company until their clothes were converted into coats-of-mail. The ship was steered around the coast until it was driven, half by accident and half by the skill of the pilot, into the safe haven on the west side of the bay. Here, on Monday, the 11th of December (old

style), 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers of New England landed on Plymouth Rock.

Before the Puritans was desolation ; behind them a stormy sea. It was midwinter. The sleet and snow blew upon them in alternate tempests. The houseless immigrants fell a-dying of hunger, cold and despair. A few days were spent in explorations along the coast ; a site was chosen near the first landing ; trees were felled and the snowdrifts cleared away. On the 9th of January, 1621, the heroic toilers began to build New Plymouth. Each man took on himself the work of making his own house ; but the ravages of disease grew daily worse. Strong arms fell powerless ; lung fevers and consumption wasted every family. At one time only seven men were able to work on the sheds which were building for shelter from the rigors of winter, while their provisions were so completely exhausted that starvation was only avoided by the doling out of a few kernels of corn to the famishing women and children. To such a desperate extremity were they reduced for a while that five kernels of the little store of corn that was between them and fatal famine was the allowance three times a day for each member. If an early spring had not come with its sunshine and bird-song and gladness the colony must have perished to a man. Such were the privations and griefs of that memorable event by which New England began to be.

We are thus at the close of the first quarter of the seventeenth century enabled to view the general situation on the eastern shores of our continent. The French had obtained a footing in Nova Scotia and on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The English had colonized the country of Massachusetts Bay. The Dutch had established themselves on Manhattan Island and in detached settlements along the Hudson and the Delaware. In the country of the

Chesapeake the colony of Jamestown was so well founded as to remove all doubt of its permanency. In Florida the Spaniards had succeeded in planting at St. Augustine and several other places successful and promising settlements. It was clear to the discerning eye of reason and prophecy that the white race had fixed itself along the western shores of the Atlantic in situations which were to become the centers of a civilization to which the New World had hitherto been a stranger. We may now properly note in a few paragraphs the spread and development of the European colonies on our shores.

One of the earliest of these was the colony of CONNECTICUT. The history of the settlement of this province begins with the year 1630. In that year the Council of Plymouth, which had in the meantime superseded the Plymouth Company, made a grant of American territory to the Earl of Warwick. In the following year the claim was assigned by Warwick to Lord Say-and-Seal, Lord Brooke, John Hampden and others. Before this company was able to avail itself of the grant some of the Dutch settlers from Manhattan reached the Connecticut River and built on the after site of Hartford a rude fortress which they called the House of Good Hope.

Hearing of this intrusion the people of the Plymouth colony, who claimed the valley of the Connecticut, sent out a force to expel their rivals. The English of New Plymouth indeed carried their territorial claim westward indefinitely, extending the same beyond the Connecticut and the Hudson and covering the Dutch settlements of New Netherland. The English expedition from Plymouth entered the Connecticut River, passed the House of Good Hope, defied the Dutch, and about seven miles up the stream built a block-house which they called Windsor.

Not satisfied with this occupation, the people of Boston,

in 1635, sent out a colony of sixty persons to occupy the Connecticut valley. Settlements were made by these at Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield. In the same year John Winthrop, Jr., arrived in New England bearing from the proprietaries of the western colony a commission to fortify the mouth of the Connecticut and to expel the Dutch from that region. A fort was built at the entrance to the river which was the founding of Saybrook, so named in honor of the proprietaries Lord Say and Lord Brooke. These noblemen, in accordance with their grant, had chosen the country of the Connecticut as the scene of their colonization. In this manner the most important river of New England was brought under the control of the Puritans. The colony of Connecticut was established and a new vantage gained for the further spread of settlements.

The founding of RHODE ISLAND was the work of the celebrated Roger Williams, a young minister of Salem village, north of Massachusetts Bay.

No man in the history of New England deserves a brighter or more enduring fame, not more for what he did in the founding of a successful colony than for the exertion of his influence with Indians whose friendship he had won, by which he several times saved the whites from massacre. His sense of justice was very like that which distinguished Penn, and it was this character that endeared him to the Indians. The Narragansetts and Pequods were hereditary enemies, but through the persuasion of Williams they became reconciled and likewise made a treaty of friendship with the English. But this compact which seemed propitious of perpetual peace soon became a source of danger, for being relieved of their hereditary foes, the Narragansetts, the Pequods, whose hatred for the English was irreconcilable, violated their treaty and perpetrated several outrages which, however, were speedily avenged by the

militia. Finding themselves unequal to the English, the Pequods sought an alliance with the Narragansetts and Mohegans, whom they persuaded to join them in an extermination of the whites. The situation thus became critical in the extreme, and the purpose of the alliance was only defeated through the efforts of Williams, who, first notifying Sir Henry Vane, governor of Massachusetts, of the peril, went alone to the camp of the Narragansetts, and in the tent of Canonicus he found that chief in council with several notable Pequods. For two days he pleaded with Canonicus to withdraw from the alliance and stand steadfast to his vows of peace with the whites, and at length had the intense satisfaction of receiving that chief's promise to renounce his murderous purpose. Being thus bereft of their allies, the Pequods were easily vanquished by the English militia, who, attacking them suddenly, burned their fort and destroyed all but seven of their warriors.

The principles of social and political organization, as well as of religious belief, which Williams adopted were the most liberal and tolerant which had been proclaimed among men since the beginning of the modern era. He assumed that the conscience of the individual could not be bound by the magistrate or the civil government; that the government had to do only with the collection of taxes, the restraint of law-breakers, the punishment of crime and the protection of all in the enjoyment of equal rights.

Such utterances as these, however, could not be borne by the narrow-minded religionists who had colonized New England. So long had the oppressive forces of society and the abuses of ecclesiasticism borne upon the Puritans that against the dictates of their better natures they had become as wickedly and perniciously intolerant as were the persecutors from whom they had escaped in England and Holland. Roger Williams was arraigned for his doctrines

and expelled from Plymouth colony. His teachings were declared to be heretical, destructive of the interests of society and inimical to the best interests of men. He was driven away in the dead of winter, and was obliged for fourteen weeks to save himself from the snows and inclemency of the season by sleeping in hollow trees and subsisting on parched corn, acorns and roots. He went among the Indians whose rights he had defended, and was entertained by Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, at his cabin at Pokanoket; also by Canonicus, king of the Narragansetts.

The exile at last made his way to the bank of the Blackstone River, near Narragansett Bay, where with the opening of spring he planted a field and built the first rude house in the village of Seekonk. It was soon found, however, that he was still within the territory of Plymouth colony. Meanwhile five companions from Salem and Boston had joined him in his banishment, and with these he left his house, and crossing to the west side of the bay, purchased a new tract of land from Canonicus. Here, in June of 1636, he and his followers laid out the city of Providence, and thus became the fathers of Rhode Island.

Already a settlement had been effected in the territory of NEW HAMPSHIRE. In 1622 the country between the Rivers Merrimac and Kennebec, reaching from the sea to the St. Lawrence, was granted by the Council of Plymouth to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason. The proprietaries made haste to secure their rights by planting a colony. In the spring of 1623 two small companies of emigrants were sent out by Mason and Gorges to hold their province. Already a score of years previously New Hampshire had been visited by Martin Pring; and the adventurous Captain Smith, in 1614, had explored and mapped the coast.

After the settlement at Plymouth the plantations on the

Merrimac were the oldest in all New England. The progress of the colony, however, was slow. The first villages were no more than fishing stations. After six years the proprietaries divided their dominion between them, Gorges taking the northern and Mason the southern portion of the province. The minister, John Wheelwright, came into New Hampshire and purchased the rights of the natives to the territory occupied by Mason's colony. A second patent was issued to the proprietary, and the name of the province was changed from Laconia to New Hampshire.

In the meantime the same kind of expansion was taking place from the parent colony in Virginia. As early as 1621 William Clayborne, a resolute English surveyor, was sent out by the London Company to make a map of the country of the Chesapeake. The territory of Virginia had by the terms of the second charter been extended on the north to the forty-first parallel of latitude. This included the present States of Maryland and Delaware and a great part of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The ambitions of the London Company were inflamed with the possession of so vast and beautiful a territory, and they put forth laudable efforts to explore and occupy it before it should be sought and seized by rival colonists.

Clayborne was himself a member of the Council for Virginia, and was Secretary of State in that colony. In 1631 he was sent out as a royal commissioner to discover the sources of the Chesapeake, to establish a trade with the Indians and exercise the right of governor over his companions and any settlement that he might form. His enterprise was attended with success. He first planted a trading-post on Kent Island and another at the head of the bay in the vicinity of Havre de Grace. The rivers that fall into the Chesapeake were explored and traffic established with the natives. It seemed for the time that the territory

of Virginia was about to be extended to the borders of New Netherland.

In the meantime, however, other historical forces had been set in operation by which the intended character of the central American colonies was permanently changed. The religious struggles and persecutions which since the beginning of the Reformation had been prevalent in the Old World became the efficient causes of the planting of a new colony on the north of Virginia, and the limitation of her territories in that direction. The personal agent through whose instrumentality this work was to be accomplished was Sir George Calvert, of Yorkshire. This distinguished nobleman, whose name is indissolubly associated with the colonial history of the United States, was educated at Oxford. He had devoted much time to travel and study. He was an ardent and consistent Catholic, a friend of humanity, honored with knighthood and a member of the Irish peerage, with the title of Lord Baltimore.

In Protestant England the tables had been turned by the Reformed party on the Catholics, and the latter suffered not a little through the malevolence and injustice of the former. The dominant Church of England persecuted both the Catholics and the dissenting Protestants, following them with hatred and violence even to foreign lands. It was this condition of affairs that first suggested to Lord Baltimore the planting of a Catholic colony in Newfoundland. He secured from King James a patent for the southern part of the island, and there, in 1623, established a refuge for the distressed people of his faith.

In such a situation, however, no colony could thrive. The country was cheerless and desolate. Profitable industry was impossible. Only the fishing interest invited to enterprise and trade. Besides, the ships of France hovered around the coasts and captured the English fishing-boats.

Lord Baltimore became convinced that his countrymen must be removed to a more favorable situation, and in selecting, his attention was turned to the genial country of the Chesapeake. In 1629 he went in person to Virginia and was favorably received by the Assembly. That body, however, in offering him citizenship required an oath to which no honest Catholic could subscribe. Sir George pleaded for toleration; but the Assembly would not yield and Lord Baltimore was obliged to turn away.

In the meantime the London Company had been dissolved and the King of England had recovered whatever rights and privileges he had formerly conceded to that corporation. It was therefore within his power to re-grant the vast territory north of the River Potomac, which by the terms of the second charter had been conceded to Virginia. When the Assembly refused toleration to Baltimore, he turned from that body and appealed to the King for a charter for himself and his colony. King Charles I. heard the petition with favor and the charter was drawn and received the royal signature. The Virginians, by their intolerance, had saved their religion and lost a province.

The territory granted to Sir George Calvert was ample. It extended, after the phraseology of the times, from ocean to ocean. The boundary on the north was the 40th parallel. On the west the limit was to be a line drawn due south from the 40th parallel to the westernmost fountain of the Potomac. That river was to constitute the southern boundary. A glance at the map will show that the original grant included the present States of Maryland and Delaware, besides a large part of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

On the whole the charter issued to Sir George Calvert was the most liberal of any which the English kings had thus far granted to their subjects. Christianity was declared to be the religion of the State, but no preference was

given to sect or creed. The lives and property of the colonists were put under the careful protection of English law. Free trade was declared as the policy of the province, and arbitrary taxation was forbidden. The appointment of the officers of the colonial government was conceded to the lord proprietary and the right of making and amending the laws to a popular assembly.

While engaged in this benevolent work Sir George Calvert died and his estates and titles descended to his son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore. He, however, received the charter which had been intended for his father. In honor of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV., of France, and wife of King Charles, the name of Maryland was conferred on the new province. Its independence was guaranteed by the royal constitution, and it only remained for Sir Cecil to carry out his father's purposes of planting a free State in the New World. Some time, however, was consumed in gathering a colony, and it was not until 1633 that a company of two hundred persons was collected for the voyage. Lord Baltimore had by this time changed his mind with respect to conducting the enterprise in person. Instead of accompanying his colony he appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, to act as deputy-governor, and sent him forth to plant the new American State.

It was in March of 1634 that the Catholic immigrants arrived at Old Point Comfort. Calvert bore a letter from the King charging Governor Harvey, of Virginia, to receive the new-comers with courtesy and favor. The governor was obliged to obey; but the Virginians were inflamed with jealousy at the success of an enterprise which they could but perceive would deprive them of the profitable fur trade of the upper Chesapeake.

Sailing up the bay, Leonard Calvert and his colony entered the Potomac. After some explorations they selected

the country at the mouth of the St. Mary's as the site of their settlement. Here the colonists took possession of a half-abandoned Indian town, purchased the surrounding territory, set up a cross as the sign of Catholic occupation and gave the name of St. Mary's to this the oldest colony of Maryland. It was thus that by strange vicissitude a company of Catholic immigrants was established in the midst of Protestant dissenters on the American coast. While the Huguenots had been driven into exile by the persecutions of the Mother Church and had sought refuge in New France, the very same kind of proscription and religious vindictiveness thrust forth from Protestant England the Catholic fathers of Maryland.

We may now glance at the work of colonization in the country south of Virginia. The year 1630 witnessed the first effort to plant a settlement in the region below the territorial limits of the London Company. In that year the territory between the 30th and 36th parallels of latitude was granted by the King to Sir Robert Heath. This nobleman, however, did not succeed in organizing a colony. His successor, Lord Maltravers, was equally unsuccessful. The patent continued in force for thirty-three years and was then revoked by the royal authority. Almost the only historical result of the issuance of Sir Robert's charter was the preservation of the name of Carolina which had been given by the Huguenots to the country of their choice.

Before the time of which we speak, namely, in 1622, the coast of the southern territory was explored by Pory, secretary of Virginia. In 1642 a company of Virginian adventurers obtained leave of the Assembly to prosecute discovery on the lower Roanoke and open a trade with the Indians. The first actual settlement made in this region was at the mouth of the River Chowan in the year 1651. Soon afterwards William Clayborne, of Maryland, made

explorations along this part of the coast. In 1661 a company of New England Puritans entered the Cape Fear River, purchased lands of the natives and established a colony on Oldtown Creek, nearly two hundred miles further south than any other English settlement. In 1663 Lord Clarendon, General Monk—now honored with the title of Duke of Albemarle—and six other noblemen received from King Charles II. a patent for all the country between the 36th parallel and the River St. Johns, in Florida. With this grant the colonial history of NORTH CAROLINA properly begins.

The settlement at the mouth of the River Chowan flourished. William Drummond was chosen governor in 1663 and the settlement was named the Albemarle County Colony. Two years afterwards it was discovered that the settlement was north of the 36th parallel and therefore beyond the limits of the grant to Clarendon and Monk. To remedy this the northern boundary of Carolina was fixed at thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes—a line which has ever since remained as the southern limit of the parent American colony. The Puritan settlement on Cape Fear River was broken up by hostile Indians; but soon afterwards a territory including the site, with thirty-two miles square of the surrounding country, was purchased by certain planters from Barbadoes. A new county called Clarendon County was laid out and Sir John Yeamans was appointed governor. This adventure prospered greatly; new immigrants eagerly sought the settlement, and within a year the colony numbered eight hundred souls.

Several years elapsed, however, before branch settlements were thrown off to the south. It was not until 1670 that a company made its way into the county of SOUTH CAROLINA and there laid the foundations of a new State. The colony was enlisted for the most part from England. The leaders were Joseph West and William Sayle. At the date of the

projection of the enterprise there was not a European settlement between Cape Fear River and the St. Johns, in Florida. The country, however, was one of the most attractive of the whole American coast. The new colony came by way of Barbadoes, steered far to the south and reached the mainland near the mouth of the Savannah. The vessels entered the harbor of Port Royal. A hundred and eight years had elapsed since John Ribault, leader of the Huguenots, had set up on the island in this same harbor a rude stone memorial bearing the lilies and emblems of France. But France had failed to colonize the country of her discovery and now the Englishman had come.

After some explorations through the country the new colony entered the Ashley River, and going on shore laid the foundations of Old Charleston, so named in honor of the English King. Of this, the first settlement of South Carolina, no trace remains except the line of a ditch which was dug around the ancient fort. But the colony was planted and became the nucleus of another American commonwealth.

Following the order of settlement, we next come to the planting of NEW JERSEY. This province has an early history closely linked with that of New Netherland. The first settlement was that of Elizabethtown, in 1664. As early as 1618 a trading station had been fixed at Bergen, west of the Hudson. But forty years passed before a permanent settlement was made at that place. In 1623 Fort Nassau was built, where Timber Creek falls into the Delaware. This was the work of Cornelius May and his companions. But these adventurers abandoned their outpost and returned to New Amsterdam. In 1629 the southern part of New Jersey was granted to two Dutch patrons named Godyn and Blomaert, but the proprietaries made no attempt at settlement.

Many years went by before the colonization of this part

of the country was again undertaken. At length, in 1651, Augustine Herman purchased a considerable district in Jersey, including the site of Elizabethtown. Seven years later the grant was enlarged so as to take in the trading-post of Bergen. In 1663 a company of Puritans about to emigrate from Long Island obtained permission of Governor Stuyvesant to occupy the lands on the Raritan, but before their purpose could be carried out the Dutch government was overthrown by the English.

The English crown had never recognized the claims of the Dutch to the country of New Amsterdam. It had only been a question of time when violence would be used to extend the claim of England over the whole region occupied by the immigrants from Holland. King Charles II. at length took up the question, and in 1664 made a grant of New Netherland and the whole country as far south as the Delaware to his brother the Duke of York. The latter in turn granted the province between the Hudson and the Delaware to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. These were the same noblemen who were already proprietaries of Carolina. They had adhered to the King's cause during the civil war in England, and had now come into their reward. Their friend Charles II. added to their former possessions a second American province of great extent and promise. As soon as the authority of the Dutch was overthrown in New Netherland—as soon as the English governor Nicolls had taken the place of Peter Stuyvesant—a company of Puritans made application to the governor for the privilege of occupying the lands on Newark Bay. This was granted; the Indian titles were purchased by the colonists, and in October of 1664 Elizabethtown, the oldest settlement in New Jersey, was founded and named in honor of the Lady Carteret.

The grants made by the English kings at the beginning

of our civil history frequently overlapped one another, the second superseding the first or contradicting its provisions. Governor Nicolls of New York had been recognized by the English crown as in rightful authority over all New Netherland; but in 1665 Philip Carteret, son of Sir George, arrived bearing a commission from the Duke of York as governor of the country between the Hudson and the Delaware. Nicolls resisted this claim, but in vain. Elizabethtown was made the capital of the new province. Other settlements were established on the banks of the Passaic. Newark was soon founded. Hamlets were planted along the shores of the bay from the present site of Jersey City as far as Sandy Hook. It was in honor of Sir George Carteret, who had been governor of the Isle of Jersey, that his American domain was named New Jersey.

We are here anticipating the many events of interest with which the colonial history of America in the seventeenth century was filled. We pass over for the present the course of events in the parent colonies to note in order of succession the founding of PENNSYLVANIA. This was effected under the auspices of the great Quaker leader, William Penn, and the Society of Friends whom he led in their American enterprises. Already this people had planted flourishing settlements in New Jersey and were greatly encouraged with their success; the thought of Penn was to found on the banks of the Delaware a free State, having for its foundation-stone the principle of universal brotherhood.

Great had been the sufferings of the Friends in England. Imprisonment, exile and proscription had been their constant portion. Nor did the signs of the times indicate any relaxation in the policy of the English kings towards this innocent and persecuted people.

It was under these conditions that Penn and his leading

associates conceived the project of establishing a complete and glorious refuge for the afflicted Quakers in the unoccupied wilds of America. The leader went boldly to King Charles, made his petition, and on the 5th of March, 1681, received a charter bearing the great seal of England and the signature of Charles II. William Penn was made the proprietary of the province which received his name. A vast and virgin territory, bounded east by the Delaware, extending north and south through three degrees of latitude and westward through five degrees of longitude, was granted to him and received the name of Pennsylvania. Only the three counties comprising the present State of Delaware were reserved for the Duke of York.

The grant was complicated. Penn had held against the British government a claim for sixteen thousand pounds sterling, due to his father's estate. This he agreed to relinquish in consideration of the grant and charter. He openly declared his purpose to found in America a free commonwealth without respect to the color, race or religion of the inhabitants. He believed that the natives might be conciliated and won over by a policy of justice and humanity, that a refuge might be established on the Delaware for all oppressed peoples who might choose for conscience' sake to flee from the oppressions and hardships of their homes in Europe.

The event fully justified the policy. In an incredibly short time three shiploads of Quaker emigrants were sent from England to the land of promise. With these came William Markham, agent of the proprietary, and deputy-governor of the new province. Penn exerted himself to be at peace with all. He wrote to the Swedes who had established themselves in the country covered by his charter that they should be in no wise disturbed—that they should keep their homes, make their own laws and fear no oppres-

sion. He also instructed his deputy to make a league of friendship with the Indians and to see that no injustice was done by the colonists to the original owners of the land. He sent a letter directly to the native chiefs, assuring them of his honest purposes and brotherly affection.

In the next place Penn drew up a frame of government—liberal almost to a fault. Instead of endeavoring to extort large profits from his colonial enterprise, he conceded everything to the people, allowing them even to accept or reject the constitution which he had drawn for their government. The world had not hitherto witnessed so great liberality, so complete a confidence on the part of a powerful governor in the righteousness of human nature, the essential integrity of man. The proprietary was not satisfied with the exception of the three Delaware counties from his grant. With extraordinary skill and confidence he approached the Duke of York and induced him to surrender the three counties in favor of the Quaker colony. Thus was the whole country on the western bank of the bay and river, as far north as the 33d degree of latitude, brought under the dominion of William Penn. This work occupied the years 1681--82. In the summer of the latter year Penn made his preparations to depart for America. He wrote a letter of farewell to the Friends in England. A large company of emigrants gathered about him. They took ship and departed for America, and on the 27th of October landed at Newcastle, where their friends who had preceded them were waiting to receive them.

Great was the joy of the new-comers and of those who had already established themselves in the colony. The crowd at the landing was composed not only of the Quaker immigrants, but of Swedes and Dutch and English who had come to greet the new governor. He made an address on

ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE 'CONSTITUTION' AND GOVERNANCE

The concept of engagement between the 'constitution' and governance is a complex one, involving the relationship between the formal legal framework and the actual practice of government. This relationship is often characterized by a tension between the ideal of constitutionalism and the reality of political power. The 'constitution' provides a set of principles and structures that guide the operation of the state, while governance involves the day-to-day decisions and actions of those in power. The engagement between the two is a dynamic process that evolves over time and is shaped by various factors, including the political culture, the strength of institutions, and the actions of individuals. In many cases, the 'constitution' is not fully implemented or is interpreted in a way that undermines its intended purpose. This can lead to a gap between the law and the practice, which can have significant implications for the quality of governance and the rights of citizens. Understanding this engagement is crucial for assessing the effectiveness of a political system and for identifying ways to improve it.

ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE "CONSTITUTION" AND "GUERRIERE."

It was on August 1, 1812, that the good frigate "Constitution," 44 guns, commanded by Isaac Hull, sailed from Boston in quest of the famous British frigate, "Guerriere," 38 guns, commanded by Captain Dacres. She cruised about Nova Scotia and the Gulf of St. Lawrence until the nineteenth, when the object of Hull's search was descried and he bore down upon her. The enemy was no less bold, and as both combatants desired a fair yard-arm-to-yard-arm fight, they quickly came to close quarters. The "Guerriere" opened the battle at a two-miles range, but the "Constitution" reserved her fire until she had drawn to a distance of scarcely one-fourth a mile, when Hull gave orders to work the guns. Extra precautions had been taken to render the fire of the "Constitution" the most destructive by double-shooting her guns with round and grape, and the effect at such close range was terrible. The "Guerriere" was raked, her mizzen mast shot away, her rigging destroyed and her hull riddled. By a skillful movement the "Constitution" was swung about and her bowsprit ent into the larboard quarter of her antagonist. Attempts to board were made, but this was prevented by a heavy sea, and the fight continued with cannon and musketry until Captain Dacres struck his colors, his ship being too badly injured to be saved and was set on fire and sank while burning.



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the day of his landing, renewed his former pledges and exhorting the people to sobriety and honesty. He then ascended the river as far as Chester. He passed the site of Philadelphia, and visited the settlements of the Friends in West New Jersey. He crossed the province to New York and Long Island, speaking word of comfort to the Quakers about Brooklyn, and then returned to the Delaware to assume his duties as chief magistrate.

Meanwhile Markham, the deputy-governor, had faithfully followed his instructions. Friendly relations had been established with the Indians of the neighboring tribes. This feature of policy Penn dwelt upon as essential to the happiness of the two peoples. The Indian lands were in every case honorably purchased by the Quakers, and many pledges of friendship were exchanged between them and their red brethren of the forest. Soon after the return of Penn from New York a great conference was held with the native chiefs. All the sachems of the Lenni Lenapes and other neighboring tribes were called together on the Delaware. The council was held under the open sky. Penn, accompanied by a few unarmed Friends, clad in the plain garb of the Quakers, came to the appointed spot and took his station under a venerable elm, now leafless, for it was winter. The chieftains also sat unarmed at the council. After the manner of their race they arranged themselves in a semicircle to hear the address of their great brother. Standing before them with quiet demeanor and speaking by his interpreter, Penn said :—

“ My Friends : We have met on the broad pathway of good faith. We are all one flesh and blood. Being brethren, no advantage shall be taken on either side. When disputes arise we will settle them in council. Between us there shall be nothing but openness and love.”

The chiefs replied : “ While the rivers run and the sun

shines we will live in peace with the children of William Penn."

This simple compact of brotherly faith was not reduced to writing, but it was ever observed with fidelity by both peoples. No deed of violence or injustice on the part of either is recorded to mar the faithfulness of the red men or the simple-hearted folk with whom they made the treaty. The peace was perpetual. For more than seventy years, while the province remained under the control of the Friends, not a war-whoop was heard within the borders of Pennsylvania. The Quaker hat and coat proved to be a better defense for the wearer than coat-of-mail and musket.

The rapid growth of the colony made a legislative Assembly necessary to the general welfare. In December of 1682 a general convention of the colonists was held at Chester. The work of the body occupied but three days. At the close of the session Penn delivered an address to the Assembly and then hastened to visit Lord Baltimore, with whom he had an important conference relative to the boundaries between the two provinces. After a month's absence he returned to Chester and gave his attention to the selection and mapping of a site for a capital. The neck of land between the Schuylkill and the Delaware was chosen and purchased of the Swedes. The forest as yet covered these lands, and the chestnut, the walnut and the ash furnished the names for the streets of the city that was to be. In 1683 the work of founding was begun. The lines of the streets were first indicated by blazing the forest trees. As for name, Penn chose PHILADELPHIA—City of Brotherly Love.

Never before had such success attended the planting of a town in America. It came as if by magic. Within a month the General Assembly was able to meet at the new capital. The work of legislation was now begun in earnest,

and a Charter of Liberties was framed in which the powers and prerogatives of the government were defined. The commonwealth was made a representative democracy. The leading officers were the governor, an advisory council consisting of a limited number of members chosen for three years and a larger popular assembly to be elected annually. The proprietary conceded everything to the people; but the power of vetoing objectionable acts of the council was left in his hands.

Primitive Philadelphia was a marvel of growth and prosperity. In the summer of 1683 there were only three or four houses. The ground-squirrels were still undisturbed in their burrows and the wild deer were seen under the oaks and chestnuts. In 1685 the city contained six hundred houses! Schools had been established, and the printing-press had begun its work. In another year Philadelphia had outgrown New York. Of a certainty the spirit in which the city was founded, the sense of security, the co-operation of all men with their neighbors, brought the legitimate fruits of prosperity and astonishing development.

We have now sketched the planting of twelve out of the thirteen original colonies of the United States. It only remains to notice the founding of the thirteenth—GEORGIA. The reader will have noted how far forward we have been carried in following out the history of the colonial establishments. The two Carolinas, Pennsylvania and Georgia belong by the dates of their first planting to the second rather than the first period in our history; but the unity of the work is best preserved by classifying them with the rest.

As in the case of the Quaker State, the colony of Georgia was the product of a benevolent impulse. The English philanthropist, James Oglethorpe, struck with compassion at the miserable condition of the English poor, conceived the design of forming for them an asylum in America. The

chief abuse to which the poor of England were subjected was imprisonment for debt. Such was the law of the realm. Thousands of English laborers becoming indebted to the rich were annually arrested and thrown into jail. Their families were generally left to misery and starvation. This crime against humanity became so common and so terrible that a cry of the oppressed at last reached Parliament. In 1728 James Oglethorpe was appointed at his own request to look into the condition of the English poor and to report measures of relief. He performed his duty in a manner so creditable that the debtor jails were opened and the poor victims of poverty set free to return to their families.

The condition, however, of the classes thus liberated was pitiable in the extreme. The emancipated prisoners were disheartened and disgraced. It was with the purpose of furnishing a refuge and an asylum for this class of sufferers that Oglethorpe appealed to King George II. for the privilege of granting a colony in America. The petition was fortunately not made in vain. On the 9th of June, 1732, a royal charter was issued, by which the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers and westward to the Pacific was granted to a corporation for twenty-one years, to be held in trust for the poor. In honor of the King, the new province was called Georgia.

The character of the founder was such as to attract sympathy and confidence to his enterprise. Oglethorpe was a loyalist by birth and an Oxford man by education. He was a high-churchman, a cavalier, a soldier, a member of Parliament. In his personal character he was benevolent, generous, sympathetic, brave as John Smith, chivalrous as De Soto. With his accustomed magnanimity he undertook in person the leadership of the first colony to be planted on the Savannah.

During the summer and autumn Oglethorpe collected a

colony of a hundred and twenty persons. The emigrant ships left England in November and reached Charleston in January of 1733. After some explorations the high bluff on which the city of Savannah now stands was selected as the site of the settlement. Here, on the 1st of February, were laid the foundations of the oldest English town south of the Savannah River. Broad streets were laid out, public squares were reserved, and a beautiful village of tents and board houses soon appeared among the pine trees as the capital of a new commonwealth in which men should not be imprisoned for debt.

The settlement flourished and grew. In 1736 a second considerable company of immigrants arrived. Part of these were Moravians, a people of deep piety and fervent spirit. First and most zealous among them was the celebrated John Wesley, founder of Methodism. He came not as a politician, not as a minister merely, but as an apostle to the New World. Such was his own thought of his mission. His idea was to spread the gospel, to convert the Indians, and to introduce a new type of religion, characterized by few forms and much emotion. His brother Charles, the poet, was a timid and tender-hearted man, who was chosen by the governor as his secretary. Two years afterwards came the famous George Whitefield, whose robust and daring nature proved equal to the hardships of the wilderness. These men became the evangelists of those new forms of religious faith and practice which were destined after the Revolution to gain so firm a footing and exercise so wide an influence among the American people.

CHAPTER VI.

THE reader will not have forgotten the circumstances of the founding of the oldest American colony on the River James. At the first the settlement was badly managed, but the fortune of the colonists was at length restored by the valor, industry and enterprise of their remarkable leader, Captain John Smith. The other members of the corporation showed little capacity for government, and some of the foremost men were not only incompetent, but dishonest. Under Captain Smith's direction, however, Jamestown soon began to show signs of vitality and progress. The first settlers were afflicted with the diseases peculiar to their situation. Captain Smith adopted such improvements in building and food-supply that the health of the settlers was measurably restored. His own confidence was diffused in those who lacked, and the project of abandoning the settlement was at length given over.

As soon as practicable, Captain Smith entered upon that series of explorations and adventures which in the aggregate has converted his life into a romance. We find him now in the Chesapeake, making a map of that broad and important water, naming its tributaries. Now he is a prisoner among the Indians during the greater part of the winter, and escaping from captivity through the intercession of chief Powhatan's daughter, Pocahontas, who threw herself between the prostrate body of Smith and the uplifted club of the executioner, but wandering back to the settlement only to find the colony wasted away to thirty-

eight persons. At the very crisis of distress, however, Captain Newport returned from England with a cargo of supplies and a new company of immigrants.

For two years John Smith was in the ascendant and the colony was shaped in its destinies by his masterly hand. In 1609, however, while sleeping in a boat on the James, he was wounded by the explosion of a bag of gunpowder. His flesh was torn in a horrible manner and in his agony he jumped overboard. For some time he lay in the tortures of fever and great suffering from his wound. At length he determined to seek for medical and surgical aid in England. He accordingly delegated his authority to Sir George Percy, and in the autumn of 1609 left the scenes of his toils and sufferings never to return.

His loss was soon seriously felt in the colony. The first settlers had been an improvident folk, little disposed to labor and economy. The winter of 1609-10 was known as the starving-time. The settlers were reduced to great want, and in the following spring it was determined to abandon Jamestown and return to England. The embarkation was actually effected; but before the settlers had passed out of the mouth of the James the ships of Lord Delaware came in sight with many additional emigrants and abundant stores. The colonists reluctantly gave up their design and returned to their abandoned houses.

Lord Delaware was succeeded in the government of Virginia by Sir Thomas Dale, and he in turn by Sir Thomas Gates. The latter held office until 1614, when Dale was recalled, and Gates returned to England. In 1617 Samuel Argall was chosen governor and entered upon an administration noted rather for fraud and oppression than for wise and humane policy. For two years he remained in authority, until the discontent of the colonists led to his recall and the appointment of Sir George Yeardley in his stead.

It was during his administration that the communistic features of the settlement were done away and a better form of civil management introduced. The territory of the colony was divided into eleven districts, called boroughs, and the governor issued a proclamation to the citizens of each borough to select two of their own number to constitute a legislative assembly. Elections were accordingly held, and on the 30th July, 1619, the delegates convened at Jamestown. Here was organized the Virginia House of Burgesses or Colonial Legislature, the first popular assembly held in the New World.

The same year was marked by another event which was destined to exercise a vast influence on the future history of the country, and indeed of mankind. This was the introduction of negro slavery into Virginia. The servants of the people of Jamestown had hitherto been persons of English or German descent, and their term of service had varied from a few months to many years. Perpetual servitude, or slavery proper, had not thus far been recognized. Nor is it likely that the English colonists would of themselves have instituted the system of slave labor. In the month of August, 1619, a Dutch man-of-war sailed up the James to the colonial establishment and offered by auction twenty Africans as slaves. They were purchased by the wealthier class of planters and reduced to servitude for life. There does not appear to have been at first any proper sense or estimate of the thing done among the colonists. They were for a long time indifferent to the success and continuance of the system. It was nearly a half century from the time of the introduction of negro slavery before it became a well established institution in the English colonies.

In a few years after the plantation of Jamestown other settlements were made in the James River country as far

up as Richmond and beyond. The commonwealth of Virginia grew and expanded by the natural laws of development. New immigrants came from England, Scotland and Ireland. The native-born multiplied rapidly, and the adventurous pioneers put out from older settlements to claim the better land for themselves and their descendants. Civil and political institutions adapted to the needs of the colony were framed by the leaders and the permanence of the new State was assured.

But the one element wanting for the permanent settlement and future prosperity of the colony was—women, without the help of whom man's successes are rarely pronounced. Very few families had emigrated to Virginia and society was in a nebulous state, not to say cloudy and forbidding. To remedy this uninviting condition, in the fall of 1620 ninety young women were induced to cast their fortunes and seek husbands among the Virginia colonists, and in the following spring sixty other likely and courageous marriageables landed at the new settlement and became wives to the pioneers. The London Company being too poor to bear the expense of passage, the colonists were allowed to select wives from among the women who had been brought over by paying a sum of one hundred and fifty pounds, or its equivalent in tobacco, for the privilege, a condition to which neither party to the contract had the least objection.

This course of affairs continued with little variation from the planting of the colony to the outbreak of the English Revolution of 1640. Virginia sympathized rather with the King's party than with the Parliamentarians in the long and bloody struggle of the Civil War. The degree of removal, however, from the dissensions and conflicts of the mother country saved the Virginians from the more serious consequences of the struggle. In the first year of the rise

of the people against the King, Sir William Berkeley came out to Virginia as royal governor, and, with the exception of a brief visit to England in 1645, remained in office for ten years. Berkeley was a man of large administrative abilities, and notwithstanding the political disturbance in the Old World and the New, Virginia prospered under his hand. The settlements were rapidly increased in population and importance. The colonial laws were improved in many particulars and were made more comformable to the laws of England. The long existing controversies about the Virginia land titles were amicably settled. Cruel punishments were abolished, and the taxes equalized. Berkeley was, however, a thorough loyalist, and to this extent there was discord between him and the democracy of the colony.

Most of the Virginians, however, adhered to the cause of Charles I. even to the day of his death. When that monarch was beheaded they proclaimed his son Charles II. the rightful ruler of England and of the English colonies in America. Oliver Cromwell, the Lord High Protector of the commonwealth, was offended at this conduct of the Virginians and determined to employ force against them. He ordered the war-ship *Guinea* to be equipped and sent into the Chesapeake to enforce submission; but in the last extreme he showed himself to be just as well as wrathful. Commissioners of the English commonwealth were sent on board the vessel to make overtures of peace to the colonists. They were told to carry the olive branch in one hand and the sword in the other. By this time it had become apparent that the cause of the Stuart kings was hopeless. The people of Virginia perceived that their loyalty to an overthrown House was out of season, and they cheerfully entered into negotiations with Cromwell's delegates. In a short time they were brought to acknowledge the supreme

authority of Parliament, and the Protector was not obliged to employ force against his subjects.

With the failure of the English commonwealth Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors. He came to his ancient regal inheritance as one might do to the inheritance of an estate. He chose to consider the British Empire as personal property to be used for the benefit of himself and his courtiers. In order to reward the worthless profligates who thronged his court he began to grant to them large tracts of land in Virginia. True, these lands had been redeemed from the wilderness by the labor of men and were planted with orchards and gardens; but it was no uncommon thing for an American planter to find that his farm which had been cultivated for a quarter of a century had been given away to some dissolute flatterer of the royal household. Great distress was produced by these iniquities in the colony. Finally, however, in 1673, the King set a limit to his own recklessness by giving away the whole State of Virginia! Lord Culpepper and the Earl of Arlington, two ignoble noblemen, received under the great seal a deed by which was granted to them for thirty-one years "all the dominion of land and water called Virginia."

The tyranny and exactions of Sir William Berkeley, governor of the colony, brought at length their legitimate fruits of discontent and insurrection. His administration became odious and the people rose in rebellion. The revolt was coupled with and excused by an Indian war. The Susquehannas became hostile, and the pioneers of the border suffering from their incursions took up arms. The insurgent militia found a suitable leader in the young patriot, Nathaniel Bacon. The refusal of the governor to support the people in the war with the Indians and to recognize their leader led to a rebellion against the government itself.

Lord Berkeley was expelled from Jamestown and driven across the Chesapeake. The civil broil continued for some time with varying fortunes, until Bacon fell sick and died. With his death the spirit of the insurrection failed and the militia was easily dispersed. For a while the populace continued rebellious, seeking to find another leader, but none was found, and the royalists soon triumphed. The latter discovered in Robert Beverly a captain who was as able on their side as Bacon had been on the side of the insurgents. The rebellion was quickly suppressed and the popular cause was put under the ban of the government. Sir William Berkeley now loosed his passions on the defeated rebels. Fines and confiscations became the order of the day. The governor fully avenged himself and his partisans for the wrongs which they had suffered. Twenty-two of the patriot leaders were seized and hanged with little form of law and with hardly opportunity to bid their friends farewell. Such was the vindictive retribution of the governor on his enemies that when the easy-going Charles II. heard of what was done he exclaimed, "Why, that old fool in that poor country has killed more men than I did for the murder of my father."

Governor Berkeley's first administration ended with 1651; but after the restoration of Charles II. he was recommissioned and held office until 1676. His abilities were such that notwithstanding his illiberal principles the colonial settlements were considerably extended during the long period of his rule. For the rest he set himself against all manner of progress. He was intolerant to the last degree and inflicted a severe persecution on the Quakers. In one of his reports on the condition of the colony he is quoted as saying: "Thank God, there are no free schools nor printing-presses, and I hope there will be none for a hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects

into the world, and printing has divulged these and other libels."

At the close of Berkeley's administration Lord Culpepper, to whom with Arlington the province had been granted in 1673, received the appointment of governor for life. The new executive arrived in 1680 and took upon himself the duties of his office. His administration, however, was of bad repute. His official conduct was marked with avarice and dishonesty. It was evident that he regarded the governorship as a speculative opportunity. He accordingly adopted the policy of extortion and hard rulings until the mutterings of rebellion were again heard among the settlements.

They who hung upon the favors of Charles II. held by a precarious tenure. In course of time he repented of his rashness in giving away an American colony to worthless favorites. Seeking to amend his error, he found in the vices and frauds of Culpepper a sufficient excuse to remove him from office and take away his patent. This was accordingly done, and in 1684 Virginia, from being a proprietary government, became a royal province. Lord Howard of Effingham was appointed governor, and he in turn was succeeded by Francis Nicholson. The administration of the latter was signalized by the founding of William and Mary College, so named in honor of the new King and Queen of England. This next to Harvard was the first institution of liberal learning planted in America. Here the boy Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, shall be educated. From these halls in the famous summer of 1776 shall be sent forth young James Monroe, future President of the United States.

During the first half of the eighteenth century Virginia pursued an even course of development. Her population steadily—but not rapidly—increased. Her position as old-

est of the little American republics was recognized by her sister colonies. Her men began to be scholars and statesmen. At this epoch her Revolutionary heroes that were to be were born. The Virginian character was developed and matured for the exigencies of both war and peace. In the times of the Intercolonial conflicts with New France in alliance with the Indians, Virginia suffered less by her position than did the great colonies of the North; but her patriotism never suffered in comparison, and when the premonitory thrills of National Independence shall at length tremble through the land, the call of country shall in no part be heard with profounder sympathy or more ready answer than in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

CHAPTER VII.

PASSING to New England we note with interest the progress of the first Puritan settlement planted by the Pilgrims at Plymouth. At the beginning there was a struggle most sharp for existence. The first winter had well-nigh proved fatal to the whole company who debarked from the *Mayflower*. Hope, however, revived with the spring, and the first bird-song brought welcome to the weary heart of man. Though one-half of the colony had been swept off by disease and exposure, the remainder went forward with courageous spirits to the work of destiny. The governor and his wife and son went down to the grave. But the Pilgrims had in them a soul of resolution, and they who survived rose from the snows of winter to plant and build and sing their hymns of thankfulness.

One of the first exigencies of the colony had respect to the disposition of the natives. Captain Miles Standish was sent out with his soldiers to gather information—to see in what manner the Indians would bear themselves in the presence of a European settlement. The army of New England consisted of six men besides the general. Deserted wigwams were found here and there; the smoke of camp-fires arose in the distance; savages were occasionally seen in the forest. These fled, however, at the approach of the English and Standish marched back unmolested to Plymouth.

It was now the turn of the Indians to make an attempt at intercourse. A month after the adventure of Standish,

a Wampanoag sachem named Samoset came into Plymouth, offered his hand and bade the strangers welcome. He could speak a broken English, for he had been with the whites at intervals since the time of the earlier voyages. He gave such account as he might of the number and strength of his people, and told the colonists of a great plague by which, a few years before, the country had been swept of its inhabitants. He attributed the present feebleness and dispirited condition of the red men to this malady which had destroyed their fathers.

Soon afterwards another Indian named Squanto, who had been carried abroad by Hunt in 1614 and had learned to speak English, came to Plymouth and confirmed what Samoset had said. Then with the early spring came Massasoit, the great sachem of the Wampanoags, and with him a treaty was made which remained inviolate for fifty years. The compact was simple, providing that no injury should be done by white men to the Indians or by the Indians to them, and that all offenders and criminals should be given up by either part for punishment according to the laws and usages of the two peoples.

The effect of the treaty was salutary. Nine of the leading tribes entered into like relations with the English, and acknowledged, according to the limits of their understandings, the sovereignty of the English King. Some of the sachems were suspicious and hostile. Standish in one instance was obliged to lead out his soldiers against a refractory chief. Canonicus, king of the Narragansetts, sent to Governor Bradford a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake; but the governor stuffed the skin with powder and balls and sent it back as a significant answer to Canonicus. The latter would not receive it, but sent it on from tribe to tribe until it was finally returned, like an unaccepted challenge, to the governor.

The first year after the planting of Plymouth was unfruitful and the colonists were brought to the point of starvation. A new company of immigrants without provisions or stores arrived during the season, and this circumstance heightened the distress, for all must be fed. The newcomers remained over winter with the people of Plymouth, and then crossed to the south side of Boston harbor, where they laid the foundations of Weymouth. But the settlement did not prosper. The Weymouth people, instead of engaging in necessary work, attempted to live by fraudulent trade with the Indians, and when they were about to starve abandoned their settlement and returned to England.

The third year, 1623, brought a plentiful harvest, and the people of Plymouth began to have abundance. The Indians brought in the products of the chase and exchanged them liberally for corn. Meanwhile the main body of pilgrims still tarried at Leyden. John Robinson, their leader, made strenuous efforts to bring his people to America, but the London adventurers who had managed the enterprise refused to furnish money or transportation, and at the end of the fourth year there were only a hundred and eighty persons of the white race in New England.

In 1624 Cape Ann was settled by a company of Puritans from Dorchester, England. They were led by their minister, John White. The place chosen for the colony, however, was found to be unfavorable, and after two years the whole company moved southward to a place called Naumkaeg, where they laid the foundations of Salem. Two years later a second company arrived at the same place, under conduct of John Endicott, who was chosen governor. The colonists obtained a patent from Charles I., and the settlements were incorporated under the name of the governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England.

In the same summer two hundred additional immigrants arrived, some of whom settled at Plymouth, while the rest removed to the peninsula on the north side of Boston harbor and laid the foundations of Charlestown. In 1630 about three hundred of the best Puritan families in England came to America under the direction of John Winthrop, who was chosen governor. Though a royalist by birth, he cast in his lot with the Republican party. Himself an Episcopalian, he chose to suffer affliction with the Puritans. Surrounded with affluence and comfort at home, he left all to share the destiny of the persecuted pilgrims in America.

Of the new-comers of 1630 a part settled at Salem. Others paused at Charlestown and Watertown. Others founded Roxbury and Dorchester. The governor himself, with a few of the leading families, crossed the harbor to the peninsula called Shawmut, and there laid the foundation of Boston, destined to be the capital of the colony and the metropolis of New England.

As in Virginia, so in Massachusetts, the civil life of the people tended from the first to Democratic liberty. As early as 1634 a representative form of government was established by the Puritan colonists. This work was accomplished against the strenuous opposition of the ministers. On election day the voters to the number of three or four hundred were called together, and the learned Cotton preached powerfully against the evils of Republicanism. The assembly listened attentively and then went on with the election! To make the reform complete, a ballot-box was substituted for the old method of public voting. The restriction on the right of suffrage, by which only church members were permitted to vote, was the only remaining bar to a truly Democratic government in New England.

The year 1635 was the great year of immigration. Three thousand new colonists arrived. The Puritans abroad had

come to see that it was worth while to live in a country where the principles of freedom were spreading with such rapidity. The new immigrants were under the leadership of Hugh Peters and Sir Henry Vane. For a season the settlements around Massachusetts Bay were overcrowded. It seemed that there would not be room for the incoming immigrants from Europe. The more adventurous soon began to plunge into the wilderness and to find new places of abode. One little company of twelve families, under leadership of Simon Willard and Peter Bulkeley, marched through the woods until they reached some open meadowlands, about sixteen miles distant from Boston, and there laid the foundations of Concord. Later in the same year another branch colony of sixty persons made their way westward to the Connecticut River, and in the following spring founded Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield.

The Puritans brought with them to America religious toleration—for themselves! Strange that they should not have discerned that the thing needed was toleration for others! But the vices of bigotry and narrow-mindedness had been inherited by them from the Middle Ages and could not be cast out. As a consequence religious dissensions appeared in the colony from the first years of its planting. The mind of this people was deeply concerned with religious questions. To debate issues which were impossible of decision was the food and drink of the fathers and mothers of New England. The conversation of those who built houses was about the abstruse questions of theology. The sermons preached by the ministers had to pass the ordeal of review and criticism. Under such circumstances the more audacious minds tended strongly to a larger religious liberty.

Such persons, however, were under surveillance and ban of the more orthodox, and particularly of the preachers.

It was this condition of affairs that led to the expulsion of Roger Williams from Salem.

The dominant class of Puritans understood religious freedom to mean the privilege of others to have the same religious beliefs and practices as themselves. Most prominent among those heretical characters at Boston who were said to be "as bad as Roger Williams, or worse," was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of great gifts, who had come over in the ship with Sir Henry Vane. Moved by the spirit within her, she claimed the privilege of speaking at the weekly meetings. This was refused by the elders. "Women have no business at these assemblies, and most of them need their tongues bridled at times like common scolds," said they. Hereupon Anne Hutchinson became the champion of her sex, and denounced the ministers for defrauding women of the benefits of the gospel. She called them Pharisees, and was in turn declared by them to be unfit for the society of Christians. She with a large number of friends was banished from Massachusetts—sent forth to live or to die as best they might. The exiles made their way first to the home of Roger Williams. Miantonomoh, chief of the Narragansetts, made them a gift of the beautiful island called Rhode Island, where in March of 1641 they founded a little republic of their own.

While intolerance darkened the Puritan character, many virtues illumined it. It was what an artist might call a *chiaroscuro*, in which on the whole the light shone through the darkness. While the Puritans stooped to the character of persecutors for opinion's sake, they rose in many particulars to the level of philanthropists. In 1636 the general court of the colony appropriated between one and two thousand dollars to found and endow a college. The measure met with popular favor and the enterprise went forward to success. Newtown was selected as the site for

the proposed school. Plymouth and Salem gave gifts to help the enterprise, and the villages in the Connecticut valley sent contributions of corn and wampum. In 1638 John Harvard, a young minister of Charlestown, being about to die, bequeathed his library and nearly five thousand dollars to the institution. To perpetuate the memory of this benefactor, the new school was named Harvard College; and in honor of the place where many of the leading men of Massachusetts had been educated, the name of Newtown was changed to Cambridge.

The printing-press quickly followed. In 1638 Stephen Daye, an English printer, came to Boston bringing a font of types, and in the following year set up his press at Cambridge. His first publication was an almanac calculated for New England and the year 1639. In the next year Thomas Welde and John Eliot—two ministers of Roxbury—and Richard Mather of Dorchester translated the Hebrew Psalms into English verse, and published their rude work in a volume of three hundred pages—the first book printed on this side of the Atlantic.

All the elements of progress followed the Puritans to their American exile. The settlements flourished and multiplied. New England was becoming rapidly populated. Well-nigh fifty towns and villages dotted the face of the country. It was estimated that during the first twenty years from the founding of Plymouth a million dollars were spent in settling and developing the new State. Material prosperity came also. Enterprises of many kinds were rife. Manufactures, commerce and the arts soon sprang up. William Stephens, a ship-builder who had come with the immigrants of 1629, built and launched an American vessel of four hundred tons burden. Before 1640 two hundred and ninety-eight emigrant ships had anchored in Massachusetts Bay. The census of the year just referred to showed a

population for the State of twenty-one thousand two hundred.

Political unity is a notion which has always appealed with great force to a certain type of mind. Segregation, isolation, individuality, localism, appear to such in the nature of chaos and confusion. Very early in the history of the New England settlements the question of uniting them under one civil form began to be agitated. In 1639 and again in 1643 a practical measure was brought forward, first in the Assembly of Massachusetts and afterwards in those of the neighboring colonies looking to the union of all. The act was adopted, by the terms of which Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven were joined in a loose confederacy, called the United Colonies of New England. The chief authority was vested in a General Assembly or Congress composed of two representatives from each colony. These delegates were chosen annually at an election where all the freemen voted by ballot. Since the colonies were under the general authority of the English King, no President was provided for other than the Speaker of the Assembly; and he was without executive authority powers. Each community retained as before its own local government, and all subordinate questions of legislation were reserved to the individual members of the union.

The sentiments of the people of Massachusetts with respect to the English Revolution were very different from those of the people of Virginia. The latter were by their antecedents and habits in sympathy with the King's party, while the people of Massachusetts were for opposite reasons attached to the Republican and Parliamentary cause. The friends of the Puritans had made their way into the English House of Commons, and the peril to the throne was to be feared from those who were in alliance of principle and sentiment with the colonists of New England. Through-

out the Civil War the American Puritans sustained with voice and sympathy the Revolutionary party. Distance, however, modified the feelings of the people of New England, and when Charles I. was brought to the block they whose fathers had been exiled by *his* father lamented his tragic fate, and preserved the memory of his virtues.

Cromwell understood perfectly the temper and sentiments of the American colonists. He remained from first to last their steadfast friend. We have seen how even in Virginia the over-loyal people of that province found the Protector to be just as well as severe, but the people of New England were his special favorites. To them he was bound by all the ties of political and religious sympathy. For more than ten years, while in many instances his hand rested heavily upon the people of the home country, Cromwell, though he might have been the oppressor, remained the benefactor of the English in America.

It was in July of 1656 that the first Quakers arrived at Boston. Among these were Ann Austin and Mary Fisher. The introduction of the plague would have occasioned less alarm! Strange does it seem to us, and stranger will it seem to posterity, that such innocent enthusiasts could have been regarded with so great antipathy and dread. The two women were caught and searched for marks of witchcraft. Their trunks were broken open, their books burned by the hangman, and they themselves thrown into prison. After several weeks' confinement they were brought forth and driven beyond the limits of the colony. Others came, and they too were whipped and exiled. As the law against the Quakers was made more cruel and proscriptive, fresh victims rushed forward to brave its terrors. So great was the public alarm that the Assembly of the United Colonies was convened, and Massachusetts was advised to pronounce the penalty of death against the fanatical disturbers of the

public peace. In 1659 four persons were arrested, brought to trial, condemned and hanged without mercy. Nor did the fact that one of these was a woman move the hearts of the persecuting judges.

The era of the English commonwealth drew to a close. Charles II., long fugitive from the kingdom of his fathers, was restored to the throne, and on the 27th of July, 1660, the tidings of the great things done in England reached Boston. It was now the turn of those who had overthrown the monarchy and trampled on the residue to fly for their lives. In the same ship that brought intelligence of the Restoration came Edward Whalley and William Goffe, two of the judges who had passed sentence of death on Charles I. Governor Endicott received them with courtesy, but the agents of the British government followed in hot pursuit.

The two regicides, or king-killers, as they were called, were aided by the people of Boston to escape from the officers. They made their way to New Haven, where for many weeks they lay concealed, no one, not even the Indians, accepting the reward which was offered for their apprehension. At last the exiles reached the village of Hadley, in the valley of the Connecticut, and there found seclusion and rest during the remainder of their lives. When, in the time of King Philip's war, the village of Hadley was attacked by the savages, the venerable Goffe came forth from his hiding-place, rallied the flying people and directed the defense. Then he went back to his covert and was seen no more.

The outbreak in 1664 of a war between England and Holland furnished opportunity to Charles II. to carry out one of his cherished plans. This was the recovery or reclamation of the American colonies from their proprietary, chartered and semi-independent condition to a complete subordination to the English crown. Circumstances favored

the project, for it became necessary at the beginning of the war to send a British fleet to America in order to reduce the Dutch colonies on the Hudson. This armament might easily be used by the King in the work of re-establishing absolutism over those other colonies on our coast which owed their political existence to charters and guarantees given by former kings.

In furtherance of his purpose Charles II., or his minister, sent four royal commissioners to America to sit in judgment upon all questions of dispute and intercolonial controversy that might arise among the colonies. It was thought that the acceptance by the Americans of such a court of arbitration would lead to a recognition of the royal authority in other and purely political matters. The commissioners came to Boston in July of 1664, but the Americans were quick to discover the meaning of the thing done, and gave the royal judges so cold a reception that they were soon glad to leave the country.

The time came when the expansion of the white settlements and the reluctance of the natives to retire from their ancient hunting grounds brought on a conflict of great severity between the two peoples. The Wampanoag Indians found an able leader in their great chieftain, King Philip, and for a while they held their own against the superior discipline, steadier courage and better weapons of the English.

All the causes leading to King Philip's war are not fully known, many having been assigned, but it may be reasonably inferred from that chief's actions that it grew out of jealousy at the encroachment of the whites upon his domains. War would have broken out sooner had not the English presented so strong a front and watched with unrelaxed vigilance every moment of the Indians. But Philip was a cunning chief and awaited his opportunity, all the while augmenting his forces and completing his prepara-

tions. At length a friendly Indian, named Sausaman, who was known to be on intimate terms with both his own people and the whites, was murdered by three hostiles who were soon after apprehended, and being brought to trial before a jury of six whites and as many Indians, were convicted and shot. This incident precipitated the war which had for some years been expected. Philip now assembled his warriors and took up a position in a woods near where the city of Bristol now stands. Here the Indians rendezvoused for a while, sending their women and children to Narragansett, until their full force was mustered and ready for the conflict.

The 24th of June, 1675, the whites spent in fasting and prayers that the threatened horror of an Indian war might be averted, but their supplications were in vain. Three days later, while the people were returning from church in Swansea, they were fired on by Indians and three were killed, which murderous outrage was followed by the burning of barns and cabins. Several villages were attacked in turn by the savages, until soon all of Plymouth colony was in terror. The Nipmuck Indians went on the war-path in August, and when Captain Hutchinson with twenty men sought a conference with the Indians, he was ambushed and eight of his company fell before the deadly fire of the savages. The survivors fled and contrived to reach Brookfield followed by their foes. The village, consisting of a few log cabins, directly became the scene of a terrible conflict. Every person able to handle a gun flew to the defense of their homes and prepared to resist the several hundred Indians that rushed down upon them with ear-splitting yells, bearing musket or bow in one hand and a blazing torch in the other. In a very short time every cabin was on fire save the single one in which Captain Hutchinson and his men had taken refuge, who from their place of protection poured forth a deadly hail upon their assailants. The des-

perate fight went on with small advantage to the Indians, several of whom fell before the well directed aim of the besieged. Efforts were made by the whites to break through the line of savages, or to send out messengers for relief, but it was not until after the failure of several desperate attempts that one brave fellow succeeded in passing the lines under cover of darkness and rushed off to Providence to spread the alarm. For three days and nights the combat continued, during which time the dry clap-board roof of the cabin was fired several times by arrows wrapped in blazing flax, but as often brave men broke a hole through the roof and put out the flames. On the evening of the third day, however, the Indians seized a wagon, and loading it with wood and flax, set the whole on fire, and then by means of poles pushed it against the building. At the moment when their destruction appeared inevitable the sinking hearts of the whites were lifted into joy by a down-pouring rain that extinguished the flames and so saturated everything that all further danger from fire was removed. No sooner were they relieved from this terrible extremity than the shouts of friends were heard rushing to the rescue. Major Willard, of Boston, with fifty men, had been apprised of the siege at Brookfield, and with all possible haste rushed to the succor of the whites, whose ammunition and energies were by this time almost completely spent. So impetuous was his charge upon the Indians that they were dispersed like chaff, and at the close of the engagement the bodies of eighty savages were found dead around the log cabin.

The struggle continued for nearly a year and was attended with great loss of life and destruction of property. But at last the Indians were subdued and Philip himself hunted down and killed near his old home at Mount Hope, in Rhode Island.

After the rejection of the royal judges the project of

Charles II. to regain absolute control of the American colonies was allowed to slumber for several years. With the accession of James II., however, the old charter of Massachusetts was formally revoked. All the colonies between Nova Scotia and Narragansett Bay were consolidated into one and Joseph Dudley received the appointment of governor-general, or president. New England was not able for the time openly to resist this great encroachment on popular liberty. The colonial assembly was dissolved by its own act and the members returned sullenly to their homes. In the following winter Governor Dudley was superseded by Sir Edmond Andros, who had been appointed royal governor of New England. Under his administration Massachusetts and her sister colonies lost their liberties. All sympathy ceased between the government and the people. Andros and his rule became extremely odious, and when the news of the expulsion of King James from the throne of England was borne to Boston the royal governor was visited with a like fate at the hands of the American colonists. On the 18th of April, 1689, the citizens of Boston and Charlestown rose in open rebellion. Andros and his minions perceived at a glance that resistance was in vain and they attempted to escape. The people, however, seized them and cast them into prison. The insurrection spread rapidly throughout New England, and in less than a month every colony had regained its former liberties.

The European wars of the seventeenth century in which England, France and Holland were involved, spread into the respective colonies of those States in America. That conflict, which was ended by the treaty of Ryswick, involved the English possessions in New England and those of France in Nova Scotia in a serious war which continued for nearly eight years. The results, however, were indecisive, and in 1697, when the treaty was concluded between the parent

kingdoms, the boundary lines of their respective colonies in America were established as before.

But some of the bloody incidents which preceded this settlement and the causes leading thereto may be here profitably recounted: The wars between France and England in Europe naturally involved the colonists of America. It was these quarrels which led primarily to what is known in history as King William's War, from 1689 to 1697; Queen Anne's War, 1702 to 1713; King George's War, 1744 to 1748, and the French and Indian War, 1754 to 1763. While there were occasional pauses in the strifes they were no more than truces, and the four wars may properly be merged into one continual struggle wherein the question to be decided was which should rule in the New World, the English or the French. This contention led to the most savagely horrible massacres and thrilling episodes that deface the annals of American history.

In all the early wars the Indians took an important part, and were almost invariably allies of the French. Had it not been for these barbarous foes the English would have gained an impregnable ascendancy in the New World fifty years before they did; but having such wily and numerous enemies to contend with, whose tactics were stealth, treachery, surprise, assassination and merciless slaughter, the English settlers were harassed until life became a constant battle, and horror was in hourly expectation. The school-house, where children gathered; the church, where families repaired to worship; the field, where the farmer bent to his toil, were all too familiar scenes of pitiless murder. To guard against attacks of the Indians houses were protected by palisades, while every village had its block-house of refuge, and men went everywhere armed in preparation for the fray. But however great the precaution human life was exceedingly cheap and every day had its bloody incident.

In the depth of the winter of 1690 a party of French and Indians suddenly descended upon the town of Schenectady, and under the cover of darkness fell upon the unsuspecting inhabitants. Bursting in the doors of the houses, men, women and children were dragged from their beds and tomahawked and the dwellings were then fired. A few of the miserable people contrived to escape, and half-clothed made their way through a driving snow-storm to Albany, where a half-dozen died from the exposure two days later.

In June of the preceding year ten squaws secured lodging in the five garrisoned houses of Dover, New Hampshire. The people gave them hospitable entertainment, having no suspicion of the treachery intended. During the night the squaws, two in each house, stealthily arose and unbarred the doors to admit the waiting savages without. A terrible massacre of people followed, from which only three persons managed to escape,

Some years later (1697) a band of Indians attacked Haverhill, Massachusetts, murdered twenty of the people and carried off as many more women and children, to whom was reserved a fate no less terrible than death. At the time of the attack a Mr. Dustin was working in a field near by, and realizing the import of the excitement, seized his gun, and leaping on his horse, rode with all speed to the succor of his wife and seven children. By extraordinary bravery he held the Indians at bay and covered the escape of six of his children, but his wife was ill in bed at the time, and she, with an infant and nurse, was made captive. While the Indians were hurrying their prisoners away Mrs. Dustin's babe began to cry, whereupon a murderous chief seized it by the feet and dashed out its brains.

The miserable captives were forced to march at the top of their speed, and as fast as any became exhausted they were dispatched with a tomahawk and their bodies

left to mark the route over which they had traveled to their death.

Mrs. Dustin, though weak from her illness, was a woman of astounding courage and power of will. She and the nurse held out when the strength of many who appeared much stronger failed and survived the march of one hundred fifty miles. Learning that the captives were to be tortured when their destination was reached, she resolved to take the most desperate chances to effect her escape. By this time the Indians had divided up into small parties, the prisoners being distributed so that to guard them required little watchfulness. Mrs. Dustin, her nurse and an English boy of fourteen years were given in charge of ten Indian warriors and a squaw. Thinking that their captives were about exhausted by their weary march, the Indians relaxed their vigilance, and being tired themselves one night they all fell asleep, each probably thinking that the other was on guard. Seeing the opportunity for which she had been watching Mrs. Dustin aroused the nurse and boy, and each seizing a tomahawk they dispatched the sleeping Indians. But not fully satisfied yet with this brave effort that gave her liberty, she glutted her vengeance by scalping her victims, and with these bloody trophies she proceeded to a river bank where she found a canoe and in it returned to Haverhill, where she was soon afterwards reunited with her family.

In 1704 the same horrifying scenes that had desolated Haverhill were re-enacted at Deerfield, Massachusetts. While the snow lay four feet deep nearly four hundred French and Indians surrounded the place, and watching their opportunity they rushed on the place while the sentinels were off their guard and made a holocaust of the inhabitants. Forty-seven bodies of the murdered men, women and children were consumed in the flames, while

one hundred and twelve captives were taken and made to travel fifty miles through the deep snow. One by one they fell exhausted on the way and their brains dashed out with the ever ready tomahawk. One of the captives, daughter of a minister named Williams, saw her mother thus cruelly slaughtered, yet being herself saved from a like fate by the favors of a chief, she lived to become the Indian's wife, and in after years visited her friends in Deerfield. In the meantime she had embraced the Catholic faith, but so charmed was she with the wild life of the savage that she refused to abandon her dusky husband and continued faithful to him until her death.

We here come to another strange paragraph in the history of primitive New England. The reader of historical narrative is obliged at intervals to turn from the stately and showy progress of public affairs to consider the occult movement of the human mind, to note its diseases and delusions and to mark with astonishment the most inexplicable crimes which it is capable of committing in the days of its delirium. Only two hundred years ago the fathers of New England were subject to that strange intellectual and moral malady which resulted in the atrocities of the Salem witchcraft. The delusion broke out in that part of Salem village afterwards called Danvers, and was traceable to the animosity of the minister, Samuel Parris, against George Burroughs, a former pastor of the church at that place. By Parris the charge of witchcraft was brought against several of the friends and adherents of Burroughs, and these were imprisoned and brought to trial before Stoughton, deputy-governor of the colony. Parris was in correspondence with the leading ministers of Boston, and he procured the assistance of the celebrated Cotton Mather in the prosecution of the alleged witches. Mather undertook the cause and was the person chiefly responsible for the horrors and crimes

that ensued. Twenty innocent people, including several women, were condemned and put to death. Fifty-five others were tortured into the confession of abominable falsehoods. A hundred and fifty others lay in prison awaiting their fate. Still two hundred others were accused or suspected, and ruin seemed to impend over New England.

Fortunately for mankind, it is in the nature of such atrocities—diseased as they are—to cure themselves by reaction. At the very crisis of this delusion the reaction came and the people arose and righted themselves. Notwithstanding the vociferous clamor and denunciation of Mather, the witch tribunals were overthrown. The General Assembly convened in October, and the atrocious court which Governor Phipps had appointed to sit at Salem was at once dismissed. The spell was dissolved. The thralldom of the public mind was broken. Reason shook off the terrors that oppressed it. The prison doors were opened, and the poor victims of superstition, malice and delusion went forth free.

When the War of the Spanish Succession, so called, came on in Europe, the American colonies as dependencies of the foreign Powers became involved in the conflicts. The French settlements of Canada and the English settlements of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York went to war because the parent kingdoms were trying to determine with the sword who should occupy the Spanish throne. The Canadian Jesuits instigated the Indians to take up arms against the English colonies. During the year 1703-04, havoc and desolation were spread by the savages along the exposed frontiers of Connecticut and New York.

As the war dragged on, a great expedition was planned by Massachusetts for the capture of Port Royal from the French. In 1707 a fleet bearing a thousand soldiers sailed from Boston harbor for Acadia. But Baron Castin, who

commanded the French garrison of Port Royal, conducted the defense with so much skill and courage that the English were obliged to abandon the undertaking. Massachusetts gained nothing but discouragement and debt from her costly and disastrous expedition; but she resolved to prosecute the war with redoubled energy.

A second armament was fitted out in 1710. A squadron of thirty-six vessels bearing four regiments of troops sailed from Boston to Port Royal and began a siege. The garrison was now weak and the French commander had not the ability of his predecessor. The supplies ran out; famine came, and after a feeble defense of eleven days the place surrendered at discretion. All of Nova Scotia passed by this conquest to the English crown. The flag of Great Britain was raised over the conquered fortress and the name of Port Royal gave place to Annapolis, in honor of Queen Anne.

With the English Revolution of 1688 and the accession of William and Mary, the people of Massachusetts hoped for a betterment of their political condition. The event, however, did not justify the expectation. It was found that King William was not disposed to relinquish the claims of his predecessors in the matter of a royal government over the colonies. This policy of sending out governors from England was continued; but the officers who were sent were received with dislike by the people, and there was constant variance of interests and views between the citizens and the governors. Phipps and his administration were heartily disliked. Governor Shute was equally unpopular. Burnett, who succeeded him, and Belcher afterward, were only tolerated because they could not be shaken off.

In such a condition of affairs the people either find or make a way according to their wishes. The opposition to the royal governors in New England took the form of a

controversy about their salaries. The General Assembly of Massachusetts insisted that the governor and his councilors should be paid in proportion to the importance of their several offices and for actual service only; but the royal commissioners gave to each officer a fixed salary which was frequently out of all proportion to the rank and services of the recipient. After many years of antagonism the difficulty was adjusted with a compromise in which the advantage was wholly on the side of the people.

We thus reach the middle of the eighteenth century, at which time the common interests of the American colonies began to prevail over their prejudices and to bring them into closer union. The circumstances which led to a community of action and finally to the establishment of a common government will be narrated hereafter. The danger which came to all by the French and Indian War was the most powerful single cause which overcame the spirit of localism and tended to the union of all the colonies. For the present—as in the case of Virginia and Massachusetts—we take up the progress of the Dutch settlements on the Hudson and follow their history down to the time when it merged in the common history of the country.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOR ten years after the establishment of the first settlers on Manhattan Island New Amsterdam was governed by Directors appointed by the Dutch East India Company. In 1623 a new colony of thirty families arrived at Manhattan. The immigrants, called Walloons, were Dutch Protestant refugees from Flanders. They were of the same religious party with the Huguenots of France and the Puritans of England. They came to America to find repose from the persecutions to which they were subjected in their own country. Cornelius May was the leader of these immigrants, the greater number of whom settled with their friends at New Amsterdam ; but the captain with a party of fifty sailed down the coast of New Jersey, and entered and explored the Bay of Delaware. On his return in the following year he was made first governor of New Netherland.

The official duties of May were such as belonged to the superintendent of a trading-post. In 1625 he was succeeded in office by William Verhulst. Meanwhile other Dutch ships came to Manhattan Island bringing herds of cattle, sheep and swine. In January of 1626 Peter Minuit, of Wesel, was regularly appointed by the Dutch West India Company as governor of New Netherland. The population increased, and the census of 1628 showed two hundred and seventy persons in the colony. The industry of the first settlers was directed to the fur trade. The Dutch boats and ships were found in all the bays, inlets and rivers between Rhode Island and the Delaware.

As the colony increased in strength and influence, the West India Company prepared a new scheme of colonization. The corporation, in the year 1629, prepared what was called a Charter of Privileges, under which a class of proprietors called Patrons were authorized to possess and colonize the country. Each patron might select for himself anywhere in New Netherland a tract of land not more than sixteen miles in length and of a breadth to be determined by the location. In accordance with the provisions of the charter, five estates were soon established. Three of them, lying contiguous, embraced a district of twenty-four miles in the valley of the Hudson above and below Fort Orange. The fourth was laid out by Michael de Pauw on Staten Island, and the fifth and most important included the southern half of the present State of Delaware. At the beginning, success seemed to attend the plans of the West India Company as developed in the Charter of Privileges.

It was at this date that the Swedes first began to plant settlements on the American coast. Four of the European nations—Spain, France, England and Holland—had now succeeded in establishing permanent colonies. Sweden was the fifth, and the great King Gustavus Adolphus was the patron of the enterprise. It was in 1626 that a company of Swedish merchants was organized to promote the emigration of a colony to America. For this purpose a large capital was subscribed, to which the King himself contributed four hundred thousand dollars. But before the purpose of the company could be carried out, Gustavus Adolphus was killed in battle, and the work was transmitted to the great Swedish minister Oxenstiern. The charter which the late King had given to the company was renewed, and after four years of preparation the enterprise was brought to a successful issue.

The first company of Swedes and Finns left the harbor

of Stockholm in 1637. In the following February the colony reached the Delaware Bay in safety. To the men of the North the new country rose like a vision of beauty. They called Cape Henlopen the Point of Paradise. The lands on the west side of the bay and up the river as far as the Falls of Trenton were honorably purchased of the Indians, and in honor of their native land the name of New Sweden was given to the territory.

The reader will easily perceive the prior claims which other nations had upon the country thus occupied by the Swedish colony. The first to assert such a claim was the Dutch governor of New Netherland. The Swedes were notified that they were intruders and that they must submit to the authority of Holland. Hostilities broke out, and in 1651 the Swedish colony was overpowered and reduced to subjection by the Dutch.

The names of several of the early governors of New Netherland are known to history; but the greatest of them all was the soldierly Peter Stuyvesant, who came out under commission of the West India Company in the year 1647. His influence over the colonists of Manhattan Island and the Hudson valley was salutary, and the Dutch State began to improve under his administration; but the progress was slow. As late as the middle of the century the better parts of Manhattan Island were still uncultivated, though divided among the Dutch farmers. Central Park was as yet a forest of oaks and chestnuts.

We have already spoken of the conquest of the little State of New Sweden, on the Delaware. Stuyvesant regarded this province as a part of his dominions. Not much was to be feared from the Swedes, for they were only as one to ten of the Dutch. There was a disposition among the former, however, to establish and maintain independence. They built a fort on the present site of Newcastle; but this the

Swedes, under Governor Rising, soon captured. The circumstances gave excuse to Stuyvesant for the invasion of New Sweden, and in 1655 he marched at the head of six hundred soldiers against that colony. Resistance on the part of the Swedes was useless. Their fortified places were taken, and the flag of Holland raised instead of that of Sweden.

The disposition of Charles II. to reclaim the chartered and proprietary governments of the American colonies has already been mentioned. In March of 1664 that monarch issued to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, two extensive patents for American territory. The first grant included the country from the Kennebec to the St. Croix River, and the second embraced the whole region between the Connecticut and the Delaware. Without regard to the claims and settlements made by the Dutch West India Company under the authority of Holland, and with no respect for the wishes and interests of the Dutch people who had populated Manhattan and the valley of the Hudson, and disregarding even the voice of his own Parliament, Charles II. in a single hour despoiled a sister kingdom of a well-earned province in America.

This done, the English King gave orders for taking possession of the country granted to his brother the Duke. James himself made haste to secure the benefits and honors which were conceded by the new patents. An armament was sent out under command of Richard Nicolls, whom the Duke of York had named as governor. On his arrival at New Amsterdam with his squadron Nicolls called on Governor Stuyvesant to surrender. The latter was justly angered at the arrogance of this demand, and tried to induce his Dutch councilors to declare war. He stormed at them and at the indifferent people of Manhattan with all the passion of a patriot, but they would not fight.

Doubtless the Dutch were not wanting in courage, but their property interests were imperiled, and they chose to save their homes at the expense of patriotism. On the 8th of September, 1664, New Amsterdam surrendered and New Netherland ceased to exist. The English flag was raised over the fort and the name of New York was substituted for that of New Amsterdam and as the name of the whole province. Two weeks afterwards Fort Orange on the Hudson was surrendered and received the name of Albany, in commemoration of the Duke's second title. The Swedish and Dutch settlements on the Delaware also capitulated. England triumphed over her rivals. The conquest was complete. The supremacy of Great Britain in central North America was henceforth firmly established. From the northeastern extremity of Maine to the southern limits of Georgia every mile of the American coast acknowledged the dominion of the English flag and crown.

With this revolution of 1664 we come to a succession of English governors who held rule in New York to the close of the century. Of these Richard Nicolls remained in office for three years, when he was superseded by Lord Lovelace. The latter left behind him a reputation for tyranny and arbitrary rule. He held authority until 1673, when the counter-revolution of that year occurred. The Dutch, having gone to war with England, sent out a squadron to reclaim their American colony. For the nonce the expedition was successful. New York was seized and the supremacy of Holland was for a brief season restored in the country between the Connecticut and the Maryland. In the following year Charles II. was obliged by Parliament to make a treaty of peace with the Dutch government. This was done, but the treaty contained a clause for the restoration of all conquests made during the war. New York thus reverted to England, and the rights of the Duke of York,

whatever they were, were again confirmed over the province. The Duke, however, took the precaution to make his authority doubly secure by obtaining from his brother, the King, a new patent confirmatory of the former charter.

Reference has already been made to the arrival of Sir Edmond Andros as governor of New York. Andros attempted to establish his authority, but the people resisted him to the verge of insurrection. He hoped to obtain recognition as governor of all the middle colonies; but in this expectation, however, he was resisted and frustrated in the same manner as he was destined to be by the people of New England. There was a constant broil between the governor and his council on the one side and the popular assembly and citizens on the other. This state of civil commotion extended to 1683, when Andros was superseded by Thomas Dongan, a Catholic.

Under the administration of Dongan the form of the government was changed. The assembly of the people was recognized as a part of the colonial management. All freeholders were granted the right of suffrage; trial by jury was established, and it was agreed that taxes should not henceforth be levied upon the people except by consent of the General Assembly. It was provided that soldiers should not be quartered on the people; that martial law should not exist; that men should not be distressed or persecuted on account of their religious beliefs. All the rights and privileges which the people of Massachusetts and Virginia had gained under their charters and by the plan of self-government were carefully adopted by the law-makers of New York in their early constitution.

In the year after the beginning of Dongan's administration an important treaty was concluded at Albany. In July of that year the governors of New York and Virginia were met in convention by the sachems of the Iroquois,

and the terms of the lasting peace were agreed upon. At this time the reign of Charles II., of bad fame, drew to a close. In 1685 he died, and his brother, the Duke of York, was raised to the throne with the title of James II. For more than twenty years now past a reaction against popular liberty and against Protestantism had been going on in England under the patronage and leadership of the crown. In his later years Charles II. had virtually gone back to the Mother Church. King James who succeeded him was in heart and fact a Catholic. The old principles of government which had been avowed and practiced by the House of Tudor were again assumed as axioms of the administration and were acted upon as far as the temper of the English nation would permit.

In this reactionary policy James II. was bolder than his brother. He applied his theory not only to the home administration of England, but everywhere. As soon as he was seated on the throne he proceeded to violate the pledges which he had made to his American subjects. He became the open antagonist of the very government which had been established under his own lieutenants in New York. He abrogated the popular legislature of that province. He imposed an odious tax by arbitrary decree on the people. He forbade printing-presses, and restored all the old abuses under which the colony had labored and groaned in times past.

Late in 1686 Sir Edmond Andros received his commission as governor of all New England. As his deputy he sent to New York and New Jersey Francis Nicholson to act in his name and by his authority. Governor Dongan was superseded, and New York was converted into a dependency of New England. Reference has already been made to the revolution of 1688 which expelled James II. from the kingdom and carried away with him all of his de-

pendents and partisatis. The government of Andros in New England and of his lieutenant, Nicholson, in New York was immediately overthrown. The governor and his adherents were glad to escape from the country, hearing behind them as they fled the huzzas with which the Americans hailed the accession of William of Orange to the throne of England.

In New York the expulsion of Nicholson from the government had been effected by an actual rebellion of the people. The leader of the insurrection was a certain Jacob Leisler and his son-in-law named Milborne. These led the revolt with a high hand, and though their action could hardly be condemned by the crown, since it was a part of the revolution in England, yet the deputy-governor, Colonel Sloughter, who was sent out by William and Mary, was induced by the enemies of Leisler and Milborne to have them arrested, condemned and hanged.

Sloughter's administration began in 1691; but he was soon superseded by Benjamin Fletcher, who held office until the invasion of New York by the French under Governor Frontenac, of Canada, in 1696. Two years afterwards came the Earl of Bellomont, an Irish nobleman of excellent character and popular sympathies. His administration, succeeding that of Fletcher, lasted for nearly four years and was the happiest period in the history of the colony. His authority was recognized as far as the River Housatonic. At one time Massachusetts and New Hampshire were under his jurisdiction. The colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, however, refused to acknowledge his rule. It was during his administration that the coasts and merchant vessels of the eastern and middle colonies were kept in alarm by the ravages of the famous sea-marauder, Captain William Kidd, the pirate.

Bellomont's administration ended in 1702. He was

succeeded by Lord Cornbury, who arrived at New York in May of that year; but his character, manners and policy were wholly different from those of his predecessor. He soon broke with the popular assembly, and each succeeding legislature resisted his authority more and more. Petitions were circulated for his removal from office. The councilors chose their own treasurer, refused to make appropriations, cut down the revenue and vexed the governor with opposition until after six years of turmoil and dissension he was not only compelled to retire from office, but was impoverished and ruined. He was succeeded by Lord Lovelace, who bore a commission from Queen Anne, the new sovereign of England. As for Cornbury, he was seized by the people and imprisoned for debt, until by his father's death he became a peer of England and could no longer be held in confinement.

New York participated with New England in the events of King William's and Queen Anne's war. The soldiers of the western province joined the army of New England to the number of eighteen hundred in the unsuccessful expedition against Montreal. The united forces of the colonies proceeded as far as South River, east of Lake George. Here the news came that the English fleet which had been expected to co-operate with the American provincials in the reduction of Quebec had been sent to Portugal. The squadron of New England was not sufficiently strong to attempt the capture of the Canadian stronghold, and the troops of New York and New Jersey were obliged to retreat to their own countries. A second time, in 1711, an expedition was sent forward to the borders of Canada. In this instance Sir Hovenden Walker conducted an English squadron up the St. Lawrence, but the sequel showed that he was incompetent for such an enterprise. The American forces meanwhile reached Lake George; but the news of

the disaster to Walker's fleet removed all hope of success, and the provincials once more returned to their homes.

We have now, as in the case of Massachusetts and Virginia, carried the narrative of events in New York well forward into the eighteenth century. In 1732 Governor Cosby came into office and his administration was marked with a struggle of the people for the freedom of the press. The liberal newspapers of the province held that the acts of the government were subject to review and criticism in the public journals. The aristocratic party denounced such liberty as mere license, dangerous to the established order and likely to sap the foundation of all authority. In one instance an editor named Zenger published certain hostile criticisms on the policy of the governor and was arrested and imprisoned for so doing. Great excitement ensued; the people became clamorous for the liberation of their champion. Andrew Hamilton, a distinguished lawyer of Philadelphia, was sent for to defend Zenger, who was brought to trial at New York in July of 1735. He was charged with libel against the government; the cause was ably argued and the jury quickly brought in a verdict of acquittal. The aldermen of the city testified their appreciation of Hamilton's services in the cause of liberty by making him a present of an elegant gold box, and the people kindled bonfires in their enthusiasm over the victory which they had gained for a free press.

The year 1741 was marked by the occurrence of what was called the Negro Plot. At this time negro slavery existed in New York and the slaves constituted a considerable fraction of the population. Several destructive fires occurred, and the belief gained currency that these were the work of incendiaries. For some unknown reason the slaves were first distrusted and then suspected. They became objects of fear and hatred. In this condition of affairs some aban-

doned women came forward and informed the authorities that the negroes had conspired to burn the city, kill all who opposed them, and set up one of their own number as governor.

Notwithstanding the absurdity of this rumor, the people in their terror were ready to believe it. The reward of freedom was offered to any slave who would reveal the plot. Many witnesses rushed forward, telling foolish and contradictory stories about the conspiracy, and the jails were soon filled with the accused. More than thirty of the miserable creatures, with hardly a form of trial, were convicted and then hanged or burned to death. Others were transported and sold as slaves in foreign lands. No sooner, however, had the excitement passed and the people regained their senses than it came to be doubted whether the whole shocking affair had not been the result of terror and fanaticism. The verdict of aftertimes has been that there was no plot at all.

In the time of King George's war New York was several times invaded by the French and Indians, but these incursions were easily repelled. In the northern part of the State a few villages were abandoned and considerable property in exposed localities destroyed.

CHAPTER IX.

WE have already narrated the settlement of the first colonies in Connecticut. With the founding of Saybrook the valley of the most important river of New England was secured for English plantations. Settlers came and a few years sufficed to populate the valley with several enterprising communities. Scarcely, however, had these established themselves in their future homes when the settlers became involved in a war with the Pequods. This broke out in the year 1633. The crew of a trading vessel was ambushed and murdered by the Indians. What provocation the whites had given is not known. An embassy of sachems went to Boston to apologize for the crime and a treaty was patched up, by the terms of which the Pequods acknowledged the sovereignty of the English King and agreed to become civilized, whatever that might mean.

The Narragansetts had already made a similar agreement with the English. It thus happened that the two principal nations of Indians were brought to peace with each other, and the hereditary fear which the Pequods had entertained of the Narragansetts was removed. It appears that the Pequods soon took advantage of the immunity thus gained to break their compact with the English and to begin on the frontier a series of hostilities. Oldham, captain of a trading vessel, was killed by them, and they in turn were pursued and shot down by the Connecticut militia. Hereupon the suppressed rage of the red men burst out in flames, and war began in earnest.

As soon as fighting was the order of the day the Pequods sought to unite the Narragansetts with them for the extermination of the whites. In this serious mischief they were well-nigh successful. The conspiracy, however, was defeated by the heroic generosity of Roger Williams, who used his influence with the sachems of the Narragansetts to prevent them from making the alliance, as already and more fully described. The Mohegans were in like manner induced to remain at peace with the whites.

In the spring of 1637 an expedition was organized under the command of Captain Mason, who advanced against the Pequods in their own country. He came upon the principal fort of the tribe, attacked it, set the wigwams on fire and made a holocaust of the village and its wretched inhabitants. Only seven of the warriors are said to have escaped. Six hundred men, women and children perished, nearly all of them being roasted to death in one hideous heap in the flames. The Pequod nation was destroyed. Not a wigwam was spared. The few who were taken prisoners were distributed as servants among the Mohegans and the Narragansetts.

Just after the close of the Pequod war New Haven was founded by a company of colonists from Boston. In 1639 the settlers held a convention *in a barn*, and adopted the Bible as the constitution of the State! The government was called the "House of Wisdom," and seven of the leading men were called the Seven Pillars. Theophilus Eaton, first and greatest of the Pillars, was chosen governor for twenty years consecutively. About this time the first settlements were planted on the opposite shores of Long Island Sound, where pleasant villages appeared before the middle of the century.

The civil organization of Connecticut may be dated from 1639. Delegates from the three principal towns came to-

gether at Hartford and adopted a simple constitution, in which the only qualification of citizenship was an oath of allegiance to the State. All religious opinions were alike tolerated and respected.

In 1643 Connecticut became a member of the union of New England. New Haven, which had not adopted the Connecticut constitution, was also admitted. In the following year Saybrook was annexed to the parent colony. Up to the middle of the century fears were constantly entertained of a conflict with the Dutch. In 1650, however, Governor Stuyvesant and the commissioners of Connecticut met at Hartford and framed a treaty, by which the boundary between his province and that of the English was established. In the brief space of a year war broke out between England and Holland, and the conflict was about to be renewed in America ; but before the colonists actually took up arms news of peace arrived, and the war was happily averted.

When monarchy was restored in England, Connecticut at once recognized Charles II. as their rightful sovereign. In doing so, they were moved not so much by their political principles as by the hope of obtaining from that monarch a charter for their colony ; for none such had as yet been secured. The younger Winthrop was sent in this interest to London with a constitution which the Hartford patriots had drawn for themselves. This the King was induced to sign, and Winthrop came back in high spirits to the rejoicing people of Connecticut. The charter was liberal to the last degree, conceding everything but independence to the people. After this Winthrop was chosen governor annually for fourteen consecutive years. Meanwhile the population greatly increased ; peace reigned ; the husbandman was undisturbed in the field and the workman in his shop.

In 1675—as already narrated—Sir Edmond Andros arrived as the governor of New York, and Captain Bull, who commanded the fort at Saybrook, was ordered to surrender the fort to the new official. The order was disregarded, and when Andros, having come to land, undertook to read his commission, he was resisted, and finally obliged to go back foaming with anger to his ship. Eleven years later, however, Andros became governor of all New England. He established his authority first in the three eastern colonies and then came to Hartford. He went into the provincial assembly and wrote *Finis* at the bottom of the secretary's book of minutes! He demanded the surrender of the charter; but a debate ensued, and as the shades of evening fell Captain Joseph Wadsworth stole the coveted instrument and hid it in the famous Charter Oak—so called from this heroic and romantic incident. Andros succeeded for the time in establishing his authority, but two years afterwards was overthrown and expelled from the colonies, as already narrated.

In 1693, when Governor Fletcher of New York was holding rule in that province, he made an unwarranted attempt to extend his authority over Connecticut. His commission from King William gave warrant for such a proceeding, but the colonial charter forbade it. When he attempted, therefore, to assume command of the militia at Hartford, Captain Wadsworth caused the drums to be beaten. "Silence, silence!" exclaimed the enraged governor. "Drum, drum!" shouted the captain. The controversy waxed hot, until Wadsworth threatened the would-be governor with a volley from the colonial muskets. Thereupon Fletcher retreated from the contest and Connecticut retained her liberties.

"I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." Such were the words of ten ministers who, in the

year 1700, met at the village of Branford, a few miles east of New Haven. Each of them as he uttered the words deposited a few volumes on the table around which they were sitting. Such was the founding of Yale College. Two years afterwards the school was formally opened at Saybrook, from which place it was removed to New Haven in 1717. One of the most liberal patrons of the college was Elihu Yale, from whom the famous institution of learning derived its name.

During the first half of the eighteenth century and up to the outbreak of the French and Indian war, all the western districts of New England enjoyed a period of prosperity. The blessings of free institutions and of unbroken peace were realized in full measure by the people of Connecticut. Want was unknown and pauperism unheard of in the colony. Wealth was little cared for and crime of rare occurrence among a people with whom intelligence and virtue were the only foundations of nobility.

The story of the exile of Roger Williams from Salem and Boston has already been told. West of the Narragansett the wanderer, with a few companions who had joined him at Seekonk, laid out the settlement of Providence Plantation. This was in the summer of 1636. Williams was a man of the largest abilities and great attainments in scholarship—according to the standard of the age. Religiously he was affiliated with that most radical body of dissenters called Anabaptists. He had himself received baptism in infancy; but he came at length to doubt the validity of the ordinance so performed and determined to receive a second baptism. For this duty he selected a layman by whom he was baptized and whom he in turn baptized, with ten other exiles of the colony. Such was the organization of the first Baptist Church in America.*

* The regular Baptists do not concede the organization of their Church to

Civil government followed in the simplest of simple forms. The beginning of formal society in Rhode Island was democratic in the last degree. Williams reserved for himself no rank or privilege. The lands which were purchased from the Indians were freely and equally distributed among the colonists. The governor toiled like the rest in the tilling of his two small fields. The constitution was at first a simple agreement signed by all the settlers that in all matters except those of conscience they would yield to the rule of the majority.

The "Government," moreover, bore the test of experience. Providence Plantation had peace and prosperity. At one time the magnanimity of Roger Williams led to a movement among his friends at Boston for his recall from banishment; but the ministers of Boston hotly opposed the proposition, saying that his principles and teachings would subvert the commonwealth of Massachusetts! So the proposal was rejected.

In 1638 a new company of exiles from the parent colony arrived at Rhode Island. These were led by John Clarke, William Coddington and Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. The exiles left Massachusetts to found a new colony on the Delaware; but Roger Williams bade them welcome, and Sir Henry Vane, at that time governor of Massachusetts, induced Miantonomoh, sachem of the Narragansetts, to make to the exiles a gift of the island of Rhode Island. Here the colony was planted. Portsmouth was founded first. As to a frame of government, the little band concluded that they would take ancient Israel as a model. They accordingly

Roger Williams, but regard Dr. John Clarke, of Rhode Island, as the true father of the Baptist denomination in America. Much controversy has grown out of the dispute between the two parties. Volumes have been written in behalf of each. The congregation organized by Williams was first in time; that organized by Dr. Clarke had the sanction of regularity and is accepted by regular Baptists as their original.

established a little theocracy and William Coddington was elected judge. Strange spectacle to behold on an island in Narragansett Bay the restoration or attempted revival of a form of society which had perished three thousand years before!

It was not long till the Israel of Narragansett Bay proved a failure; but the colony did not fail or wane. On the contrary, it waxed and multiplied. The establishment of a civil government succeeded the theocracy in 1641. The new style of civil affairs was entitled a "Democracie," or government by the people. The supreme authority was lodged with the whole body of freemen; and freemen in this instance meant everybody. On the seal of the State was written *Amor Vincet Omnia*—Love will conquer all things.

Rhode Island was not permitted to enter the union of New England. The refusal of the parent colony to accept those of Narragansett Bay on terms of equality and the claim now advanced by Plymouth to jurisdiction over the prosperous settlements in that region alarmed the people of Rhode Island, and they determined to make secure their political existence by obtaining a royal charter. For this purpose Roger Williams was appointed plenipotentiary of the two plantations and sent to London. There he was received by his old friend, Sir Henry Vane, who aided him in obtaining from Parliament the grant of a charter. Great was the rejoicing when the ambassador came back to his people bearing the Parliamentary patent. He was received with shouts by the people of Seekonk, who conducted him in triumph to his home at Providence.

The future history of Rhode Island was prosperous and full of promise. After the restoration of the colony through the agency of George Baxter, the people secured from King Charles II. the confirmation and reissuance of their charter,

and were thus firmly established as an independent democratic State. Such was the condition of affairs when near the close of the century Sir Edmond Andros arrived, broke the seal of the colony, subverted the government, appointed an irresponsible council and left the little "Democracie" in ruins.

The usurpation, however, was brief. In 1689 James II. and his royal governors and satellites passed away together. On May day of the following year the people of Rhode Island restored their liberties. The old democratic institutions were revived and Walter Clarke was re-elected governor. He was, however, fearful of accepting, as was also Governor Almy who was chosen in his stead. It remained for an octogenarian Quaker named Henry Bull to accept the trust and restore the old form of government. Again the little State around the Bay of the Narragansetts began to prosper. For a period of fifty years the peace of the colony was unbroken. The principles of the great founder became in large measure the principles of the commonwealth—and have remained such to the present day.

Before closing the present chapter, we may glance at the development of Maryland, the principal southern colony after Virginia. Leonard Calvert treated the natives in the neighborhood of his settlement of St. Mary's with great liberality. The consequence was that the settlers had peace and plenty. The Indians and the colonists interchanged commodities and both were profited. Within six months the colony at St. Mary's grew into greater prosperity than that at Jamestown had reached in as many years. The pledge of civil and religious liberty made by the founder was fully redeemed; nor should the reader fail to remember that this example of almost perfect toleration on the part of the Catholics preceded by fully two years the first settlement of Rhode Island.

In 1633 the first assembly of the freemen of Maryland was convened at St. Mary's. Colonial legislation proper began two years afterwards; but owing to the destruction of the records for the first ten years not much is known of the spirit and tendency of the primitive legislation of the colony. It is certain, however, that there were serious difficulties to contend with. Clayborne, who had planted a settlement on Kent Island, resisted Lord Baltimore's authority. A petty war broke out. A few were killed and one or two persons executed before the Clayborne settlement was subdued.

In 1639 representative government was established in Maryland. Soon afterwards when the news came of the English Revolution the Indians began to show signs of hostility, and in 1642 war broke out between the colonists and the natives. The conflict was less destructive and barbarous than usually happened in the case of Indian wars, and after two years of hostility a treaty was made with the savages.

The religious statutes of the colony favoring toleration date from 1649. In these freedom of conscience was guaranteed to all. One of the remarkable spectacles of the time was witnessed in the refuge which was furnished by the Catholic colonists of the Chesapeake for certain persecuted Protestants who had been proscribed and banished by other Protestants of the neighboring colonies. The bigotry of the age was further illustrated in the conduct of the Puritan and Republican party when that party gained the ascendant during the time of the commonwealth in England. The first act of the body was to acknowledge the supremacy of Cromwell, and the next was to disfranchise and outlaw the Catholics! The result was necessarily a civil war.

For several years the conflict continued until, in 1658, a compromise was effected by which Josias Fendall, deputy

of Lord Baltimore, was acknowledged as governor. The acts of the Protestant assemblies, on the other hand, were recognized as valid and a general amnesty was declared for all offenses.

After the death of Oliver Cromwell the people of Maryland were perplexed to choose a policy. At length, however, they declared their independence. This led to a setting aside of the rights of Lord Baltimore and the abrogation of his council. The same course was taken by the people of Virginia. As soon as it was known, however, that Charles II. had been restored to the throne the rights of the Baltimores were revived and recognized. Governor Fendall, who had in the meantime espoused the cause of independence, was now seized and tried for treason, but his life was saved by the clemency of Lord Baltimore.

In 1675 Sir Charles Calvert succeeded to the estates and titles of the Baltimores, and for sixteen years exercised proprietary rights as governor of Maryland. The population of the colony had now increased to more than ten thousand. The laws of the province were carefully revised on the same liberal principles which had been adopted by the first Lord Baltimore. The English Revolution of 1688 brought great confusion to the colonists of the Chesapeake. The deputy of Lord Baltimore hesitated to acknowledge William and Mary as the rightful sovereigns. A rumor was spread abroad by the Protestant party that the Catholics had leagued with the Indians for the destruction of all who opposed them. This led again to war, and the Catholic party was compelled to surrender the government.

These circumstances gave opportunity and excuse to King William to interfere decisively in the affairs of the colony. On the 1st of June, 1691, the charter of Lord Baltimore was arbitrarily taken away and a royal governor appointed over the province. Sir Lionel Copley was commis-

sioned and came out to Maryland in 1692. Not only the old patent, but the principles on which that patent was founded, were swept away. The Episcopal Church was established by law and a system of taxation was invented for its support. Religious toleration was abolished on the very scene of its greatest triumphs! For twenty-four years this condition of affairs continued until, in 1715, Queen Anne was induced to restore the heir of Lord Baltimore to the rights of his ancestors. Maryland again became a proprietary government, under the authority of the Calverts, and so continued until the Revolutionary War.

It remains to notice briefly the progress of the two Carolinas. The Albemarle County colony had for its first governor William Drummond. Shortly afterwards the Clarendon County colony was planted under the governorship of Sir John Yeamans. Both settlements flourished. Immigration was rapid, and within a single year eight hundred people settled along the River Chowan.

As for government, the task was assigned to Sir Ashley Cooper, who appointed the philosopher John Locke to prepare a constitution. In 1669 that learned man produced his frame of government called the Grand Model. The sequel showed that it had been better named the Grand Absurdity. Locke had provided in the pompous instrument for the organization of an empire in which there were to be many orders of nobility—dukes, earls and marquises, knights, lords and esquires, baronial courts, heraldic ceremony and every sort of feudal nonsense that the human imagination could conceive. Such was the magnificent constitution which wisdom had planned for the government of a few colonists who lived on venison and potatoes and paid their debts with tobacco.

The people of Carolina, however, proceeded to organize for self-government after the simple manner of pioneers.

The Grand Model was found impossible of application and after twenty years was cast aside. The soil of Clarendon County was poor, and in 1671 the greater number of colonists were removed to the mouth of the Ashley River. By the close of the century the primitive settlement was abandoned, but Albemarle County was more prosperous.

In 1680 the notorious Seth Sothel became deputy-governor of Carolina; but he was fortunately captured by pirates, and did not arrive until 1683. For five years he defrauded and oppressed the people, until he was finally overthrown and sentenced by the General Assembly to disfranchisement and twelve months' banishment from North Carolina. Other governors followed of greater prudence and probity. Immigration continued, principally from Virginia and Maryland. Quakers came from New England and the Delaware.

In 1707 a band of French Huguenots arrived from France. A hundred families of German refugees escaped from their distant homes beyond the Rhine to find asylum on the banks of the Neuse. Peasants from Switzerland came, and founded New Berne at the mouth of Trent River. Meanwhile the Indian nations receded and wasted away. Peace was maintained with the natives until 1711, when a brief war completed the ruin of the natives and expelled them from the better parts of North Carolina.

Such in general was the course of events in the northern colony until its separation from the southern. This was effected in 1729. The Cape Fear River was made the dividing line, and a royal governor was appointed for each of the two colonies. In South Carolina immigration had not lagged. Many circumstances favored the settlement of this province and few disasters retarded it.) Old Charleston remained the capital until the year 1680, when the present metropolis was founded on the peninsula called Oyster Point, between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers.

The best nations of Europe contributed to the population of New Charleston and of the whole country between the Cape Fear and the Savannah. Hither came in great numbers the French Huguenots. They were met by the proprietaries with pledges of protection and promise of citizenship ; but for a season they were treated with distrust by the English colonists. Not until 1697 were all discriminations against the French immigrants removed. A just civil administration of the colony was not obtained until 1695, when John Archdale, a distinguished and talented Quaker, was appointed governor. Under his influence a law was enacted by which the Huguenots were admitted to full citizenship, and all Christians *except the Catholics* were enfranchised. The ungenerous exception was made by the assembly against the governor's will.

Early in the eighteenth century the Church of England was established by law in South Carolina. All the dissenters were disfranchised. An appeal was made by the minority to the proprietaries of the province, but they refused to listen. The appeal was then carried to Parliament, and by that body it was decided that the proprietaries had forfeited their charter. The legislature thereupon revoked its own act ; but the Episcopal Church remained as the religious establishment of South Carolina.

In 1729 seven of the eight proprietaries of the Carolinas sold their entire claims in the provinces to the King. Lord Carteret, the eighth, would surrender nothing but his right of jurisdiction, reserving his share in the soil. Royal governors were hereupon appointed, and the affairs of South Carolina were settled on a permanent basis not to be disturbed for more than forty years.

The people who colonized the Carolinas were brave and chivalrous. On the banks of the Santee, the Edisto and the Combahee were gathered some of the best elements of the

European nations. Equally with the rugged Puritans of the North the Carolinians were lovers of liberty. Without the severe morality and formal manners of the Pilgrims, the people became the leaders in courtly politeness and high-toned honor between man and man. In the coming struggle for freedom and independence the colonists of the South, now risen to the stature of American citizens, showed themselves to be worthy descendants of their ancestors. They joined hands with their fellows of the North in the Declaration of Independence, suffered in that great cause, and helped as much as any to vindicate it with their swords.

BOOK SECOND.
EPOCH OF INDEPENDENCE.

CHAPTER X.

WE are here to enter upon an account of the first movements made in common by the American colonies—the first half-conscious attempts of our thirteen primitive republics to enter into union. Such had been the nature of the various colonial establishments—such the diverse nationalities and antagonistic principles which had contributed to form the early plantations—that few or none of our citizens of the first half of the eighteenth century accepted as true the aphorism, “In union there is strength.”

On the contrary, the fathers held practically the notion that strength lay in diversity and independence. The founders of the American colonies came to America to find individuality, freedom, the liberty of localism, exemption from the exactions of authority and the hardships of power. The isolation of the early American settlements may well remind the reader of the bristling individualism of the ancient Greek democracies. If there ever is to be an American Union, therefore, the old-time spirit and purpose of the colonists must be changed, transformed into a new mood and tense, turned into a different channel of will and action.

It is needless to point out the manner in which such changes are historically effected. War is the usual agent which history adopts in the destruction of social and race

prejudices. Although new prejudices are produced thereby, the old are extinguished. It was destined to be so in the case of our American colonies. Their segregation was to be overcome and their prejudices finally abated, not indeed by one war, but by many. We have now arrived at the time when an intercolonial conflict was imminent and when the English colonists in America must out of the sentiment of safety join their issues in a common cause against a common foe. This movement was the beginning of American independence. We should not wait for the passage of the Stamp Act, for the Boston Tea-party, the Port Bill, the coming of a British army from Halifax to the metropolis of New England, the meeting of a Colonial Congress, the flash of musketry at Lexington or on the slopes of Breed's Pasture—to note the beginning of our War for Independence. That decisive and world-changing event began with the first tentative efforts of the American colonies to act as one. The sentiment of unity was the germ of nationality, and whenever the first appeared the second began to be.

Before entering upon an account of the French and Indian war (for that is the conflict to which reference is made in the preceding paragraphs) it is appropriate to sketch briefly the general condition of our colonial republics at the middle of the eighteenth century—to give some account of their attainments, dispositions, tendencies and purposes while they still stood asunder under the influence of the forces which had created them as distinct entities on our coasts.

The colonies were thirteen in number. Four of them constituted New England, namely, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire. Four were Middle Colonies—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware. Five were Southern Colonies—Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. All had grown and prospered. True, the rate of progress—as

progress is estimated at the close of the nineteenth century—was exceedingly slow, but it was nevertheless progress. The elements of power, rather than the exhibition of power, were present in all the colonies. A willful, patriotic and vigorous race of democrats had taken possession of the Atlantic seaboard and had fitted themselves with skill and courage to their new environment. Institutions unknown in Europe, peculiar to the situations of these peoples in the New World, made necessary by the conditions and surroundings of the colonies, had sprung up and taken deep root in American soil.

At the middle of the eighteenth century the entire population of the old thirteen colonies was about a million and a half. Ten years later the estimates recorded a million six hundred and ninety-five thousand souls. Of these about three hundred and ten thousand were blacks. Massachusetts was at this period the strongest colony, having more than two hundred thousand people of European ancestry within her borders. True, Virginia had a greater aggregate population, numbering altogether two hundred and eighty-four thousand inhabitants; but of these a hundred and sixteen thousand were Africans—slaves. Next in order stood Pennsylvania with her population of nearly two hundred thousand; next Connecticut with her hundred and thirty thousand people; next Maryland with a hundred and four thousand; then New York with eighty-five thousand; New Jersey not quite as many; then South Carolina, and so through the feebler colonies to Georgia, in whose borders were fewer than five thousand inhabitants, including the negroes.

By the middle of the century the people of the American colonies had, to a certain extent, approximated a common character. The old-time differences, however, still existed to a marked degree. The peculiarities which the ancestors

of the colonists had brought with them from Europe were retained by their descendants, though with a measure of modification. In New England, particularly in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the principles and practices of Puritanism still prevailed, and were universally recognized as the foundations of good society. To a certain extent, however, the lineaments of the system as it had existed at the middle of the seventeenth century were softened and relaxed. Though the Church was still dominant over secular society, its tyranny was not so absolute and galling as it had been aforetime.

On the banks of the Hudson the manners and customs of Holland were still prevalent, in some districts almost as prevalent as they had been a hundred years before. In other parts of New York, the English language and people had predominated. This was particularly true at New York City, which by this time had become thoroughly Anglicized. Beyond the Delaware the Quakers had gathered in great numbers. They controlled the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and gave form to society. Other elements had been freely admitted into the colony, but were not thus far sufficiently strong to bring serious innovations upon the simple methods of civil and social life introduced by Penn and his companions.

An exception to this peaceful condition and freedom of opinion was found, however, in the general bearing of society against the Moravians, who, though somewhat like the Quakers, were yet made objects of the bitterest persecutions, particularly in New York and Connecticut, where the Catholics held them in extreme aversion. They were charged with inciting the Iroquois Indians to hostility in the interest of France, and other specific allegations of perfidy were made to incite popular hatred and thus to justify the abuses to which they were subjected. Refusing to subscribe to an

oath on religious scruples, this refusal was made the excuse for the passage of a law prohibiting any person living in the province who objected to being bound by such obligation. In order to carry this iniquitous law into effect, the Moravians were attacked in the most inhuman manner and driven with blows from their fields, homes and workshops, by which persecutions the Moravian missions had to be abandoned. Intolerance did its work, and bigotry was accordingly increased, to the insecurity of society.

On the northern bank of the Potomac, the youthful Frederick, the sixth Lord Baltimore, a frivolous and dissolute personage, ruled the people who still conformed to the order of things established a century and a quarter previously by Sirs George, Cecil and Leonard Calvert. The revolutions to which the province had been subjected had abated somewhat its distinctly Catholic character; but the Mother Church was still in great reputation and power. Baltimore had grown to be an important city, though the province as a whole had been pressed between the two powerful colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia, until the territory had been narrowed in some parts almost to a thread.

In Virginia, the mother of States and statesmen, the people had retained their old peculiarities. Here pride of ancestry more than elsewhere had prevailed to give an aristocratic cast to society. The Virginians had cultivated a somewhat haughty demeanor. They had taken their models from the English nobility. Broad estates gave honor to those who possessed them. Fondness for the aristocratic life, and in particular for the sports of the aristocracy, had become a passion. There was much seclusiveness, but it was accompanied with hospitality; great dignity, hauteur, artificialities of honor; but these were blended with a sincere love of freedom.

The North Carolinians were at this epoch the same rugged and insubordinate race of hunters that they had always been. They were pioneers by preference. To them commerce and the city life had few attractions. They carried their personal peculiarities into the civil affairs of the colony. The legislative assembly in its controversies with Governor Dobbs manifested all the intractable stubbornness which characterized that body in the days of Seth Sothel.

In South Carolina there was much prosperity and happiness; but there, too, popular liberty had been enlarged by the constant encroachment of the Legislature upon the royal prerogative. The people were mostly of French descent, and were as hot-blooded and jealous of their rights as their Huguenot ancestors had been in the time of their exile and banishment. Very elegant and proud and high-mannered was the little society of the upper blood, which might be seen in the homes and evening parties of Charleston at the middle of the eighteenth century. Not a little fine dress was there—much chivalry among the young men of the day—much beauty and fine bearing among the ladies of the little seaport city.

Of all the colonies Georgia had at this time the least strength and spirit. Under the system of government established at the first the commonwealth had languished. Perhaps the liberated debtors from the English jails and their first descendants were not able to rise at once into a large prosperity. It was not until 1754, when Governor Reynolds assumed control of the colony, that the affairs of the people on the Savannah began to flourish. Even afterwards something of the indigence and want of thrift and spirit which had marked the followers of Oglethorpe still prevailed in Georgia. Nevertheless, after making allowance for all these differences of colonial character as they might be noted in the sixth decade of the century, a considerable

degree of American unity had been attained. Intercolonial relations had been established by which even the remotest colonies were in some slight degree bound the one to the other. The old religious prejudices had softened under the influence of time and intelligence, and the people as a whole were far less antagonistic, individual and sectional than they had been in the seventeenth century.

In the matter of education New England had from the first taken the lead. She had at an early date established the system of free schools, and these were now extended to every village and hamlet from the Penobscot to the Hudson. Each town or district furnished its own local facilities for the acquirement of knowledge. So complete and universal were the means of instruction that in the epoch immediately preceding the Revolution there was said not to be found in all New England an adult born in the country who could not read and write! Whatever, therefore, may have been the narrowness and bigotry of Puritanism as a system of religion, its record on the question of education is worthy to be written in gold.

True it is that the universal education of a people situated as the New England colonists were during the first half of the eighteenth century is an easy task as compared with the universal instruction of such a people as now inhabit the same States of the Union. In the present age the volume of population is vastly expanded. The difficulty of a general supervision over society is infinitely greater than when a few towns and villages, with salubrious country districts stretching between, furnished the whole body of the people. Now the waters of population are disturbed with cross currents and made muddy with the discharge therein of a hundred foreign streams. A vast municipal life of depravity, ignorance, vice, ambition, luxury on the one hand and squalor on the other, has succeeded to the simple and

wholesome life which still prevailed in the New England of a hundred and fifty years ago. Still, after allowance for all this shall have been fully made, we must be convinced, as before, that the success of the Puritan colonies in promoting the institution of free schools and in making universal education not only a possibility but a fact stands unparalleled in the history of the Western nations.

In the Middle Colonies education was not so general. In Pennsylvania, however, there was a wholesome system of public schools and much intelligent activity among the people. In this colony the greatest distinction was achieved by individuals. Here it was that the illustrious Franklin scattered the light of learning, not only in Philadelphia and the Quaker commonwealth, not only throughout the American colonies, but even to foreign shores.

South of the Potomac educational facilities were insufficient and irregular. The schools in these parts were generally designed for the benefit of the wealthier classes. In some localities, however, the means of enlightenment were well provided. Institutions of learning sprang up scarcely inferior to those of the eastern provinces or of Europe. Education in the South, however, was rather a matter of personal than of social enterprise. Men established schools, while villages and hamlets and towns neglected to do so. It could hardly be said, therefore, that in the South—taking Virginia as the standard—the people were educated. Certainly they were not universally instructed even in the rudiments of learning. The private schools generally owed their origin to those who taught therein. Many men—Scottish reformers, Irish liberals and French patriots—despising the bigotry and intolerance of their countrymen, fled for refuge to the New World, and there by the banks of the Housatonic, the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, the Ashley and the Savannah, taught the lore of books

and the lesson of civil liberty to the rugged boys of the American wilderness.

Among the Southern Colonies Virginia led the van in educational enterprises. The Virginian youth born in the middle decades of the eighteenth century were among the largest brained of the sons of men. Such must needs be educated. They themselves would find a way or make it. Some found it in private academies ; some with individual teachers who had been well educated in the universities of Europe ; others in the colleges of the commonwealth ; while only a few were sent abroad for instruction. The planters of this period were fully able to give their sons liberal educations in the universities of the mother country ; but there was clearly a growing dislike of foreign instruction and an increasing preference for the home institution of learning such as it was.

In Maryland, the Carolinas and Georgia the cause of education lagged behind. Previous to the Revolution nine colleges worthy of the name had been established in the American colonies. These were Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, King's (now Columbia), Brown, Queen's (afterwards called Rutger's), Dartmouth, and Hampden and Sydney. In 1764 the first medical college in America was founded in Philadelphia.

We have already spoken of the early institution of the printing-press. This great agent and forerunner of civilization abounded—not in the sense that it abounds at the present day, but relatively to the condition and activities of society. Before the Revolution the press was already effective as an organ of opinion and promoter of public rights. As early as 1774 the *Boston News Letter*, first of periodicals in the New World, was published in the city of the Puritans. Fifteen years elapsed, however, before another experiment of the same sort was made. In 1721 the

New England *Courant*, a little sheet devoted to free thought and the extinction of rascality, was established at Boston by the two Franklins—James and Benjamin. As late as 1740 New York had but one periodical, Virginia one, and South Carolina one; and at the close of the French and Indian war there were no more than ten newspapers published in the American colonies.

Perhaps the chief obstacles to such publications were the absence of great cities and the difficulty of communication between distant sections of the country. Boston and Philadelphia had each at this period no more than eighteen thousand inhabitants; New York had but twelve thousand. In all Virginia there was not one important town; while from her southern limit as far south as the borders of Florida there was scarcely a considerable village. To reach this widely scattered population with periodical publications was quite impossible. As for popular literature, there was little or none. Books were few, and many of those which the colonial libraries afforded were as husks and straw to the hungry mind of man. Some dry volumes of annals (dignified by the name of history), theology and politics were the only stock and store. On the latter subject the publications were sometimes full of pith and spirit.

It was in the political treatise, great or small, that the pre-Revolutionary author found vent for what wit and wisdom soever nature had given him withal. In this there was freedom. As for religious books, the old theology was in full force and sat like a nightmare on every page. Historical literature had not yet appeared in the earth, at least not since the death of the classical ages, and the novel was generally ruled out by the dogmatic spirit of the age. But notwithstanding this barrenness of books and general poverty of the resources of knowledge, it was no unusual thing to find at the foot of the Virginia mountains, in the

quiet precincts of Philadelphia, by the banks of the Hudson, or in the valleys and towns of New England, a man of great and solid learning. Such a man was Thomas Jefferson; such were Franklin and Livingston, and the Adamses, and of a later date Hamilton—men of profound scholarship, bold in thought, ready with the pen, skillful in argument, studious, witty and eloquent.

Nothing proved to be a greater impediment to the progress of the colonies than the want of roads and thoroughfares. Easy and rapid communication between the different sections was unknown. No general system of post-offices or post-roads had as yet been established; and the people were thus left in comparative or total ignorance of events in neighborhoods and settlements not very remote from their own. As a rule, the people of one colony heard only at a late day, and then by imperfect tradition and flying rumor, of the events of another colony—even events of the greatest importance. No common sentiments could be expressed—no common enthusiasm be kindled in the country by the slow-going mails and packets. The sea-coast towns and cities found a readier intercourse by means of small sloops plying the Atlantic; but the inland districts were almost wholly cut off from this advantage. Roads were slowly built from point to point and lines of travel by coach and wagon were gradually established.

It thus happened that to the very beginning of the Revolution the American colonists lived apart. They were isolated and dependent upon their own resources for life and enjoyment. Doubtless there was in the condition quite a tinge of solitude; but it should be remembered that solitude is one of the greatest and most efficient schools of instruction. In it the faculties acquire a peculiar robustness, a strength and vigor which may well betoken heroic action, patriotism and longevity. It was at this epoch that

the means of inter-communication began to be enlarged and improved. In 1766 an express wagon made the trip from New York to Philadelphia in two days. Such rate of speed was considered a marvel of rapidity! Six years later the first stage-coach began to run regularly between Boston and Providence.*

If we glance at the industrial life we shall find that before the Revolution the Americans were for the most part an agricultural people. Within the tidewater line of Virginia the lands were divided into estates, and the planters devoted themselves almost exclusively to the cultivation of tobacco. Further inland the products were more various. Above the line of tidewater, wheat, corn, potatoes, upland cotton, hemp and flax were easily and abundantly produced. In the Carolinas and Georgia the rice crop was most important; after that, indigo, cotton and some silk; tar, turpentine, and what the hunter and fisherman gathered from the woods and streams. New York, Philadelphia and Boston were then as now the great centers of trade; but commerce was carried on in a slow and awkward manner wholly unlike the rushing activity of more recent times.

One of the most important industrial interests of the colonies was ship-building. In New England the people of the coasts were generally experts in the building and management of ships, such as ships were at the middle of the eighteenth century. In the year 1738 no fewer than forty-one sailing vessels, with an average burden of a hundred and fifty tons, were built and launched at the ship-yards of

* The reader may naturally conclude that the American colonies were greatly behindhand in developing the means of inter-communication; but not so. The classical nations of antiquity built great thoroughfares from State to State; but in the Middle Ages great roads were almost unknown in Europe. Even in England such works lagged to a late period. In so old a country as Scotland there were no great thoroughfares constructed until after the Scotch rebellion of 1745.

Boston. This was done, as all the world knows, in the face of the restrictions laid by the mother country on every marine enterprise promoted among the Americans.

New England was the seat of the principal manufacturing interests of the country. Everything in this direction, however, was checked and impeded by the British Board of Trade, whose arbitrary restrictions acted as a damper on all manner of colonial thrift and enterprise. No sooner would some young and prosperous company of New England men begin the building of a factory than this officious Board would interfere in such a way as to make success impossible. So jealous was the English Ministry of American progress! If previous to the Revolution any colonial manufactures were successfully established, it was done against the will of Great Britain and in spite of her mean and churlish opposition.

Such were the American colonies at the time when they first began to act as one in a common cause. New generations had now arisen with kindlier feelings and more charitable sentiments than had been entertained by the austere fathers of the seventeenth century. New conditions had appeared, new relations of a complex and international character, which were well calculated to bring the people of the American communities into concord and final union of action. The event which history had reserved as the immediate cause of such approximation and union of effort was the event of war.

CHAPTER XI.

IT was the sense of a common danger that led our colonial fathers of 1754 to unite their energies in repelling a foe equally inimical to all. The time was now at hand when the final struggle should occur between France and England for colonial supremacy in America. It was necessity that compelled the English colonies to combine their energies against the French. We may here note briefly the causes of the war which ensued, first in America and afterwards between the parent nations in Europe.

The first and most efficient of these causes was the conflicting territorial claims of France and England. The latter had colonized the American seaboard; the former had colonized the interior of the continent. Great Britain occupied the coast, but her claims reached far beyond her colonies. The English kings had always proceeded upon the theory that the prior discoveries of the Cabots had established a just claim, not only to the countries along the coast, but also to the great inland region stretching westward to the Pacific.

The claims of France were of a different kind. She had colonized first of all the valley of the St. Lawrence. Montreal, one of her earliest settlements, was planted five hundred miles from the sea. In the latter half of the seventeenth century the French pushed their way westward and southward, first along the shores of the Great Lakes, then to the headwaters of the Wabash, the Illinois, the Wisconsin and the St. Croix, then down these streams to the Mississippi, and then to the Gulf of Mexico.

The historical effect and perhaps the conscious purpose of these movements were easily discoverable. The result was to divide North America by circumscribing the English colonies with a broad band of French territory which would enable France to possess first the great river valleys of the interior, and afterwards the better half of the continent. It might indeed have been apprehended *à priori* that France and England, occupying the hither verge of Europe, would be the leading nations to colonize the central parts of North America, and also that these two States would ultimately contend for the mastery in the New World. The events corresponded to expectation.

The work of French colonization in America had been chiefly effected by the Jesuit missionaries. In 1641 Charles Raymbault, first of the great explorers, passed through the northern straits of Lake Huron and entered Lake Superior. In the thirty years that followed the Jesuit missionaries continued their explorations with prodigious activity. Missions were established at various points north of the lakes and in the countries afterwards called Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois. In 1673 Fathers Joliet and Marquette passed from the headwaters of Fox River over the watershed to the upper tributaries of the Wisconsin, and thence down that river in a seven days' voyage to the Mississippi. It was now a hundred and thirty-three years since the discovery of the Father of Waters by De Soto. For a full month the canoe of Joliet and Marquette bore them downward toward the sea. They passed the mouth of the Arkansas River and reached the limit of their voyage at the thirty-third parallel of latitude. Turning their boat up stream they entered the mouth of the Illinois, and returned by the site of Chicago into Lake Michigan and thence to Detroit.

It remained for Robert de La Salle, most illustrious of

the French explorers, to trace the Mississippi to its mouth. This indomitable adventurer built and launched the first ship above Niagara Falls. He sailed westward through Lake Erie and Lake Huron, anchored in Green Bay, crossed Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph, ascended that stream with a few companions, traversed the country to the upper Kankakee and dropped down that stream into the Illinois. Here disasters overtook the expedition and La Salle was obliged to return on foot to Fort Frontenac, a distance of nearly a thousand miles! During his absence Father Hennepin, a member of the company, traversed Illinois, found the Mississippi and ascended the great river as far as the falls of St. Anthony.

In 1681 La Salle reorganized his expedition and sailed down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Afterwards he made his way back to Quebec and then returned to France. He formed vast plans for colonizing the valley of the Mississippi and induced Louis XIV. to take an interest in the enterprise. Four ships, bearing two hundred and eighty emigrants, were equipped and left France in July of 1684. Beaujeu commanded the fleet and La Salle led the colony in person. His plan was to plant a new State on the banks of the lower Mississippi. The captain, however, was headstrong, and against La Salle's entreaties steered the squadron out of its course to the west, so that instead of reaching the mouth of the Mississippi he entered the Bay of Matagorda. Here a landing was effected, but the store-ship was wrecked and lost. Nevertheless a colony was established and Texas became a part of Louisiana.

La Salle now made unwearied efforts to rediscover the Mississippi. It would appear that he was not well informed as to the best direction to be taken in order to reach the great river. His expeditions were attended with many misfortunes; but his own resolute spirit remained tranquil in the

midst of calamity. At last he set out with sixteen companions to cross the continent to Canada. The march began in January of 1687 and continued for sixty days. The wanderers reached the basin of the Colorado. Discontent and treachery had in the meantime arisen in his camp. On the 20th of March, while La Salle was at some distance from the rendezvous, two conspirators of his own company hiding in the prairie grass took a fatal aim and shot the famous explorer dead in his tracks. Only seven of the adventurers succeeded in reaching a French settlement on the Mississippi.

It was thus that the great inland circuit of the American lakes and rivers was revealed by exploration to the knowledge of men. France was not slow to occupy the vast region traversed by the Jesuit fathers. As early as 1688 military posts and missions had been established at Frontenac, at Niagara, at the Straits of Mackinac and on the Illinois River. Before the middle of the eighteenth century permanent settlements had been planted by the French on the Maumee, at Detroit, at the mouth of the St. Joseph, at Green Bay, at Vincennes, on the lower Wabash, on the Mississippi at the mouth of the Kaskaskia, at Fort Rosalie—the present site of Natchez—and on the Gulf of Mexico.

A second cause of the conflict about to ensue was the long-standing animosity of France and England. The rivalry between these two great States of Western Europe was as old as the Dark Ages. The jealousy of the one for the other extended over both land and sea. When at the close of the seventeenth century it was seen that the people of the English colonies outnumbered those of New France by nearly twenty to one, the French government was filled with envy. When by the enterprise of the Jesuit missionaries and explorers the French began to dot the basin of the Mississippi with fortresses and to monopolize the fur

trade with the Indians, England could not conceal her wrath.

A third and more immediate cause of the oncoming war was the conflict of interests, and soon afterwards the conflict of arms between the frontiersmen of the two nations in the Ohio Valley. These difficulties began about the year 1749. By this time the strolling traders and hunters of Virginia and Pennsylvania had made their way through the mountains and begun to frequent the Indian towns on the tributaries of the Ohio. The French traders of Canada visited the same villages, and they and the English were brought into competition in the purchase of furs from the natives.

Virginia, in accordance with the terms of her ancient charters, claimed the whole country between her western borders and the southern shores of Lake Erie. The French fur-gatherers of this district were under this construction intruders in the territories of another State. The Virginians were in no measure disposed to yield or modify their claim. In order to prevent further encroachment a number of the leading men of the colony joined themselves together in a body called the Ohio Company, with a view to the immediate occupation of the disputed country. The leading members of the corporation were Governor Robert Dinwiddie, Lawrence and Augustus Washington and Thomas Lee, President of the Virginia Council.

In March of 1749 George II. of England granted to this company an extensive tract of land covering an aggregate of five hundred thousand acres. The grant was to be located between the Kanawha and the Monongahela, or on the northern bank of the River Ohio. Before the company could send out a colony, however, the French governor of Canada dispatched three hundred men to preoccupy the upper Ohio Valley. In the next year the Ohio Company

sent out its first exploring party under Christopher Gist, who traversed the country and returned to Virginia in 1751.

The issue was now clear. It was simply who should preoccupy and possess the region where the Ohio gathers his waters. The expedition of Gist was followed by vigorous counter movements on the part of the French. The latter built a fort called *Le Bœuf* on French Creek, and another named *Venango* on the Alleghany. About the same time the country south of the Ohio was a second time explored by Christopher Gist and a party of armed surveyors. In 1753 the English constructed a road from Wills's Creek through the mountains, and the first small colony was planted on the *Youghiogeny*.

All of these movements proceeded in superb disregard of the rights of the native races. The Indians were greatly alarmed at this double intrusion of the whites into their country. Thus far the English rather than the French had secured the favor of the red men; but the allegiance of the latter was uncertain. In the spring of 1753 the Miami tribes, under the leadership of a chieftain called the *Half-King*, met Benjamin Franklin at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and made a satisfactory treaty with the English; but the ties thus established were, as the sequel showed, but slight and easily broken.

The great difficulty thus precipitated between the French and the English in the Ohio Valley was for some time almost unnoticed and unknown by the parent nations. The people of the English colonies, however, were greatly excited. The Virginians were ready for war, but Governor *Dinwiddie* determined in the first place to try diplomacy. He would send a formal remonstrance to the French authorities warning them to withdraw and stand off from the territory belonging to Virginia. A paper was drawn up setting forth the nature and validity of the English claim to the valley of the River Ohio, and warning the French against further

intrusion. The young surveyor, George Washington, was called upon by the governor to carry this paper from Williamsburg to General St. Pierre, commandant of the French at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie.

On the last of October, 1753, the youthful Washington set out on his mission. He was attended by four comrades, besides an interpreter and Christopher Gist, the guide. The party reached Youghiogheny and passed down that stream to the site of Pittsburgh. At a place called Logstown Washington held a friendly council with the Indians and then pressed forward to Venango. From this point he traversed the trackless forest to Fort Le Bœuf. Here the conference was held with St. Pierre. Washington was received with French politeness; but the General refused to enter into any discussion of the great questions involved in the remonstrance of Virginia. He was acting, he said, under military instructions, and would presently eject every Englishman from the Ohio Valley.

Bearing this unsatisfactory reply, Washington took leave of the French and returned to the Alleghany with Gist as his only companion. That stream was so filled with floating ice that crossing was extremely perilous. But regardless of the danger, the two intrepid travelers made a rude raft of logs which they launched and upon which they pushed their way through the ice to the opposite shore. Washington left the river at Fort Venango and struck into the woods. Clad in the robe of an Indian; sleeping with frozen clothes on a bed of pine brush; guided at night by the North Star; fired at by a prowling savage from his covert; lodging on an island in the Alleghany until the river was frozen over; plunging again into the forest; reaching Gist's settlement and then the Potomac—the strong-limbed young ambassador came back without wound or scar to the capital of Virginia. The defiant dispatch of

St. Pierre was laid before Governor Dinwiddie, and the first public service of Washington was accomplished.

The next movement of the English was made in the early spring of 1754. A volunteer party led by an explorer named Trent reached the confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, and built the first rude stockade on the site of Pittsburgh. After all the boasting and threats of the French, the English had beaten them and seized the key to the Ohio Valley. It was not to be expected, however, that such an occupation as that of Trent could long be made good in the face of the purpose and forces of the French. The successful establishment of the English fort at the juncture of the two rivers was a short-lived triumph. As soon as the Alleghany was opened for navigation to boats, the French fleet which had been prepared at Venango came sweeping down the river. Trent with his handful of men could offer no successful resistance. He was driven away by the French, who immediately occupied the place, felled the forest trees, built barracks and laid the foundations of Fort Du Quesne.

As for Washington, he had now been commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Virginia militia and stationed at Alexandria to enlist recruits for a campaign into the disputed country. A regiment of a hundred and fifty men had been enrolled; but it was impossible to bring succor to Trent in time to save the post. On the 17th of April the commanding position at the head of the Ohio was surrendered, while Washington was not able to set out from Wills's Creek until the latter part of the same month. Negotiations had now failed. Remonstrances had been tried in vain. The possession of the disputed territory was at length to be determined by the harsher methods of war.

But as yet there was no formal war. France and England were at peace. Dating from the spring of 1754, it was

fully two years before the formal outbreak of the seven years' war in Europe; but the French and English colonies in America were already involved in that conflict which was to decide the possession of the larger and better part of the continent. For good reason, therefore, the struggle upon an account of which we are now to enter has generally been called in American history the French and Indian War.

It fell to Colonel Washington, acting under the authority of Virginia, to begin the conflict. According to his instructions he was to proceed with a regiment of frontier soldiers, like himself wholly inexperienced in war, to build a fort at the source of the Ohio and to repel all who should interrupt the English settlements in that part of the country. Late in April the young commander, now but twenty-two years of age, left Wills's Creek on the toilsome march for his destination. The men were obliged to drag their cannon. The roads were in miserable condition from the spring rains. Rivers were bridgeless and provisions insufficient.

Late in May, 1754, the English reached a place called the Great Meadows, in Pennsylvania. Here Washington learned that the French had anticipated his movement and were on the march to meet him. The little army was halted. A stockade was immediately erected and named Fort Necessity. Washington then conferred with the Mingo chiefs and decided to strike the first blow. Indian guides led the way to where the French were encamped. The latter, however, were on the alert and sprang to arms. "Fire!" was the command of Washington, and the first volley of a great war went flying through the forest. Jumonville, leader of the French, and ten of his party were killed, and twenty-one were made prisoners.

Having won in the initial encounter, Washington returned to Fort Necessity and waited for reinforcements. His waiting, however, was fruitless. Only a single com-

pany of volunteers arrived. The young commander spent the time in cutting a road for twenty miles in the direction of Pittsburgh. He had hoped that the Indians from the Muskingum and the Miami country would join him in the movement against the French, but in this he was disappointed. His whole force numbered about four hundred men. While engaged in opening a road in the direction of the enemy, Washington learned that the French general, De Villiers, was approaching with a large force, and he therefore deemed it prudent to plant himself at Fort Necessity. Scarcely had he succeeded in reaching the fort when on the 3d of July De Villiers came in sight. The stockade was at once surrounded by the French. They stationed themselves on an eminence about sixty yards distant in a position from which they could fire down upon the English with fatal effect. The Indian allies of De Villiers climbed into the tree-tops, where in concealment they could see into the fort. For nine hours, during a rain-storm, the assailants poured an incessant shower of balls upon the little band in the fort. Thirty of Washington's men were killed; but his tranquil presence encouraged the rest and the battle was continued. At length the French commander proposed a parley. Washington, seeing that it would be impossible to hold out much longer, accepted the honorable terms of capitulation which were offered by De Villiers. On the 4th of July—significant day of the future—the English garrison, retaining all its accouterments, marched out of the little fort so bravely defended and withdrew from the country.

Meanwhile a Congress of the American colonies had been called to meet at Albany. The objects had in view were twofold: first, to renew the treaty with the Iroquois confederacy, and secondly, to stir up the colonial authorities to some sort of concerted action against the French. The colonists had become convinced of a disposition on the part

of the Iroquois to go over to the enemy. The recent reverses had encouraged the Indians to renounce their alliance with the English. It was clear that something must be done speedily or the flag of England could never be borne into the vast regions west of the Alleghanies.

The Albany Congress was not wanting in great abilities, No such venerable and dignified body of men had ever before assembled on the American continent. There were Hutchinson of Massachusetts, Hopkins of Rhode Island, Franklin of Pennsylvania and others scarcely less distinguished. After a few days' consultation the Iroquois chieftains, though but half satisfied, were induced to renew their treaty. They promised to remain faithful to the whites in the war with the French and then departed to their own villages.

Already the notion of an American Union had appeared in the vision of the thoughtful. Could the American colonies be united in a single government? This question came before the Albany Convention. On the 10th of July Benjamin Franklin laid before the commissioners the draught of a general constitution. His vast and comprehensive mind, more than any other, had realized the true condition and wants of the country, and he perceived that the thing demanded for the safety and future development of the colonies was a central government for all. How else could revenues be raised, armies be organized and the common welfare be provided for?

According to the proposed plan of union, Philadelphia was to be the capital. The city was central and might be more easily reached than any other, even by the delegates of New Hampshire and Georgia. It was thought and argued that such delegates could reach the seat of government in fifteen or twenty days! Slow-going old patriots! The chief executive of the new confederation was to be a governor-general appointed and supported by the King.

The legislative authority was vested in a Congress, to be composed of delegates chosen triennially by the General Assemblies of the respective provinces. Each colony should be represented in proportion to its contributions to the federal government; but no colony should have fewer than two or more than seven representatives in Congress.

As to the distribution of powers, the right of appointing all military officers and of vetoing objectionable laws was lodged with the governor-general. On the other hand, the appointment of civil officers, the raising of troops, the levying of taxes, the superintendence of Indian affairs, the regulation of commerce, and all the general duties of government should belong to Congress. This body was to convene once a year, to choose its own officers, and remain in session not longer than six weeks. Franklin's plan contained no provision respecting the establishment of a general judiciary for the colonies.

Copies of this constitution were at once transmitted to the several colonial capitals, and were everywhere received with disfavor. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the views and dispositions of the fathers at the middle of the eighteenth century than the reasons which were assigned for the non-acceptance of Franklin's constitution. In Connecticut the paper was rejected. In Massachusetts it was opposed, and in New York coldly and indifferently adopted. The chief objection urged against the instrument was the power of veto given to the governor-general. Some thought that the consolidation of the colonies was too close, and that the tendency was to re-establish despotism. A few were of opinion that it was a covert project of the crown to regain a lost ascendancy over the American Republics, and most were of opinion that the principles of Democracy would be endangered and local liberty destroyed by the establishment of a central government,

Nor did the new constitution fare any better in the mother country. The English Board of Trade rejected it with disdain, saying that the forward Americans were trying to make a government of their own!

By this time it had been discerned in England that the interests of the British crown in America were seriously imperiled. It was clear that the French must be repelled from the countries west of the Alleghanies or the better parts of the continent would be lost to English rule. It was determined to send at once a British army to America, to accept the service of such provincial troops as the colonies might be able to furnish, and to repel the aggressions of France along the western border.

As yet, however, there had been no declaration of war. The ministers of France and England kept assuring each other of their peaceable intentions; but Louis XV. took care to send three thousand soldiers to Canada, and the British government ordered General Edward Braddock to proceed to America with two regiments of regulars. The latter having arrived in the colonies met the governors in a conference at Alexandria, Virginia, and the plans of a campaign against the French were discussed and adopted.* On the last of May, 1755, Braddock set out from Cumberland to recapture Fort Du Quesne from the French.

The expedition was undertaken with full confidence and great spirit. The advance was made during the month of June, and by the 8th of July the English vanguard had reached a point within twelve miles of the position of the

* The old house in Alexandria in which Braddock met the colonial governors is still preserved *in statu quo*. The room in which the conference was held is shown to visitors, and the traveler is able by imagination to restore the scene of a hundred and thirty-seven years ago. Perhaps no other American house of the epoch of the French and Indian war is better preserved than this old wooden hotel which was used by Braddock as his headquarters at the time of his arrival in America.

French. On the following day the English march was continued down the left bank of the Monongahela, and at noon Braddock crossed the stream near the confluence of Turtle Creek. Thus far he had noticed no signs of the presence of the enemy.

The advance was now along a narrow road through the forest. Colonel Thomas Gage was in command of the vanguard. The country was uneven and thickly wooded. On either hand was a dense undergrowth of bramble and thicket; rocks and ravines; a hill on the right and a dry hollow on the left. A few guides led the advance, and some feeble flanking parties had been thrown out. In the rear came the general with the main division of the army, the artillery and the baggage. All at once a quick and heavy fire was heard in front. For the French and Indians, believing themselves unable to hold Fort Du Quesne, had gone forth and laid an ambuscade for the English. The place selected was a woody ravine, well adapted to protect those who were concealed in ambush, and to entrap the approaching army. The unsuspecting British marched directly into the net.

The battle began with a panic. The English, unable to see the enemy, fired constantly, but at random. The French perceived at once the success of their plan and the manifest confusion of the invading army. Braddock hurried to the front, and rallied his men; but it was all in vain. They stood huddled together like sheep. In a short time the forest was strewn with British dead. Out of eighty-two officers, twenty-six were killed. Of all the aids, only Colonel Washington remained to distribute orders. It was evident that the French and Indians in ambush were coolly taking aim and shooting down the officers and men at will. Of the privates, seven hundred and fourteen had fallen. Braddock himself was mortally wounded. A retreat began at

once, and Washington with all that remained of the Virginian rangers covered the flight of the army. The disaster was complete, overwhelming, irremediable.

It appears that the French and Indians were surprised at their own victory. The native chiefs on the next day returned to Fort Du Quesne, clad in the laced coats of the British officers. The savages after their manner had despoiled the dead of the battlefield, and left them unburied. The dying Braddock was borne along in the train of the fugitives. On the evening of the fourth day he expired, and was buried near Dunbar's camp. When the fugitives reached that place, the confusion and alarm were greater than ever. The artillery, baggage and public stores were destroyed and a hasty retreat begun, first to Fort Cumberland, and afterwards to Philadelphia. The failure and ruin of the expedition could hardly have been more complete and irretrievable.

The reader will readily recall the conquest of Port Royal and Nova Scotia by the English. Though the authority of England was fully established in place of that of France, the French population continued as before greatly to outnumber their conquerors. The general result of the campaign had been to establish a British military occupation. When Braddock met the colonial governors at Alexandria, it was urged that the new expedition against Acadia would be necessary, in case of hostilities, in order to overawe the French people and maintain British authority. With this end in view, an expedition was organized under Colonel Monckton, and in May of 1755 the squadron sailed with three thousand troops from Boston for the Bay of Fundy.

The French had in the province two fortresses, called Beau-Sejour and Gaspereau. The commandant, De Vergor, had no intimation of the approach of the English until the squadron sailed into the bay and anchored before the walls

of Beau-Sejour. On the 3d of June, 1755, the English forces effected a landing and made their way across Mes-sagouche Creek to begin the siege of the fortress, but no siege was necessary. Fear and confusion prevailed among the garrison, and no successful resistance could be offered. Beau-Sejour capitulated and was named Fort Cumberland. The whole of Nova Scotia was overrun in a brief campaign and brought under dominion of the English flag.

Although this conquest had been thus easily effected, the French inhabitants still greatly outnumbered the English. Governor Lawrence determined, therefore, to bring about a different state of circumstances by driving the inhabitants into banishment. In the first place an oath of allegiance was demanded, and then the surrender of all the firearms and boats belonging to the French. British ships were then made ready to carry the French peasants into exile. The country about the isthmus was ruthlessly laid waste and the flying people driven into the larger towns. Wherever a considerable number could be got together they were compelled to go on shipboard. At the village of Grand Pré more than nineteen hundred people were driven into the boats at the point of the bayonet. Wives and children, old men and mothers, the sick and the infirm, all shared the common fate. More than three thousand of the Acadians were carried away by the British squadron and scattered in helplessness and starvation among the English colonies as far south as Louisiana. Thus in complete disaster to the cause of France ended the second campaign which had been planned at Alexandria.

The third expedition outlined at the same conference was to be conducted by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, against the French at Fort Niagara. Early in August the governor at the head of two thousand men set out from Albany. Arriving at Oswego, the commander spent four

weeks in preparing boats. Then tempests prevailed and sickness broke out in the camp. The Indians deserted the standard of the English, and late in October the provincial forces led by Shirley marched homeward without striking a blow.

The fourth expedition had been intrusted by Braddock to General William Johnson, of New York. The object of the movement was to capture Crown Point and drive the French from Lake Champlain. Early in August, Johnson, at the head of his forces, reached the Hudson above Albany and built Fort Edward. Thence he proceeded to Lake George and established a military camp. To this place the artillery and stores of the expedition were brought forward. Meanwhile Count Dieskau, commandant of the French at Crown Point, advanced with fourteen hundred French, Canadians and Indians against Fort Edward. General Johnson sent Colonel Williams and Hendrick, chief of the Mohawks, with twelve hundred men to the relief of the fort. On the 8th of September Williams's regiment and the Mohawks were ambushed by Dieskau's forces and driven back with loss to Johnson's camp.

The victorious Canadians and French regulars followed and attacked the English position. A severe engagement ensued. For five hours the battle was incessant. Nearly all of Dieskau's men were killed. At last the English troops made a sortie and completed the rout of the enemy. Dieskau was mortally wounded. Two hundred and sixteen of the English were killed, but the victory was complete. General Johnson proceeded to build on the site of his camp Fort William Henry. In the meantime the French fell back, but fortified Ticonderoga. Such was the condition of affairs at the close of the first year of the war.

With the beginning of 1756 the command-in-chief of the English forces was given to Governor Shirley. Virginia

relied mostly on her own provincials, whom she placed under command of Washington and sent into the valley of the Shenandoah to repel the French and Indians. The Pennsylvanians chose Franklin for their colonel, built a fort on the Lehigh, and made a successful campaign. The expeditions which were planned for the year embraced the conquest of Quebec and the capture of Fort Frontenac, Toronto, Niagara and Du Quesne.

Meanwhile the British government took up the cause and sent out two battalions of regulars to New York. These arrived in the spring of 1756. The Earl of Loudoun was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces in America. General Abercrombie was second in rank. On the 17th of May in this year Great Britain, after nearly two years of actual hostilities, involving campaigns and conquests and loss of life and armies, made a formal declaration of war against France.

In July Lord Loudoun took command of the colonial army. After the death of Dieskau the Marquis of Montcalm succeeded to the command of the French, and on his first campaign besieged and captured Oswego. Six vessels of war, three hundred boats, a hundred and twenty cannon and three chests of money were the fruits of his victory. During this summer the Delaware Indians of western Pennsylvania broke into hostility and killed or captured more than a thousand people. In August Colonel Armstrong at the head of three hundred volunteers marched against the Indian town of Kittaning, and on the 8th of December routed the savages with great losses. The village was burned and the spirit of the Indians completely broken.

Lord Loudoun planned for the summer of 1757 the conquest of Louisburg. He had under his command an army of six thousand regulars and abundant resources in the way of supply and transportation. His fleet left New York on

the proposed expedition on the 20th of June and came to Halifax, where the commander was joined by Admiral Holbourn with a fleet of sixteen men-of-war. Five thousand additional troops fresh from the armies of Europe were on board the squadron ; but Loudoun with amazing incompetency, instead of proceeding at once to Cape Breton, tarried a while at Halifax,* and then sailed back to New York without striking a blow or even seriously attempting to accomplish the work in which he was engaged.

If paralysis seemed to rest upon the English commander it was very different with the French. The Marquis of Montcalm collected for his campaign of this year seven thousand regulars, Canadians and Indians. With this force he advanced into New York for the capture of Fort William Henry. This stronghold was held by five hundred men under Colonel Monro. For six days the French besieged the fort until the ammunition of the garrison was expended and nothing remained but to capitulate. Honorable terms were granted by the captors. On the 9th of August they took possession of the fortress. Among the supplies of the English was a quantity of spirits. In spite of the exertions of Montcalm the Indians, becoming intoxicated, fell upon the prisoners and massacred thirty of them in cold blood.

On the whole the war was going greatly in favor of France. Such had been the success of the French arms that the English had not at this juncture a single hamlet left in the whole basin of the St. Lawrence. The same was true in the West. Every cabin where English was spoken had been swept out of the Ohio Valley. At the close of 1757 France possessed *twenty times* as much territory in America as did England and five times as much as England and Spain together !

* It was here that Lord Loudoun had a large area of the cultivable lands about Halifax planted in onions lest his men *might* take the scurvy !

The ill-success of England thus far in the war was doubtless attributable to the inefficiency of the government, resulting, as it did, in the appointment of incompetent commanders and inadequate preparations for conquering the French in America. In 1757, however, a change occurred in British politics, and William Pitt was placed at the head of the ministry. A new spirit was at once diffused in the management and conduct of the war. Loudoun was deposed from the command of the American army. General Abercrombie was made his successor, but the main reliance was placed on an efficient corps of subordinate commanders. Admiral Boscawen was put in charge of the fleet. General Amherst was given a division. Young Lord Howe was appointed to rank next to Abercrombie. James Wolfe, also in his youth, was made brigadier, and Colonel Richard Montgomery was put at the head of a regiment.

The campaigns planned for 1758 were three in number. The first was to undertake the capture of Louisburg, the second to reduce Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and the third to recapture Fort Du Quesne from the French. In the latter part of May General Amherst arrived at Halifax with an army of ten thousand men. In the brief space of six days the British fleet was anchored before Louisburg. Soon afterwards three French vessels were burned in the harbor. The town was bombarded until it was reduced to a heap of ruins. On the 28th of July Louisburg, together with Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island, were surrendered to Great Britain. The garrisons, numbering about six thousand men, became prisoners of war. The expedition had been speedily crowned with signal success for the English.

Meanwhile General Abercrombie with fifteen thousand men moved forward in the beginning of July against Ticonderoga. On the morning of the 6th of the month the English

fell in with the French picket line and a severe skirmish ensued in which the French were overwhelmed and Lord Howe was killed in the onset. On the morning of the 8th the English army was arranged for an assault on Ticonderoga. The country round about was broken and unfavorable for military operations, but obstacles were overcome and a desperate battle was fought, continuing for four hours, until at six o'clock in the evening the English were finally repulsed. The loss on the side of the assailants amounted in killed and wounded to nineteen hundred and sixteen. In no battle of the Revolution did the British have so large a force engaged or meet so terrible a loss.

With the failure of the assault the English army retreated to Fort George. Soon afterwards a division of three thousand men under command of Colonel Bradstreet was sent against Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario. This movement of the English was attended with complete success. Fort Frontenac was only able to endure a siege of two days' duration. The fortress was taken and demolished, The capture of the place was regarded by the English as a counterpoise to their failure at Ticonderoga.

About the same time Major Strabo harassed the enemy by several bold strokes and sudden descents upon their shipping in the St. Lawrence. One of his desperate enterprises was the capture of a French sloop that was conveying a company of Indians and a large quantity of supplies to Quebec. At the time of this undertaking Strabo was marching down the river on the New York side with a company of ten men, when seeing a French schooner in the offing he signaled it to land. The officer in charge suspecting no treachery came ashore and was generously treated by Strabo with some choice rum; but at an auspicious moment he gave a sign at which his men rushed out of their concealment and in a trice made the officer and his men

prisoners. Tying them and leaving them on shore, Strabo boarded the schooner and set out in pursuit of a French sloop en route for Quebec. Being a master of the French tongue Strabo had no difficulty, after approaching near the vessel, in convincing the commander that he was bearing a message to Ralfe at Quebec. Under pretense that he desired to communicate confidentially with the sloop's officer he was permitted to draw alongside. In the next moment his men fired on the exposed crew and, lashing the schooner to the sloop, boarded the prize so quickly that no time was given for defense. Strabo drove nearly all the Indians into the waters, killed most of the crew, and then setting fire to the schooner, he sailed away on the sloop with all its stores and brought her into the port of Louisburg.

The third expedition of this year was intrusted to General Forbes. His division numbered nine thousand men and his part in the campaign was the capture of Fort Du Quesne. The Virginia provincials were again placed under command of Colonel Washington. The main body of the army moved slowly; but Major Grant with the advance pressed on in the direction of Fort Du Quesne. When within a few miles of that place, he ran carelessly into an ambuscade in which he lost a third of his forces. But it was not to be expected that the game which the French and Indians had so successfully played with Braddock could be repeated.

Washington now took the lead and on the 24th of November reached a point within ten miles of the fort. During that night the garrison of Du Quesne, apprised of the approach of the British army, took the alarm, burned the fortress, embarked in boats and dropped down the Ohio. On the 25th the victorious English marched in, raised the banner of St. George and named the place Pittsburgh. A summary of the movements of the year 1758 shows that in two

of the principal campaigns the English had been overwhelmingly successful, while in the third the result was a drawn battle, the French being victorious before Ticonderoga and losing on the other hand their fortress and garrison at Frontenac.

General Amherst now succeeded Abercrombie in command of the American army. Great Britain became terribly in earnest in the prosecution of the war against the French.

A bloody incident of this year (1759) transpired in the vicinity of Fort Miller, on the Hudson River, six miles from Schuylerville. A party of soldiers from the garrison went fishing in a clear stream of water eight miles from the fort. While thus engaged they were attacked by a band of Indians who were in concealment in the thick covert on the bank. Being wholly unprepared for resistance, the soldiers were panic-stricken at the first fire and nine were killed, who were afterwards scalped and their bodies left lying where they fell. On account of this fatal occurrence the stream has ever since been called "Bloody Run."

By the beginning of summer, 1759, the British and colonial forces under arms numbered nearly fifty thousand men. On the other side the entire French army scarcely exceeded seven thousand. Three campaigns were planned for the year. General Prideaux was appointed to lead an expedition against Niagara. The commander-in-chief at the head of the main division was to proceed against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. General Wolfe, with his contingent, was sent up the St. Lawrence for the capture of Quebec.

The first expedition was crowned with success. General Prideaux succeeded in midsummer in the investment of Fort Niagara. The French commander, D'Aubry, with twelve hundred men, came to the relief of the fort. On the 15th of the month, Prideaux was killed by the bursting of

From the Capitol Painting by Chapman.

THE BAPTISM OF POCAHONTAS.

"Matoaka," which signifies a streamlet dashing through a gorge, was the daughter of Powhatan, chief of several small confederated tribes in Virginia. She was usually called Snow Feather by her Indian friends because of the clearness of her complexion. She fell in love with Captain John Smith and saved his life, but when Smith departed she centred her affections upon a fine young Englishman, John Rolfe, who reciprocated her passion. Denied the right to espouse a pagan, Rolfe persuaded Matoaka, more commonly known as Pocahontas, to be baptized, which Christian ceremony she accepted at the hands of the Rev. Mr. Whittaker in the little chapel at Jamestown about April, 1613, and was received into the church under the baptismal name of Rebecca, thus becoming the first Indian in America to embrace Christianity. Mr. Chapman, the painter, has given us a charming creation of an ideal scene. In the picture is represented Nantaquaas, the brother of Pocahontas, Opechankanough the uncle, and a sister who sits upon the floor with her child clinging to her. Pocahontas was betrayed by Japazaws and brought on shipboard, and being taken to England she remained there with her husband for four years, until her death. The painting adorns one of the panels of the Capitol rotunda, Washington.



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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

a gun, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. On the 24th, the French army came in sight, and a bloody battle was fought in which the French were completely routed. On the following day Niagara capitulated, and the garrison to the number of six hundred became prisoners of war.

The central division, numbering eleven thousand men, marched against Ticonderoga. The army was debarked before the fortress on the 22d of July; but the French did not dare to stand against such overwhelming numbers. After four days the garrison, having partly destroyed the fortifications, abandoned Ticonderoga, and retreated to Crown Point. On the 31st of July they deserted this place also, and fell back to Isle-aux-Noix, in the River Sorel.

The third division of the British forces was led forward by General Wolfe to the St. Lawrence. In the early spring he began the ascent of that river. His division consisted of nearly eight thousand men, assisted by a fleet of forty-four vessels. On the 27th of June, Wolfe reached the Isle of Orleans, four miles below Quebec, where the English camp was pitched at the upper end of the island. The fleet gave the English command of the river and the southern bank was undefended. On the second night after Wolfe's arrival, he sent General Monckton to seize Point Levi. From this position the lower town was soon reduced to ruins and the upper town much injured; but the fortress held out and some other plan of attack had to be invented.

General Wolfe in the early part of July crossed the St. Lawrence and encamped near the mouth of the Montmorenci. This stream was fordable at low water, and the English undertook to force a crossing in the face of the French, but were repulsed with serious losses. Wolfe was obliged to withdraw his camp, and again change his plans. He now fell into a fever, and for some time was confined to his tent.

A council was held, and the young general proposed a second assault, but was overruled. It was then determined to ascend the St. Lawrence by night, and if possible gain the Plains of Abraham in the rear of the city.

The lower camp of the English was accordingly broken up, and on the 6th of September the troops were conveyed from that position to Point Levi. In the next place Wolfe succeeded in transferring his army without the knowledge of the French to a point several miles up the river. He then examined the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, and discovered a pathway up the steep cliffs leading to the plains in the rear of Quebec.*

On the night of the 12th of September the English forces again embarked and dropped down the river to the place now called Wolfe's Cove. It was with the greatest difficulty that the soldiers, supporting themselves by the bushes and rocks, clambered up the precipice. The Canadian guard on the summit was easily dispersed, and in the dawn of morning Wolfe marshaled his army for battle. Montcalm was in amazement when he heard the news. The French forces were hastily brought from the trenches on the Montmorenci and thrown between Quebec and the English.

The battle was begun without delay. At the first there was a cannonade of an hour's duration, and then Montcalm, with his inadequate forces attempting to turn the English

* It is narrated that while the English fleet on this memorable night were silently gliding down the St. Lawrence under the dark shadow of the overhanging banks the brave and imaginative Wolfe, standing in the bow of his boat and discovering with the keen instincts of a prophet the probabilities of his fate, repeated over and over to his companions the stanza from Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, which had been published only a short time before in England :

“ 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.”

flank, was beaten back. The Canadian provincials and their Indian allies were soon routed. The French regulars wavered, and were thrown into confusion. Wolfe led his army in person. Early in the engagement he was wounded in the wrist, but pressed on without attention to his injury. Again he was struck, but still kept his place at the head of the column. At the moment of victory a third ball pierced his breast, and he sank to the earth. "They run," said the attendant who bent over him. "Who run?" was the response. "The French are flying everywhere," replied the officer. "Do they run already? Then I die happy," said the expiring hero.

Montcalm shared a like fate. Attempting to rally his regiments, he was struck with a ball and fell mortally wounded. "Shall I survive?" said he to his surgeon. "Only a few hours at most," answered the attendant. "So much the better," replied the heroic Frenchman; "I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec!"

Five days after the battle the city capitulated and an English garrison took possession of the citadel. France soon made an unsuccessful effort to recover her loss. In the spring of 1760 a French army gained a position a few miles west of Quebec and the English were driven within the defenses, but the city was soon reinforced and the assailants were beaten back. In the year following the capture by Wolfe, General Amherst conducted a successful expedition against Montreal, the last important post of France in the valley of the St. Lawrence. On the 8th of September the place was taken and the whole of Canada passed under the dominion of England.

Thus with the great campaigns of 1759-60 the French empire in America was subverted. New France passed away. The result was reached by the determined and powerful support which Great Britain gave to her American

interests and by the feeble, wavering and unworthy efforts of France to support her own cause in the New World. There came to pass a vast disparity between the contending parties. At one time the English and American provincials were as twenty to one to the French, and at nearly the same time the American territorial possessions of France were as twenty to one to those of her rival. There was thus on the side of England the concentration of resources and power, and on the side of France the dissipation of her diminished energies over a vast and indefensible region of country.

But while the vicissitudes of war favored the English in all their latter conflicts with the French, other harassments vexed the settlers in sections not within the immediate territory in dispute. In the spring of 1760 the Cherokee Indians of eastern Tennessee arose against the English and besieged Fort London, which was forced to capitulate, but no sooner was the garrison disarmed than the Indians, in violation of the terms of surrender, massacred the greater number and carried off the others into captivity. To punish the savages for this atrocity Colonels Grant and Montgomery were sent against them, who, after a vigorous campaign, compelled the Indians to sue for peace.

But after the overthrow of the French it devolved upon the English to take actual possession of all the territory bordering on the Great Lakes, and Major Roberts was accordingly dispatched by General Amherst with two hundred rangers to receive the surrender of the outposts. In this duty Major Roberts met with no resistance, and by the close of 1760 the English flag waved above all the forts along the lakes. No sooner, however, had the occupation been accomplished when the English began a system of petty persecutions upon the Indians, whose violent resentment was speedily aroused, excited, as it was, not more by their ill-treatment than by the instigations of the French, who,

though conquered, became even more bitterly hostile in their feelings towards the English. In the summer of 1761 the Senecas and Wyandots conspired to capture Detroit by treachery and massacre the garrison, but the plot was revealed and thwarted by the commandant, Colonel Campbell. Soon after another attempt was made, but likewise failed through timely warning given by a friendly Indian. Thereafter peace prevailed for a while, though at no time was security felt, the ugly temper of the Indians being indicated by mutterings of discontent which gave constant fear of an outbreak.

Towards the close of 1762 Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, a brave and sagacious warrior, conceived the design of uniting all the tribes from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi into one confederacy and hurling them in resistless bodies against the English by attacking simultaneously all the forts and settlements. The 7th of May, 1763, was appointed to begin the general massacre, but at the last moment the tribes refused, through rivalries and old enmities, to act in concert and ultimate failure was the consequence, though the direct result was terribly disastrous.

Pontiac reserved for himself the most dangerous task of capturing Detroit and butchering the garrison, and so adroitly did he perfect the details of his horrible plot that their execution must have proved successful but for the timely exposure of the conspiracy. On the day preceding the time set for the treacherous and murderous act an Ojibway girl visited the fort bearing a pair of moccasins which she designed as a present for Major Gladwyn, the commandant. By this subterfuge she gained his presence, and when the two were alone she revealed to that officer the particulars of the plot. The major lost no time in putting the fort in the most thorough state of defense, and when Pontiac and his band sought to put their treacherous

plans into execution on the following day they confronted a strong force of English fully prepared to receive them, every citizen as well as soldier being drawn up in line of battle.

Pontiac withdrew from the fort mortified at the failure of his plans, but unwilling to abandon his purpose he invested Detroit with nearly two thousand Indians and entered upon a siege of the place. Some desperate sorties and counter assaults characterized the siege, in which the Indians lost heavily, and after three days of fruitless effort to burn (in which they partially succeeded) or reduce the place, they withdrew to join other bands of Indians who were doing great execution elsewhere. Under the attacks which followed and were led by Pontiac every fort in the West except Niagara, Detroit and Fort Pitt was captured by the Indians, who in nearly every instance massacred the garrisons.

Though the fighting on land between France and England practically ceased with the capture of Quebec and the surrender of the lake forts, the conflict continued on the sea with almost invariable success to the English arms until the 10th of February, 1763, when a treaty of peace was made between the two nations at Paris by which all the French possessions in North America eastward of the Mississippi from its source to the River Iberville and thence through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico were surrendered to Great Britain. It was the transfer of an empire. At the same time Spain, with whom England had been at war, ceded East and West Florida to the English crown. As reciprocal with this provision France was constrained by Great Britain to make a cession to Spain of all that vast territory west of the Mississippi known as the Province of Louisiana. It thus happened that the Spanish possessions on our continent were vastly extended, while those of France were extinguished. The French king

lost his entire empire in the New World and England became dominant over all east of the Mississippi. West of the Father of Waters Spain took all for her own.

As yet the question had not publicly risen of the independence of the English States in North America; but already, before the treaty of Paris, namely, in 1775, John Adams, at that time a young school teacher in Connecticut, wrote this in his diary: "In another century, all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us." Significant words these were, containing in them the germs of the great struggle which was already at the door, which, indeed, had already begun, but of the presence of which neither the British Government nor the American colonists were as yet aware.

The French and Indian War—so called in the phraseology of American history—was one of the most important in the annals of mankind. By this conflict it was decided that the decaying institutions of the Middle Ages should not prevail in the countries west of the Atlantic and that the powerful language, laws and liberties of the English-speaking race should be planted forever in the vast domains of the New World.

CHAPTER XII.

AS we have said, the war of American Independence—the Revolution so-called—by which the American colonies were detached from their allegiance to the mother country and at length made a nation, began with those conditions and circumstances which first brought the Americans into union of effort and purpose. In the preceding chapter we have seen how the colonists discovered in themselves the elements of unity and strength. The provincial soldiers soon found out that the British regulars were not superior to themselves in battle—that the discipline of the regulars from the mother country was compensated by the knowledge which the Americans possessed of the manners and tactics of the enemy.

To the British regulars the new arena of war in America was full of unknown perils and pitfalls. The continent was an expanse of woods and mountains and rivers. The Indian method of warfare was unheard of and at first despised. The Braddock campaign showed clearly that the provincials, whose bad reputation with the British officers had become traditional, were really the most available contingent of the army.

Many things tended in the sixth and seventh decades of the century to develop a national consciousness in America. Nations are even as men. They have their periods of childhood and adolescence. At length, with growth and development, consciousness appears. True, it were difficult to discover from what sources in the individual life personal con-

sciousness at length arises; and so in the case of nations. For the present it suffices to point out the fact that the time at which we have now arrived in American history was the time when consciousness appeared—consciousness of individuality, of strength, of personal will and ultimately of independent right.

There is a great popular error in underestimating the character and significance of the French and Indian War. As matters of fact the conflict was of longer duration than the Revolution proper. The forces engaged—the English forces—were greater in numbers and equipment than were at any time seen in America during the War of Independence. The battles fought, though not more numerous, were on the whole more determined and much more bloody. As has been said, the losses in the battle of Ticonderoga, almost unknown as it is in the popular memory, were much more severe and destructive of life than any single conflict of the Revolution.

We are here to take up the narrative after the treaty of Paris and to note the causes which led to the rebellion and final independence of the American colonies. After the treaty of peace there was a brief period of recuperation. The British armies were withdrawn from America to be used abroad. It is now clear in the retrospect that the relations between the soldiers of the colonies and the foreign regulars had never been gracious or agreeable. The British officers were disliked, and in some instances the dislike rose—or sank—to the level of hatred.

It is one of the strange circumstances of the history of these times that the French, the enemy with whom the American colonists were for several years engaged in bloody war, appear not to have been so seriously disliked as the British, under whose patronage and by whose overwhelming power and alliance the war was brought to a successful end.

We shall see with astonishment how in the course of a very few years all the conditions were reversed and a new sentiment created by which the French were converted into friends and the British made enemies—a state of feeling and opinion which much more than a century of time has not availed to obliterate.

The epoch upon which we now enter was one in which existing institutions were rapidly transformed. Many old things passed away. A new man and a new society were born out of a sort of fruitful anarchy, as if from a soil long prepared with the care of the husbandman. There was a civil and social revolt of the people against the existing order, and in particular against the institution of monarchy which had so long intrenched itself as the prevailing political form among the Western nations.

Our Revolution of 1776 was one of the leading incidents of a large and world-wide movement which has not yet by any means reached its limits. It is important that we should note with some care at least the more immediate causes of our conflict with the mother country. Doubtless the first and most general of these was the claim and exercise of the right of arbitrary government by Great Britain, which “right” was denied and resisted by the colonies. At the first the enunciation of such a right on the part of the mother country was a matter of little importance. The claim was theoretical rather than practical. The colonies had not yet reached the stage of autonomy, but when the English government began to force the principle in practice upon full-grown States having more than two hundred thousand inhabitants within their borders, and lying at a distance of three thousand miles from the mother country, the colonies resisted.

The questions involved in the coming controversy began to be openly discussed about the time of the treaty of Aix-

la-Chapelle in 1748, and from that period until the outbreak of hostilities in 1775 each year witnessed, in some form, a renewal of the agitation. But there were also many subordinate causes tending to bring on a conflict. First among these may be named the influence of France, which was constantly exerted so as to excite a spirit of resistance in the American colonies. Doubtless the French king would never have agreed to the treaty of 1763, by which Canada was ceded to Great Britain, had it not been with the ulterior hope and aim of securing American Independence.

It was the theory of France that, by giving up Canada to the other English colonies in America, the whole group would become so strong as to renounce their allegiance to the crown. Such a result was feared by the British government. More than once it was openly proposed in Parliament to recede Canada to France for the avowed purpose of checking the ominous growth of the American States. "There, now," said the French statesman Vergennes, when the treaty of 1763 was signed, "we have arranged matters for an American rebellion in which England will lose her empire in the West!" Such was the prescience of the shrewd politicians of Western Europe who played at dice with our republican commonwealths in the seventh decade of the eighteenth century.

A second cause leading to our war for independence may be discovered in the natural disposition and inherited character of the colonists. They were for the most part republicans in political sentiment and dissenters in religion. The people of the home country were monarchists and high-churchmen. The American colonists had never seen the king who ruled them, or any king. The broad Atlantic lay between them and the British ministry. Their dealings for a century past and more with the royal officers had been such as to engender a dislike, not only for the officers

themselves, but for the system of government which they represented. The people of America had not forgotten, could not well forget, the circumstances of hardship and abuse under which their ancestors had come to the New World. Moreover, for six generations the colonists had managed their own affairs. They had been accustomed to popular assemblies and to certain methods of conducting public business until the instinct of democratic management had become hereditary. The experiences of the French and Indian War had shown the Americans that their own best reliance in the day of trouble was themselves—that they were able to defend themselves and their country against aggression.

There was a natural evolution of public opinion in the colonies tending to independence. The more advanced thinkers came to believe that a complete separation from England was not only possible but desirable. The remark of young John Adams, recorded in his diary for 1755, has already been quoted on a former page. His opinion and the opinions of others like him were at first expressed only in private, then by hints in pamphlets and newspapers, and at last publicly and everywhere. It is needless to say, however, that ideas so radical and seemingly dangerous were accepted by the people at large very slowly, cautiously, reluctantly. Not until the war of the Revolution had actually begun could the majority of the colonists be brought to declare for independence.

Another subordinate cause of the conflict with the mother country was found in the personal character and political methods of the King, George III., who ascended the English throne in 1760, and who proved to be one of the worst monarchs of modern times. His notions of government were altogether despotic. He was by mental constitution a stubborn, thick-headed, stupid man, in whose

mind the notion of human rights was almost wholly wanting. His beliefs and aphorisms were derived from the Middle Ages. It was well-nigh impossible for him to conceive of a magnanimous public project or to appreciate the value and desirability of civil liberty. In his personal life he was a man of exemplary habits, not incapable of domestic affections and fidelity; but his public administration was as bad as any which Europe had seen since the death of Louis XIV. His reign of sixty years was as odious to patriotism as it was long in duration. It was a part of his public policy to employ only those who were the narrow-minded partisans of himself and his Tory ministry. The members of his cabinet and council were for the most part men as incompetent and illiberal as their king. With such a ruler and such a ministry it was not likely that the descendants of the Pilgrims in America would get on smoothly.

The more immediate cause of the Revolution, however, was the passage by Parliament of a series of acts destructive of colonial liberty. These acts were first opposed and then resisted by the colonies, and the attempt was made by Great Britain to enforce them, first with authority and then with the bayonet. The general question involved in these acts was that of taxation. It is a well-grounded principle of the English common law that the subjects of the crown by their representatives in the House of Commons have the right of voting whatever taxes and customs are necessary for the support of the kingdom. It was but natural that this right should be claimed by the American colonists; for they were English subjects with the full rights of Englishmen.

With good reason the General Assemblies of the colonies urged that they, the Assemblies, held, out of the nature of the case, the same relation to the American people as the House of Commons held to the people of England. To this prop-

osition the English ministers replied that Parliament, and not the colonial Assemblies, was the proper body to vote taxes in any and all parts of the British Empire. "But we are not represented in Parliament," was the answer of the Americans; "the House of Commons may therefore justly assess taxes in England, but not in America. "Many of the towns, boroughs and shires in these British Isles have no representatives in Parliament, and yet the Parliament taxes *them*," replied the ministers, now driven to sophistry. "If any of your towns, boroughs and shires are not represented in the House of Commons, they ought to be," was the American rejoinder, and there the argument ended. It is easy for the reader to discover in this incipient controversy the elements of a profound dispute relative to the rights of local self-government and home rule—a dispute which has not yet ceased to agitate and disturb the British Empire.

Such were the essentials of the controversy between the colonies and the mother country. It is now proper to notice the principal parliamentary acts which the colonists complained of and resisted. The first of these was called the Importation Act. It was passed in the year 1733. The statute was itself a kind of supplement and revival of the old Navigation Act of 1651. By the terms of the new law exorbitant duties were laid on all the sugar, molasses and rum imported into the colonies. The effect was, as a matter of course, to raise the price of these articles to the consumers, with the consequent discontent and distress which such measures always produce. At first the payment of the unreasonable customs was evaded by the merchants, and then the statute was openly set at naught, disobeyed and neglected as though it were not. In 1750 an act was passed forbidding the erection of iron works in America. The manufacture of steel was specially interdicted, and the fell-

ing of pines outside of law was made a misdemeanor under penalty.

All of these laws were at length disregarded, as they were from the first denounced by the people of the colonies as being unjust and tyrannical. In 1761 the question of these violated statutes was taken up and a strenuous effort was made to enforce the Importation Act. The colonial courts in America were directed to issue to the King's officers a kind of search-warrants called writs of assistance. With these in hand it was possible for petty constables to enter any and every place, searching for and seizing goods which were suspected of having evaded the duty. It was but natural that this proceeding should be resisted. At Salem and Boston the greatest excitement prevailed. The question of resistance was carried to the courts, and James Otis, an able and temperate man, pleaded eloquently for the right of the colonies, denouncing the parliamentary acts as contrary to the British constitution. The address of Otis was accepted as a masterly defense of the people, and the event produced a profound feeling throughout the colonies. Already there began to be hints of resistance by force of arms.

Two years after these events the English ministers again took up the question of enforcing the law which required the payment of duties on sugar, molasses and rum. The officers of the Admiralty were directed to seize and confiscate all vessels engaged in the transportation of these articles except under certificate that the duties thereon had been paid. While this act was pending in Parliament and before a knowledge of its passage had reached Boston a great town meeting was held in that city. The orator of the day was the patriot Samuel Adams. He produced a powerful argument, showing conclusively that under the British constitution taxation and representation are inseparable. Meanwhile vessels from the English navy, under direction of the Ad-

miralty, were sent to hover around the American harbors and enforce the provisions of the Importation Act. By these a great number of merchantmen bearing cargoes of sugar and spirits were seized, insomuch that the colonial trade with the West Indies was almost destroyed.

These events occupied public attention during the years 1763-64. In the latter year was made in Parliament the first formal declaration of a purpose to tax the colonies. Sir George Grenville was at this time Prime Minister of England. By his influence on the 10th of March, 1764, a resolution was adopted in the House of Commons declaring that it would be proper to charge certain stamp duties on the American colonies. It was announced that a bill embodying this principle would be prepared by the ministers and brought forward at the next session of Parliament.

The news of this measure was to the Americans like a spark in a magazine of combustibles. Universal excitement and indignation prevailed throughout the colonies. Political meetings became the order of the day. Orators were in great demand. The newspapers teemed with arguments against the proposed enactment. Resolutions were passed in opposition at almost every town meeting. Formal remonstrances were drawn up and forwarded to the King and Parliament. Some of the ablest men of the colonies were appointed agents and sent to London in the hope of preventing the passage of such a law.

The reader may be curious to know by what argument a British Commoner of 1764 would defend the provisions of the Stamp Act. It was thus: The French and Indian war had just been concluded with a treaty of peace. Great Britain had been at large expense and had incurred heavy debt. The war had been fought for the English colonies in America, in their defense against the French, for the extension of their territorial domains beyond the mountains.

It would be just and right that the expense of the war should be borne by the colonies. The debt incurred might be properly and equitably provided for by levying stamp duties on the business of the colonists.

To all this the Americans replied that England ought to defend her colonies for the reason that they were hers and for motives of humanity ; that in the prosecution of the late war the colonies had aided Great Britain as much as she had aided them ; that the American provincials had devoted their treasure and shed their blood in that cause which was to secure the supremacy of the British crown in the vast region east of the Mississippi ; that the recent cession of Canada had amply compensated England for her losses in the war ; and finally that it was not the payment of money which the colonists dreaded, but the loss of their liberties. It was a principle for which they contended—the principle of representation and tax.* The Americans were not represented in Parliament, and Parliament therefore should not tax them either directly or indirectly. To all this was added with some acerbity that in case of *another* war the Americans would fight their own battle. In the light of the retrospect and the impartial judgment of history it is easy to see that the American argument had in it a force, a cogency, an element of truth and justice for which we should look in vain in the reasonings of the British ministry.

At the beginning of the controversy in the British Parliament, the cause of the Americans was defended by the celebrated William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham. But, with the coming of 1765, that statesman had been obliged to yield his place in the House of Commons, and with that event the Stamp Act was passed. In the Lower House the measure was adopted by a majority of five to one. In the House of Lords the vote was unanimous. At the time of

the passage, the King was in a fit of insanity, and was unable to sign the bill. On the 22d of March the royal assent was given by a board of commissioners acting in the King's name. "The sun of American liberty has set," wrote Benjamin Franklin to a friend at home. "Now we must light the lamp of industry and economy." "Be assured," said the friend in reply, "that we shall *light torches of another sort!*" And the answer reflected the sentiment and determination of the whole country.

The leading provisions of the Stamp Act were as follows: Every note, bond, deed, mortgage, lease, license and legal document of whatever sort required in the colonies should, after the 1st day of November, 1765, be executed on paper bearing an English stamp. This stamped paper was to be furnished by the British government, and for each sheet the colonists were required to pay a sum varying, according to the nature of the document to be written or printed thereon, from three-pence to six pounds sterling. Every colonial pamphlet, almanac and newspaper was required to be printed on the stamped paper, the value of the stamps in this case ranging from a half-penny to four-pence; every advertisement was taxed two shillings. No contract was to be of any binding force unless written on paper bearing the royal stamp.

It was not likely that an act such as this would be received in other than a wrathful spirit by the already goaded American colonists. The news of the passage of the act swept over the country like a thunder-cloud. The weaker of the people gave way to grief; but the stronger, the more courageous, were indignant, angry, defiant. Crowds of excited men surged into the towns and there were some acts of violence. In Philadelphia and Boston the bells rung a funeral peal and the people called it the death-knell of liberty. At New York there was a procession; a copy of

the Stamp Act was carried through the streets with a death's-head nailed to it and a placard bearing this inscription—"The folly of England and the ruin of America."

The orators added fuel to the flame. In the Virginia House of Burgesses there was a memorable scene. Patrick Henry, the youngest member of the House, an uneducated mountaineer from Louisa County, waited for some older delegate to lead the Burgesses in opposition to Parliament. But the older members were of that conservative folk with whom ease and estates and possessions have triumphed over the hazards of freedom and aggression. Some of these hesitated; others went home.

Offended at this lukewarmness, Henry, in his passionate way, snatched a blank leaf out of an old law-book and hastily drew up a series of fiery resolutions declaring that the Virginians were Englishmen with English rights; that the people of Great Britain had the exclusive privilege of voting their own taxes and so had the Americans; that the colonists were not bound to yield obedience to any law imposing taxation on them; and that whoever said the contrary was an enemy to the country. The resolutions were at once laid before the House.

It was the signal for excitement and tumult. A violent debate ensued, in which the patriots had the best of the argument. It was a moment of intense interest. The legislative assembly of the oldest and most populous of all the colonies was about to act. Two future Presidents of the United States were in the audience; Washington occupied his seat as a delegate and Thomas Jefferson, fresh from college, stood just outside the railing. The eloquent and audacious Henry bore down all opposition. "Tarquin and Cæsar had each his Brutus," said the indignant orator; "Charles I. had his Cromwell, and George III."—"Treason!" shouted the Speaker. "Treason, treason!" cried

the terrified loyalists, springing to their feet.—“ And George III. may profit by their example,” continued Henry ; and then added as he took his seat, “ If that be treason, make the most of it !” The resolutions were put to the House and adopted ; but the majorities on some of the votes were small, and the next day, when Henry was absent, the most violent paragraph was reconsidered and expunged ; some of the members were greatly frightened at their own audacity. But the resolutions in their entire form had gone before the country as the expression of the oldest American commonwealth and the effect on the other colonies was as the shock of a battery.

Other Assemblies proceeded in a similar strain. Resolutions like those of the Virginia House were adopted in New York and Massachusetts—in the Assembly of the latter State before the action of Virginia was known. At Boston James Otis proposed the holding of an American Congress. His plan was to the effect that each colony, without leave of the King, should appoint delegates to meet in the following autumn and discuss the affairs of the nation. The proposition was received with much favor. Nine of the colonies appointed delegates, and on the 7th of October, 1765, the First Colonial Congress assembled at New York.

Twenty-eight representatives were present at the session of this memorable body. Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was chosen president. After much discussion a Declaration of Rights was adopted setting forth in moderate but unmistakable terms that the American colonists, as Englishmen, could not and would not consent to be taxed save by their own representatives. Memorials were also prepared and addressed to the two Houses of Parliament. A manly petition declaring loyalty and praying for a just and humane policy toward his American subjects was drawn up and directed to the King.

The Stamp Act was to have gone into effect on the 1st of November. The British government went straight ahead with the preliminaries, fully expecting the American colonies to accept the measure. During the summer great quantities of the stamped paper were prepared and sent to America. Everywhere it was rejected or destroyed. The 1st of November, instead of marking the beginning of a new era of British revenue in the colonies, was observed as a day of mourning. At first legal business was suspended. The court-houses and other public offices were shut up. Not even a marriage license could be legally issued, and the affianced of the young men and women put off the consummation of their unions.

By and by, however, the offices began to be opened and business was resumed, but it was *not* transacted with stamped paper. The antagonism against the act had now penetrated to the secret depths of society. It was at this time that the patriotic order known as the Sons of Liberty was organized under an oath of secrecy and with the one profound purpose of resisting the arbitrary acts and tyranny of the British ministry. The patriot merchants at New York, Boston and Philadelphia took up the cause and entered into an agreement to purchase no more goods of Great Britain until the Stamp Act should be repealed.

Meanwhile the ministry had to meet the rising tide of an indignant opposition in England as well as America. It was found that the American colonists were not without their friends. Some of the most eminent British statesmen espoused their cause. In the House of Commons William Pitt planted himself squarely in the pathway of the government. On one occasion he delivered a powerful address on the relations of the mother country to the colonies. "You have," said he, "no right to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted!" The opposition prevailed, and

on the 18th of March, 1766, the Stamp Act was formally repealed. At the same time, however, and as a sort of salve to the parliamentary honor, it was declared by resolution that Parliament had the right "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever."

Great was the joy in both England and America when the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was borne abroad. The reversal in British policy was so complete as to effect a change in the ministry. Earl Grenville was obliged to retire from the place of Prime Minister and the leadership of the cabinet was given to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. That statesman, however, was already fallen into the decrepitude which preceded his death. In the very crisis of affairs he was confined by sickness to his country home. In accordance with usage Charles Townshend, a member of the cabinet, acted in the place of the Prime Minister, and while holding that position for a brief period brought forward with strange fatuity a new scheme for taxing America. On the 29th of June, 1767, a system of American customs duties was devised and an act passed imposing an import tariff on all the glass, paper, painters' colors and tea which should thereafter be shipped to American harbors.

With the passage of this act the slumbering resentment of the colonists burst out anew. A second agreement was made by the American merchants not to purchase British goods until the objectionable acts should be repealed. The colonial newspapers were filled with denunciations of Parliament. The question was again taken up by the patriots in the various legislatures. Early in 1768 the Assembly of Massachusetts prepared a circular and sent it abroad calling upon the other colonies for assistance in the effort to obtain redress of grievances. This paper had the effect of enraging the British ministers, and they re-

quired the Assembly to rescind their action and to express regret for that "rash and hasty proceeding."

The merchantmen trading with the colonies caught their spirit. In many instances they chose to violate the customs act and dutiable goods were thus brought in free. In June of 1768 a sloop charged with evading the payment of duty was seized by the custom-house officers at Boston. This done, a tumult broke out. The people became insurgent, attacked the houses of the officers and obliged the occupants to save themselves by flight to Castle William, on an island in the harbor. Affairs soon came to so high a pass as to betoken revolution. General Gage, commandant of a regiment of British regulars at Halifax, was accordingly ordered to repair to Boston and overawe the insurgents. He arrived at that city on the 1st of October bringing with him seven hundred soldiers. With these he marched into the capital of Massachusetts after the manner of a conqueror.

The excitement in Parliament rose to an equal height. In February of 1769 that body passed an act declaring the people of Massachusetts to be rebels and directing the governor to arrest such as might be deemed guilty and send them *to England* for trial! This act was fuel to the flame. The General Assembly of Massachusetts met the outrage with defiant resolutions. Similar measures were taken by the Assemblies in Virginia and North Carolina. In the latter State there was a popular insurrection, but Governor Tryon succeeded in suppressing it. The insurgents being outlawed escaped across the mountains to become the founders of Tennessee.

Already in the principal American cities the peace was broken between the British soldiery and the people. The former constituted a kind of garrisons, with no respect indeed to a foreign foe, but having the manifest purpose

of suppressing the inhabitants among whom they were quartered. In 1770 the British soldiers in New York cut down a liberty pole which had been erected in the Park. Hereupon a conflict ensued in which the people were victorious. In Boston a more serious difficulty occurred. In that city, on the 5th of March, a crowd of people, rough but patriotic, surrounded Captain Preston's company of the city guard, addressed them with epithets, hooted at them and dared them to fire. At length the soldiers becoming angry took the challenge, discharged a volley and killed three of the citizens, wounding several others. This riot of blood and lawlessness became known as the Boston massacre. The event created a profound sensation. Captain Preston and his company were arrested and tried for murder, and two of the offenders were convicted of manslaughter.

By this time it had become apparent even in England that a different policy must be adopted with the American colonies. The method of conciliation was now attempted, and Parliament passed an act repealing all duties on American imports *except* that on tea. The people in answer pledged themselves to use no more tea until the duty should be unconditionally repealed. In 1772 an act was passed making the salaries of the King's officers in Massachusetts payable out of the treasury without consent of the Assembly. This measure was resisted as the others before it had been. About the same time the *Gaspee*, a royal schooner anchored at Providence, was boarded by the patriots of that city and burned.

In the following year Parliament, acting after the manner of a petulant boy having the wrong side of a quarrel, and abandoning his former untenable position as if by stages of apology and reparation, passed an act removing the export duty which had hitherto been charged on tea

shipped *from England*. The price was by so much lowered, and the ministers flattered themselves with the belief that when the cheaper tea was offered in the American market the colonists would pay the import duty without suspicion. Ships were accordingly loaded with tea for America. Some of the vessels reached Charlestown; but the tea chests being refused by the merchants were stored in cellars and the contents ruined. At New York and Philadelphia the ships were forbidden to enter the docks. At Boston the authorities would not permit the tea to be landed.

Now it was that one of the striking incidents precursive of the coming war occurred at the capital of Massachusetts. On the 16th of December, 1773, there was a great town meeting, at which about seven thousand people were present. Samuel Adams and Josiah Quincy spoke to the multitude. Evening came on, and the meeting was about to adjourn when a war whoop was heard, and fifty men disguised as Indians marched to the wharf where the tea-chests ships were at anchor. The masqueraded men quickly boarded the vessels and emptied three hundred and forty chests of tea into the bay. Such was the Boston Tea Party! In the language of Carlyle, "Boston harbor was black with unexpected tea!"

Great was the wrath produced by the intelligence of this event in Great Britain. Parliament made haste to find revenge. On the 31st of March, 1774, the Boston Port Bill was passed, by which it was enacted that no kind of merchandise should any longer be landed or shipped at the wharves of Boston. The custom-house was removed to Salem; but the people of that town refused to accept it! What must have been the temper and sentiment of a town which refused to accept a custom-house as a free gift from the mother country? The inhabitants of Marblehead gave the free use of their warehouses to the merchants of Boston.

When the news of the passage of the Port Bill reached Virginia the burgesses promptly entered a protest on their journal. Hereupon Governor Dunmore ordered the members to their homes; but they adjourned only to meet in another place and continue their work. On the 20th of May a climax was reached in Parliament by the passage of an act revoking and annulling the charter of Massachusetts. The people of that province were declared rebels, and the governor was ordered to send abroad for trial all persons who should resist the royal officers.

Now it was, namely, in September of 1774, that the Second Colonial Congress assembled at Philadelphia. Eleven colonies were represented. One address was prepared and sent to the King, a second to the English nation and a third to the people of Canada. A resolution was adopted to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain! When information of this daring measure reached England Parliament retaliated by ordering General Gage to reduce the colonists by force. A fleet and ten thousand soldiers were sent to aid him in the work of subjugation. Boston Neck was seized and fortified by the British. The military stores at Cambridge and Charlestown were conveyed to Boston and the General Assembly was ordered to disband. The members however, instead of dispersing, voted to raise and equip an army of twelve thousand men for defense.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM the first the people of Boston were on one side and General Gage and his army on the other. There was hardly a middle ground of conservatism between them. As soon as the British occupancy was effected, the Bostonians, concealing their ammunition in carts, conveyed it out of the city to the village of Concord, about sixteen miles away. The possession of these military stores was of the greatest importance to the colony, and their recapture of like importance to the British commander. On the night of the 18th of April he accordingly dispatched a regiment of eight hundred men to recapture or destroy the stores which the patriots had collected at Concord. The plan of the British was made with great secrecy, but the provincials discovered the movement, and when the regiment, under command of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, set out for Concord, the people of Boston were roused by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon. Two messengers, William Dawes and Paul Revere, rode with all speed to Lexington and spread the alarm through the country.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 19th of April a company of a hundred and thirty minute-men gathered on the common at Lexington. They came with arms to resist the approaching enemy. But no enemy appeared until about five o'clock, when the British advanced under Pitcairn came into sight. The provincials were led by Captain Parker. Pitcairn rode up and exclaimed: "Disperse, ye villains! Throw down your arms!" The minute-men stood still, and Pitcairn cried "Fire!" The first volley of the Revolution

whistled through the air and sixteen of the patriots fell dead or wounded. The rest fired a few random shots and dispersed.

After this passage of arms the British passed on without further molestation to Concord. But the inhabitants had removed the stores to a place of safety and there was but little left for destruction. While the British were ransacking the town the minute-men gathered and confronted a company of soldiers who were guarding the North Bridge. Here the Americans first fired under orders of their officers and two British soldiers were killed. The volley was hotter than the enemy had expected, and the company, abandoning the bridge, began a retreat through the town and thence in the direction of Lexington.

This movement was the signal for the patriots to rally. They came flocking from all directions. They rose on every side as if from the earth. For six miles they kept up the battle along the road. They hid behind trees, fences and barns and poured a constant fire upon the retreating British. At one time it seemed that the whole regiment would be obliged to surrender. As it was, the enemy lost two hundred and seventy-three men, while the American loss was forty-nine killed, thirty-four wounded and five missing.

Great was the fame of the battle. Rumor took the news thereof upon her wings and sped away through all the colonies. Not even the Alleghanies stayed the intelligence until it had reached the remotest English cabins in the Ohio Valley, Kentucky and Tennessee. The country was fired with the passion of war. Men armed themselves of their own accord, and within a few days an army of twenty thousand patriot soldiers gathered about Boston. A line of intrenchments was drawn around the city from Roxbury to Chelsea. It was the common talk of the tumultuous host that they would soon drive Gage and his red-coats into the sea. Captain

John Stark came down with the militia of New Hampshire. Old Israel Putnam, with his leather waistcoat on, hurried to the nearest town, mounted a horse and rode to Cambridge, a distance of a hundred miles in eighteen hours! Rhode Island sent her men under Colonel Nathaniel Green, and Benedict Arnold came with the provincials of New Haven.

Ethan Allen, of Vermont, made war in the other direction. With a company of two hundred and seventy patriots from the Green Mountains he advanced against Ticonderoga. Arnold joined the expedition as a private. On the evening of the 9th of May the force reached the shore of Lake George opposite the fort. On the following morning eighty-three men succeeded in crossing. With this mere handful Allen made a dash and gained the gateway of the fort. The sentinel was driven in closely followed by the patriot mountaineers. The audacious captain rushed to the quarters of the commandant and cried out, "Surrender this fort instantly!" "By what authority?" inquired the officer. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," said Allen, flourishing his sword.* There was no alternative. So thought the officer, and he surrendered at discretion. The garrison were made prisoners and sent to Connecticut. By this daring exploit vast quantities of military stores fell into the hands of the Americans.† Two

* The bravado of Ethan Allen and his answer have ever been precious morsels in Revolutionary tradition. His conduct and words were as humorous as they were emphatic. His citation of authority was a ludicrous anachronism, for the capture of the fort was made about five hours before the Continental Congress convened.

† One of the marvelous things in Bancroft is the following: "Thus Ticonderoga, which had cost the British nation eight million sterling, a succession of campaigns and many lives, was won in ten minutes by a few undisciplined volunteers without the loss of life or limb."—Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. vii., p. 340. The historian here gives as the cost of Ticonderoga a sum more than ten times greater than it would require to rebuild Fortress Monroe!

days afterward Crown Point was taken and the British authority ended on the shores of Lake George.

Great Britain after her manner rose to the emergency. She had now made the issue and must meet it. An army of reinforcements under Generals Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne reached Boston on the 25th of May. The British forces were thus augmented to more than ten thousand men. Rumors now flew abroad that General Gage was about to begin a campaign from Boston into the country for the purpose of burning the neighboring towns and laying waste the region round about. Belief in the truth of this rumor produced great activity among the Americans, and they determined to anticipate the movement of the enemy by seizing and fortifying Bunker Hill, which commanded the Peninsula of Charlestown.

It was now midsummer of 1775. On the night of the 16th of June Colonel William Prescott was sent forward from Cambridge with about twelve hundred men to occupy and entrench the hill. The provincials passed over the Neck in safety and reached the eminence known as Bunker Hill; but Prescott and his engineer, Gridley, not liking the position, proceeded down the peninsula to the place called Breed's Pasture, afterwards named Breed's Hill, within cannon range of Boston. On this height a redoubt was thrown up during the night. The British ships in the harbor were so near at hand that the American pickets along the shore could hear the sentinels of the enemy repeating the night call, "All is well!"

With the coming of morning General Gage, perceiving the extraordinary thing which patriotism had accomplished during the night, ordered the ships in the harbor to begin the cannonade of the American position. The British batteries on Copp's Hill, which is the eminence in Boston over against Breed's Hill, also opened fire. Just after

noon three thousand British veterans commanded by Generals Howe and Pigot landed at Morton's Point on Charlestown Peninsula and prepared to carry the American redoubt.

The entire force of the provincials now ready for action was fewer than fifteen hundred men. Generals Putnam and Warren had both arrived at the redoubt, but each refused to take the command from Colonel Prescott and both served as privates in the trenches. During the British advance Charlestown was set on fire and soon reduced to ashes. Thousands of spectators climbed to the housetops in Boston to watch the battle. On came the British in a stately and imposing column.

The Americans, as directed by their officers, reserved their fire until the advancing line of the enemy was within a hundred and fifty feet. Then from the breastworks suddenly there burst a sheet of flame, and the front ranks of the British withered in the blast. After a few volleys of this deadly fire the rest of the enemy fell into retreat. Once out of range of the patriot muskets, Howe rallied his men and led them to the second charge. Again the Americans withheld their fire until the enemy was but a few rods from the works, and then with steady aim the deadly work of the first charge was repeated. The provincials took steady aim and volley after volley was poured upon the British column until it was broken and driven into flight.

Before the second repulse the ships of the enemy's fleet changed position so as to get the range of the American redoubt, and that position became almost untenable. For the third time the British soldiers were reformed and sent forward up the hillside with fixed bayonets. Unfortunately for the patriots they had been but poorly supplied with ammunition. They were also exhausted with the battle, and with the indiscretion of raw troops, had eaten up their

rations early in the day. The provincials had but three or four rounds of powder and balls remaining. These they expended on the advancing enemy and then there was a lull. The British reached the ramparts and clambered over. The Americans, now out of ammunition, clubbed their guns and hurled stones at the assailants. There was a brief hand-to-hand conflict. But the courage of the defenders was in vain and they were driven out of the works at the point of the bayonet.

One of the last to leave the trenches was the heroic Warren, who was struck with a British ball, and gave his life for freedom. The losses on both sides had been out of all proportion to the numbers engaged. That of the British was a thousand and fifty-four in killed and wounded, while the Americans lost a hundred and fifteen killed, three hundred and five wounded and thirty-two prisoners. More than a third on each side had been put *hors du combat* in the struggle on the summit of Breed's Hill. The Americans fell back over Bunker Hill, and were led in retreat by Prescott and Putnam, first to Prospect Hill and then across Charlestown Neck to Cambridge.

Thus was the war of the Revolution precipitated by a bloody battle. To the patriots the conflict on Bunker Hill was a circumstance of inspiration rather than discouragement. There was no longer any doubt that provincial militiamen, ununiformed and undisciplined, each with his own hunting-shirt and powder-horn and rifle, would stand against the veteran columns of Great Britain. This was much. The news of the battle was borne swiftly through the colonies as far as Georgia, and the spirit of determined opposition was everywhere aroused. The people began to speak of the United Colonies of America. They talked openly of independence as a possible consequence of the war. At Charlotte, in the Mecklenburg district of North Carolina,

the citizens ran together in a convention and actually passed a resolution and preamble declaring Independence.

Meanwhile, on the same day as the capture of Ticonderoga, the Colonial Congress convened at Philadelphia. It was a noted assembly. Washington was there and John Adams and Samuel Adams, Franklin and Patrick Henry; Jefferson came soon afterwards. It was a meeting of heroes and patriots. A last appeal was drawn up and sent to the King, telling that monarch that the American colonists, driven by exaction and injustice, had chosen war in preference to slavery.

Early in the session John Adams made an address in the course of which he referred to the necessity of appointing a commander-in-chief for the American army, and noted the qualities requisite in that high officer. The speaker concluded by putting in nomination George Washington, of Virginia. On the mention of his name Washington arose and withdrew from the hall, saying to a friend outside, "I fear that this day will mark the beginning of the downfall of my military reputation." On the 15th of June, two days before the battle of Bunker Hill, the nomination was confirmed by Congress, and the man who had saved the wreck of Braddock's army was called upon to stand between the colonies as a whole and the wrath of the mother country, and to save, possibly to build, a nation.

Washington was at the time of his election as commander-in-chief a little more than forty-three years of age. His reputation was already that of a hero, patriot and statesman. He was out of Virginia—born in Westmoreland County, on the 11th of February (old style), 1732. At the age of eleven he had been left to the sole care of his mother. His education was limited to the common branches of learning; he was not a collegian. Surveying was his favorite study. At the early age of sixteen he had been sent by his uncle to

survey a tract of land in the valley of the South Potomac. His first public duties performed in the service of the Ohio Company, under direction of Governor Dinwiddie, and in the disastrous campaign of Braddock, have already been narrated. With great dignity and diffidence he accepted the appointment of commander-in-chief, and set out to join the army at Cambridge. Henceforth to the end of the war the destinies of the American cause were in the largest measure intrusted to his keeping.

At the very beginning of the session Congress voted to equip an army of twenty thousand men, but the means of doing so were not furnished. Here, for the first time, we note the essential vice of that confederative plan of government with which the history of the American people as a nation begins. The raising of revenue, the furnishing of supplies, the payment of levies, and all things included in this important branch of administration, were left to the individual States. Congress, under the existing compact, had no right to collect revenues or gather the supplies requisite for the prosecution of the war. Throughout the revolutionary struggle both Congress and the general of the armies were constantly hampered and impeded by this fatal defect in that system of administration which went by the name of government, but was in reality no government at all.

On taking command of the army at Cambridge, Washington found himself at the head of a force of fourteen thousand five hundred volunteers; but they were undisciplined and insubordinate. Worse than this, they did not for the most part desire to be disciplined or to become subordinate. The spirit of individuality and localism was rampant. The supplies of war were almost wholly wanting. But the army was soon organized and arranged in three divisions. The right wing was assigned to General Artemas Ward and stationed at Roxbury. The left was put under command

of General Charles Lee and given position at Prospect Hill. The center under the commander-in-chief lay at Cambridge. After Bunker Hill the British held possession of Boston, including the Charlestown Peninsula; but the patriots yielded no inch of their ground, and soon returned to the siege of the city. The investment was made with vigor and determination, and the British generals soon found themselves cooped up with no prospect of free campaigns or success in the open field.

The King's authority was very soon overthrown in all the colonies. In most of them there was little resistance to the popular movement. In Virginia the governor, Lord Dunmore, after being driven from office, proclaimed freedom to the slaves, and raised a force of loyalists and inaugurated civil war; but he was soon defeated by the patriots in an engagement near Norfolk. By the autumn of 1775 the royal officers were all expelled, and popular governments on the republican plan instituted in every one of the thirteen colonies.

It was expected by the Americans that Canada would make common cause with the rest, but this expectation was doomed to disappointment. In the hope of encouraging the people of that province to renounce the mother country and take up arms, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery were ordered to proceed against St. Johns and Montreal. The former fort was reached on the 10th of September, and General Montgomery succeeded at length in capturing it from the British garrison. Montreal was invested shortly afterwards, and on the 13th of November was obliged to capitulate. General Montgomery in the next place marched with three hundred men against Quebec. In the meantime Colonel Benedict Arnold had set out for the same destination with a thousand men drawn from the army at Cambridge. After a march of untold hardship and suffering that daring

commander reached the St. Lawrence and climbed to the Plains of Abraham above Quebec. At Point aux Trembles he was joined by Montgomery, who as the senior officer took command. The whole force fit for effective duty did not now exceed nine hundred men, so greatly had they suffered. Quebec, in addition to being a place of great natural and artificial strength, was defended by greatly superior numbers. Yet for three weeks with his mere handful of troops Montgomery besieged the town, and finally staked everything on the issue of an assault.

Before daybreak of the 31st of December, 1775, the first division of the Americans, led by Montgomery in person, attacked the Lower Town. The second column, under Arnold, attempted to storm the Prescott gate. As Montgomery's men were rushing forward a masked battery before them burst forth with a storm of grapeshot, and at the first discharge Montgomery fell dead. The men, heart-broken at the loss of their leader, retreated and made their way to Wolfe's Cove, above the city.

Arnold had meanwhile, by extraordinary daring, fought his way into the Lower Town; but while leading a charge he was severely wounded and borne to the rear. Captain Morgan assumed command, and not knowing the fate of Montgomery, pressed on through the narrow streets until he was overwhelmed and compelled to surrender. Arnold with the remnant of his forces retired to a point three miles above the city. The small-pox broke out in the camp; Quebec was strengthened; and in the following June the Americans evacuated Canada. The event fixed the destiny of the northern province. The Canadians remained in allegiance to the British crown, and Canada was used as a base of operations by the British in the further prosecution of the war.

CHAPTER XIV.

NOW came the King's answer to the appeal of Congress. The petitions of the colonies were rejected with contempt. George III. and his minister planted themselves in a position from which there was no retreat. The issue was made up. Subjugation was the method deliberately adopted by the British government with respect to the American colonies. By this policy and by the tyrannical answer of the King the day of Independence was brought near, even to the door.

After Bunker Hill, General Howe succeeded Gage in the command of the British forces of Boston. All winter long the city was besieged by Washington, and by the opening of spring, 1776, he felt himself strong enough to risk an assault; but the officers of his staff were of a different opinion, and a less hazardous plan was adopted. It was resolved instead of the direct assault to seize Dorchester Heights, gain a position from which the American batteries might command the city, and thus drive Howe out of Boston.

For two days the attention of the British was drawn by a constant fire from the American guns. Then, on the night of the 4th of March, a strong detachment was thrown forward under cover of the darkness and reached the Heights of Dorchester unperceived. The British gained no hint of the movement until morning; but with the coming of light, Howe perceived at a glance that he was suddenly thrown on the defensive and that he must immediately carry the American position or abandon the city. He accordingly

ordered a force of two thousand four hundred men to storm the Heights before nightfall.

Washington, noting the plans and purposes of his adversary, visited the trenches, exhorted his men and gave directions to his officers. A spirit of battle flamed up like that at Bunker Hill. It was the anniversary of the Boston massacre, and that circumstance added fuel to the fires of patriotism. A battle was momentarily expected; but in the lull of preparation a storm arose, and rendered the harbor impassable for ships. The tempest continued to rage for a whole day, and the attack could not be made. Before the following morning the Americans had so strengthened their fortifications that all thoughts of an assault were abandoned, and General Howe found himself reduced to the extremity of giving up the capital of New England.

It was still in the power of the British, however, to destroy what they could not hold. Boston might be burned to the ground. Such a disaster must needs weigh heavily upon the patriots. Washington entered into negotiations with the British commander, and it was agreed that the latter should retire from Boston unmolested on condition that the city should not be injured. On the 17th of March the whole British army went on board the fleet and sailed away. About fifteen hundred loyalists who had chosen to hold to the King's cause against the cause of their country, and dreading to remain in a city and among a people by whom they must henceforth be ostracized as Tories and traitors, escaped with the British squadron. On the 20th of the month Washington made a formal entry at the head of his triumphant army. The country was wild with delight at the expulsion of the enemy. Congress ordered a gold medal struck in honor of Washington "victorious over the enemy for the first time put to flight."

The recovery of Boston from the British entailed two kinds of results on the patriot cause. New England at once recovered herself; Boston was fortified; a sense of relief came, and the people of New England feeling themselves freed, as they hoped forever, of the presence of the British, regarded the conflict as virtually over and the victory won. This confidence was salutary so far as New England was concerned; but owing to the strong local prejudices existing among the colonies, it was injurious to the cause in other parts of the field. In a word, the men of New England were ready to fight to the death for the defense of New England, but did not feel the force of that higher patriotism which would lead them to fight with equal resolution and courage in the defense of the other American States.

The evil influences of these feelings were felt as soon as the commander-in-chief began to withdraw his army from Boston for the defense of New York. Washington perceived that, though Boston was rescued, New York was exposed. General Lee was sent forward to the latter city with Connecticut militia, and reached New York just in time to baffle an attempt of Sir Henry Clinton, whose fleet arrived off Sandy Hook. He found that the city was already pre-occupied by the patriot forces, and thereupon sailed away southward, to be joined by Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, with two thousand five hundred additional British troops.

This force was reckoned sufficient for the capture of Charleston, but the Carolinians were by no means sleeping. Led by General Lee they rose in arms and flocked to the city as the men of New England had rushed to Boston after Concord and Lexington. Charleston was quickly fortified and a fort commanding the entrance to the harbor was built on Sullivan's Island. On the 4th of June the British squadron came in sight, but it was not until the 28th

that the hostile fleet began a bombardment of the fortress which was commanded by Colonel William Moultrie. The British vessels obtained a good position and poured a torrent of balls upon the fort, but the walls, built of palmetto wood, were little injured. The flag-staff was shot away, but Sergeant Jasper leaped down outside the parapet, recovered the flag and set it in its place again—an incident famous in the revolutionary tradition. As evening came on the British, finding that they could make no impression upon the fortification, were obliged to withdraw after losing two hundred men. The patriot loss was thirty-two. As soon as the British could repair their fleet they abandoned Charleston and sailed for New York.

It was now evident that the military operations of 1776 were to be centered at New York and vicinity. During the summer Washington's forces were nominally increased by volunteering to about twenty-seven thousand men, but the effective force was little more than half that number. The recruits were raw, undisciplined, unused to hardship, strangers to battle, poorly supplied, poorly equipped and in some instances badly commanded, or not all of the patriot officers were equal to their responsibilities.

On the other side Great Britain with her enormous resources made the vastest preparations. She entered into a treaty with some of the minor German States by which seventeen thousand Hessians were hired for the American war. George III. was going to quell his revolted provinces by sending against them a mercenary, brutal, foreign soldiery. Twenty-five thousand additional English troops were levied. A powerful squadron was fitted out to aid in the reduction of the colonies and a million dollars voted for the extraordinary expenses of the war department.

Until this epoch the hope had been entertained in America that the battle for English rights could be fought and

won without the separation of the colonies from the British crown. The anger of the Americans had been against the ministry and the King rather than against the British people or the institution of monarchy. The vast majority of the patriots were up to this time wholly averse to the notion of independence. As late as the spring of 1776 Washington himself had said that he abhorred the idea of separating the colonies from the mother country.

But the heats of war soon melted and transfused the sentiment of the Americans into another form. It was in the early part of 1776 that this change of opinion was effected. The change was well-nigh universal. Only a few still clung to England and the ancient system. Though the colonists had thus far claimed to be loyal subjects of the crown they now became rebels and insurgents in earnest. Now the hope of reconciliation seemed utterly abolished. The people began to urge the Assemblies and the Assemblies to urge Congress to declare the independence of the colonies. Congress responded at first by recommending the colonies to adopt each and several for themselves such governments as might seem most conducive to the safety and welfare of the people. Meanwhile the discussions of Congress tended constantly in the direction indicated by the popular voice.

It was on the 7th of June, 1776, that Richard Henry Lee, a delegate from Virginia, offered in Congress the first resolution declaring that the United Colonies were and of right ought to be Free and Independent States. A long and exciting debate ensued in which the advocates of independence constantly gained ground and the minority of opposition wasted away. It was first agreed that the final consideration of Lee's resolution should be postponed until the 1st of July. Meanwhile on the 11th of June, four days after the first introduction of the measure, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Living-

ston were appointed a committee to prepare a formal declaration.*

Accordingly on the 1st of July the committee made its report to Congress. On the next day—the 2d—Lee's resolution was adopted in the original words. During the 3d the formal declaration as reported by the committee was debated with great spirit. The discussion was resumed on the 4th, though it was now clear both within and without the halls of Congress that the members had risen to the level of their convictions and that the report would be adopted. At two o'clock on the afternoon of the memorable day the vote on the Declaration of American Independence was called and the measure carried by a unanimous vote of all the colonies.

The tradition runs that the old bellman of the State house, waiting with the rope in his hands until afternoon, became discouraged and said to the bystanders, "They will never do it. They will never do it." But they did do it, and the old bellman rang out the note of freedom to the nation. The multitudes caught the signal and answered with shouts. Everywhere the Declaration was received with enthusiastic applause. The people of Philadelphia proceeded at once to throw down the King's arms and burn them in the streets. At Williamsburg, Charleston and Savannah bonfires were kindled, and orators roused the people with declamation and appeal for freedom. At Boston the Declaration was read in Faneuil Hall. At New York the populace pulled

* The committee on the Declaration had at first for its chairman the mover of the resolution, Richard Henry Lee, but before the consideration of the subject was formally taken up Lee was called home to Virginia by sickness in his family. Thereupon Jefferson was appointed to serve in his place. The duty of preparing the Declaration devolved by seniority on John Adams, but he requested Jefferson to prepare the draught, giving as he does in his *Works* as a reason that he himself was a Massachusetts man, Jefferson a Virginian, and that he had noted with admiration *Jefferson's incisive style of writing!*

down the leaden statue of George III. and cast it into bullets. Washington for his part ordered the Declaration to be read at the head of each brigade of the army.

But what was this, our new Charter of Liberties? The leading principles of it are as follows: That all men are created equal; that all have a natural right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that human governments are instituted, not for the benefit of kings and princes, but for the sole purpose of securing the welfare of the people; that the people have a natural right to alter or even abolish their government whenever it becomes destructive of liberty; that the government of George III. had become destructive of liberty, and had thus passed under the ban of condemnation; that the despotism of the King of England and his ministers could be shown by a long list of indisputable proofs, and the proofs are given; that time and again the colonies had humbly petitioned for a redress of grievances; that all their petitions had been spurned with derision and contempt; that the King's irrational tyranny over his American subjects was no longer endurable by freemen; that an appeal to the sword is preferable to slavery, and that, therefore, the United Colonies of America are and of right ought to be Free and Independent States. To the support of this noble, manly declaration of principles the members of the Continental Congress mutually pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

Already the people of the colonies were ready for the work done by Congress. Indeed, the public mind, in its anger at British aggression and tyranny, had forerun the act of their representatives. The people had been indoctrinated with the concept and purpose of Independence. The writings of the Adamses, Otis and Jefferson had disseminated the principles of political freedom, and the taste thereof was sweet on the palate of the people. Thomas Paine's celebrated pamphlet

on *Common Sense*, which more than any other single writing furnished the logical basis of Independence, had sapped the foundation of the remaining loyalty to the British crown. No sooner was the great Declaration promulgated than the people of the colonies, now the people of the United States, like the signers of their Charter of Liberty, pledged to its support their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

It was now a question of war and internationality. Could the American colonies sustain themselves against the overwhelming force of Great Britain? The enemy was already strong, not only in the home resources of the kingdom, but in her forces on American soil. In the beginning of July, General Howe was able to plant a force of nine thousand men on Staten Island. Thither Clinton and Cornwallis came from their unsuccessful attack on Charleston, and Admiral Howe, brother of the general, arrived from England. The whole British force now concentrated in the vicinity of New York amounted to not fewer than thirty thousand men. About half of these were the imported Hessians, for whose transit through his dominions Frederick the Great had charged *so much a head*, saying in magnificent sarcasm that that was the rate which he charged for driving *live-stock* across his kingdom! Washington's army was greatly inferior to the enemy in every respect—in numbers, in equipment, in experience, in discipline.

Great Britain had not expected the startling dénouement of Independence. She had considered herself thus far as dealing with a lot of refractory, contrary, penurious, half-rebellious colonists, whom she might easily overawe and then punish for their contumacy. Now she suddenly awoke to the fact that she was confronted by a nation of people who would fight and die for their rights. The Declaration of Independence was read with astonishment, not only in England, but in every court of Europe. No other such

document had been drawn since the beginning of the modern era. Indeed, it was doubtful, and is still doubtful, whether any other such political paper had ever been produced among men. It was admitted by the gravest sages and statesmen that the Declaration prepared and sent abroad by the American people in Congress could not have been surpassed by the most astute, learned and patriotic thinkers of ancient or modern times. The effect of it was tremendous in the public opinion of Europe, insomuch that Great Britain, for the moment shocked into her senses, deemed it prudent to try conciliation.

Could the Americans be conciliated? That was the question. Lord Howe was instructed to open negotiations and attempt conciliatory measures with the Americans. He and his brothers had aforesaid been the friends and companions of Benjamin Franklin in London. With them that great philosopher and patriot had held many conferences, urging them to interpose against the folly of England in driving the Americans to rebellion and independence. Now the tables were turned. The mischief had been done and Lord Howe must become the ambassador of his country in the attempt to re-establish peace. Howe addressed Franklin, and through him would fain exercise an influence over his fellow-countrymen. Franklin replied in one of those polite but caustic letters which so frequently in the days of trial proceeded from his pen, concluding with these words to his former friend, Lord Howe: "Henceforth you are my enemy, and I am

Yours,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Lord Howe sent to the American camp a dispatch directed to "George Washington, *Esquire*." Washington refused to receive the communication which purposely ignored his official position as General of the American

Armies. Howe then sent another communication addressed to "George Washington, etc., etc., etc.;" and the bearer insisted that *and-so-forth* might mean General of the American Army. But Washington sent the officer away. It was not likely that the proud and sedate Virginian would permit a messenger to insult him by ignoring his official title. It was known, moreover, that Lord Howe's authority extended only to granting pardons at discretion to those who would submit to the authority of the mother country. To this the prudent Washington replied that since no offense had been committed, no pardon was required.

With the breaking off of these inane negotiations Lord Howe and his brother at once began hostilities. On the 22d of August the British to the number of ten thousand crossed over to Long Island. The Americans at this time, to the number of seven or eight thousand, lay in the vicinity of Brooklyn. The British at once began an advance along several roads in the direction of that city, and on the morning of the 27th General Grant's division of the British army reached the position now occupied by the southwestern outskirts of Greenwood cemetery. Here he was met by General Lord Stirling of the patriot army with a division of fifteen hundred men. The battle at once began, but in this part of the field there was no decisive result. In the meantime General Von Heister, who commanded the British center, advanced beyond Flatbush and engaged the American center under General Sullivan. Here the Hessians, who composed the larger part of Von Heister's division, gained little or no ground, until Sullivan was suddenly alarmed by the noise of battle on his left and rear.

The American left had been assigned to General Putnam; but that officer had neglected to guard the passes in the direction of Bedford, and the sequel showed that this neglect was fatal, for during the night General Sir Henry Clinton

had made a detour from the British right and had occupied the heights to the east and north of the Jamaica road. It was his division that now came down by way of Bedford and fell upon the unsuspecting left of the American army. Sullivan in the center found himself thus surrounded and cut off; for Putnam's division on the left had been broken to pieces by the onset of the British. The patriots in the other parts of the line fought bravely, and many broke through the closing ranks of the British and escaped; but the rest were scattered, killed or taken prisoners.

In the meantime Cornwallis had attempted to cut off General Stirling's retreat, but was for the moment repulsed. Stirling's division, however, was in the greatest peril. Most of the men threw themselves into the rising waters at the head of a narrow inlet called Gowanus Bay, struggled across and saved themselves by joining the American lines at Brooklyn. The three generals, Stirling, Sullivan and Woodhull, were taken prisoners. Nearly a thousand patriots were killed and missing. The British losses were but slight. It seemed an easy thing for Clinton and Howe to close in on Brooklyn and complete their work by capturing the remainder of the American army. But this they neglected to do. Washington, from his headquarters in New York, heard the news with as much dismay as his strong nature was capable of manifesting. He hurried across to Brooklyn and made the most unwearied efforts to save his army from further disaster. Perceiving that he could not hold his position he resolved to withdraw to New York. The enterprise was extremely hazardous. At eight o'clock on the evening of the 29th of August the embarkation of the troops was begun. All night with muffled oars the boatmen rowed silently back and forth, and at daylight on the morning of the 30th the last detachment had taken to the boats. With sunrise the British discovered the movement of the Americans and

rushed forward over the defenses, only to find them abandoned. Nothing but a few worthless guns remained. The courage and sagacity of the American commander had sufficed to extricate his army from the extremity of peril, and the British were for the time baffled in pursuit.

But the defeat on Long Island proved to be most disastrous to the American cause. The patriot losses had been severe. At this time the terms of enlistment of many of the troops expired, and instead of again entering the ranks they returned to their homes. There were evidences of disintegration, and it was only by the constant exertion of Washington that the remainder of his army was kept from disbanding.

The British fleet now moved up the bay, and anchored within cannon shot of New York City. The place became untenable, and Washington was obliged to retire to the Heights of Harlem. On the 15th of September, the British effected a landing three miles above New York—for the city then occupied only the lower part of the island—and extended their lines across Manhattan. By this means they gained possession of the city. On the 16th of the month there was a skirmish between advanced parties of the two armies, in which the British were worsted and lost nearly a hundred men.

A month later Howe embarked his forces, passed into Long Island Sound, and landed in the vicinity of Westchester. His object was to get upon the American left flank and cut off Washington's communications with the Eastern States; but the American general detected the movement and faced the enemy east of Harlem River. On the 28th a battle of some severity was brought on at White Plains. Howe began the engagement with a brisk cannonade, which was answered with equal spirit by the Americans. The latter, however, lost one position, but immediately in-

trenched themselves in another. Night came on, and Washington deemed it prudent to withdraw to the Heights of Northcastle. General Howe remained for a few days at White Plains, and then returned with his forces to New York.

Soon afterwards the American army gave up Manhattan Island and crossed to the west bank of the Hudson, taking post at Fort Lee. Four thousand men were left for the time at Northcastle, under command of General Lee. Fort Washington, on Manhattan Island, was also held for the time by three thousand men, under Colonel Magaw. The skillful construction of this fort had attracted the attention of Washington and led to an acquaintance with the engineer, Alexander Hamilton, then a stripling but twenty years of age.

A series of disasters now ensued very disheartening to the American cause. On the 16th of November, Fort Washington was captured by the British. The garrison were made prisoners of war and were crowded into the jails of New York. Two days afterwards Fort Lee also was taken by Lord Cornwallis. By these ruinous captures Washington's army was reduced to about three thousand men, and with these he began to retreat from the Hudson to Newark. Cornwallis and Knyphausen pressed hard after the fugitives. The patriots continued their flight to Princeton, and finally to Trenton on the Delaware. Nothing but the skill of the commander saved the remnant of his forces from dispersion and capture.

It was on the 8th of December that Washington finally succeeded in putting the Delaware between himself and the pursuing foe. Cornwallis having no boats was obliged to wait for the freezing of the river before continuing the pursuit. In the interim the British army was stationed in the towns and villages on the left bank of the river. Of

these stations Trenton was the most important. The place was held by about two thousand Hessians, under Colonel Rahl. It was the design of the British as soon as the river should be frozen to march on Philadelphia, capture that city, scatter the remnants of the American army and restore the authority of Great Britain. Such a result was greatly feared by prudent Americans, and it was deemed expedient as a precautionary measure that Congress should be adjourned from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

In the meantime the fleet of Admiral Parker which had been engaged in the attack on Charleston bore down upon the coast of New England. On the same day that Washington crossed the Delaware the islands of Rhode Island and Conanicut were taken by the British squadron. The American fleet, under Commander Hopkins, was blockaded in the mouth of the Blackstone River. During all these movements General Charles Lee, with a large division of the American forces, had remained at Northcastle. To him Washington sent one dispatch after another to abandon the place and repair with his troops to the west bank of the Delaware, where all might be concentrated under the commander-in-chief. Lee marched with his division as far as Morristown, and established his own quarters at a place called Basking Ridge. Here on the 13th of December a squad of British cavalry suddenly appeared, captured Lee and hurried him off to New York. General Sullivan took command of the division and hastened to join Washington beyond the Delaware. The entire American forces were thus augmented to a little more than six thousand men.

But it was the midnight of the patriot cause. It appeared that the hope of Independence flickered to the socket. The forces at the command of Washington were unable to cope with the enemy, and the whole country was greatly dispirited. It was emergency such as this, however, that served

to bring out the grandeur and strength of Washington. With him there was no thought of yielding. He saw in the present ebb of fortune that extreme of affairs from which a reaction must necessarily arise. He perceived in the disposition of the British forces an opportunity to strike a blow for his country. It was evident that the leaders of the enemy were off their guard. The Hessians on the east side of the river were scattered in their quarters from Trenton to Burlington. Washington conceived the bold design of crossing the Delaware and striking the detachment at Trenton before a concentration of the enemy's forces could be effected. This design he now proceeded to carry into execution.

The American army was arranged in three divisions. The first, under General John Cadwallader, was ordered to cross the river at Bristol and attack the enemy encamped in that neighborhood. General Ewing was directed to pass over a little below Trenton, in order to intercept the possible retreat of the enemy. Washington himself, with twenty-four hundred men under immediate command of Sullivan and Greene, was to cross the Delaware nine miles above Trenton and march down the river to surprise and capture the town. For all these movements the night of Christmas was selected as furnishing the best opportunity of success.

Cold weather had now supervened and the Delaware was already filled with floating ice. Generals Ewing and Cadwallader were both baffled in their efforts to cross the river, as was also General Putnam, who had been ordered to effect a crossing at Philadelphia and make a feint against the British in that quarter. Washington, however, succeeded in getting over at the place now called Taylorsville. But the crossing was attended with the greatest difficulty and hazard.

The commander once on the Jersey shore divided his army into two columns and pressed forward by two different roads, one of which entered Trenton on the west side next the river and the other from the east. The crossing was greatly delayed, and it was already eight o'clock in the morning of the 26th before the Americans came in sight of the prize. But their courage rose to the occasion. It had been correctly divined by Washington that the Hessian soldiers and their officers would spend the Christmas day in holiday and rioting. They were still in their quarters, or only beginning to stir in the early morning, when the Americans from two directions burst into the town.

The Hessians sprang from their quarters and attempted to form in line. The American cannon began to roar and flashes of musketry sent deadly volleys whistling along the streets. Colonel Rahl was mortally wounded at the first onset. There was momentary confusion, and then nearly a thousand of the Hessians threw down their arms and surrendered at discretion. Only about six hundred, principally a body of light-horse, succeeded in making their escape in the direction of Princeton. Washington at once drew off with his prisoners and captured munitions and supplies. Before nightfall he was safe with his army on the other side of the Delaware.

The trophies of the battle were not inconsiderable. The Americans for their part lost not a man in the engagement, which had continued hotly for thirty-five minutes. The enemy lost seventeen killed and seventy-eight wounded. The number of prisoners taken was nine hundred and forty-six, nearly all of them the mercenaries from Hesse. Of arms the patriots captured twelve hundred British muskets, six brass cannon, two of them being 12-pounders, and all the flags and standards of the brigade. It was with good reason that Lord George Germain, the British Secretary for

the Colonies, wrote, "All our hopes were blasted by the unhappy affair at Trenton."

The British, with good reason surprised at these movements of a foe whom they had supposed to be virtually vanquished, began to fall back from their outposts and concentrated at Princeton. Lord Cornwallis, earlier in the season believing the war to be over, had gone to New York and prepared to return to Europe. Now he must hasten back to his imperiled forces. Reaching Princeton, he resumed command and began at once to devise plans for recovering the ground which had been lost by the unexpected successes of the Americans.

So closed the year 1776—the year of Independence. Only ten days previously General Howe had waited only for the freezing of the Delaware before taking up his quarters in Philadelphia. That done, already in anticipation he busied himself with the restoration of British authority and the final extinction of local resistance here and there. Already in imagination he saw the banner of St. George floating peacefully over every colonial capital and already received the thanks of his gracious sovereign, George III., of England. Now all this dream was suddenly dissipated. Now all the conditions of the conflict were reversed. Now the question was whether he and his army would be able to hold a single town in New Jersey against the onsets of reviving patriotism.

CHAPTER XV.

THE New Year's sun of 1777 saw the army of Washington about five thousand strong encamped at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis was by no means disposed to yield the field to his enemy without battle. Arriving at Princeton he gathered together his forces and proceeded at once against the Americans. The British were much superior in numerical strength and equipment. Cornwallis reached Trenton on the afternoon of the 1st and a severe skirmish occurred in the outskirts of the town.

The position of Washington was critical in the last degree. Should he be defeated in the approaching battle it would be impossible for him to retreat to a place of safety. In the emergency he deemed it prudent to withdraw from Trenton and take a more defensible position on the south bank of the Assanpink Creek. The British took possession of the town and in the afternoon attempted to force a passage of the stream, but were driven back. Night was approaching and Cornwallis deferred his principal attack till to-morrow.

With the coming of nightfall Washington called a council, and it was determined to leave the camp, pass the British left and march upon the enemy at Princeton, about thirteen miles away. There Cornwallis had left one division of his forces. Washington caught at the opportunity thus afforded to strike the enemy in detail. He accordingly removed his baggage to Burlington, on the Delaware. The camp-fires were brightly kindled and kept burning through the

night. Then the army was put in motion in the direction of Princeton. Everything was done in silence; the movement was undiscovered by the enemy, and the morning light showed the British sentries on the Assanpink a deserted camp.

At the very time when Cornwallis's pickets discovered the withdrawal of the Americans, Washington was entering Princeton. At sunrise Cornwallis heard the dull roar of the American guns in battle. The event showed that the British division at Princeton had been ordered the day before to withdraw on the morning of the 2d and proceed to Trenton. This order they were beginning to obey when Washington reached the town. The Americans met them on the outskirts of Princeton and the battle at once began. At the first charge of the British regulars the raw militia gave way in confusion, but they were rallied and brought into line again by Washington. The Pennsylvania regulars, under lead of the commander-in-chief, held their ground until the rally was effected. The tide of battle turned and the British were routed with a loss of four hundred and thirty men in killed, wounded and missing. On the American side the brave General Mercer was mortally wounded at the beginning of the engagement. Struck down by a blow from the butt of a musket, he refused to surrender and was bayoneted to death. The American loss from the rank and file was not nearly so great as that of the enemy.

Washington, though victorious, was in peril of the powerful Cornwallis, who came on hastily from Trenton, but was not in time to save his division from defeat. The American commander at once withdrew, and on the 5th of January found a defensible position at Morristown. Cornwallis for his part retired to New Brunswick. This was clearly a retreat. The New Jersey provincials perceived that in the last ten days conditions had been reversed and that the enemy was

worsted. The greater part of the State was soon recovered by the patriots. Cornwallis continued to contract his line until all his forces were concentrated at New Brunswick and Amboy.

Thus passed the winter of 1776-77. The first movement of the following spring was a success for the British. They marched against the American force at Peekskill and destroyed the patriot stores collected at that place. On the 13th of April, Cornwallis in person attacked General Lincoln, who was stationed on the Raritan; but the latter, being inferior in numbers, made good his retreat.

On the 25th of April, General Tryon made an invasion of Connecticut and his operations were characterized by a savagery which General Howe heartily condemned as disgraceful to the name of Briton. Tryon not only wantonly destroyed Danbury, Norwalk and Fairfield, but he massacred a part of Baylor's corps at Tappan and destroyed with the same merciless slaughter a detachment of Wayne's troops at Paoli, refusing to receive their offers of capitulation. It was during this incendiary and murderous riot that Benedict Arnold displayed for the first time his matchless heroism, and made good his escape through such fortune as gave to the incident a color of miracle.

After burning a large number of houses, both public and private, and visiting all manner of insults upon the helpless people, Tryon designed to complete the plunder and destruction of all the considerable places in Connecticut. Report of his marauding excursions, however, soon brought out a force of six hundred militia, under General David Wooster and Benedict Arnold, who, by forced marches, attempted to intercept Tryon at Danbury. Being apprised of their approach, he retreated towards Ridgefield, but was followed so rapidly that Wooster, at the head of his divided corps, with four hundred men struck Tryon's rear, capturing

forty prisoners after a brief skirmish. Tryon, whose force was fully two thousand men, was too cowardly to risk a battle, but continued his retreat until Arnold made a circuit and came up in front of the fleeing English and threw up a barricade of logs, stone and earth, intending to intercept the enemy and force an engagement regardless of his vastly inferior force. When Tryon came in sight of Arnold's fortified position and realized that his retreat was cut off either way, he ordered General Agnew to advance in solid column with the main body, while detachments were sent to outflank Arnold and gain his rear. The position of Arnold was by this movement rendered perilous in the extreme. Wooster still hung with tenacity on the enemy's rear, but very soon after the engagement opened he was struck by a musket ball and knocked from his horse. Though not instantly killed he died two days later, having survived for that length of time a broken back, the bone of which was shattered by the ball. Upon Arnold now devolved the chief command, and right bravely he assumed the responsibility. Instead of seeking an escape he heroically confronted the enemy and easily held his position against the heavy odds until Agnew succeeded in gaining a ledge of rocks from which he poured a concentrated fire upon the Americans. A panic followed this slaughter, but Arnold stood defiant amid the dreadful hail-storm of bullets. It is said a whole platoon of British fired at him at a distance of not more than thirty yards, but not a bullet struck him; his horse, however, fell pierced by several balls, and for a moment the foot of Arnold was held fast in a stirrup. At this juncture a Tory rushed forward with musket and bayonet, shouting, "You are my prisoner!" Drawing a pistol Arnold shot the Tory dead, and in a trice he had liberated his foot and bounded into a neighboring thicket pursued by a shower of bullets. Arnold's escape appeared so remarkable to the British that no further

effort was made to catch him, while both sides had suffered so severely in the engagement that neither desired its renewal. A few days later, however, as Tryon was near Norwalk, he learned that Arnold had turned again to pursue him, having placed himself at the head of five hundred men and formed a junction at Sangatuck with Colonel Huntington with as many more. Several sharp skirmishes now followed with the retreating enemy, and always to the advantage of the Americans, but the British finally succeeded in making their escape, though not until they had lost three hundred men and nearly all their munitions.

On the American side there were a few successful movements. On the evening of the 22d of May, Colonel Meigs, of Connecticut, embarked two hundred men in whaleboats, crossed Long Island Sound, and attacked Sag Harbor. The British garrison at that place was overpowered; only four of the number escaped, five or six were killed, and the remaining ninety taken prisoners. The British stores were destroyed by the patriots, who without the loss of a man returned to Guilford. The exploit was famous in the tradition of the year, and Colonel Meigs was rewarded by Congress with an elegant sword.

With the opening of the new year it was the policy of Washington to concentrate his forces on the Hudson. At the same time a camp of instruction and discipline was laid out on the Delaware and placed under charge of Arnold. In the latter part of May the commander-in-chief left his winter quarters and advanced to a position within ten miles of the British camp. General Howe crossed over from New York and threatened an attack on the American lines, but no serious onset was made. For a month the two armies countermarched and skirmished with no decisive result to either. Finally the British began to fall back, and retired at length to Amboy. On the 30th of June they finally

abandoned New Jersey, and crossed over to Staten Island.

The American Congress had in the meantime recovered its equanimity with the expulsion of the British from New Jersey, and had returned from Baltimore to Philadelphia. A spirit of confidence was restored throughout the country. The retirement of the enemy served a better purpose than a great victory in the field. The patriots rallied and the time-servers were thrown into confusion. In Philadelphia Toryism had been rampant. Only two months before the retreat of the British, prayers had been publicly read for the King! Now all that was ended, and the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was proudly celebrated in the city.

Now it was that the question of international relations between the United States and other nations arose upon the attention of the American Congress and of several foreign governments. More than two years had elapsed since the outbreak of hostilities. More than one year had gone by since the Declaration of Independence; and the Americans were by no means subdued. Aye, more, they presented a bold front to the British, and had actually succeeded in expelling the armies of the mother country from at least one State of the new Union.

These circumstances were calculated to excite the interest and sympathy of foreign nations. From the outbreak of the war the people of France had been most friendly to the American cause. England and France were at peace; but the sympathy of the French Court for the new American Republic could hardly be concealed. The ministers of Louis XVI. were not ready openly to provoke a war with Great Britain, but they secretly applauded the American colonists and rejoiced at every British misfortune. At length this sympathy was more outspoken. The Americans came to understand that if money was required France

would lend it; if arms were to be purchased, France had arms to sell. During the year 1777 the French people in public and private capacity, by intrigue or direct merchandise, succeeded in supplying the colonies with twenty thousand muskets and a thousand barrels of powder.

The student of general history knows that at this epoch republicanism as a form of political thought and a dream of enthusiasm began to warm the mind of France, premonitory of the great Revolution. French Republicans and Idealists began to speak for the American cause and presently to embark under the warmth of their enthusiasm for the American shore. Foremost of all came Gilbert Motier, that young Marquis of Lafayette whose name was destined to be immortally associated with our struggle for Independence. Fitting a vessel at his own expense, he eluded the officers of the French ports—for he had been forbidden to sail—and with the brave Baron de Kalb and a small company of followers reached South Carolina in April of 1777. He entered the Continental army as a volunteer and private, but was rapidly promoted, and in July of this year was commissioned a major-general.

From a military point of view the British now began to beat about as though they would find a more advantageous method of attack. In considering the field of operations they set their eye on Canada. That province having remained loyal to the crown afforded by way of the St. Lawrence an easy avenue of entrance by which an army might be carried far into the interior of our continent and be brought, so to speak, upon the flank of the colonies, now the United States.

These considerations led to the planning of a great campaign for the year 1777. The expedition was intrusted to General John Burgoyne, who superseded Sir Guy Carleton in command of all the British forces in Canada. Burgoyne

spent the spring in organizing an army of ten thousand men for the invasion of New York from the north. The forces consisted of British, Hessians and Canadians, with a considerable contingent of Indian allies. The plan of the invasion embraced a descent upon Albany and New York City and the cutting off of New England from the middle and southern colonies.

By the first of June the expedition proceeded as far as Lake Champlain, and on the 16th of that month Crown Point was taken. Here there was a pause, but on the 5th of July Ticonderoga, which was held by General Arthur St. Clair with three thousand men, was captured. The garrison, however, escaped and retreated to Hubbardton, Vermont. The retreating force was pursued and overtaken near that place, but the Americans, turning upon the British, fought so stubbornly as to check the pursuit. On the following day the British succeeded in capturing Whitehall, with a large quantity of stores which the patriots had collected at that place.

While affairs were thus somewhat favorable to the British in the extreme northwest, though they had lost Ticonderoga, the patriots in other sections were making themselves felt by delivering effective blows upon the enemy. On July 10, 1777, Colonel William Barton planned a bold stratagem to capture General Prescott, commander-in-chief of the British forces in Rhode Island. Prescott had his quarters in a farm-house near Newport, and as affairs were quiet in that vicinity, he failed to take any precautions to insure his safety. Learning the situation, Colonel Barton, with forty militiamen in boats, rowed across Narragansett Bay at night and landed in a cove less than one hundred yards from the house in which Prescott, all unconscious of danger, was sleeping. Noiselessly Barton ascended the hill with his company and surrounded the house before his presence was

detected. At the instant of alarm the half-sleeping sentinel who guarded the door was seized, and in another moment the militiamen forced their way into the house, compelling a negro servant to show them the general's room. They captured him in his *robe de chambre*, and then rushed their prisoner off to the waiting boats. So quietly was the capture effected that Barton succeeded in passing under the very stern of an English man-of-war without his presence being discovered, and escaped with his distinguished prisoner to Providence, for which gallant service Congress presented him with a sword.

The American army of the north at this time numbered no more than four or five thousand men. It was under command of General Philip Schuyler, and was posted at Fort Edward. On came the British to this place, and the Americans were obliged to retreat down the Hudson. Fort Edward was taken on the 30th of July, but by this time the supplies of Burgoyne's army began to fail, and he made a pause, sending out Colonels Baum and Breymann with strong detachments to seize the American stores at Bennington, Vermont. But Colonel John Stark rallied the New Hampshire militia and confronted the enemy. On the 15th of August he met the British near the village of Bennington, and on the following morning there was a furious battle. The Green Mountain boys fought in a manner to remind the enemy of Lexington and Bunker Hill. Colonel Baum's force, instead of gathering supplies, was utterly routed, the British losing in killed, wounded and prisoners more than eight hundred men. It was really a staggering blow to the invasion, and the country was thrilled with the news of the victory.

In the meantime a still greater reverse to Burgoyne had occurred in another part of the field. At the beginning of the campaign a large force of Canadians and Indians had

been sent under General St. Leger against Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk. On the 3d of August (1777) St. Leger reached his destination and invested the fort. General Herkimer on the other side rallied the militia of the country, but was defeated with the loss of a hundred and sixty men. About the same time the audacious Arnold had led a detachment from the Hudson for the relief of Fort Schuyler, but he employed a singular stratagem to give the enemy an exaggerated idea of his forces. A half-witted boy was captured, and holes being cut in his clothes similar to the marks of bullets, he was promised his freedom if he would go into the camp of St. Leger and there exhibit the rents in his coat in proof of the narrowness of his escape and represent the Americans as leaves for number. This the boy did with such dramatic effect that the Indian allies of St. Leger broke and fled. The British commander, dismayed at their treachery and cowardice, raised the siege and retreated. This news also was borne to Burgoyne at Fort Edward.

Having failed in these two efforts to gather supplies from the invaded country, Burgoyne was now obliged to halt for a month while military stores and provisions were brought down from Canada. Reports from every field of action being favorable, the patriots gathered courage with each day and rallied to the standard of General Schuyler, until his force numbered nine thousand men, thus equaling the strength of the enemy. General Lincoln arrived with the militia of New England. Washington sent to the north several detachments from the regular army. Colonel Daniel Morgan came with his division of riflemen from the South—very dangerous men in battle. General Horatio Gates superseded Schuyler in command of the northern army. By the beginning of fall the Americans were able to assume the offensive, and on the 8th of September Gates's headquarters were ad-

vanced as far as Stillwater. At Bemis's Heights, a short distance north of this place, a camp was laid out and fortified under direction of the noted Polish engineer and patriot, Thaddeus Kosciusko.

Already Burgoyne perceived before him a pathway of hazardous battles; but he must advance or ingloriously recede. On the 14th of September he crossed the Hudson and took post at Saratoga. Now the two armies came face to face. On the 19th a general battle ensued, continuing until nightfall. The conflict, though severe, was indecisive; but indecision with the Americans was victory. The latter retired within their lines and the British slept on the field. The condition of Burgoyne momentarily grew more critical. His supplies failed. His Canadian and Indian allies deserted his standard. His forces wasted away while those of his antagonist constantly increased.

By this time it became known at New York that the British army of the North was imperiled. General Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief, made most unwearied efforts to save Burgoyne from impending disaster. He organized an expedition, sailed up the Hudson and captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery; but nothing further could be accomplished. The diversion failed and Burgoyne became desperate. On the 7th of October he hazarded another battle in which he lost several of his bravest officers and nearly seven hundred privates. The accomplished British General Frasier, who commanded the right wing of Burgoyne's army, was killed on the field. His men, disheartened at his fall, turned and fled. On the American side General Arnold was the inspiring genius of the battle. The result of the engagement was a complete victory for the Americans.

Burgoyne must now retreat. He began a retrograde movement, and two days after the battle reached Saratoga.

Here he was intercepted by Gates and Lincoln and the game was up. Nothing remained but capitulation or destruction. On the 17th of the month the terms offered by General Gates were accepted by Burgoyne, and the whole British army, numbering five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one men, became prisoners of war. Among the captives were six members of the British Parliament! Forty-two pieces of brass artillery, five thousand muskets and an immense quantity of stores were the added fruits of the victory. The great invasion had ended in disaster to the British cause, overwhelming, total and final.

After the surrender, with rare magnanimity, General Gates invited Burgoyne and the other captive officers to join him at his headquarters, which was a modest farm-house of inconsiderable size, and accept his hospitalities. The scene which followed has few examples in history. A magnificent dinner was prepared at which Gates acted as host, and regarding the English officers as his guests, he treated them with the most profuse cordiality, which mitigated the humiliation of their defeat so far that they drank several hearty bumpers to the health alike of their host and magnanimous victor.

In another part of the field, however, affairs had not gone well for the Americans. In the South a great campaign had been in progress during the summer and the patriots were sorely pressed. On the 23d of July (1777), General Howe with eighteen thousand men had sailed from New York for an attack on Philadelphia. The plan of a land campaign across New Jersey was now abandoned for an expedition by sea and up the Bay of Delaware. The Americans, however, had obstructed that water, and the British General, changing his plan, entered the Chesapeake with the design of reaching the head of the bay and from that point making the attack by land.

In order to meet this danger Washington advanced his headquarters from Philadelphia to Wilmington. At that place he drew in the detachments of his army to the number of nearly twelve thousand men. The forces of General Howe were vastly superior, but Washington was not without hope that he might be able to beat back the invaders and save the capital.

The British squadron made its way into the Chesapeake to the headwaters of the bay and the troops were landed at Elk River in Maryland. From that point the invasion was begun overland in the direction of Philadelphia. Washington placed himself in the path of the enemy and selected the small River Brandywine as his line of defense. He stationed the left wing of his army at a crossing called Chadd's Ford, while the right, under General Sullivan, was extended for some distance up the river, for Washington could not discover with certainty at what point the enemy would attempt to cross. On the 11th of September the British reached the Brandywine and a battle was begun. The Hessians, under command of Knyphausen, attacked the American left at the ford; but the main division of the British, led by Cornwallis and Howe, marched up the right bank of the Brandywine and crossed at a point beyond the American right. General Sullivan was thus outflanked. Washington was misled by false information; the right wing was broken in by a charge of Cornwallis, and the day was hopelessly lost. A retreat ensued during the night and the Americans drew off in tolerable order to West Chester.

The loss of the Americans in the battle of the Brandywine amounted to a thousand men; that of the British to five hundred and eighty-four. General Lafayette was severely wounded. Count Pulaski so distinguished himself in this engagement that Congress honored him with the rank of Brigadier. Washington continued his retreat from West

Chester across the Schuylkill to Germantown. On the 15th of September, however, he recrossed the river and joined battle with Howe at Warren's tavern. The engagement opened with a spirited skirmish, and it was believed by both commanders that a decisive action was at hand; but just at the beginning of the conflict a violent tempest of wind and rain swept over the field and the combatants were deluged. Their cartridges were soaked and fighting was made impossible. Washington, however, still attempted to keep between the British and the city; but General Howe succeeded in crossing the Schuylkill and hastened onward to Philadelphia. On the 26th of September the city was taken without resistance and the main division of the British army was quartered at Germantown.

The loss of Philadelphia again made it necessary for Congress to remove its sittings. That body adjourned first to Lancaster and afterwards to York, where it continued to hold its sessions until the next summer. The American headquarters were established on Skippack Creek, about twenty miles from the city. Though the British had possession of Philadelphia, Washington, after his manner, was on the alert to strike a blow that might again, as in the case of Trenton and Princeton, reverse the condition of the contending parties. This he attempted to do on the night of the 3d of October, at Germantown, a suburb on the north of Philadelphia.

The movement, however, was impeded by the roughness of the roads. The advancing columns reached their destination at irregular intervals and the British outposts were thus able to concentrate and offer battle. The surprise was a failure; but there was much severe fighting, and at one time it seemed that the British would be overwhelmed. In the crisis of the battle, however, they gained possession of a large stone mansion, the residence of Judge Chew, and

could not be dislodged. The Americans fought valiantly in their attempt to storm this position, but the tide of battle turned against them and the day was lost. Of the Americans about a thousand were killed, wounded and missing, while the total British loss was but five hundred and thirty-five.

Thus far, though the British held the capital, their position was precarious, or at least uncomfortable, from the fact that the Americans held control of the River Delaware. Two forts, Mercer and Mifflin, below Philadelphia, were garrisoned by the Americans, and the guns of the bastions were sufficient to command the river. On the 22d of October Fort Mercer was attacked by a Hessian force twelve hundred strong, led by Count Dunop; but the assault was unsuccessful. Nearly one-third of those engaged in it fell before the American intrenchments. Coincidentally with this affair the British fleet made an attack on Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island. This place they besieged until the 15th of November, when the fortress, becoming untenable, was set on fire and the garrison escaped to Fort Mercer. On the 20th of the month this place also was abandoned to the British, and General Howe at last obtained full control of the Delaware.

After the unsuccessful attack on Germantown Washington withdrew beyond the Schuylkill to a place called White Marsh and there established his headquarters. The patriots began at this time to suffer for both food and clothing. The colonies failed to send forward the requisite supplies for the support of the army. Meanwhile the British, though winter had set in, laid a plan to surprise Washington in his camp and overwhelm him and his forces. General Howe held a council of war on the evening of the 2d of December at the house of Lydia Darrah, in Philadelphia, and there the arrangements were made to march out and attack the Americans. But Mrs. Darrah, who overheard the plans of Howe,

left the city on pretense of going to the mill, rode to the American lines and gave the alarm. When, on the morning of the 4th, the British approached the American camp at White Marsh, they found the cannon mounted and the patriots in order of battle. The preparation was so complete that Howe did not dare to make the attack. For four days he maneuvered in the hope of striking a blow, but was then obliged to march back without an action to Philadelphia.

Winter now set in severely, and Washington established his quarters at a place called Valley Forge, on the right bank of the Schuylkill. But the situation was desperate. The supplies were short. Thousands of the soldiers had no shoes, and in many cases the frozen ground was marked with their bloody footprints. Log cabins were hastily built for protection, and everything was done that could be done to secure the comfort of the suffering patriots; but it was a long, dreary winter. These were perhaps the darkest days of Washington's life. There was a reaction in the public mind against him and his management of the patriot cause. This unjust sentiment found its way into Congress, and that body in a measure abandoned him. The success of the Army of the North under Gates was invidiously compared with the reverses of the Army of the South. Many men high in military and civil station left the great leader unsupported; but the army remained true in its allegiance. The clouds at length began to break and the nation's confidence in the chieftain became stronger than ever. At the close of the year, however, the cause of independence was still obscured with clouds and thick darkness.

Mention has already been made of the friendliness of France to the new republic. Never were sympathy and support more needed. From the outbreak of the war the Americans, knowing the traditional enmity existing between

the French and the English, had hoped for an alliance with the former against the latter. As early as November, 1776, Silas Deane, of Connecticut, had been appointed commissioner of the United States to the court of Louis XVI. The French King was then in the third year of his reign; it was known that he desired the success of the American cause, and was willing, at least by indirection, to contribute to that result. On the arrival of Deane at Versailles he succeeded in making a secret arrangement with the French ministry for the supply of the Americans with materials for carrying on the war. In the autumn of 1777 a ship laden with two hundred thousand dollars' worth of arms, ammunition and specie was sent to America. Almost as valuable as this large contribution to the military resources of the patriots was the Baron Frederick William of Steuben, who came in the same ship with the French supplies, and was soon afterwards commissioned by Congress as inspector-general of the army. In this relation he was of the greatest service to the cause, for he was a man not only of great abilities, but of wide experience in the management and supply of military forces.

Soon after the departure of Deane, Arthur Lee and Benjamin Franklin were appointed by Congress to go to Paris, and if possible to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the French King. They reached their destination in December of 1776; but the reader will recall the low ebb of fortune to which the American cause at that time had fallen. For this reason Louis XVI. and his ministers were wary of making a treaty with what appeared to be a sinking State. Nevertheless, on account of their hatred of Great Britain, they continued to give secret encouragement to the colonies. An open treaty with the Americans would be equivalent to a war with England, and that the French Court was at this time slow to undertake; but private sympathy

and secret aid to the Americans could be given without imperiling the general peace of Western Europe.

It was in this peculiar juncture of affairs and condition of opinion and policy that the genius of Dr. Franklin shone with a peculiar luster. At the gay court of Louis XVI. he appeared as the representative of his country. His gigantic intellect, his reputation in science and his personal manners soon won for him at the French capital an immense reputation. His wit and genial humor made him admired; his humanity and courteous bearing commanded universal respect; his patience and perseverance gave him final success. He became at length the idol of the French people. During the whole of 1777 he remained at Paris and Versailles, leaving nothing undone that might conduce to the cause of his country.

At last came the news of Burgoyne's surrender. Franklin was enabled to inform the French ministers that a powerful British army had been conquered and captured by the colonists without aid from abroad. This marked success of the American arms and the influence of the French minister of finance, Beaumarchais, who for several years had been in correspondence with the American agents abroad, induced the King to accept the proposed alliance with the colonies. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty was concluded. France acknowledged the independence of the United States, and entered into relations of friendship with the new nation. The event was of vast moment, for it presaged the final success of the American cause. It was perceived at a glance throughout the civilized world that France had virtually taken up the gauntlet, and that Great Britain, in the multitude of her enemies, must ultimately yield, at least to the extent of acknowledging the independence of the American States.

This work, so far as human agency was concerned, was

attributable to Benjamin Franklin. He was the author of the treaty—first compact between the new United States and a foreign nation. Franklin was at this time already an old man, according to the law of nature. He was in his seventy-third year, having been born in Boston on the 17th of January, 1706. His father was a manufacturer of soap and candles. At the age of twelve the boy Benjamin was apprenticed to his elder brother to learn the art of printing. In 1723 he went to Philadelphia, entered a printing office, and soon rose to distinction. He visited England, resided a while in London, returned to Philadelphia, founded the first circulating library in America, edited *Poor Richard's Almanac*—wisest book of proverbs since the days of Solomon; became a man of science; discovered the identity of electricity and lightning; prepared a constitution for the united colonies as early as 1755; espoused the patriot cause; became the greatest representative of his country abroad, and devoted his old age to perfecting the American Union. To the end of days Benjamin Franklin will perhaps remain the most typical American of all his countrymen. Yet great as he was, his grave in Philadelphia is marked by nothing more than a simple slab of stone, from which the inscription is almost effaced.

Congress made haste to ratify the advantageous treaty with France. Already a month previously, namely, in April, 1778, a French fleet under Count d'Estaing had been dispatched to America. Both France and Great Britain immediately prepared for war on an extended scale. At this juncture Great Britain would gladly have made peace with the Americans on any terms consistent with their return to allegiance and loyalty to the English crown. The King himself became willing to treat with his American subjects. Lord North, now at the head of the ministry, brought forward two bills in which everything which the colonists had

claimed was conceded. The bills were passed by Parliament and the King gave his assent. Commissioners were sent to America, but Congress courageously informed them that an acknowledgment of the independence of the United States was a necessary preliminary to negotiations. Nothing short of that would now be accepted by the new Republic. It thus happened that the obstinacy of George III. and his ministers during the last four years had conduced to the ultimate success of the American struggle for independence and to the enlargement of the civil liberties of mankind.

Owing to these attempted negotiations, military operations were not opened with alacrity in the spring of 1778. The British army remained at Philadelphia until the month of June. The fleet of Admiral Howe lay in the Delaware. When it was learned, however, that the squadron of Count d'Estaing had sailed for America, Admiral Howe withdrew from his position in support of his brother in Philadelphia and sailed for New York. It was deemed more important that the latter city should be held against a possible attack of the French, but General Howe was unwilling to remain in Philadelphia without the support of his fleet. Accordingly, on the 18th of June, he evacuated the city and began to make his way across New Jersey. Washington at once marched into the metropolis and then followed the retiring British.

At Monmouth the enemy was overtaken on the 27th of June. On the following morning General Lee was ordered to make the attack. The American cavalry, under Lafayette, leading the charge, was at first driven back by Cornwallis. General Lee, instead of supporting Lafayette, ordered his line to retire to a stronger position. It appears that Lee's troops mistook the nature of the order and began a confused retreat. Washington was by this time at hand in person. He met the fugitives, rallied them and admin-

istered a severe rebuke to Lee. The battle then continued in a desultory and indecisive manner till nightfall. Such was the extreme heat that almost as many soldiers were prostrated thereby as fell in the fight. But Washington anxiously waited for the morning, still hoping for a decisive victory. During the night, however, the British force under direction of Sir Henry Clinton were withdrawn and escaped unperceived from the American front.

The loss of the Americans in the battle of Monmouth was two hundred and twenty-seven; that of the enemy much greater. The British left nearly three hundred dead on the field. On the day after the battle Washington received an insulting letter from General Lee demanding an apology. Washington replied severely that his language had been warranted by the circumstances. Lee answered in a still more offensive manner and was thereupon arrested. He was tried by court-martial and dismissed under reprimand for one year. He never re-entered the service and did not live to witness the achievement of independence. A thrilling and heroic incident of this battle may be thus briefly told, to the glory of American womanhood. A brave woman named Mary Pitcher had accompanied her husband, a young artilleryman, through the many privations of several campaigns and had distinguished herself at Fort Clinton. During the engagement at Monmouth she employed her services in bringing water from a spring near the place where the battery was planted, and in refreshing with cool draughts the powder-blackened men who were handling the field guns. While returning with a bucket filled with water she saw her husband fall dead as he was charging a gun. In another instant, fired with a patriotic enthusiasm that repressed her grief, she seized the rammer and discharged with ability and fidelity the duties which her husband had performed; and in this station she resolutely remained until

the close of the battle. She was presented to Washington, who rewarded her with a sergeant's commission, and she was then retired on half pay for life.

After Monmouth the British forces made their way to New York. Washington followed, and took up his headquarters at White Plains. Meanwhile the fleet of Count d'Estaing arrived, and attempted to attack the British squadron in New York harbor. But the bar at the entrance prevented the passage of his vessels. D'Estaing hereupon withdrew and made a descent on Rhode Island. General Sullivan was sent to co-operate with D'Estaing in an attack on Newport. The American forces were brought into position, and on the 9th of August Sullivan informed his ally of his readiness for battle on the next day. On that morning, however, the fleet of Admiral Howe came in sight and D'Estaing sailed out to give battle to that enemy on his own element. But just as the two squadrons were about to begin a naval battle a storm arose by which the fleets were parted and both greatly damaged. D'Estaing sailed for Boston for repairs and Howe returned to New York.

As for General Sullivan, he undertook a siege of Newport without the co-operation of the French fleet, but was soon obliged to withdraw. The British followed in pursuit and a battle was fought in which the enemy was worsted, with a loss of two hundred and sixty men. On the following night Sullivan made good his withdrawal from the island and General Clinton returned to New York.

At this time the command of all the British naval forces operating on the American coasts was given to Admiral Byron. The year 1778 was noted for many irregular and desultory episodes of warfare not very creditable to those engaged, and having but little general effect upon the progress of the Revolution. Early in October a band of guerillas led by Colonel Ferguson burned the American ships

at Little Egg Harbor. Already in the preceding July the Tory, Major John Butler, commanding sixteen hundred loyalists, Canadians and Indians, marched into the Valley of Wyoming, Pennsylvania. The settlement was defenseless. On the approach of the Tories and savages, a few militia, old men and boys, rallied to protect their homes. A battle was fought, and the patriots without discipline or efficient command were routed. The fugitives fled into a rude fort which they had erected, and which was soon crowded not only with the militia, but with the women and children of the settlement. Honorable terms were promised by Butler, and the garrison capitulated. On the 5th of July the gates were opened and the Canadians entered, followed by the Indians. The latter and some of the former immediately began to plunder and kill. The passion of butchery rose with the work, and nearly all the prisoners fell under the hatchet and the scalping-knife.

Four months later a similar massacre occurred at Cherry Valley, New York. The invaders in this instance were led by the celebrated Joseph Brandt, the half-breed chief of the Mohawks, and by Walter Butler, a son of Mayor John Butler. The people of Cherry Valley were driven from their homes without mercy. Women and children were tomahawked and scalped, and forty prisoners carried into captivity by the Indians.

To avenge these outrages, an expedition was organized and sent against the villages in the Onondaga Valley. The commanders were Colonels Gansevoort and Van Schaick. The Americans made their way unexpectedly into the Indian country. It chanced that a fog concealed the approach of the whites until they were already in the Indian villages. Three of these were destroyed. A number of warriors were killed and thirty-three taken prisoners. Most of the savage inhabitants fled away. The horses and

cattle were slaughtered, and in six days the expedition returned to Fort Schuyler without having lost a man. Thus in their turn the red men were made to feel the terrors of lawless war.

The year was marked by more than a score of thrilling episodes in which brave frontiersmen either perished in defense of their homes or exhibited extraordinary courage in successful efforts to beat back the savages. Among the more distinguished heroes of this period were the Bradys and Wetzels, whose valorous deeds have served to perpetuate their names until the annals that describe the redemption of America from barbarism are no longer printed. The Bradys were singularly marked as victims of Indian savagery. Captain John Brady, a brave pioneer, was assassinated by three Indians as he was riding along a highway. James, the son of John Brady, with three companions, was set upon by a company of Indians; his comrades deserted at the first signs of danger, but he stood his ground, and disdaining all overtures for surrender, fought with his back to a tree until ten bullets from guns of his enemies extinguished his brave life.

An elder brother, named Samuel, swore to avenge the death of James, and thereafter devoted many years to satisfying his vengeance, in which service he rose to the very pinnacle of fame as a scout of unexampled daring, who passed through perils greater and more numerous perhaps than beset any other pioneer.

Equally famous as the Bradys were the Wetzel brothers, whose dashing daring has been made the subject of many a thrilling tale of adventure with Indians. The father, John Wetzel, an honest, plodding Dutchman, built a cabin in the Ohio Valley, but he had scarcely become settled and began clearing some of his ground when one day while working in the woods he was pitilessly murdered by lurking savages.

Though a man indisposed to strife himself he was father to five sons who became desperadoes in their unappeasable thirst for a bloody vengeance. The eldest of these, named Martin, was soon after made captive by a band of Indians to whose life he adapted himself in order the more effectually to satisfy his desire for vengeance. While thus living on apparently amiable terms with the tribe into which he was adopted, he contrived to kill no less than twenty before his criminal intents were discovered, and by this time he had retreated and was a leader of the settlers. Each of the brothers in turn became a sleuth-hound upon the tracks of the Indians, slaying at every opportunity and ever demanding the blood of atonement for their father's slaughter.

The youngest of the Wetzels was Lewis, and he was the most implacable of the five. So great was his thirst for vengeance that when in 1787-88 efforts were made by General Harmar to make a treaty of peace with the Indians, Lewis opposed such temporizing measures, and with many other settlers preferred to have the war go on until the savages were exterminated. When, therefore, a council was called at Fort Harmar, Wetzel waylaid and shot an Indian who was on the way to the treaty ground. This act created such intense indignation that General Harmar set a price upon Wetzel's head, which incentive prompted a company of soldiers to set out upon his tracks, and after a week's pursuit they arrested him while he was sleeping in the house of a friend. Securing him with heavy manacles they carried the desperate Indian hunter back to the fort, where he was kept under a close guard for some weeks. At length relaxing somewhat his severity under specious promises of the prisoner, General Harmar permitted Lewis to exercise about the fort, but always under strict surveillance of two or more guards and never without handcuffs upon his wrists. On one occasion, however, Wetzel seized the small opportunity

offered for his escape and made a surprising dash for liberty. The guards were quick to detect his bold maneuver and each fired at the fugitive, but without effect. Running like a deer, Wetzel plunged into a thicket, baffled all pursuit and managed to cross the Ohio, where he met a friend who relieved him of his fetters and he returned to his old vocation of killing Indians. Subsequently he was again arrested, but the settlers rallied to his defense and threatened an insurrection if he was not released. Under this pressure the court granted a writ of *habeas corpus* and again he was free. He was the hero of many escapades thereafter which were by no means creditable to his reputation as an Indian fighter, but, desperado as he was, Lewis Wetzel died a natural death at Wheeling in the summer of 1808.

By the autumn of the year 1779 the naval contest had drifted somewhat abroad. On the 3d of November, Count D'Estaing's fleet sailed for the West Indies. In December, Admiral Byron, finding little to occupy his restless fancy and ambitions at New York, sailed away to try the fortunes of war on the high seas. As to movements by land, Colonel Campbell, with two thousand men, was sent by General Clinton for the conquest of Georgia. On the 29th of December the expedition reached Savannah. Georgia was by much the weakest of all the colonies. Savannah was defended by a garrison of eight hundred men under command of General Robert Howe. The British attacked it and the Americans were soon driven out of the city. The patriots retreated into South Carolina, and found refuge at Charleston. This, however, proved to be the only real conquest made by the British during the year—a conquest sufficiently insignificant.

The American Army went into winter quarters for 1778–79 at Middle Brook, New Jersey. There was much discouragement, much discontent among the patriot soldiers,

for they were neither paid nor fed. Time and again the personal influence of Washington was required to prevent a general mutiny. In February of 1779 Governor Tryon, of New York, a Tory of the Tories, marched with fifteen hundred men against the salt-works at Horse Neck, Connecticut. Old General Putnam rallied the militia of the country, and made a brave defense; but the Americans were outflanked by the enemy and obliged to fly. It was here that General Putnam, when about to be overtaken, spurred his horse down a precipice and escaped.

With the opening of spring General Sir Henry Clinton looked around for a field of operations. In the latter part of May he sent an army up the Hudson to Stony Point, a fortress commanding the river. The garrison, unable to resist the overwhelming forces of the British, made good their escape from the fortifications. On the 1st of June, the British also captured Verplancks Point, on the opposite side of the Hudson. In July, Governor Tryon, with twenty-six hundred Hessians and Tories, made a sudden descent on New Haven, Connecticut, and compelled a surrender. The towns of East Haven and Fairfield were set on fire and burned to ashes. One of the traditions of the day runs to the effect that, at Norwalk, Tryon having ordered the burning of the village, sat in a rocking-chair on a neighboring hill and laughed heartily at the scene.

It was much to the disadvantage of the Americans that Stony Point, commanding the central Hudson, should be held by the British. Washington accordingly planned its recapture from the enemy. To this work he assigned General Anthony Wayne. That officer on the 15th of July, 1779, marched against the stronghold, and in the evening halted near the fort. His movements had not been discovered by the British. Wayne was enabled to make his plan of assault and issue his orders without attracting the

attention of the enemy's pickets, who were presently caught and gagged in the darkness. Everything was conducted in silence. The muskets of the Americans were unloaded and the bayonets fixed. Not a gun was to be fired. Wayne waited until a little after midnight before ordering the assault. The patriots made the charge with great spirit, and scaled the ramparts. The British, finding themselves between two lines of closing bayonets, cried out for quarter. Sixty-three of the enemy fell. The remaining five hundred and forty-three were taken prisoners. Of the Americans only fifteen were killed and eighty-three wounded. General Wayne, having secured the ordnance and stores, destroyed the fort and marched off with his prisoners.

On the 18th of July, Major Lee with a detachment of patriots captured the British garrison at Jersey City. On the 25th of the month a fleet was sent to attack a post which the enemy had established at the mouth of the Penobscot. The squadron reached its destination, blockaded the mouth of the river and began a siege. On the 13th of August, however, a British squadron appeared, superior in number of vessels and equipment, and falling upon the American fleet, destroyed or captured the whole.

In the same summer it was found necessary to organize a campaign against the Indians in the country of the Susquehanna. An expedition of six hundred men was equipped and placed under command of Generals Sullivan and James Clinton. The American force marched first against the savages and Tories who had fortified themselves at Elmira. This place was besieged, and on the 29th of August the enemy was routed from his stronghold and scattered in all directions. The country between the upper Susquehanna and the Genesee was then laid waste by the patriots, who destroyed forty Indian towns and villages before the campaign was ended.

On the part of the enemy some successes were achieved. On the 9th of January, 1779, a British force under General Prevost attacked and captured Fort Sunbury, on St Catherine's Sound. Prevost was then assigned to the command of the British army in the South. A force of two thousand regulars and loyalists was dispatched from Savannah for the capture of Augusta. On the 29th of January the latter city was taken with but little resistance. In these days the southern colonies were greatly plagued by the Tory partisans of Great Britain, who organized in guerrilla bands against their own countrymen. One of these companies under Colonel Boyd, advancing from the country districts to join the British at Augusta, was attacked and routed by patriots under Colonel Anderson. On the 14th of February the same body was again defeated by Colonel Andrew Pickens. Boyd and several of his men were killed, seventy-five others were captured, and five of the leading Tories hanged.

In this manner the western half of Georgia was quickly recovered by the patriots. Meanwhile a regular expedition under General Ashe had been sent out from Charleston to intercept the enemy. On the 25th of February the Americans crossed the Savannah and began pursuit of the British Colonel Campbell and his band as far as Brier Creek. At this stream the patriots halted, and, encamping with incaution, were surrounded by the British under General Prevost. A battle was fought on the 3d of March, and the Americans in total rout were driven in scattered bands into the swamps. By this victory of the British, Georgia was again prostrated and a royal government was established over the State.

The defeat of General Ashe was the dispersion, not the capture, of his division. The Americans soon rallied, and within a month General Lincoln, commandant of Charleston,

was able to take the field with five thousand men. He proceeded up the Savannah River in the direction of Augusta; but at the same time his antagonist, General Prevost, crossed that stream and marched rapidly against Charleston. General Lincoln was obliged to turn back, and the British soon made a hasty retreat. The Americans followed, overtook the enemy at a place called Stone Ferry, ten miles west of Charleston, and attacked but were repulsed with considerable losses. Prevost, however, avoided battle, and fell back to Savannah. From June until September military operations were suspended, for the season was one of intense heat, and neither General chose to follow or engage the other.

It was at this juncture of affairs that Count D'Estaing, who had been cruising with the French fleet in the West Indies, arrived at Charleston to co-operate with General Lincoln in the reduction of Savannah. Discovering the intent of the Americans, Prevost withdrew his forces within the defenses of that city and stood at bay. On the 12th of September the French, numbering six thousand, effected a landing near Savannah and advanced to the siege. General Lincoln, however, was slow in arriving before the city. On the 16th D'Estaing, acting without the assistance of the Americans, demanded a surrender; but Prevost answered with defiance. A siege was begun and pressed with vigor. The city was constantly bombarded, but the defenses were strong and were little injured. On the 23d of September Lincoln arrived, and D'Estaing entered into co-operation for the reduction of the city. At length he notified the American commander that the place must be taken by assault, and the morning of the 9th of October was named as the time for the hazardous attack.

Before sunrise on that morning the allied French and Americans moved forward against the British redoubts.

At one time it seemed that the works would be carried, for the attack was made with great spirit and determination. The flags of Carolina and France were planted on the parapet, but they were soon hurled down by the British. It was in the *mêlée* along the walls that Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Moultrie, was killed. The allied columns were driven back with fearful losses. Count Pulaski was struck with a grapeshot and borne dying from the field. D'Estaing retired on board the fleet; Lincoln retreated to Charleston; and Savannah remained in the hands of the British.

It was on the 23d of September in this year that Commodore John Paul Jones, cruising off the coast of Scotland with a fleet of French and American vessels, fell in with a British squadron, and a bloody and famous battle ensued. The *Serapis*, a British frigate of forty-four guns, engaged the *Bon Homme Richard*, the flag-ship of Paul Jones, in a deadly encounter. After a terrific cannonade the two ships came within musket-shot, and each was riddled by the fire of the other. At last the ships were lashed together. The Americans, or rather the crew of the *Bon Homme Richard* (for that crew was made up of many nationalities) boarded the *Serapis*, and the latter was obliged in blood and fire and ruin to strike her colors. Already, however, the *Bon Homme Richard* had become unmanageable and was in a sinking condition. Jones hastily transferred his men to the conquered vessel, and his own ship went down. Of the three hundred and seventy-five men who composed Paul Jones's crew three hundred were either killed or wounded.

Thus, indecisively and with certain heroic episodes, ended the year 1779. The colonies had not yet won their independence. The French alliance, sad to say, had brought but little seeming benefit. The national treasury was

bankrupt. The patriots of the army were poorly fed and were paid for the most part with unkept promises. Nor was there any weakening on the part of the enemy. Great Britain still supported the war with unabated vigor. True, her anger had now been diverted somewhat from the colonies to her ancient rival, France; but Parliament and the King were still for war and the subjugation of America. The levy of sailors and soldiers now made amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand, while the expenses of the war department were raised to twenty million pounds sterling. The cloud of war rested ominously over our thirteen struggling States and the day of independence still seemed far away.

The winter of 1779-80 Washington passed at his headquarters near Morristown, while the main body of his army lay encamped on the southern slope of Kemball mountain, sufficiently near to be called into immediate service in case of necessity. The winter was so excessively severe as to retard operations, and was spent in no greater activity than watching the British on Staten Island and in foraging for provisions, for the army was so inadequately provided that self-preservation compelled a resort to marauding levies upon surrounding barnyards. The cold and privations were so great that the scenes at Valley Forge were re-enacted, and but for the influence which Washington exerted his army would no doubt have mutinied, as it was more than once upon the eve of doing.

CHAPTER XVI.

DURING the progress of the Revolution many circumstances showed that the future results of the conflict were to be felt beyond the Alleghanies and to the Father of Waters. At this period, more than ever before, adventure began to find the gaps of the mountains and to set a resolute face toward the setting sun. More generally, we may say, that the progress of the Revolution assumed a continental significance. While the main drama was enacting in the central part of the Old Thirteen States, between the Hudson and the Savannah, certain important episodes occurred in the then Far West—episodes of which little more than the rumor was heard near the principal scene of conflict. We shall in this place insert a brief chapter narrating the two leading exploits of this kind, beginning in personal heroism and resulting in the ultimate addition of a large and important area to the Union.

The first of these events was the colonization of Kentucky, the defense of that territory against the natives, and its final conquest by the whites. So far as personal agency was concerned, this was the result of the adventures of the great frontiersman, Daniel Boone. The life and character of this remarkable personage were unique. He was without doubt the greatest of his kind. He was nature's man, and though from one point of view he may be said to have contemned civilization, from another he made a way for it. His character was highly typical, and his influence diffused itself through all the primitive and border life of the Middle Western States.

Boone was a native of the county of Bucks, Pennsylvania. He was born on the 11th of February, 1735. His ancestors came out of Exeter, England, and arriving in America, joined the Society of Friends. When young Daniel was thirteen years of age, his father removed to Holman's Ford, on the Yadkin, in North Carolina. In this frontier situation but little education could be acquired. Daniel Boone grew up with no attainments beyond the ability to read and write. He took to the solitudes of the forest, and gained, while he was yet young, such skill in woodcraft as few men have ever possessed. When he was twenty years of age he married Rebecca Bryan, and made a backwoods home of his own. But it was not long until approaching civilization vexed him even in that solitary region, and leaving his family, he sought the untrodden wilds of Kentucky.

The territory so-called was at that time only the unknown extension of Virginia beyond the mountains. It was in May, 1769, that Boone set out into the unbroken regions of the West. He was alone. How he lived none might ever know. His native wit stood him in hand, and his experience enabled him to baffle the Indians. He made himself acquainted with some of the better parts of Kentucky, and was one of Lord Dunmore's principal agents in the conduct of the petty conflict called Dunmore's War. Boone finally selected as the nucleus of a future settlement the left bank of the Kentucky River, and there constructed a fort on the site of the town which to this day bears the name of Boonesborough.

The reader will have in mind the relations that had existed between the frontiersmen of France and England in the New World. The French and Indian War had been fought, to the general advantage of the English interest. French settlements, however, remained in the West, and in these there was ill-concealed hostility to the English and

the Americans. The Indians everywhere were the friends of the French. This situation made adventure of white colonists into the West extremely hazardous. No frontiersman of American or English descent was safe in these regions. There was petty warfare along the whole border. The building of Boone's Fort aroused the animosity of the Indians, and the backwoods settlers had ever their lives in their hands.

In the meantime a company of thirty Carolinians came out to Boonesborough. Among these was the wife of the pioneer. But before the settlers arrived Boone had been taken prisoner by the Indians. At a place known as Salt Lick, about a hundred miles north of the fort, he and an armed party, endeavoring to obtain a supply of salt, were attacked by more than a hundred warriors, under command of two French officers. Boone and his men were taken and carried away to Old Chillicothe. Afterward they were transferred to Detroit. At length twenty-seven of the prisoners were ransomed ; but Boone himself was detained by Blackfish, chief of the Shawnees, and was adopted into that great man's family. The hair of the paleface was plucked out except the warlock on the top. He was put into Indian garb, painted *à la mode*, and obliged to submit to several absurd and a few painful ceremonies.

In course of time the captive learned that a large force of warriors had been sent into Kentucky to capture Boonesborough and destroy the settlement. Believing that his wife and friends were there, he determined to risk all in an attempt to escape. He fled from the Indian town in the year 1778, and though pursued for the greater part of the intervening one hundred and sixty miles, he evaded the fleet-footed savages and reached Boonesborough. He found that he had been given up for lost by his family, who had returned to their home in North Carolina. Thither he

followed them, and two years afterward brought them back to Kentucky. On the way out, his brother, Squire Boone, was killed, and the leader himself narrowly escaped death.

Arriving at Boonesborough, he headed a force made up from various settlements that had now been established, and proceeded against the renegade Simon Girty, who had been devastating the country with a body of savages. Boone's force numbered a hundred and eighty-two; the enemy was greatly superior in numbers. The Kentuckians came upon the foe in ambush at a place called Blue Licks, in Nicholas County, and there a disastrous battle was fought on the 19th of August. Girty and his savages had formed an ambuscade, and the Kentuckians following the rash Major McGary instead of Boone, who had advised caution, were caught in the trap, and were nearly all slain. Of Boone's two sons, one was killed and the other badly wounded.

Already, before this time, the Kentucky pioneer had accompanied George Rogers Clarke in his memorable expedition against Vincennes, of which an account will presently be given.

After the Revolution a state of comparative quiet supervened in Kentucky, and the territory was rapidly filled with immigrants. Within eight years from the treaty of peace the commonwealth was organized, and on the 4th of February, 1791, was admitted into the Union. With this event Boone's historical career may be said to have ended; but his personal history in Kentucky and Missouri extended to the year 1820. When the State was admitted and the new survey of lands made, a defect was discovered in Boone's title to his estate, and society permitted the hero to lose in the contest for his rights. Hereupon he sought a new home at Point Pleasant, afterward the birthplace of Grant. Here he remained until 1795, when he removed to Missouri.

When he was seventy-five years of age, Kentucky righted the wrong by making him a grant of eight hundred and fifty acres of land. But he could not be seduced from the frontier.

When the hero was much beyond his eightieth year, he was still a keen-eyed hunter; nor may we omit to mention the eccentricity of his domestic manners. He made his own coffin, kept it under his bed to the day of his death, and in that melancholy receptacle was buried beside his wife. His death occurred on the 26th of September, 1820, when he was in his eighty-sixth year. Twenty-five years afterward Kentucky, jealous of his fame, brought back the relics of her great backwoodsman, and made a new sepulture a few miles from Boonesborough, and there his tomb remains a significant memorial of the courage and humanity by which the Central West was wrested from the savage races and transferred to the American Union.

The fame of Daniel Boone diffused itself through the greater part of the world. The life and exploits of the man were heard as far as Venice. The imagination of Byron was pervaded with the story of the American adventurer. The poet, in the year 1822, put into his longest production no less than seven stanzas of as fine personal analysis and poetic praise as may be found in his lordship's writings respecting any other character, excepting only Bonaparte. Out of this tribute the following stanzas are selected :

“Of all men, saving Sylla the man-slayer,
 Who passes for in life and death most lucky,
 Of the great names, which in our faces stare,
 The General Boone, backwoodsman of Kentucky,
 Was happiest among mortals anywhere ;
 For, killing nothing but a bear or buck, he
 Enjoyed the lonely, vigorous, harmless days
 Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze.

" 'Tis true he shrank from men, even of his nation,
 When they built up unto his darling trees,—
 He moved some hundred miles off, for a station
 Where there were fewer houses and more ease—
 The inconvenience of civilization
 Is, that you neither can be pleased nor please ;—
 But, where he met the individual man,
 He showed himself as kind as mortal can.

" He was not all alone : around him grew
 A sylvan tribe of children of the chase,
 Whose young, unwaken'd world was ever new,
 Nor sword nor sorrow yet had left a trace
 On her unwrinkled brow, nor could you view
 A frown on nature's or on human face ;—
 The free-born forest found and kept them free,
 And fresh as is a torrent or a tree.

" And tall and strong and swift of foot were they,
 Beyond the dwarfing city's pale abortions,
 Because their thoughts had never been the prey
 Of care or gain : the green woods were their portions.
 No sinking spirits told them they grew gray ;
 No fashion made them apes of her distortions ;
 Simple they were, not savage ; and their rifles,
 Though very true, were not yet used for trifles.

" Motion was in their days, rest in their slumbers,
 And cheerfulness the handmaid of their toil ;
 Nor yet too many nor too few their numbers ;
 Corruption could not make their hearts her soil.
 The lust which stings, the splendor which encumbers,
 With the free foresters divide no spoil ;
 Serene, not sullen, were the solitudes
 Of this unsighing people of the woods."

Still more important in historical results than the work of Boone was that of George Rogers Clarke. The latter may almost be called the founder of western empire. To him belongs the honor of having first divined the West. He saw its amazing possibilities and coming glory. The region of his vision included the five imperial States of Ohio,

Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. It was his mission to make sure this vast region for the young Republic of the United States—to take it virtually from both France and England, and to transfer it to the new English-speaking America.

It was while the riflemen of New England were confronting the British at Concord and Lexington that Clarke, with a single companion, descended the Ohio River from Pittsburgh to the Falls, at the present city of Louisville. But at that time not a white man's hut was to be seen on the voyage. Between the headwaters of the Ohio and the Mississippi, the red races, though agitated by the presence of foreigners, occupied the country as they had done since the prehistoric age. Beyond the Mississippi everything belonged to Spain. There lay that province of Louisiana, which we should, twenty years after Independence, gain by purchase. On the western bank of the mid-Mississippi lay the growing town of St. Louis, with its fortress and Spanish garrison looking across into the infinite prairies of the Illinois.

East of the Mississippi the country belonged nominally to Great Britain. A general view of the great region under consideration in the year 1778 would reveal a country of limitless extent occupied by Indian races, flecked here and there at great distances with French settlements, and these held by garrisons of British soldiers having their headquarters at Detroit. Other strategic points in the great field were Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes. All of these towns were French in their population, but were held by British garrisons. The latter were generally in collusion with the hostile Indians, and did not hesitate to incite them with bribes and the hope of pillage against the approaching American settlements.

The year 1775 found Clarke a surveyor in Kentucky. In

the next year he was a delegate to the Virginia convention. After that he obtained supplies from Virginia and brought them down the Ohio. In 1777 he commanded at Harrodsburg and beat back the Indians from an attack on that place. It was at this time that he conceived the design of capturing the British garrisons in the West and establishing American influence as far as the Mississippi. His commission from the governor of Virginia gave him authority to proceed "to the defense of Kentucky"—no more. But this commission he thought sufficient, and with it he began a career of conquest which was destined to affect in a large and indeed unmeasured degree the future fortunes of his country.

The town of Kaskaskia was situated on the right bank of the river of the same name, in what is now the Egypt of Illinois, and near the confluence of that stream with the Mississippi. Cahokia was seventy miles higher up the great river, nearly opposite St. Louis. The British post on one side of the Mississippi and the Spanish fort of St. Louis on the other looked over at each other in a semi-friendly way, awaiting the event. More important was Vincennes, a hundred and fifty miles distant, on the opposite border of Illinois. The town lay on the left bank of the Wabash, at the crossing of the parallel of thirty-eight degrees and forty minutes. The place was more populous than the other two outposts, and the position more commanding. It was also more easily accessible from Detroit, which was the British base of supplies and conquest in the Northwest.

It was a serious business for Major Clarke, with his handful of backwoodsmen, to undertake the capture of fortified stations held by British garrisons; but with such men hazard whets ambition, and courage does the rest. In the early summer of 1778 Major Clarke embarked his forces at Corn Island, in the Ohio, and dropped down to the mouth

of the Tennessee. Here a few American and French hunters from the neighborhood of Kaskaskia joined the company. The expedition proceeded to a suitable point, and went ashore on the Illinois bank. The boats were concealed, and the march began in the direction of Kaskaskia.

The commandant of that place was Philip Rocheblave. It was the evening of the second anniversary of the Declaration of Independence when the Americans came unperceived upon the town. The approach had not been discovered. Colonel Rocheblave was surprised in bed. Under the persuasive influence of Kentucky rifles he immediately surrendered. He and the garrison were made prisoners, and Rocheblave himself was sent in captivity to Williamsburg, Virginia. Not a life was lost; but the event was as hazardous as it was important.

His success by no means blinded Major Clarke to the remainder of his task. Cahokia must also be taken, or the British would rally and recover their ground. Cahokia was the more dangerous point of the two. From that place the British agents were wont to distribute arms and bribes to the Indians. Major Clarke made haste to dispatch Joseph Bowman, one of his four captains, with two companies of soldiers, to take Cahokia. That place also was surprised. When the Kentucky hunters burst into the town, the French inhabitants were in great alarm; but the Americans informed them of the new alliance with France, and the fright of the people was changed to joy. The new American flag, now but one year old, was hailed with delight by the French as the British banner over the garrison went down. Clarke demanded an oath of allegiance, and then proceeded provisionally to organize the conquered territory under the name of the "County of Illinois."

Meanwhile events of like importance, but less decisive, had occurred at Vincennes. That place had been domi-

nated for several years by British garrisons. The foreign authority was never acceptable to the French citizens, and they awaited an opportunity for deliverance. Major Clarke, knowing the situation, opened negotiations with a certain Father Gibault, at Vincennes, who was priest of the parish. He found the father most agreeable to his purpose, and through him incited the French of Vincennes to rise against the British garrison and pull down the English flag. This was done in August of 1778, and the stars and stripes of the new republic raised instead.

The British authorities of Detroit, however, at once put forth their hand to regain their losses. Governor Hamilton, the English commandant of Detroit, came down during the holidays of 1778-79, with a strong detachment of soldiers, and easily recaptured Vincennes from the French. He ensconced himself and garrison in the barracks, and things went on as before.

The intelligence of this recapture was as a spark in the magazine of Major Clarke's belligerent nature. He immediately organized a company of a hundred and twenty of the picked men of his hunters, and on the 7th of February, 1779, began his march across Southern Illinois, in the direction of Vincennes. At the same time he dispatched Captain Rogers, with a boat-load of forty men and two small cannon, to go around by water and ascend the Wabash to the mouth of White River, where he purposed to unite his two detachments. The boat of Captain Rogers might almost have gone along with the land forces, for it was the rainy season, and the drowned lands of Egypt were nearly all under water. It was perhaps the most important expedition ever made by wading! The territory northwest of the River Ohio was taken from Great Britain and added to the American republic by the most aquatic campaign of history! But if there were miles of water to be waded through, the

powder was kept dry, and the fires in the hearts of the American hunters continued to burn.

The march across Southern Illinois occupied eleven days of dreadful hardship and exposure. On the 18th of February, Clarke and his command came in sight of Vincennes. The regiment was so insignificant in numbers and equipment that stratagem had to be substituted for force. The pioneer soldiers blacked their faces with powder *in terrorem*, crossed the Wabash in their boats, captured a citizen and sent him with audacity and loud bravado to Governor Hamilton, demanding instantaneous surrender. To Hamilton it might well seem that Clarke and his powder-smutted command had dropped out of the clouds. The British officer knew, moreover, that the French would all join the invaders at the first opportunity.

But Hamilton was game, and refused to surrender. What, therefore, should Clarke do but get his two artillery popguns into position and go to blazing away at the stockade. He marched his men back and forth till they were made to show the bigness of an army. What with the damage done by his guns, and what with the belief which he inspired that a large force was ready to swallow the garrison, he succeeded in bringing Hamilton to terms. A white flag was hoisted, and on the 24th of February the British garrison capitulated to the hundred and twenty Kentucky hunters! The British became captives; Governor Hamilton was sent a prisoner to Virginia, and was for some time kept in jail under charge of having incited the savages against our pioneers.

The audacious enterprise of General Clarke and his backwoods soldiers became the basis of the claim which the American colonies, at length successful in their war with the mother country, set up to the vast territory out of which five of our most important States were to be constructed.

It was out of this region that the so-called " Territory Northwest of the River Ohio " was subsequently organized, as if by logical deduction. Hence came the Jeffersonian Ordinance of 1787—which we shall hereafter consider—with its interdict of human slavery and its magnificent scheme for the education of the people. The brave conquest of 1779 made all this possible for posterity. The event was a hinge upon which the vast door swung open, letting into a splendid domain of virgin country the effulgence of a new civilization.

George Rogers Clarke lived and died like other heroes. He fell in love with the daughter of the Spanish governor of St. Louis; but discovering that her father was devoid of courage he renounced her forever, " lest he should become the father of a race of cowards!" He continued a bachelor to the end of his days, and an adventurer always. Civilization hampered him. Many times employed in public service, his efforts brought but little reward or honor. He lost his lands and descended to poverty. He became an aged rheumatic and paralytic on Corn Island, from which he was removed by his sister to her home near Louisville. There he died on the 18th of February, 1818. He lived to see the admission of the great States of Ohio and Indiana into the Union, and the bill prepared for the admission of Illinois. He was buried in an obscure spot in the cemetery of Cave Hill, where a little square of marble with its initials "G. R. C." is all that marks his last resting-place. It is said that not six men in the United States know where to find his neglected grave!

CHAPTER XVII.

THE thoughtful reader of the history of the American Revolution can discern one significant fact, and that is that the British armies in America did not make war upon our fathers with their accustomed vigor. Was it possible that a lurking desire had pervaded these armies of England that the Americans might win the contest and go free? Certain it is that in many instances the war was waged in an easy-going and perfunctory way that might create the suspicion of an underlying and half-dormant sympathy of the British for the American cause. At any rate, there were seasons when the war almost ceased. This was true in the North during the greater part of the year 1780. Little was done on either side until midsummer. Early in July Admiral de Ternay, of the French navy, arrived at Newport with a large fleet and six thousand infantry under Count Rochambeau.

The Americans were greatly elated at the coming of their allies. By this event the conflict suddenly loomed up to vaster proportions than ever, and this fact greatly strengthened the faith of the patriots in their ultimate success. In September General Washington went to Dobb's Ferry, on the Hudson; was there met in conference by Count Rochambeau, and the plans of future campaigns were determined. These events, however, were all of importance that occurred in the North during the year 1780.

In the South, however, there was much desultory activity and the patriots suffered many and serious reverses. The southern colonies were weak. As we have said before they

were also troubled with many nests of Tories, who for some reason not easily discoverable had chosen to turn upon their fellow-countrymen in a manner not very different from treason. During the year South Carolina was at one time completely overrun by the enemy. Admiral Arbuthnot came with a fleet of British ships, and on the 11th of February anchored before Charleston. He had on board Sir Henry Clinton and an army of five thousand men. The city was feebly defended. General Lincoln, the commandant, had an effective force of no more than fourteen hundred. The British easily effected a landing, and marched up the right bank of Ashley River to a position from which they might advantageously attack the city. On the 7th of April General Lincoln was reinforced by a brigade of seven hundred Virginians. Two days afterwards Arbuthnot succeeded in passing the guns of Fort Moultrie and came within cannon-shot of the city.

The siege of Charleston was now begun by land and water. General Lincoln sent out a regiment of three hundred men under General Auger to scour the country and keep open communications through the district north of Cooper River. Apprised of this movement, Colonel Tarleton, commanding the British cavalry, fell upon Auger's forces at a place called Monk's Corner and dispersed or captured the whole company. The city was thus hemmed in. Such was the disparity between the contending forces that from the first the defense seemed hopeless. In a short time the fortifications crumbled under the cannonade of the British batteries, and General Lincoln, perceiving that the city would be carried by assault, agreed to a capitulation. On the 12th of May Charleston was surrendered to the enemy and General Lincoln and his forces became prisoners of war.

Meanwhile Colonel Tarleton had continued his ravages in

the open country. A few days before the surrender he surprised and dispersed a body of militia which had been gathered on the Santee. After the capture of Charleston three expeditions were sent into different parts of the State. The first of these was against the American post at the place called Ninety-Six. This station was captured by the enemy. A second detachment of British invaded the country of the Savannah. A third under Cornwallis crossed the Santee and captured Georgetown. Tarleton continued his depredations. At the head of seven hundred cavalry he fell upon the Americans under Colonel Buford, and on the Waxhaw charged upon and dispersed them in all directions.

By these successes the authority of Great Britain was nominally restored in South Carolina. For the present resistance seemed at an end. The patriots were beaten down and for the day remained in silence. Sir Henry Clinton and Arbuthnot, flattering themselves with the complete success of their expedition, now returned to New York, leaving Lords Cornwallis and Rawdon with a part of the British army to hold the conquered territory.

It was soon seen, however, that the spirit of patriotism was not extinguished. A number of popular military heroes appeared on the scene and gained for themselves an imperishable fame as the champions of the people. Such in particular were Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion. These brave men came as the protectors of the State. They rallied the militia here and there and began an audacious partisan warfare. Exposed detachments of the British were suddenly attacked and swept off here and there as though an enemy had swooped upon them from the clouds. At a place called Rocky Mount, Colonel Sumter burst upon a party of British dragoons who were glad to save themselves by flight. On the 6th of August he attacked another detachment of the enemy at Hanging Rock, defeated them and made

good his retreat. It was in this battle that young Andrew Jackson, then but thirteen years of age, began his career as a soldier.

Marion's band consisted at first of twenty men and boys, white and black, half-clad and poorly armed; but the number increased, and it was not long until the "Ragged Regiment" became a terror to the enemy. It was the policy of Marion and Sumter to keep their headquarters and places of refuge in almost inaccessible swamps. From these coverts they would suddenly issue forth by night or day and dart upon the enemy with such fury as to sweep all before them. There was no telling when or where the swords of these fearless leaders would fall. During the whole summer and autumn of 1780 Colonel Marion continued to sweep around Cornwallis's positions, cutting his lines of communication and making incessant onsets upon exposed parties of the British.

Washington now sent forward General Gates into the Carolinas with the hope of protecting the old North State and perhaps recovering the South. Learning of his advance, Cornwallis threw forward a large division of his forces under Lord Rawdon to Camden. Cornwallis himself followed with reinforcements, while the Americans concentrated at Clermont not far away. The sequel showed that both Cornwallis and Gates had formed the design of attacking each other in the night. Each selected the evening of the 15th of August for the forward movement. Both accordingly broke up their camps, and the two armies met midway on Sander's Creek. Here a severe battle was fought, and the Americans were defeated with a loss of more than a thousand men. Here it was that the distinguished Baron de Kalb received his mortal wound. A review of the battle showed that the American forces had not been managed with either ability or courage. The reputation of Gates as

a commander was blown away like chaff, and he was superseded by General Greene.

In another part of the field the brave and dashing Carleton had avenged himself and the British cause by overtaking and routing the corps of Colonel Sumter at Fishing Creek. Sumter's division was put *hors du combat* by this defeat; but Marion still remained abroad leading the patriot partisans and greatly harassing the enemy. On the 8th of September the British advanced into North Carolina and on the 25th reached Charlotte without molestation. From this station Cornwallis sent out Colonel Ferguson with a mounted division of eleven hundred regulars and Tories to scour the country west of the River Catawba and to organize the loyalists of that section.

Ferguson reached King's Mountain, where he encamped at his ease; but on the 7th of October he was suddenly attacked by a thousand riflemen led by the daring Colonel Campbell. A desperate fight here ensued. Ferguson was slain and three hundred of his men were killed or wounded. The remaining eight hundred were forced into such close quarters that they threw down their arms and surrendered at discretion. Quarter was granted freely to the British; but the patriot blood was hot, and ten of the leading Tory prisoners were condemned by a court-martial and hanged.

After this brief account of affairs in the South we may pause to notice the civil condition of the American people at this juncture. The credit of the nation was rapidly sinking to the lowest ebb. Congress was obliged to resort to the free issuance of paper money. At first the Continental bills were received at par; but their value rapidly fell off, until by the middle of 1780 they were scarcely worth two cents to the dollar. Business was paralyzed for the want of an efficient currency. In the midst of the financial distress of the times Robert Morris and a few other wealthy pa-

triot, putting their all on the cast of the die, came forward with their private fortunes and saved the colonies from impending ruin. The mothers of America also lent a helping hand by the preparation and free contribution of clothing and supplies for the army. A large part of the food and clothes of the patriot soldiers was at this time furnished as a gift from women who, equally with their husbands and brothers and fathers, had adopted the motto of *Independence or Death*.

The autumn of 1780 was a period of gloom, and in the midst of it the country was shocked by the news that General Benedict Arnold had turned traitor to his country! Arnold had been in the early years of the war one of the bravest of the brave. After the battle of Bemis's Heights in the fall of 1777, he had been promoted to the rank of Major-General and made commandant of Philadelphia; for the severe wound which he had received precluded him for a season from the service of the field. While living at Philadelphia he married the daughter of a loyalist, came thus into high society and entered upon a career of extravagance which soon overwhelmed him with debt. Having come financially into a strait place he stooped to the commission of certain frauds on the supply department of the army. This discovered, charges were preferred against him by Congress, and he was convicted by a court-martial.

Seeming to forget his disgrace, however, Arnold soon afterwards obtained command of the fortress of West Point, on the Hudson. On the last day of July, 1780, he assumed control of the important arsenal and depot of stores at that place. It would appear that from the date of his trial and disgrace he began to entertain the design of avenging himself on his country and countrymen. At all events, after arriving at West Point, he presently entered into a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton at New York, and

finally offered, or at least accepted an offer, to betray his country for British gold. It was agreed that the British fleet should ascend the Hudson and that the garrison and fortress of West Point should be surrendered to the enemy without a struggle.

As his representative General Clinton had chosen Major John André, the Adjutant General of the British army, to go in person and hold a conference with Arnold. The former was sent up the Hudson on the 21st of September and was directed to complete the arrangements with the traitor for the delivery of the fortress. André went in full uniform and the meeting was held outside of the American lines; for Clinton had directed his subordinate not to incur the danger which would follow his entering within the pickets of the American forces.

About midnight of the 21st André reached the designated spot, went ashore from the ship *Vulture*, and met Arnold in the thicket. Daydawn approached before the nefarious business was done and the conspirators *entered the American lines*. André was obliged by this contingency to disguise himself, and by so doing he assumed the character of a spy.

The two ill-starred men spent the next day at a house near by and there the business was completed. Arnold agreed to surrender West Point for ten thousand pounds and a commission as Brigadier in the British army. André for his part received papers containing a description of West Point, its resources in men and stores, its defenses and the best method of attack. Meanwhile, the *Vulture* lying at anchor in the Hudson had been discovered by some American artillerymen, who planted a battery and drove the ship down the river.

When André finished his business with Arnold and would return to his ship he found the vessel gone. For this reason he was obliged to cross to the other side of the river

and return to New York by land. He passed the American outposts in safety bearing Arnold's passport and giving the name of *John Anderson*. At Tarrytown, however, he was confronted by three militiamen, John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Wart, who arrested his progress, stripped him, found his papers and delivered him to Colonel Jameson at Northcastle. Through that officer's amazing stupidity Arnold was at once notified that "John Anderson" had been taken with his passport and some papers "of a very dangerous tendency!"

Arnold on hearing the news sprang up from his breakfast, exchanged a few hurried words with his wife, fled to the river, took a boat and succeeded in reaching the *Vulture*. The unfortunate André was thus left to his fate. He was tried by a court-martial at Tappan and condemned to death as a spy. On the 2d of October he was led to the gallows, and under the stern code of war—though he pleaded vainly to be shot as a soldier—was hanged. Though dying the death of a felon he met his doom as the brave man goes to death, and aftertimes have not failed to commiserate his deplorable fate. Arnold for his part received his *pay*!

Thus drew to a close the year 1780. It did not appear that independence was nearer or surer than it had been at the beginning. In the dark days of December, however, there came a ray of light from Europe. For several years the people of Holland, like the French, had secretly sympathized with the Americans and the government extended silent help and support to the cause in which they were engaged. After the conclusion of the alliance with France negotiations were opened with the Dutch for a commercial treaty similar to that which had been obtained by Franklin from the French court. The agents of Great Britain discovered the purpose of the Dutch government, but the latter was not to be turned from its intent. At first the British

agents angrily remonstrated, and then on the 20th of December there was an open declaration of war. Thus the Netherlands were added to the alliance against Great Britain. It seemed that the King of England and his ministers would have enough to do without further efforts to enforce a Stamp Act on the Americans or to levy a tax on their imported tea.

Notwithstanding the advantage gained by the accession of Holland, the year 1781 opened gloomily for the patriot cause. The condition of the army at times became desperate; no food, no pay, no clothing. In their distress the soldiers once and again became mutinous. The whole Pennsylvania line on New Year's Day broke from their barracks and marched on Philadelphia. At Princeton they were met by emissaries from Sir Henry Clinton, who tempted them with offers of money and clothing if they would desert the standard of their country. The mutinous patriots, however, were not of that mettle. They made answer by seizing the British agents and delivering them to General Wayne to be hanged as spies. For this deed the commissioners of Congress, who now arrived at the American camp, offered the insurgents a large reward, but this also was against the temper of the angry patriots, who though mutinous scornfully rejected the overtures of both friends and enemies. Washington, knowing how shamefully the army had been neglected by Congress, was not unwilling that the insurrection should take its own course. The congressional agents were therefore left to adjust the difficulty as best they could with the rebellious troops.

The success of the mutineers in obtaining their rights furnished a bad example to others who were discontented for less valid reasons. About the middle of January the New Jersey brigade stationed at Pompton revolted. This movement Washington deemed it necessary to put down

by force. General Robert Howe was sent with five hundred regulars against the camp of the insurgents and they were obliged to submit to severe discipline. Twelve of the ringleaders were taken and obliged to execute two of their own number as a warning to the army. From that day to the close of the Revolution order was completely restored.

These insurrections had, on the whole, a good rather than a bad effect ; Congress was thoroughly alarmed and immediate provisions were made for the better support of the army. Washington himself, after having enforced order and discipline in the ranks, wrote indignant letters to Congress in behalf of his suffering soldiery, and that body was thus lashed into doing something for the better support and greater comfort of the men who were fighting the battle for independence. An agent of the Government in the days of this emergency was sent to France to obtain a further loan of money. Robert Morris was appointed Secretary of Finance, and the Bank of North America was organized as the nucleus of a new monetary system for the country. Although the outstanding debts of the United States could not for the present be paid, yet all future obligations were promptly met. Morris and his friends pledged their private fortunes to the maintenance of the financial credit of the nation.

As to military operations, the same were begun in the North by an expedition of Arnold. That malign genius, after his treason, had succeeded in reaching New York, had received the promised compensation and accompanying commission as brigadier-general in the British army. Before the setting-in of winter, namely, in November of 1780, Washington and Major Henry Lee, or rather the latter with the consent of the former, had formed a plan to take Arnold prisoner. Sergeant John Champe was appointed to undertake the daring enterprise. The sergeant made a mock de-

sersion from the army, fled to the enemy, entered New York, and with two assistants joined Arnold's company. These three concerted measures to abduct the traitor from the city and convey him to the American camp. The scheme had almost proved successful, but Arnold chanced to move his quarters to another part of the city and the plan was defeated. A month afterward he was given command of a fleet and a land force of sixteen hundred men, and on the 16th of December he left New York to make a descent on the coasts of Virginia.

The expedition reached its destination in the James River valley in January, 1781. There Arnold began his war on his countrymen. His expedition was a foray rather than a campaign, and his march was marked with many ferocious and vindictive deeds. It might be discerned, however, that the daring and ability which had characterized his former exploits were henceforth wanting. He was a ruined man. He had sold himself instead of his country. Weakness had come with crime, and the havoc of conscience and remorse were in him and around him. His command succeeded in destroying a large amount of public and private property in the vicinity of Richmond. The country along the James was laid waste until there was little left to excite the cupidity or gratify the revenge of the traitor and his followers. Arnold then took up his headquarters in Portsmouth, a few miles south of Hampton Roads.

The success of the expedition as a destroying force had been such as to induce Sir Henry Clinton to support the movement. About the middle of April he sent General Phillips to Portsmouth with a force of two thousand men. These were joined with Arnold's men and Phillips assumed command of the whole. A second time the expedition was directed through the fertile districts of lower Virginia, and pillage and devastation and fire marked the pathway of the

invaders. Arnold had been humiliated by the fact that Phillips was placed over him in command, for Clinton never gave his confidence to the man who had betrayed his country.

In a short time, however, death assisted the ambitions of the traitor by clutching General Phillips and sending him to the grave. This devolved the command on Arnold, and for the short space of seven days he stood at the head of the British forces in Virginia. That, however, was the height of his treasonable glory. On the 20th of May Lord Cornwallis arrived at Petersburg and ordered him begone. Returning to New York, he received from Clinton a second detachment, with which he entered Long Island Sound, landed at New London in his new native State, and captured the town. Fort Griswold, which was defended by Colonel Ledyard, was taken by assault, but when the commandant surrendered, he and seventy-three of his garrison were murdered in cold blood. The town was then set on fire and nearly every house of importance, including the custom-house, court-house, jail, market and churches, was consumed. It is a tradition that Arnold took his position in the belfry of a church and watched the destruction of the city. During this riot of massacre and holocaust Arnold rode through the streets and stimulated his soldiers in their work of murder and demolition, as if his savagery could never be glutted. It is related that a young woman, frenzied by the murder of her father and the ruin of her home, seized a loaded musket and in her desperation attempted the life of the traitor, a purpose in which she was only prevented by the gun missing fire. Moved by her bravery, no less than by her great sorrow, Arnold refused to punish the girl for attempting his life, leaving her amid the wreckage and slaughter that he had wrought.

We have already noted the change in commanders at the

South. The American army, after its defeat at Sander's Creek, had concentrated at Charlotte, North Carolina, and passed under command of General Greene. By this time General Daniel Morgan had risen to great reputation in the South, and was trusted by Greene as one of his principal supporters. Early in January Morgan, at the head of a considerable body of troops, was sent into the Spartanburg district of South Carolina to repress the Tories. Thither he was followed by the able and daring Colonel Tarleton with the British cavalry. The Americans took position at a place called the Cowpens, where, on the 17th of January, they were attacked by the enemy. Tarleton made the onset with his usual impetuosity, but Morgan's men bravely held their ground. After some hard fighting the American horse, under Colonel William Washington, made a charge and scattered the British dragoons in all directions. Ten of the enemy's officers and ninety privates were killed in the battle. The victory was decisive and Tarleton's force was for the time dispersed.

The intelligence of the fight at Cowpens astonished Cornwallis, but he hastily marched up the river in the hope of cutting off Morgan's retreat. General Greene, however, reached Morgan's camp and took command in person. Then began a long retreat of the Americans and pursuit by the British. On the 28th of January, 1782, the former reached the Catawba and crossed safely to the northern bank. Within two hours the British reached the ford with full expectation of continuing the pursuit in the morning, but during the night the rain poured down in torrents, the river was swollen to a flood, and it was many days before the British could cross.

Then began a race for the Yadkin. The distance between the two rivers was sixty miles, but in two days the Americans arrived at the Yadkin and had nearly completed

the crossing when the British came in sight. That night the Yadkin also was made impassable by auspicious rains and Cornwallis suffered a second delay. Not until the 9th of February did he succeed in crossing to the northern bank. From this position the lines of retreat and pursuit lay nearly parallel to the north. A third time the race began, and for the third time the Americans won. On the 13th of the month Greene, with the main division of the army, safely crossed the Dan into Virginia.

But it was not his purpose to continue retreating or to remain inactive at the end of the race. On the 22d of February he returned to North Carolina. Meanwhile, Tarleton had been sent by Cornwallis into the region between the Haw and Deep Rivers, to encourage a rising of the Tories. They came at his call, and about three hundred loyalist recruits rose to him; but while they were marching to Tarleton's camp they were intercepted, cut off, and the whole company scattered by the patriot Colonel Lee.

Greene's army now numbered more than four thousand men, and the enemy under Cornwallis were of about equal strength. The American general decided to avoid battle no longer, and breaking his camp marched to Guilford Court-House. The British came on in the same direction, and on the 15th of March the two armies met and joined battle. The action was severe but indecisive. The Americans lost the field, and were indeed repelled for several miles; but in killed and wounded the British suffered the greater losses.

After the battle of Guilford, Cornwallis decided to withdraw from the South in the direction of Virginia. His retreat was first to Wilmington, and then before the end of April to his destination. The British forces in the South remained under command of Lord Rawdon. Greene did not at the first follow Cornwallis, but advanced into South

Carolina, and captured Fort Watson on the Santee. He then took post at Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden. Here, on the 25th of April, he was attacked by the British under Rawdon, and a severe battle was fought, in which for a while victory strongly inclined to the American side. But Greene's center, through some miscalculation, gave way, and the day was lost.

After this engagement Lord Rawdon retired with his command to Eutaw Springs. It had now been discovered by the British that their various conquests in the thinly populated districts of the Carolinas brought them nothing but vacuity. Neither the sentiments of the people were changed nor was their ultimate ability to continue the war seriously affected by the British successes. The forces of the enemy after a victory would find themselves in an open country surrounded by a hostile population whom they could not strike, and it generally happened that the enemy was satisfied to return to some town or city where greater comfort might be found. After the retreat of Rawdon to Eutaw Springs the British posts at Orangeburg and Augusta were retaken by the patriots. The place called Ninety-Six was besieged by Greene, and was about to succumb when Rawdon turned back for battle, and the American commander deemed it prudent to retire, during the sickly months of summer, to the woody hill country of the Santee.

In the interval that followed, Sumter, Lee and Marion with their partisan bands became more active than ever. These patriot leaders were constantly abroad in the saddle and smote the Tories right and left. It was at this juncture that Lord Rawdon went to Charleston and there became a principal actor in one of the most shameful scenes of the Revolution. Colonel Isaac Hayne, a patriot officer who had formerly taken an oath of allegiance to the King, was caught in command of a troop of American cavalry. His

RECOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

The Mississippi River, the longest and most important river in North America, has long been a source of pride and power for the United States. It has provided a vital link between the East and West, and has been the backbone of the American economy. However, in the early 1930s, the river began to silt up and its flow was restricted. This led to a decline in its economic importance and a loss of its status as a major waterway. The recovery of the Mississippi River was a long and difficult process, but it was eventually achieved through a combination of government action and private enterprise. The result was a river that was once again a major waterway and a source of pride for the United States.



justification was that the oath which had been imposed on him by the conquest of the State by the British had been annulled by the reconquest of Carolina by the Americans ; but this claim was treated with derision by a court-martial which was organized under Colonel Balfour, commandant of Charleston. Colonel Hayne was tried, condemned and under the sanction of Lord Rawdon was hanged.

With the subsidence of the heated season General Greene, on the 22d of August, marched towards Orangeburg. Rawdon hereupon fell back to Eutaw Springs, where he was overtaken by the Americans on the 8th of September. One of the fiercest battles of the war ensued, and General Greene was denied the decisive victory only by the unexpected bad conduct of some of his troops. He was obliged after a loss of five hundred and fifty men to give over the struggle, but not until he had inflicted on the British a loss in killed and wounded of nearly seven hundred. General Stuart, who commanded the British on this field, now retreated to Monk's Corner, whither he was followed by Greene. Gradually the British outposts were drawn in, the country was given up, and after two months of maneuvering the entire force of the enemy was driven into Charleston.

In the whole South only this city and Savannah now remained in the power of the King's army ; and there were already premonitions that both of these would be abandoned. On the 11th of July, 1781, Savannah was actually evacuated, but Charleston remained in the occupation of the British until the 14th of December, 1782. Such was the close of the Revolution in the Carolinas and Georgia. The Southern States had suffered most of all by the ravages of the enemy, and had been least able to bear such devastation. But with the recovery of independence there was an immediate revival, and the traces of war and disaster were soon obliterated.

The movement of Lord Cornwallis towards Virginia has already been noted. That General reached the Old Dominion in the early part of May, 1781, and took immediate command of the British army. Like his predecessors, Arnold and Phillips, he conducted in the first place a desolating expedition in the valley of the James. The country was ravaged and property, public and private, destroyed to the value of fifteen millions of dollars. Washington had intrusted the defense of Virginia to the Marquis of Lafayette; but that brave young officer had an inadequate force under his command, and was unable to meet Cornwallis in the field.

The British general proceeded to the vicinity of Richmond without serious opposition, and sent out thence a detachment under Tarleton to Charlottesville, where the Virginia government had its seat. Tarleton moved with his accustomed rapidity, surprised the town and captured seven members of the legislature. Governor Thomas Jefferson barely saved himself by flight, escaping into the mountains.

The 6th of July was marked by an audacious episode in the campaigns of this year. General Anthony Wayne, leading Lafayette's advance, came suddenly upon the whole British army at a place called Green's Springs, on the James. Perceiving the peril into which he had thrown himself by incaution, Wayne made an audacious attack, at which Cornwallis was so much surprised that the American commander was able to fall back and save himself by a hasty retreat. No pursuit was attempted, and the Americans got away after inflicting an equal loss upon the enemy.

Cornwallis, now crossing the James, marched to Portsmouth, where Arnold had made his quarters in the previous spring. It is believed that the able British general had now divined the probable success of the American cause and would

fain have fortified himself in a secure position at Portsmouth. But Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief, ordered otherwise ; and in the early part of August the British army was embarked and conveyed to Yorktown, on the southern bank of York River, a few miles above the confluence of that stream with the Chesapeake. Destiny had reserved this obscure place as the concluding scene of the most important war of the eighteenth century.

The courageous Lafayette quickly advanced into the peninsula between the York and the James, and took post only eight miles distant from the British. From this position he sent urgent dispatches to Washington beseeching him to come to Virginia and direct in striking the enemy a fatal blow. A powerful French armament, commanded by the Count de Grasse, was hourly expected in the Chesapeake, and the eager Lafayette saw at a glance that, if a friendly fleet could be anchored in the mouth of the York River and a suitable land force brought to bear upon Cornwallis, the doom of that able general and his whole command would be sealed.

Washington also divined the situation, and from his camp on the Hudson kept looking wistfully to the south. During the months of July and August his mind was greatly exercised with the prospect. Thus far the military situation had demanded that he should remain in the North confronting Sir Henry Clinton and watching his opportunity to recover New York City from the British. But the condition of affairs in Virginia was such as to lure him thither, and he determined to direct a campaign against Cornwallis. He took the precaution, however, to mislead Sir Henry Clinton by confirming him in the belief that a descent was about to be made on New York. The Americans and French would immediately begin a siege of that city. Such was the tenor of the delusive dispatches which Wash-

ington wrote with the intention that they should fall into the hands of the enemy. The ruse was successful and Clinton made ready for the expected attack on New York. Even when, in the last days of August, information was borne to Clinton that the American army had broken camp and was on the march across New Jersey to the south he would not believe it, but on the contrary went ahead preparing for the anticipated assault on himself.

In the meantime Washington pressed rapidly forward and soon entered Virginia. He paused two days at Mount Vernon, where he had not been for six years. At Williamsburg he met Lafayette and received from him an account of the situation in Lower Virginia. There he learned that on the 30th of August Count de Grasse's fleet, numbering twenty-eight ships of the line with nearly four thousand infantry on board, had reached the Chesapeake and come to safe anchor in the mouth of York River. Already Cornwallis was securely blockaded both by sea and land.

The sequel showed that the French navy in its several parts was acting in concert. Just after the arrival of Count de Grasse came also Count de Barras, who commanded the French flotilla at Newport. He brought with him into the Chesapeake eight additional ships of the line and ten transports; also cannon for the siege of Yorktown. By the beginning of September York River was effectually closed at the mouth and the Americans and the French began to strengthen their lines by land. On the 5th of the month the English Admiral Graves appeared in the bay with his squadron, and a naval battle ensued, in which the British ships were so roughly handled that they were glad to draw off and return to New York. On the 28th of September the allied armies, now greatly superior in numbers to the enemy and confident of success, encamped closely around Yorktown, and the siege was regularly begun. The invest-

ment was destined to be of short duration. Tarleton, who occupied Gloucester Point on the opposite side of York River, made one spirited sally, but was driven back with severe losses.

By the 6th of October the trenches had been contracted to a distance of only six hundred yards from the British works. From this position the cannonade became constant and effective. On the 11th of the month the allies secured a second parallel only three hundred yards distant from the redoubts of Cornwallis. Three days afterwards, in the night, the Americans made an assault, and the outer works of the British were carried by storm. At daydawn on the 16th the British made a sortie from their intrenchments, but were wholly unsuccessful. They could neither loosen the grip of the allies nor break through the closing lines.

On the 17th of the month Cornwallis proposed to surrender, and on the 18th terms of capitulation were drawn up and signed. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th Major-General O'Hara led out the whole British army from the trenches into the open field, where in the presence of the allied ranks of France and America seven thousand two hundred and forty-seven English and Hessian soldiers laid down their arms, delivered their standards and became prisoners of war. Lord Cornwallis, sick in his tent—or feigning sickness, as the tradition of the times asserted—did not go forth to witness the humiliation of his army. Washington for his part designated General Lincoln, who was of equal rank with O'Hara, to receive his sword and represent the commander-in-chief. British marines to the number of eight hundred and forty were also surrendered. Seventy-five brass and thirty-one iron guns, together with all the accouterments of Cornwallis's army, were the added fruits of victory.

Great was the enthusiasm of the country on the spread of this triumphant intelligence. A swift courier was sent with the news to Congress. On the evening of the 23d of October the messenger rode unannounced into Philadelphia. When the sentinels of the city called the hour of ten o'clock that night their cry was this: "Ten o'clock, starlight night, and Cornwallis is taken!" It was a fitting thing that the glorious proclamation of victory should thus be made under the benignant stars in the streets of that old town which first among the cities built by men had heard and attested the declaration that all men are created equal!

On the morning of the 24th of October, Congress joyfully assembled. Never before had that body come together, not even on the day of Independence, with so great alacrity and enthusiasm. Before the august assembly the modest dispatches of Washington were read announcing the complete success of the allied campaign of Virginia and the capture of Cornwallis and his army. The members exulting and many weeping for gladness adjourned and went in concourse with the citizens to the Dutch Lutheran Church, where the afternoon was turned into Thanksgiving day. The note of rejoicing sounded through the length and breadth of the land. Even the humblest took up the shout of emancipation and civil liberty; for it was seen that the dominion of Great Britain in America was forever broken.

The surrendered army of Cornwallis was marched under guard to the military barracks at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, there to await exchange or a treaty of peace. Washington with the victorious allies returned to his camps in New Jersey and on the Hudson. Not only in America, but on the continent of Europe as well, the news of the capture of Cornwallis was received with every demonstration of gladness. But in England the King and his ministers heard the

tidings with mortification and rage. The chagrin and anger of the government was intensified by the fact that a large part of the English people were either secretly or openly pleased with the success of the American cause.

The popular feeling in Great Britain soon expressed itself in Parliament. During the fall and winter of 1781 the ministerial majority in that body fell off rapidly. The existent government tottered to its fall, and on the 20th of March, 1782, Lord North and his friends, unable longer to command the support of Parliament, resigned their offices. A new ministry was immediately formed, favorable to America, favorable to freedom, favorable to peace. It became apparent to all men that the independence of the United States was virtually achieved.

In the beginning of May the command of the British forces in the United States was transferred from Sir Henry Clinton to Sir Guy Carleton. The latter was known to be friendly to the cause of the Americans, and he accepted his appointment as the beginning of the end. Meanwhile the hostile demonstrations of the enemy, who were now confined to New York and Charleston, ceased, and the prudent Washington, discerning the advantages of moderation, made no efforts to dislodge the foe, for the war had virtually come to an end.

Congress now became active in the work of securing a treaty of peace. In the summer of 1782 Richard Oswald was sent by Parliament to Paris—a favorable omen; for the object of his mission was to confer with Franklin and Jay, the ambassadors of the United States, in regard to the terms of an international settlement. Before the discussions were ended John Adams, arriving from Amsterdam—for he was American minister to Holland—and Henry Laurens, from London, came to Paris and were joined with Franklin and Jay in the negotiations. The commissioners

became assiduous in their work, and on the 30th of November, 1782, preliminary articles of peace were agreed to and signed on the part of Great Britain by Oswald and on behalf of the United States by Franklin, Adams, Jay and Laurens. In the following April the terms were ratified by Congress, but the proclamation of peace was for a considerable season deferred.

This postponement of a public peace between the United States and the mother country was occasioned by the existing international complications. As soon as Great Britain discerned that American independence was a foregone conclusion she conceived the design of interposing herself between the new republic and France. It was clearly perceived that France, by her ready alliance with the Americans and her practical and successful support of their cause, had gained a great and perhaps permanent advantage in the affections of the new nation, and this circumstance was well calculated to arouse the extreme jealousy of the British nation and people.

England felt herself to be the parental State. True, there had been a war, but the war was now at an end. Could she not, therefore, reingratiate herself with her late colonies, recover her standing with them, resume her sway over their commerce and continue to gain as hitherto by the industries and products of the English-speaking race in the New World?

The condition was such as to test the fidelity of the Americans to their allies. The event showed, however, that a profound alienation had been produced in the hearts of the American people towards the mother country. They had suffered too much of wrong and oppression, of persecution and outpouring of life and scanty treasure to get over the wound and return with good-will to the embrace of the ancestral islands. Peace was, therefore, postponed, for

France and England were still at war. It was not until the 3d of September, 1783, that a final treaty was effected between all the nations that had been in the conflict. On that day the ambassadors of Holland, Spain, England, France and the United States, in a solemn conference at Paris, agreed to and signed the articles of a permanent and definitive treaty of peace. Then it was that the American people might for the first time break forth into universal rejoicing over the achievement of national independence.

The treaty of 1783 was full, fair and sufficient for the new republic. The terms of the compact were briefly these: A full and complete recognition of the independence, sovereignty and equality of the United States of America; the recession by Great Britain of Florida to Spain; the surrender of all the remaining territory east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes to the United States; the free navigation of the Mississippi and the Lakes by American vessels; the concession of mutual rights in the Newfoundland fisheries; and the retention by Great Britain of Canada and Nova Scotia, with the exclusive control of the St. Lawrence.

We may here note in a few words the final withdrawal from our shores of the military forces of the enemy. Early in August of 1783 Sir Guy Carleton received instructions to evacuate New York City. It was some time, however, before this could be conveniently accomplished. Three months were spent by the British officers in making arrangements for this important event. Finally, on the 25th of November, everything was in readiness and the British army was embarked on board the fleet. Then the sails were spread; the ships stood out to sea; dwindled to white specks on the horizon; disappeared. The Briton was gone. With what sentiments must the American patriots from the wharves, the windows, the housetops of old New York

have watched that receding squadron bearing away forever from the American coast that hateful force which had so long impeded the independence, the liberty, the nationality of the new United States! Shall we say that the American of 1783, as he gazed on that November day adown the harbor of New York at the British fleet sinking behind the waters, exulted with mingled joy and hatred over the disappearance of his mortal foe? Shall we believe that rather he remembered with anger and feelings of malevolent triumph his victory over the British King and ministry, and that his feelings towards the visible enemy, now becoming invisible across the sea, were those of a half-kindly regret and sympathy as for fellow-countrymen of a common race and tongue?

However this may be, the conflict was over and the victory won. After the struggles and sacrifices of an eight years' war the old continental patriots had achieved the independence of their country. The United States of America had become a sovereign, and might now take an equal station among the nations of the earth. As for Charleston, that city had already been evacuated by the British on the 14th of December, 1782. Thus at last were the American coasts, from the borders of Florida to the Penobscot, freed from the presence of the unnatural foe which had so long struggled with sword and intrigue and invasion to reduce the people of the colonies to subjection and political servitude.

The concluding scenes of the Revolution now passed rapidly, like the final acts of a drama. On the 4th of December there was a most affecting scene in New York City. Washington assembled his officers and bade them a final adieu. When they were met the chieftain arose and spoke a few affectionate words to his tried comrades in arms. Washington was now in his fifty-second year, and had aged

perceptibly under the arduous trials and responsibilities of the long-continued war. His fidelity to the cause had led him to suffer much. We have already noted the fact that for six years after taking command of the army at Cambridge he never once revisited his home at Mount Vernon.

On the day of the separation, when he had ended his remarks, he requested each of his officers to come forward in turn and take his hand. This they did, and with tears and sobs which they no longer cared to conceal the veterans bade him farewell. Washington then went on foot to Whitehall, followed by a vast concourse of citizens and soldiers, and thence departed en route for Annapolis, where Congress was in session. He paused on his way at Philadelphia and made to the proper officers a report of his expenses during the war. The account was in his own handwriting, and covered a total expenditure of seventy-four thousand four hundred and eighty-five dollars—all correct to a cent. The route of the chief from Pallus's Hook to Annapolis was a continuous triumph. The people by hundreds and thousands flocked to the villages and roadsides to see him pass. Gray-haired statesmen came to speak words of praise; young men to shout with enthusiasm; maidens to strew his way with flowers.

On the 23d of December Washington reached Annapolis and was introduced to Congress. To that body of patriots and sages he delivered an address full of feeling, wisdom and modesty. Then with that dignity which always marked his conduct he surrendered his commission as commander-in-chief of the American army. General Mifflin, at that time President of Congress, responded in an eloquent manner, and then the hero retired to his home at Mount Vernon. It was evident to his countrymen and to all the world that he gladly relinquished the honors of command, the excitements and ambitions of war for the quiet and

seclusion of his own home. The man whom only a year before some disaffected soldiers and ill-advised citizens were going to make King of America now by his own act became a citizen of the new republic, which by his genius and sword had become a possibility.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE reader will remember that at the time of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence a committee had been appointed to prepare a frame of government for the United States. This committee had upon its hands a serious and difficult task. The sword of Great Britain suspended over the colonies made union necessary; but the long-standing independence of each tended to obstruct and hinder the needed consolidation. The Committee on Confederation reported their work to Congress in July of 1776. A month was spent in fruitless debates, and then the question of adopting the articles of union prepared by the committee was laid over until the following spring.

In April of 1777 the report on the Confederation of the States was taken up and continued through the summer. The war was now on in earnest. The power of Great Britain was overthrown in all the States, and each adopted a republican form of government for itself. The sentiment for national union made some headway; but there was on the part of many a covert purpose to win independence for the States severally instead of collectively, thus leaving each at the end of a successful war to pursue its own course in accordance with its old-time principles, policy and purpose.

It was not until the 15th of November, 1777, that a vote was taken in Congress and the Articles of Confederation reported by the committee reluctantly approved. The next step was to transmit the new constitution to the several State legislatures for their adoption or rejection. The time

thus occupied extended to the month of June, 1778, and even then the new frame of government was returned to Congress with many amendments. Each colonial legislature deemed itself able to improve in some particulars the work to which a committee of Congress had given a year of profound consideration.

Congress, however, was constrained by the nature of its own constitution to consider, and indeed to adopt, with many alterations and amendments, the clauses which had been added to the articles by the colonial assemblies. The most serious objections of the people were thus removed, and the Articles of the Confederation were signed by the delegates of eight States on the 9th of July, 1778. Later in the same month the representatives of two other States, Georgia and North Carolina, affixed their signatures. In November the delegates of New Jersey acceded to the compact; and in February of 1779 the representatives of Delaware added the signature of that small commonwealth. Maryland, however, still held aloof, and it was not until March of 1781 that the consent of that State was finally obtained. It thus happened that the War of the Revolution was nearly ended before the new system of government was fully ratified.

The reader will not fail to discover in these circumstances the essentially military character of the Revolution of 1776. The civil revolution lagged behind. Doubtless the rational patriotism of the times was greatly discouraged and at times disgusted with the folly of the people acting in their civil capacity. It would seem in the retrospect that so easy and democratic a form of government as was contemplated under the Articles of Confederation would have been at once and gladly accepted by the people, anxious to obtain a more efficient frame and organ of civil authority; but not so. Everywhere there was cavil, objection, opposition,

delay. Meanwhile the Congress of the Revolution, so-called, was obliged to labor on without the powers or prerogatives of government. Certainly but for the abilities, sound principles and courage of the leaders in the field, the whole revolutionary movement must have ended in a complete and dismal failure.

Thus at the end of the War of Independence the United States found themselves under the Articles of Confederation. The government so instituted was a sort of democratic republic. It presented itself under the form of a Loose Union of Independent Commonwealths—a Confederacy of Sovereign States. Both the executive and legislative powers of the government were vested in a Congress. That body was to be composed of not fewer than two nor more than seven representatives from each State. These representatives were to constitute a single House—no Senate or Upper House was provided for. Congress could exercise no other than delegated powers. The sovereignty was reserved to the States. The most important of the exclusive privileges of Congress were the right of making war and peace, the regulation of foreign commerce, the power to receive and send ambassadors, the control of the coinage, the settlement of disputed boundaries and the care of the public domain. There was no president or chief magistrate of the republic, and no general judiciary was provided for. The consent of nine States was necessary to complete an act of legislation. In voting in Congress, each State was by its delegates to cast but a single ballot. The union of the States, or their confederation, thus established was declared to be perpetual.

Until March of 1781, when the Articles of Confederation were finally ratified by Maryland, the government—if such it might be called—continued to be directed by the Continental Congress. On the day, however, of the ratification

of the Articles by Maryland the Congress of the Revolution adjourned, and on the following morning reassembled under the new form of government. Almost immediately it became apparent that that government was inadequate to the exigencies of the times. In the first place it contradicted the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. It was found that the power of Congress under the Articles was no more than a shadow; that shadow instead of being derived from the people emanated from the States, and these were declared to be sovereign and independent. There was therefore no nationality, and indeed the movement towards nationality was greatly obstructed by the frame of government, which was presumptively in its favor. It was fortunate indeed that the War of the Revolution was already virtually at an end before this alleged new government was instituted. The sequel showed that under trial the Articles of Confederation might have proved to be an agent of miscarriage and confusion in the very presence of the enemy.

The first duty which was devolved on the new government was to provide for the payment of the war debt, which had now reached the sum of thirty-eight million dollars. Congress could only recommend to the several States the levying of a sufficient tax to meet the indebtedness. Some of the States made the required levy; others were dilatory; others refused. Thus at the very outset the government was balked and thwarted, and this too in one of the most important essentials of sovereignty. Serious troubles attended the disbanding of the army; and these also were traceable to the weakness of the new system. The soldiers must be paid; but how could Congress pay from an empty treasury? It was rather the inability than the indisposition of that body which led to the embarrassment of the times.

The princely fortune of Robert Morris was, at this crisis, exhausted in the vain effort to uphold the credit of the country. He himself was brought to poverty and ruin, and finally abandoned to his fate by the very power which he had contributed so much to uphold. For three years, after the treaty of peace the public affairs of the new nation were in a condition bordering on chaos. The imperiled state of the republic was viewed with alarm by the sagacious patriots who had brought the Revolution to a successful issue. It was seen in a very short time that unless the Articles of Confederation could be replaced with a better system, the nation would be dissolved into its original elements.

We shall not in this connection recount the immediate circumstances which led to the abandonment of the Articles of Confederation and the substitution therefor of a new Constitution. Suffice it to say that from 1783 to 1787 the civil powers of the United States tended strongly to disintegration and ruin. Washington spoke the truth when he said in infinite sorrow that after all the sacrifices of the war for independence the government of his country had become a thing of contempt in the eyes of all nations. It was really a government of shreds and patches, and the conviction forced itself upon the minds of the more thoughtful that a new political system would have to be devised or else the fruits be lost of the heroic struggle in which the patriots of 1776 had achieved the possibility of national existence.

Before concluding the present chapter, we may note with interest two of the important works accomplished by that go-between system of government known as the Confederation. More properly we should say two of the important works accomplished by some of the *great men* who, hampered by the confederative system, still wrought at the

problem of nationality. The first of these was the organization of the territory northwest of the River Ohio. It will be remembered that the campaigns of George Rogers Clarke, in the years 1778-79, had wrested from the British the vast domain between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. This region was held by the united colonies at the time of the treaty of 1783. The rule of *uti possidetis*, therefore, prevailed; the parties to the compact should "hold as much as they possessed."

Thus the territory of the new United States was extended westward to the Father of Waters. But how should this great domain be brought under organization and put in process of development? As a preliminary measure, the vast region in question was ceded to the United States by Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut. For the government of the territory an ordinance was drawn up originally by Thomas Jefferson, and finally adopted by Congress on the 13th of July, 1787. By the terms of the ordinance it was stipulated that not fewer than three nor more than five States should be formed out of the great territory thus brought within the possibilities of civilization; that the States when organized should be admitted on terms of equality with the Old Thirteen; that a liberal system of education should be assured to the inhabitants of the new commonwealths; and that slavery or involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, should be forever prohibited therein.

Over the new territory General Arthur St. Claire, then President of Congress, was appointed military governor; and in the summer of the following year he established his headquarters at Marietta and entered upon the duties of his office. Out of the noble domain over which the authority of the English-speaking race was thus extended the five great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan

and Wisconsin were destined in course of time to be organized and admitted into the Union,

A second measure of this epoch is worthy of particular notice, as it insured to the people of the United States the not unimportant advantages of an easy and scientific system of money and account. Up to the last quarter of the eighteenth century the monetary systems of the different nations had been—as they still are in many instances—inconvenient in the last degree. In the Old Thirteen Colonies the monetary count had been by guineas, pounds, shillings and pence, after the manner of the mother country. With the achievement of independence some of the American statesmen became dissatisfied with the monetary system that had hitherto prevailed and proposed a newer and better.

The leader of this movement, as in the case of the organization of the Northwest Territory, was Thomas Jefferson. As early as January of 1782 he had turned his attention to the moneys current in the several States, and had urged Robert Morris, the Secretary of Finance, to report a uniform system to Congress. The work of preparing the report was intrusted by the Secretary to Gouverneur Morris, who prepared a system based on that of existing foreign coins, chiefly those of Great Britain.

Against this report Jefferson objected. He himself prepared what he calls in his Memoirs a new “system of money-arithmetic.” “I propose,” he said, “to adopt the DOLLAR as our unit of account payment, and that its divisions and subdivisions shall be *in the decimal ratio.*” Hereupon a controversy sprang up between Jefferson and the officers of the treasury; but the former carried his measure to Congress and prevailed. His system was adopted, and the benefits, we might almost say the blessings, of decimal coinage and accounting were forever secured to the people of the United States

It was thus that the independence of the Thirteen United Colonies of North America was achieved. The work had been undertaken with scarcely a prospect of success. In the light of the retrospect it were difficult to conceive by what agency or agencies the colonies could succeed in a war with the mother country. The disproportion in resources between Great Britain and America was very great. The British monarchy was already one of the oldest and most substantial political structures in the world. On our side there was no structure at all. Everything as yet in America remained not only local, but peculiar and individual. A general government had to be formed in the very front and teeth of the emergency. The sentiment of union could not be immediately evoked in the midst of such a people and under such conditions. The colonies were as weak for war as they were poor in those resources with which every warlike enterprise must be supplied. On the other hand, Great Britain was in these particulars as strong as the strongest. Nevertheless, the battle went against the strong and in favor of the weak. It was an issue settled by righteousness, and fortune, and truth rather than by the might of superior armies.

EPOCH OF NATIONALITY.

CHAPTER XIX.

GREAT was the distress of the new United States under their so-called Articles of Confederation. The Revolutionary tumult had not died away until the more thoughtful patriots discovered the essential weakness of their frame of government. The confederation was indeed neither the one thing nor the other. It was neither distinctly *national* nor clearly *local* in its character. It partook more of the nature of what the Germans call the *Stattenbund*, or State-league, than of the nature of the *Bundesstaat*, or true union. It was clear to the statesmen of the period that no effectual consolidation of the States had been accomplished by the confederation, and that another movement of a different and more radical character would be necessary to secure a real union of the United States of America.

It is not needed in this connection to recount the many and diverse projects which the wisdom of the time suggested in the direction of establishing a better government for the new American nation. The real impulse towards the remodeling of the existing system appears to have originated at Mount Vernon and in the thought and heart of Washington. It will perhaps never be known precisely to what extent the Father of his Country accepted and adopted

the thoughts and suggestions of others respecting the new frame of government, and to what extent his notions were excogitated from his own slow but capacious mind. There were at the epoch under consideration many thinkers of larger and more active intellectuality than was Washington. Such personages were accustomed to correspond with the sage of Mount Vernon, to visit and converse with him and to discuss the civil condition and political needs of the new republic. Perhaps it was out of such elements that the project of remodeling the Articles of Confederation at length took vital form.

However this may be, Washington, in the year 1785, in conference with certain statesmen at his own home, advised the calling of a convention to meet at Annapolis in the following year for the general consideration of the political and commercial needs of the nation. The proposition was received with favor, and in September of 1786 the representatives of five States assembled at Annapolis. The question of a tariff on imports was discussed, for that was the fundamental business of the meeting, and then the attention of the delegates was turned to the subject of revising the Articles of Confederation.

Such a work seemed to be demanded by every interest of public policy. Since, however, only a minority of the States were represented in the conference, it was resolved to adjourn until May of the following year. All the States were in the meantime to be urgently requested to send representatives to the second meeting. The interest of Congress was awakened, and that body invited the legislatures of the several States to appoint delegates to the proposed convention.

To this invitation all the State assemblies except that of Rhode Island responded favorably. The motives of such a movement were actively present in all parts of the country.

A ruined credit, a bankrupt treasury, a disordered finance, a crazy constitution and a government without vital energy or prerogative, all seemed to appeal to the patriotic mind as the strongest possible incentives to the movement for a better constitution. It was under such impulses that the people were sufficiently lifted above their prejudices to give a measure of favor to the proposal for a convention ; and accordingly on the second Monday in May, 1787, the representatives of the various States assembled at Philadelphia. Such was the origin of the Constitutional Convention.

Washington had lent himself with zeal to the project. He came to the convention as a delegate from Virginia, and was at once chosen president of the body. It appears in the light of the retrospect that at the first the common understanding was that the business in hand was to remodel the Articles of Confederation. About fifty of the leading citizens of the United States were present as delegates, and their first deliberations looked no further than the modification of the existing system, so as to give to it a greater efficiency and power of administration. A few leading spirits in the convention, however, such as Washington, Franklin, Charles Pinckney and Madison, saw further than this, and it was not long until the issue of making a new constitution was sprung upon the convention. Indeed, with the progress of debate it became more and more evident that no mere revision of the old form of government would suffice for the future of America.

It was on the 29th of May that Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, introduced a bold resolution to set aside the old Articles of Confederation and to adopt a new constitution. This proposition brought out a great and long-continued debate. A committee was finally appointed to revise the existing frame of government, but with large liberty to con-

sider the whole question at issue. The committee went into session, and it was not until the beginning of September that a report was submitted. The report was essentially the present Constitution of the United States. The debate thereon was renewed. Many modifications, changes and amendments were made in the report of the committee, but a draught which finally came from the pen of Gouverneur Morris was adopted. This in its turn was sent to a committee of revision, of which Alexander Hamilton was chairman, and he it was who gave to the instrument its final touches. These included the prefixing of the Preamble, which makes the Constitution of the United States to proceed *from the people* instead of from the States, thereby giving to it an air and expression of nationality for which we should look in vain in other parts of the instrument.

As soon as the Constitution was prepared and adopted by the convention of 1787 copies of the instrument were made out and forwarded to the several legislatures for ratification or rejection. It was already known that the people of the States were far from unanimous on the question of the proposed new government. They were divided in their sentiments and opinions first of all as to whether it was *desirable* to have any consolidated union of the States, but more particularly they were divided as to whether, granting the desirability of the proposed union, the Constitution prepared by the convention of 1787 was desirable as the fundamental law of the land.

It soon appeared indeed that a great majority of the people were, for the time at least, in the negative on both these questions. The danger from the oppressions and tyranny of Great Britain had now passed away. Independence had been secured. Local independence seemed to satisfy, and the desirability of nationality and union was not strongly felt by the average patriot of 1787.

It was out of these conditions that the first great political agitation of our country was engendered. Those who favored the new frame of government were called Federalists; those who opposed, Anti-Federalists or Republicans. The leaders of the former party were Washington, Jay, Madison and Hamilton, the latter statesman throwing the whole force of his extraordinary genius and learning into the controversy. In those able papers called the *Federalist* he and Madison and Jay successfully answered every objection of the Anti-Federal party. It was in this noble argumentation that Hamilton won the place of first and perhaps greatest expounder of constitutional liberty in America. To him the republic owes a debt of perpetual gratitude for his part in establishing on a firm and enduring basis the present constitutional system of the United States.

The contest in the several States in the Union was heated and protracted. In each State an election was held by the people, and delegates chosen to a convention by which the proposed Constitution was to be adopted or rejected. In several States the opposition had a majority. It was found, however, on the assembling of the conventions that the principles on which the opposition rested had already been sapped and destroyed, at least in their vital elements. The supporters of a consolidated union had everywhere gained ground. The *Federalist* had been scattered into every State, and its arguments had prevailed over all except unconquerable prejudice. Nevertheless, it was an open question whether the people would accept the new government prepared by the convention of 1787.

The little State of Delaware was the first to answer, and her answer was in the affirmative. In her convention on the 3d of December, 1787, the voice of the commonwealth was unanimously recorded in favor of the new Constitution.

Ten days later Pennsylvania gave her decision by a vote of forty-six to twenty-three in favor of ratification. On the 19th of the same month the New Jersey convention added the approval of that State by a unanimous vote, and on the 2d of December, Georgia followed with the same action. Then on the 9th of January came the decision of the Connecticut convention, rendered with a vote of a hundred and twenty-eight to forty in favor of adoption.

In Massachusetts the Constitution encountered the most serious opposition. Much of the ancient Puritan democracy was set against it. Patriotism was suspicious of the proposed union. Patriotism saw in the President provided for by the Constitution a new sort of king, and in the whole system a new sort of monarchy to be substituted for the hereditary monarch which had been destroyed. The battle for adoption was hard fought and barely won. The ballot taken in the convention on the 6th of February, 1778, resulted in ratification by the close vote of a hundred and eighty-seven to a hundred and sixty-eight. The decision of Massachusetts, however, virtually decided the contest. On the 28th of the following April Maryland gave her decision by the strong vote of sixty-three to twelve. Next came the convention of South Carolina, in which the vote for adoption was carried by a hundred and forty-nine to seventy-three.

In New Hampshire there was another hard struggle, as indeed there was in all parts of New England. But the vote for adoption finally prevailed by fifty-seven to forty-six, June 21st, 1788. This was the *ninth State* in the affirmative, and the work was done. For by its own terms the new government was to go into operation when nine States should ratify. Thus far the great commonwealth of Virginia had hesitated. There, too, the spirit of democracy and localism was rampant. Washington and Madison were for

the Constitution ; but Jefferson and Henry were opposed. Not until the 25th of June did her convention declare for adoption, and then only by a vote of eighty-nine to seventy-nine.

It was now clear throughout the country that the new government would be organized, and this fact was used as a powerful argument in favor of adopting the Constitution by the convention of New York, at Poughkeepsie. The hope that New York City would be the seat of the Federal government also acted as a motive. Two-thirds of the convention had been chosen on a platform of pronounced opposition to the Constitution ; but the minority, under the powerful lead of Hamilton, gradually gained in the debates, until July 27th, 1788, when a motion to ratify was finally carried by a fair majority.

Only Rhode Island and North Carolina now persisted in their refusal. But in the latter State a new convention was called, and on the 13th of November, 1789, the Constitution was formally adopted. As to Rhode Island, her pertinacity was in inverse ratio to her importance. At length Providence and Newport seceded from the commonwealth ; the question of dividing the territory between Massachusetts and Connecticut was raised and a wholesome alarm produced among the people. The little refractory State at last yielded by adopting the Constitution May 29th, 1790. The new government had already been organized for thirteen months, so that Rhode Island was virtually admitted into a Union already existent. Then for the first time the English-speaking race in the New World, with the exception of the remote Canadians, was united under a common government strong enough for safety and liberal enough for freedom.

What, then, was the instrument which the American people thus adopted for the civil government of themselves and their posterity ? The Constitution of the United States

provides that the governmental powers of the republic shall exist under three general heads—Legislative, Executive and Judicial. The legislative power is vested in Congress—a body composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The members of the Senate are chosen by the legislatures of the several States and serve for a period of six years. Each State—whatever may be its area and population—is represented by two Senators. The members of the House of Representatives are elected by the people of the respective States; and each State is entitled to a number of Representatives proportionate to the population of that State. The members of this branch are chosen for a term of two years. Congress is the law-making power of the nation, and all legislative questions of a general character are the appropriate subjects of Congressional action.

The executive power of the United States is vested in a President, who is chosen for a period of four years by a body of men called the Electoral College. The electors composing the college are chosen by the people of the several States for the particular purpose of electing a President and Vice-President. Each State is entitled to a number of electors in the College equal to the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress. The duty of the President is to enforce the laws of Congress in accordance with the Constitution. He is commander-in-chief of the armies and navies of the United States. Over the legislation of Congress he has the power of veto; but a two-thirds Congressional majority may pass a law, the President's veto to the contrary notwithstanding. He has the right of appointing cabinet officers and foreign ministers; but all of his appointments must be approved by the Senate. The treaty-making power is likewise lodged with the President; but in this also the concurrence of the Senate is necessary. In case of the death, resignation or removal of

the President, the Vice-President becomes chief magistrate, or Acting-President, of the United States; otherwise his duties are limited to presiding over the Senate.

The judicial power of the United States is by the Constitution vested in a supreme court and in inferior courts established by Congress. The highest judicial officer is the Chief Justice. All the judges of the supreme and inferior courts hold their offices during life or good behavior. The jurisdiction of these courts extends to all causes arising under the Constitution, laws and treaties of the United States. The right of trial by jury is granted in all cases except the impeachment of public officers. Treason against the United States consists only in levying war against them or in giving aid and comfort to their enemies. Nor can the charge of treason be established against any person except on the concurrent testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act.

The Constitution further provides that full faith shall be given in all the States to the records of every State; that the citizens of any State shall be entitled to the privileges of citizens in all the States; that new territories may be organized and new States admitted into the Union on conditions of equality with the old; that to every State shall be guaranteed a republican form of government; and that the Constitution may be altered and amended whenever such alteration or amendment shall be proposed by a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures of all the States. In accordance with this last provision, fifteen amendments have been made to the Constitution. Most important of these are the articles which guarantee religious freedom, change the method of electing President and Vice-President, abolish slavery and forbid the abridgment of suffrage on account of race or color.

It is a theme of the greatest importance, now that more than a century of time has elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution, to inquire into its effectiveness, and more particularly to note its defects in practical application as the fundamental law of the American people. Among the latter may be noticed first of all the too extensive power and domination of the President. A President of the United States, once elected and inaugurated, becomes for the time a more powerful ruler, a more absolute monarch we might say, than is the occupant of any of the enlightened thrones of Europe. It is clear in the light of the retrospect that the framers of the Constitution did not *intend* that the President should be a temporary sovereign in the sense that he has become in practice. A second evil relates to the same office, and this pertains to the manner of the President's election. The will of the people is not fairly and well expressed by the cumbrous intervening Electoral College provided for in the Constitution. The Presidential election in the United States is not sufficiently popular and direct. The choice of the chief magistrate should be like every other function of the government—of the people, for the people and by the people—according to the aphorism of Lincoln. This it cannot be so long as the complicated and machine-like Electoral College is interposed as the agent and organ of the quadrennial election.

In the third place, it is clear in the retrospect that the fathers erred in fixing the term of the Presidency at four, instead of six or seven years. The extension of the term to the latter period should of course imply ineligibility to re-election, thereby assuring to the people an administration totally free from the prevalent intent, manner and method of preparing for a re-election of the incumbent and the maintenance of his partisans in office. Nothing can be more disastrous to the integrity of the national government

than its conversion by the President and his party into a machine for his re-election. On the other hand, it may be truly said that the period of four years is hardly sufficient for the establishment of a given administration and the attestation of its policy.

Among the powers of the Presidential office is that of appointing a cabinet. This idea sprang partly out of the exigencies of the case, and was partly caught from the existing system of Great Britain. The American method has virtually proved a failure. The error lies in the fact that the responsibility of American cabinet officers appertains to the *President*, instead of to *Congress*. In this regard the English system is greatly superior to that of the United States. The President appoints certain of his own partisans to be what are called his constitutional advisers. As a matter of fact, they become simply the head-men of his party retinue. They have and can have no independent advice to give to the administration. They are virtually the President's men. The various secretaries have no power of originating policies and presenting and defending the same before Congress; nor have the people any check upon objectionable cabinet officers. It is within the power, and unfortunately within the practice, of American Presidents to keep in office at the head of important cabinet departments men whom four-fifths of the American people would join in ejecting from their places. The abuse which has arisen in this respect under our Constitution is serious and deep-seated.

As to the Senate of the United States, there is a great and radical error in the constitution of the body in that the members are chosen by the *States*, as it were in their official capacities, instead of by the *people*. The Senators are elected by the legislatures of the several States. The manner of senatorial elections has in many instances be-

come corrupt and disgraceful to the extent of filling the Senate Hall of the United States with men far below the grade of statesmen.

But the more crying evil does not lie in the dangerous methods employed in senatorial elections, but rather in the fact that all the States, great and small, are, under our Constitution, made equal in the upper House of Congress. Rhode Island and Delaware have two Senators each, and so have New York, Ohio and Texas. The system is undemocratic, unrepublican. It is against the genius of American institutions. It contradicts the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. The Senators instead of being chosen by the people of senatorial districts, laid off according to area and population, and with little or no regard for State lines, are elected by the local legislatures of the different States, two for each, without regard to their magnitude and importance. The Senate of the United States is, therefore, not a representative body. It offends the spirit and principle of popular government, and if we mistake not the system which now prevails under the Constitution will not stand the ordeal of public opinion in the times to come.

As to the House of Representatives, the system of election is sufficiently popular and equitable. The error in this respect is the too frequent recurrence of Congressional elections. Three years, instead of two, should be the minimum for the repetition of those partisan agitations which now biennially sweep the country to the distraction of industrial enterprises, the confusion of all arts and progress, the embitterment of the public mind, and the jubilee of demagogues. In all of these particulars it were possible under our Constitution to make amendments which should conduce greatly to the civil and political advantage of the American people.

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and a resolution of Congress, the first Wednesday of January, 1789, was named as the time for the election of a President. In this matter the people had but one voice. All eyes were turned instinctively to the man who should be honored with the chief magistracy of the United States. The election was held, and early in April the ballots of the electors were counted in the presence of Congress. George Washington was unanimously chosen President and John Adams Vice-President of the new republic.

On the 14th of the month Washington received notification of his election and departed for New York. His route thither overland was a constant triumph. Maryland welcomed him at Georgetown. Philadelphia, by her executive council, the trustees of her university and the officers of the Cincinnati, honored him as their guest. How did the people of Trenton exult in the presence of the hero who twelve years before had fought their battle! There over the bridge of the Assanpink they built a triumphal arch, and girls in white ran before singing and strewing the way with flowers. Arriving at Elizabethtown, he was met by the principal officers of the government and welcomed to the capital where he was to become the first chief magistrate of a free and grateful people. Thus came he to old New York, and after a few days of rest and preparation, was ready to take upon himself the duties of the Presidential office.

CHAPTER XX.

IT was on the 30th of April, 1789, that Washington was inaugurated first President of the United States. The new government was to have begun its existence on the 4th of March; but the event was delayed by unforeseen circumstances for nearly two months. The inaugural ceremony was performed on the balcony of the old City Hall, on the present site of the Custom-House, in Wall Street. Chancellor Livingston of New York administered the oath of office. The occasion was observed with great rejoicings throughout the city and the whole country. The streets and housetops of New York were thronged with people; flags fluttered; cannon boomed from the battery. As soon as the public ceremony was ended Washington retired to the Senate chamber and delivered his inaugural address. The organization of the two Houses of Congress had already been effected, so that the inauguration of the President completed the ceremony of instituting the new government under the Constitution.

That government was, however, at the outset embarrassed with many and serious difficulties. They who had opposed the adoption of the Constitution now became a party, caviling at the new order of things and in particular at the measures of the administration. By the treaty of 1783 the free navigation of the Mississippi had been guaranteed to vessels of the United States. Now the jealous Spaniards of New Orleans hindered the passage of American ships. The people west of the Alleghanies looked to the great river as the

natural outlet of their commerce, and the duty was devolved on the government of protecting them in their rights and making good their expectations of the future.

On many parts of the frontier the Indians, for good reason dissatisfied with their displacement from their ancient hunting-grounds, were hostile and did not hesitate to make war on the American frontiersmen. As to financial credit, the United States had none. In the very beginning of his arduous duties Washington was prostrated with sickness. For several weeks he was confined to his couch, and when at length he was measurably restored the evidences of rapidly approaching old age were still more distinctly seen upon him. In the interim of his sickness the business of government was much delayed.

It was not until September that the first important measures were adopted by the new administration. On the 10th of that month an act was passed by Congress instituting a department of foreign affairs, a treasury department and a department of war. As members of his cabinet Washington nominated Jefferson, Hamilton and Knox; the first as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the second of the treasury and the third of war. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution a Supreme Court was also organized, John Jay receiving the appointment of first Chief Justice. With him were joined as Associate Justices John Rutledge, of South Carolina; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; William Cushing, of Massachusetts; John Blair, of Virginia; and James Iredell, of North Carolina. Edmond Randolph received the appointment of Attorney-General.

Nothing could more clearly illustrate the spirit and purpose of Washington than the non-partisan character of the administration which he thus began. His thought was to avoid the division of the American people into parties, and to unite the best opinions and the best men of whatsoever

views in the support of the government. At this time no two public men in America were more pitted against each other than Jefferson and Hamilton. The first represented those extreme democratic views which had prevailed in the Declaration of Independence. The other was the embodiment of extreme federalistic opinion. The one wholly distrusted the new system of government because of its alleged monarchical tendencies ; the other would fain have given to that government additional powers and prerogatives. The two leaders stood at the extremes of the political thought of the epoch, and yet Washington called them both into his cabinet ! He made no discrimination against either, but sought to utilize in support of his administration the talents and genius of both.

At this time many constitutional amendments were brought forward, and ten of them adopted. Some of the States had accepted the Constitution *on condition* that certain amendments should be accepted. Other States, as North Carolina and Rhode Island, had refused to adopt until amendments which they desired should be approved by Congress. By the action of that body in accepting ten of the proposed amendments, the objections of the two jealous States were removed, and both, by ratifying the Constitution, came into the Union, thus completing the circle of the old Thirteen Colonies.

Such were the first important acts of the Congress of 1789. On the 29th of September that body adjourned until the following January. Washington availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to make a tour of the Eastern States. Accompanied by his secretaries he set out in his carriage from New York on the 15th of October, traversed Connecticut, and in nine days arrived at Boston. Everywhere on the route the affection of the people, and especially of the Revolutionary veterans, burst out in un-

bounded applause. At Boston the President was welcomed by John Hancock, then governor of the State, and by the selectmen of the city. No pains were spared that could add to the comfort and pleasure of the new chief magistrate. After remaining a week among the scenes associated with his first command of the American army, he proceeded to Portsmouth, and thence, with improved health and peace of mind, by way of Hartford to New York.

It was at this time that many peculiar questions arose respecting the formalities and methods of administering the government. One of the most troublesome of these related to the ceremony and etiquette which ought to prevail at the presidential mansion. How should the President demean himself in his contact with officers and the people? How should he appear in public? How often? What kind of entertainment should he give? Who should be invited? What title should the President bear? With what formality should he be introduced? In these matters there was no precedent to guide. For who had ever held such a station before? The President must not on the one hand bear himself like a king surrounded with noblemen and courtiers, nor on the other must he degrade his high office by such blunt democratical manners as would render himself ridiculous and the presidency contemptible.

Such situations as they occasionally arise in the movements of human society are not a little embarrassing. Washington, had he followed his own disposition and the suggestions of his antecedents as a Virginia planter, would doubtless have inclined much to a severe and lofty formality. It would perhaps not have been much against his habits and manners that the presidency should have a "court"; but the American people as a whole were in no humor for any courtly proceedings. This was particularly true in New England. It could not be said that the Presi-

dent was out of sympathy and touch with the masses of his countrymen; but he was by nature a severe and sedate man, one of the most unapproachable indeed that modern history has produced.

Washington sought the advice of Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and others in regard to a suitable etiquette and ceremonial for the republican court. Strangely enough, John Adams favored much ceremony; naturally enough, Jefferson favored none at all. The latter said: "I hope that the terms Excellency, Honor, Worship, Esquire, and even Mr., shall shortly and forever disappear from among us." Hamilton's reply favored a moderate and simple formality, and this view was adopted by Washington as both consistent with the spirit of the new government and accordant with his own tastes. In the meantime the question made its way into Congress, and that body declared that the chief magistrate should bear no title other than that of his office, namely, President of the United States. So with ceremonies few and simple the order of affairs and etiquette in the presidential office was established.

Of all the questions of the hour the greatest and gravest and most threatening was that of the national debt. The United States had gone into the War of the Revolution without resources or credit. Year after year the indebtedness of the struggling young republic had increased, and though the aggregate at the end of the war was small, as compared with the tremendous national debts that have accumulated during and since the Napoleonic wars, yet proportionally to the resources of the people the sum was sufficiently appalling. The total indebtedness of the United States at the close of the Revolutionary epoch, inclusive of the Revolutionary expenses of the several States, amounted to nearly eighty millions of dollars.

The problem of meeting this comparatively immense

obligation was devolved on Hamilton. He as Secretary of the Treasury adopted a broad and honest policy, and his genius at length triumphed over every obstacle. His plan for meeting the debt by the processes of refunding, revenue and payment was matured and laid before Congress at the beginning of the second session. The scheme embraced the feature of the assumption of the several State war debts by the national government. The plan was based fundamentally upon the proposition that the debt should be fully and honestly paid. This policy once established tended strongly to create confidence on the part of capitalists, and it was not long until, by the measures of the Secretary, the country was fully established and actual payment of the debt begun.

As a means of augmenting the revenues of the government, a duty was laid on the tonnage of merchant ships, with a discrimination in favor of American vessels. A system of customs-duties was devised on all imported articles, with a view not only to revenue, but to the temporary protection and encouragement of American industries. Hamilton's financial schemes were violently opposed; but his policy, which was supported by the Federal party and by the President, prevailed, and the credit of the American government was soon firmly established.

As said above, the financial scheme embraced the assumption of the debts of the several States by the national government, and this was coupled with the proposition to fix the place of the capital. In this matter there was strong competition, particularly between New York and Philadelphia. The latter was more centrally situated, but the claim of the former was strong and was generally supported by the representatives from New England. It was finally agreed to establish the seat of government for a period of ten years at Philadelphia and afterwards at some suitable locality on the River Potomac.

The next important measure was the organization of the territory southwest of the Ohio. The region including the country west of the Carolinas and lying between what was afterwards known as the Territory of the Mississippi and the western extension of Virginia was included in the act of 1790, but was soon afterwards modified into the State of Tennessee.

In the autumn of this same year a war broke out with the Miami Indians. Fort Washington, on the present site of Cincinnati, had been built, and the capital of the northwest territory had been transferred to that place from Marietta. There General St. Clair established his headquarters as military governor. The Indians had relinquished their territorial rights in the surrounding country, but other tribes, refusing to recognize the treaty, came forward with claims to the ceded country and then went to war to recover their lost possessions.

In the latter part of September, 1790, General Harmar with fourteen hundred men set out on an expedition from Fort Washington against the hostile Miamis. He destroyed several villages and wasted the country as far as the Maumee, or North Miami. Harmar adopted the tactics of dividing his army into detachments, and thus exposed himself to the wiles of the Indians. Colonel Hardin, who commanded the Kentucky volunteers, was ambuscaded and his forces routed at an Indian town eleven miles from Fort Wayne, and on the 21st of October the main division was defeated by the savages, with great loss, at Maumee Ford. General Harmar was obliged to get out of the Indian country as best he could and make his way back to Fort Washington. The situation at the close of the year was threatening, ominous indeed, in all the country northwest of the Ohio.

Meanwhile the government continued to wrestle with

questions of finance and revenue. In the early part of 1791 an act was passed by Congress establishing the Bank of the United States. The measure originated with Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, and was violently opposed by Jefferson and the Anti-Federal party. But federal opinion, which was essentially the assumption of large implied powers in the government of the United States, prevailed, and the bank was established without direct warrant of the Constitution. In the same year—namely, 1791—Vermont, which had been for the last fourteen years an independent territory, adopted the Constitution, and on the 18th of February was admitted into the Union as the fourteenth State. The claim of New York to the jurisdiction of the province had been purchased in 1789 for thirty thousand dollars. At this time the first census of the United States, completed for the year 1790, was published, showing that the population of the country had increased to three million nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand souls.

The defeat of General Harmar gave great uneasiness to the government, and more vigorous measures were at once adopted for the repression of Indian hostilities. A new army was organized, two thousand strong, and placed at the disposal of Governor St. Clair. On the 6th of September, 1791, the expedition set out from Fort Washington and was directed against the Miami confederacy. On the night of November 3d, St. Clair reached a point about a hundred miles north of Fort Washington, and encamped on one of the upper tributaries of the Wabash in what is now the southwest angle of Mercer County, Ohio. Early on the following morning his camp was suddenly attacked by an army of Indians numbering more than two thousand, under command of the chief Little Turtle and several American renegades who had joined the savages. A terrible battle ensued, in which, after a conflict of three hours'

duration, St. Clair was completely defeated. He lost fully one-half of his men and was fortunate to escape with the remainder. The fugitive militia retreated precipitately to Fort Washington, where they arrived four days after the battle.

If the defeat of Harmar had spread alarm, that of St. Clair brought terror. Everywhere were gloom and sorrow. Hardly any battle of the Revolution had entailed greater loss of life and suffering. Even the national government at Philadelphia was for a while in consternation. The responsibility for the defeat was laid with some justice at the feet of General St. Clair, who had not conducted the campaign with the necessary vigilance and caution. For once the benignant spirit of Washington gave way to wrath. He was sitting at the table when the dispatches announcing the ruinous defeat of the army were laid beside him. Presently he arose and retired to his office. "Here," said he in a tempest of indignation,—“here in this very room I took leave of General St. Clair. I wished him success and honor. I said to him, ‘You have careful instructions from the Secretary of War, and I myself will add one word—Beware of a *surprise!* You know how the Indians fight us. Beware of a **SURPRISE!**’ He went off with that my last warning ringing in his ears. And yet he has suffered that army to be cut to pieces, hacked, butchered, tomahawked by a surprise,—the very thing I guarded him against! How can he answer to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him,—the curse of widows and orphans!”

Mr. Lear, the secretary, in whose presence this storm of wrath burst forth, sat speechless. Presently Washington grew silent. “What I have uttered must not go beyond this room,” said he in a manner of great seriousness. Another pause of several minutes ensued, and then he continued in a slow and solemn tone, “I looked at the

dispatches hastily, and did not note all the particulars. General St. Clair shall have justice. I will receive him without displeasure,—he shall *have full justice!*” Notwithstanding his exculpation by a committee of Congress, poor St. Clair, overwhelmed with censures and reproaches, resigned his command, and was succeeded by General Wayne, whom the people had named Mad Anthony.

It was not long until Kentucky followed Vermont into the Union. The population of the former territory had now reached seventy-three thousand. Only seventeen years before Daniel Boone, the hardy hunter of North Carolina, had made his way across the mountains and settled with his companions at Boonesborough. Harrodsburgh and Lexington were founded about the same time. During the Revolutionary period the pioneers were constantly beset by the savages. Kentucky gained the name of the Dark and Bloody Ground. It was not until after the expedition of George Rogers Clarke in 1779 that the frontier became comparatively secure. In the years following the treaty of 1783 thousands of immigrants arrived annually. Meanwhile Virginia relinquished her claim to the territory, and on the 1st of June, 1792, Kentucky was admitted into the Union.

Thus the first quadrennium of the American government drew to a close. The Constitution was silent in regard to the eligibility of a President for re-election. The people, however, in their sovereign capacity decided in favor of continuing the administration of Washington. Accordingly in the autumn of 1792 the Father of his Country, now in the sixty-first year of his age, was again unanimously chosen to the Presidency; as Vice-President John Adams was also re-elected.

History had reserved, however, for the second administration of Washington many vexatious complications and

serious troubles, particularly in the foreign relations of the government. Western Europe was now in an uproar. The French Revolution had broken out coincidentally with the institution of the new American government, and was running its dreadful course. The French democracy, liberated by its own exertion from the thralldom of centuries, had arisen against the existing order, and after three years of unparalleled excesses, had tried, convicted and beheaded the King. The Jacobins were rampant. The French monarchy was abolished. Citizen Genet was sent by the new French republic as minister to the United States. On his arrival at Charleston and on his way to Philadelphia he was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. The Anti-Federal or Republican party had watched the course of the French Revolution with sympathy and delight, seeing, as they believed, in the same the European counterpart of the American war for independence. Citizen Genet, making the most of his popularity, soon began to abuse his authority by fitting out privateers to prey on the commerce of Great Britain. He planned an expedition against Louisiana, and although the President had proclaimed neutrality, began to demand an alliance of the American government with France.

The situation was peculiar, critical. It was not long since France, in a manner as irregular as it was generous, had come to the aid of the American Revolutionists. The French alliance had been the mainstay of the patriots in the darkest days of their struggle for independence. War between France and Great Britain had resulted from this open sympathy and support of the American cause. All this must needs have produced in the minds of the democratic fathers an immense prejudice in favor of France and against Great Britain. The situation in 1793 was such that the United States must almost out of the nature of the case

join hands with France, whatever might be her course and policy.

It was therefore in great measure against the sentiment of the people that Washington and his cabinet firmly refused the demands of Citizen Genet, held faithfully to the existing treaty with Great Britain, and declined the proposed warlike alliance with the French. At this the audacious ambassador threatened to appeal to the people of the United States against the government. In this conduct, so much in violation of the principles of international intercourse, Genet was sustained and encouraged by the Anti-Federal party. For a while the government was menaced and endangered. But Washington stood unmoved in the midst of the clamor, declared the conduct of the French minister insulting to the sovereignty of the United States, and demanded his recall as a person not acceptable to the American government. The Republican authorities of France heeded the demand, and Citizen Genet was superseded by Citizen Fouchet, who showed himself to be a man of greater equanimity and steadier temperament than his predecessor.

Unfortunately, the spirit of partisanship had now measurably prevailed over the plan and purpose of Washington. It had been the intention and policy of the President to know no party in his administration. But the party had come, and the government became greatly embarrassed by political dissensions in the cabinet. From the beginning, indeed, the Secretaries of State and the Treasury had maintained towards each other an attitude of implacable political hostility. The divergence between Hamilton and Jefferson was one of thought and constitution. They differed fundamentally in their concepts of society and government. The intense democracy of the one was set against the intense Federalism of the other. Hamilton

believed in a vast and orderly organization of society on the general plan of the British government. It does not appear that he believed in monarchy as a theory, or that he favored its reinstatement in America—though he was vehemently charged with this purpose by his political opponents. Hamilton sought rather to give to the American republic solidity, regularity, permanence, firmness of prerogative, and in particular whatsoever implied powers were requisite for its own maintenance against either domestic insurrection or foreign violence. Jefferson on the other hand was broadly and radically democratic. He believed that, on the whole, governmental systems had been the bane of liberty and the curse of the human race. He would fain have little government and great local freedom. He would run all risks of anarchy and disintegration rather than incur the danger of a centralized despotism.

The reader may well perceive the difficulty which a President would experience in attempting to get on smoothly with two men of so great ability and such antagonistic principles occupying the two principal seats in his cabinet. Doubtless the trouble was intensified by the natural disposition of both secretaries to gain an ascendancy over the mind of the President. It was in this posture of affairs that Hamilton and Jefferson became the heads of rival parties in the government. The financial measures of the former were attacked with vehement animosity by the latter, and the policy of Jefferson in his relations and duties as Secretary of Foreign Affairs was the subject of much bitter criticism from Hamilton's scathing pen.

The breach between the rivals grew wider and wider. Washington's influence was hardly sufficient to prevent an open break in his cabinet. So great were the abilities and so valuable the experience of the two secretaries, and so pronounced was the patriotism of each that the services of

neither could be spared without serious detriment to the administration. Both officers were in high esteem by their fellow-citizens, and justly so; for no other men of the eighteenth century had reached a higher level of statesmanlike abilities and devotion. Both had insisted on the re-election of Washington to the Presidency. Gradually the spirit of party prevailed in the administration, and Washington himself became recognized more and more as a Federalist. Jefferson, without ceasing to sympathize with the President in his responsibilities and in most of his public measures, nevertheless drew off, and in January of 1794 resigned his office and retired to private life at Monticello. A year afterwards Hamilton also retired from the cabinet, and was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut.

The year 1794 was marked by a serious domestic disturbance in western Pennsylvania, known as the whiskey insurrection. The trouble seems to have originated, in part at least, in the democratic agitations which had attended the coming of Citizen Genet from France. The government, in the hope of improving its revenues, had in 1791 imposed a tax on all ardent spirits distilled in the United States. While Genet was at Philadelphia he and his partisans had used the whiskey tax as an argument for inciting the people, especially those of the distilling regions, to hostility against the existing legislation and resistance of the collectors of revenue.

At length an open insurrection broke out. Washington issued two proclamations warning the insurgents to disperse and obey the laws; but instead of doing so, they fired upon and captured the officers of the government. The President found it necessary to send a strong military force under General Henry Lee into the rebellious districts in order to restore order and enforce the law. With the approach of this force the rioters took counsel of discretion and dispersed.

The sequel showed that the insurrection had been a political rather than a social or civil outbreak; for the Anti-Federalists were in the majority in the distilling region and the whiskey income-tax was a measure of the Federal party.

After the defeat of General St. Clair and the destruction of his army the government must needs take measures for the protection of the Northwest Territory and the suppression of the hostile Indian tribes. The latter were combined in what was known as the Miami confederacy. General Wayne, on taking command in the West, organized as soon as practicable a force of three thousand men. In the fall of 1793 he began a campaign into the Indian country and soon reached the scene of St. Clair's defeat. There he built a stockade named Fort Recovery, and then pressed on to the junction of the Au Glaize and the Maumee in the present county of Williams, Ohio. At this place Fort Defiance was built and garrisoned. Wayne then descended the Maumee to the rapids, from which place he sent proposals of peace to the Indians who were in council only a few miles away.

Among the ablest chieftains of the native races of the Ohio Valley was that Little Turtle whose name and deeds enter so largely into the frontier history of the epoch. Like Tecumtha, he was able to understand when to fight and when to refrain from fighting. At the great council on the Maumee he advised that a treaty of peace be made with the whites on the best terms that might be obtained; but the rash majority were for battle, and the council so decided. On the 20th of August Wayne marched against the savages, and came upon them where the present town of Waynesfield stands. Here he attacked the red men without delay, and routed them with terrible losses. He then compelled the humbled chieftains to purchase peace by ceding to the United States all the territory east of a line drawn from

Fort Recovery to the mouth of the Great Miami. The campaign was crowned with complete success; but it was the last of the public services of Anthony Wayne. Remaining for a while in the Indian country, he embarked on Lake Erie to return to Philadelphia; but in December of 1796 he died on board the vessel, and was buried at Presque Isle, Pennsylvania.

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, Western Europe seemed given over to the ferocity and horror of universal war. It was fortunate for the United States that the broad Atlantic rolled and swelled between. Otherwise it would perhaps have been impossible that our new republic should not be embroiled in the common struggle. The prudence and probity of Washington held back hard against the tendency which would have drawn his country into the vortex. It was the fact of maritime commercial relations which seemed most likely to involve the young nation in the common fate of war.

Very little was Great Britain disposed to regard the interests, rights and wishes of the United States while she prosecuted her warlike enterprises against the French. As early as November of 1793 the British King issued secret instructions to privateers to seize all neutral vessels that might be found trading in the West Indies. The United States had no notification of the purpose of England in this respect, and the high-handed outrage fell upon American trading-vessels without warning. The commerce of the United States to the value of many millions of dollars was swept from the sea by a process differing only in name from highway robbery. But for the temperate spirit of the government the country must have been plunged at once into war.

Prudence, however, prevailed over passion, and instead of a declaration of hostilities Chief Justice Jay was sent,

in the spring of 1794, as envoy extraordinary to demand redress and justice at the hands of the British government. Contrary to expectation, his mission was successful, and in the following November an honorable treaty was added to that of 1783. The terms of settlement, however, were exceedingly distasteful to the Anti-Federal partisans of France in America, and they determined to prevent its ratification. The excitement in the country rose to a high pitch of bitterness and passion. Every argument and motive which ingenuity and prejudice could supply was eagerly made and repeated before the people. Discontent was the order of the day. Public meetings were held, and orators harangued the multitudes. In New York a copy of the treaty was burned before the governor's mansion. In Philadelphia there were similar proceedings.

Washington, standing serenely at the helm of State, was assailed with incendiary invectives and slanders. Never in his whole career had he been subjected to a like storm of malice, indignity and shameless animadversions. In one instance his house was approached by a mob who hooted, threw stones and clubs in the manner of madmen at the official residence. But the President, believing the late treaty to be just in its main provisions and earnestly hoping to avoid a war, stood his ground, and the treaty was ratified. In June of 1795 the new compact was accepted by the Senate and signed by the President. It was specified in the treaty that Great Britain should make ample reparation for the injuries done by her privateers, and surrender to the United States certain western posts which until now had been held by English garrisons.

It was an important matter at this epoch to settle the international boundary between the United States and Spain on the side of Louisiana. This work was accomplished by a treaty in October, 1795. The Spanish king

gave a guarantee to the Americans of the free navigation of the Mississippi, just as England had done in the treaty of independence. Less honorable by far was the compact made at this time with the kingdom of Algiers. For a long time Algerine pirates had infested the Mediterranean. Probably since the times of Pompey the Great that inland ocean had never been free from the depredations of the African freebooters of the deep. They preyed upon the commerce of all civilized nations alike, and those nations had chosen to purchase exemption from such ravages by the ruinous policy of paying to the Dey of Algiers an annual tribute.

In consideration of the tribute the Dey agreed (with astonishing magnanimity !) that his pirate ships should confine themselves to the Mediterranean and should not attack the vessels of such nations as made the payment. At this time, however, and with the purpose of injuring her rival, France, Great Britain winked at an agreement with the Dey, by which the Algerine sea-robbers were turned loose on the Atlantic. Once afloat in those broad waters, the pirate-ships made little discrimination among the victims of their piracy, and American commerce suffered greatly with the rest. The government of the United States in this juncture of affairs deemed it prudent to purchase safety and exemption by the payment of the shameful tribute.

In the summer of 1796 Tennessee was admitted into the Union as the third new State. Six years previously North Carolina had surrendered her claims to her territory west of the mountains in the same manner as Virginia had done in the case of Kentucky. At that time, namely, in 1790, Tennessee contained a population of thirty-five thousand ; but within the following five years the number was more than doubled. The first inhabitants of Tennessee, as will be recalled by the reader, were fugitives from the wrath of

the royal governor of Carolina, against whom they had revolted in the early days of independence. They were of that hardy race of pioneers to whom the perils of the wilderness are as nothing provided the wilderness is free. By the addition of the two States southwest of the Ohio, more than eighty-three thousand square miles of territory were brought under the dominion of civilization.

The democratic hostility to Washington passed away with the passion in which it was engendered. Few things in history, indeed, are more surprising than the ascendancy which he to the end of his official career continued to exercise over the minds of his countrymen. His integrity had in these late years of his life, as well as in the times of the Revolution and back to the days of his youth, been tested by every ordeal to which human character may be subjected. True, in the House of Representatives during the last two sessions of his administration, there had been a clear anti-Federal majority against him and his policy; and yet the House continued the support of his measures. Even the provisions necessary to carry into effect the hated treaty with Great Britain were made by that body, though the vote was close. So powerful were the President's views and wishes in determining the actions of the people that Jefferson, writing to James Monroe at Paris, said: "Congress have risen. You will see by their proceedings the truth of what I always told you, namely, that one man outweighs them all in influence over the people, who support his judgment against their own and that of their representatives. Republicanism resigns its vessel to the pilot."

In the beginning of a government like that of the United States many things must be left to establish themselves by custom, trial and precedent. This was particularly true in the case of our own country, for the Constitution was comparatively brief, and the nature of the government was such

as to forbid explicit details on many important points. One question of wide and far-reaching interest was the eligibility of the incumbent President to re-election. At the close of Washington's first term this was decided in the affirmative by a kind of common consent. The question of a *second* re-election remained, however, to be considered in the year 1796. The second administration drew to a close. Should Washington be chosen for a third term or should some other be taken in his place? Popular opinion was in favor of the continuance of the President in office. He was strongly solicited to permit the use of his name in candidature for a third election, but he would not. His resolution had been taken to end his public career with the close of his second term. With him the evening of life drew on and rest was necessary.

Accordingly in September of 1796 Washington issued to the people of the United States his farewell address—a document crowded with precepts of political wisdom, prudent counsels and chastened patriotism. Perhaps no other communication has ever been sent to a free people in which so much wisdom, devotion and unselfish counsel was given as in this the last address of the Father of his Country.

As soon as Washington's determination to retire from the Presidency was known the political parties marshaled their forces and put forward their champions. John Adams appeared as the candidate of the Federal and Thomas Jefferson of the Anti-Federal party. Antagonism to the Constitution, which had thus far been the chief question dividing the American politicians and statesmen, now gave place to another issue—whether it was the true policy of the United States to enter into intimate relations with the republic of France. The Anti-Federalists or Republicans said *Yes*; that all republics have a common end, and that Great Britain was the common enemy of them all. The Federalists said

No.; that the American republic must mark out an independent course among the nations and avoid all foreign alliances. On that issue John Adams was elected to the Presidency; but Mr. Jefferson having the next highest number of votes became Vice-President. For according to the old provision of the Constitution the person who stood second on the list of those voted for for the Presidency was declared the second officer in the government.

It was thus decided that the Federal administration upheld and promoted by Washington during the first eight years of our national existence should be continued under his successor. John Adams was a native of the town of Braintree, Massachusetts, where he was born on the 19th of October, 1735. He was the great-grandson of that Henry Adams who, emigrating from Great Britain in 1640, founded in America a family which was destined to be made famous by many illustrious names. Eight sons of the elder Adams settled around Massachusetts Bay. One of these, the grandfather of the President, made his home in that part of Braintree afterwards called Quincy. The father of John Adams was a Puritan deacon, a selectman of the town, a farmer of small means and a shoemaker. The son received a classical education, being graduated at the age of twenty from Harvard College. For a while he taught school; but finding that vocation to be, as he expressed it, *a school of affliction*, he turned his attention to the study of law. In this his chosen profession he soon became eminent, removed to Boston, engaged with great zeal in the controversy with the mother country and became in a short time a recognized leader of public opinion.

From this time forth the services of Adams were in constant demand both in his native State and in the successive Colonial Congresses. He was a member of the celebrated committee appointed to draw the Declaration of Independ-

ence, and in the debates on that instrument was its chief defender. He was an able jurist, well versed in the principles of international law, and during the last years of the Revolution served his country as ambassador to France, Holland and Great Britain. He was the first minister of the United States to the mother country after the recognition of American Independence. From this important station he returned in 1788 to be elected to the Vice-Presidency under the new Constitution. In this high office he served by the side of Washington for eight years and was then chosen as his successor to the Presidency.

The beginning of the administration of Adams was a time of trouble and alarm both national and international. The Anti-Federal party in the United States, now beginning to take the name of Democratic, constituted both in and out of Congress a powerful and well-organized opposition to the government. The minister of the French republic was at this time M. Adet, who had succeeded Fouchet. His business in the United States appeared to be principally the securing of a league, defensive and offensive, against Great Britain. The President and Congress stood firmly on the doctrine of neutrality which had been advanced by Washington as the true policy of the United States.

Adet, failing with the government, began to make inflammatory appeals to the people, among whom he found a great and audacious following. The French Directory meanwhile grew insolent, and began to *demand* an alliance. The treaty which John Jay had concluded with England was especially complained of by the partisans of France. On the 10th of March, only six days after the inauguration of Adams, the Directory issued instructions to French men-of-war to assail the commerce of the United States. Soon afterwards Mr. Pinckney, the American minister at Paris, was ordered to leave the territory of France.

Such proceedings were the equivalent of a declaration of war. The President immediately convened Congress in extraordinary session and preliminary measures were taken to repel the aggressions of the French. Elbridge Gerry and John Marshall were directed to join Mr. Pinckney in a final effort for a peaceable adjustment of the pending difficulty, but the effort was fruitless. The Directory of France would not receive the American ambassadors except upon condition that they would pledge the payment into the French treasury of a quarter of a million dollars. Then it was that Pinckney made answer with the aphoristic declaration that the United States had *millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute!* The envoys were then ordered to leave the country, but Gerry, who was an Anti-Federalist, was at length permitted to remain. These events occupied the summer and fall of 1797.

War with France was now anticipated as a certainty. Congress began to make provision for the emergency, and, in the early part of 1798, passed an act completing the organization of the army. Washington was called from the retirement of his old age and appointed commander-in-chief. He accepted the position on the two conditions that he should not be obliged to take the field except in case of actual invasion, and that he should have the right to name his own subordinates. Alexander Hamilton was chosen first major-general. A navy of six frigates, besides many privateers, had been provided for during the previous year and a national loan had been authorized. The patriotism of the people was at length thoroughly aroused. Even the strong sympathy of the Anti-Federalist party for the cause of Republican France was not sufficient to prevail against the sentiments of the people stung by the affronts and injustice of the French Directory.

The existing treaties with France were promptly annulled

and vigorous preparations made for the impending war. The American frigates put to sea, and in the summer and fall of 1799 did good service for the commerce of the country. Commodore Truxton in the ship *Constellation* won distinguished honors for his flag and inflicted great injury upon the enemy. On the 9th of February, while cruising in the West Indies, he attacked the *Insurgent*, a French man-of-war carrying forty guns and more than four hundred seamen. A desperate engagement ensued, and Truxton, though inferior in guns and men, gained a complete victory. A year later he fell in with another frigate called the *Vengeance*, and after five hours' battle in the night would have captured his antagonist but for a storm and the darkness. The cruise by its success added greatly to the reputation of the American flag on the high seas.

Meanwhile the organization of the provisional army went forward and was soon completed. The commander-in-chief established his headquarters at Philadelphia, where he remained for five weeks in consultation with Generals Hamilton and Pinckney. Such measures were devised as were deemed adequate to the defense of the honor of the nation. Washington then retired to Mount Vernon, leaving the greater part of the responsibility to be borne by Hamilton.

The news of these warlike proceedings was soon borne to France. The relation between the two republics was as unnatural as it was strained. The question might well be asked why these two friendly peoples, lately fighting shoulder to shoulder in the trenches before Yorktown, should now take up arms in a fratricidal war. The shrewd Talleyrand, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, seeing that his dismissal of Mr. Monroe and General Pinckney had given mortal offense to the American people, signified to Vans Murray, ambassador of the United States to Holland, that if President Adams should send *another* minister to Paris he

would be cordially received. This hint was transmitted by Murray to the American President, who eagerly seized the opportunity to extricate the country from apprehended war. On the 18th of February, 1799, he sent a message to the Senate nominating Mr. Murray as Minister Plenipotentiary to the French republic. The nomination was confirmed and the ambassador was ordered to proceed at once to France. With him were joined, by the action of the American Senate, two other envoys, Oliver Ellsworth and William R. Davie. These two hastened to Amsterdam to join Murray on his important mission to the French capital.

By this time, however, the French Directory had itself gone into oblivion. The youthful Napoleon Bonaparte, rising suddenly as a military hero on the dazzled vision of the French republic, had displaced the governing Directory and made himself First Consul. More wise than his predecessors and associates, he immediately sought peace with the United States. He saw clearly enough that the impending war would, if prosecuted, result in an alliance between America and England—a thing most unfavorable to the interests of France. Thereby the strong friendship already becoming traditional between France and America would be annulled, the political and social dislike of the Americans for the mother country obliterated, and the whole replaced with what might well seem to him an unnatural league of the lately rebellious States of the New World with the monarchy which had tried to oppress and destroy them.

Bonaparte was confident that peaceful overtures on his part would be met with favor. When the three American ambassadors—Murray, Ellsworth and Davie—reached Paris in the beginning of March, 1800, they were well received by the First Consul, and negotiations were at once opened for peace. In the following September all difficulties were

happily terminated with the new treaty, entirely satisfactory in its provisions to the people of the United States. In all his relations with our country—whatever may have been his underlying motives of action—Napoleon acted the part of a consistent and honorable ruler.

Before the war-cloud was scattered by the new treaty with the French republic, America was called to mourn the loss of Washington. On the 14th of December, 1799, after an illness of only a day, the venerated chieftain passed from among the living. It appears that though Washington was by nature of an unusually vigorous constitution, his vital forces failed, or began to fail, at a comparatively early period of his life. The hardships and anxieties of the Revolution told heavily upon him. It is probable that at heart the Father of his Country was capable of feeling the greatest distress on account of the sufferings and sorrows of his countrymen. At all events, on his retirement from the Presidency, just after the completion of his sixty-fifth year, he was already an aged man; but he returned to Mount Vernon in happy spirits, and began by personal supervision the restoration and improvement of his estates. It was his custom and joy to ride abroad each morning in the personal superintendence of the various enterprises whereby he hoped soon to make Mount Vernon the ideal and resting-place of his declining days.

Two days before his death, though the weather was bleak and threatening, Washington rode forth to a distant part of the estate, and did not return until after dark. Meanwhile a cold rain had come, and the General was wet and chilled in the December evening. An attack of tonsillitis, to which disease he had been subject at intervals for many years, supervened, and on the following day he was seriously sick. The physician was called in, and, acting after the folly of the times, bled his illustrious patient almost to ex-

haustion. During the next day he sank away, and in the evening fell into that peaceful slumber from which neither the affectionate voice of his countrymen nor the blare of the trumpet of war might ever wake him more.

The event touched all hearts with inexpressible sorrow. The people instinctively put on the garb of mourning. Congress on receiving the intelligence went in funeral procession to the German Lutheran Church, where General Henry Lee, the personal friend of Washington, delivered that touching and eloquent oration in which the expression, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens," was recorded. Throughout the civilized world the memory of the Father of his Country was honored with appropriate ceremonies. To the legions of France the event was announced by Bonaparte, who paid a beautiful tribute to the virtues of "the warrior, the legislator, and the citizen without reproach." As the body of Washington was laid in the sepulcher, the voice of partisan malignity that had not hesitated to assail his name was hushed into everlasting silence, and the world with uncovered head agreed with Lord Byron in declaring the illustrious dead to have been among warriors, statesmen and patriots—

"The first, the last, the best—
The Cincinnatus of the West."

Great was the relief to the public mind when the threatening cloud of war with France passed by. It could not be said that with the masses of the people the prospect of such a war was ever entertained with favor. The recollection of the recent great good of the French alliance was too recent to pass readily from the brain and heart of the people. There was, therefore, a sense of relief when the clouds parted and the light of returning good-will streamed through. Meanwhile the administration of the elder Adams and the

eighteenth century drew to a close together. In spite of domestic dissensions and foreign alarms, the new republic had greatly grown in strength and influence. The second census, that of 1800, showed that the population of the country, including the blacks, had increased to over five millions. The seventy-five post-offices reported by the census of 1790 had been multiplied to nine hundred and three. The exports of the United States had increased from twenty millions to nearly seventy-one millions of dollars. Better than all, the permanency of the new political order under the Constitution as the supreme law of the land had become an established fact and was cheerfully recognized by the people.

In December of 1800 Congress for the first time assembled in Washington City, the new capital of the nation. Virginia and Maryland had ceded to the United States the District of Columbia, a tract ten miles square, lying on both sides of the Potomac. But the part given by Virginia was afterward re-ceded to that State. The city which was designed as the seat of government was laid out in 1792, and in 1800 the population had reached an aggregate of about eight thousand five hundred.

The political question now arose as to which party and policy should obtain preponderance in the government. It would appear that with prudent management and unanimity the Federalists might have remained in the ascendant; but that policy had now incurred much popular reprobation. There were dissensions in Adams's cabinet. Much of the recent legislation of Congress had been unwise and perhaps partisan. The Alien law, by which the President was authorized to send out of the country any foreigners whose presence might be reckoned prejudicial to the interests of the United States, was especially odious. The Sedition law, which punished with fine and imprisonment the free-

dom of speech and of the press when directed abusively against the government, was denounced by the opposition as an act of tyranny. Partisan excitement ran high. It was clear that the destinies of the American government were to fall exclusively into the hands of the one party or the other.

John Adams and Charles C. Pinckney were put forward as the candidates of the Federalists, and Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr of the Republicans, or Democrats. The latter were triumphant. In the Electoral College Jefferson and Burr each received seventy-three votes; Adams sixty-five, and Pinckney sixty-four. In order to decide between the Democratic candidates, the election was referred to the House of Representatives. After thirty-five ballotings the choice of that body fell on Jefferson, and Burr, who was now second on the list, was declared Vice-President. After controlling the government for the first twelve years of its existence the Federal party, thus defeated, passed from power never to be restored.

The reader may readily discover the natural evolution which was beginning in the political history of the government. The elder Adams had served as Vice-President to Washington. Jefferson had served in a like relation with Adams. Both had been long disciplined in public life. Both had represented the government abroad in its most critical international relations. There was clearly a disposition on the part of the people to choose the greatest and strongest men for the highest official trusts.

There was also a gravitation towards a broader democracy. This was expressed in the election of Jefferson over Adams. The new chief magistrate was one of the most intellectual men of the century—one of the greatest patriots; but he was by no means a military leader. Jefferson was born in the county of Albemarle, Virginia, on the 2d of

April, 1743. Of his ancestry history has preserved no record other than the name of his father, Colonel Peter Jefferson, who in the pre-revolutionary period rose to note by his native abilities and force of character. The son had excellent advantages of early training, both at home and in a private school established by an exiled Scottish clergyman. Afterwards he completed his education at William and Mary College. He then entered upon the study of law, and soon rose to distinction. He became in early manhood deeply absorbed in the rising controversy with the mother country, and by his radical views in the House of Burgesses contributed much to fix the sentiments of that body against the arbitrary measures of the English ministry.

The provincial council of Virginia, however, could not limit the activities and fame of Jefferson, and he was sent to the Continental Congress. His coming was anxiously awaited in that body in 1776; for his fame as a thinker and Democrat had preceded him. To his pen and brain the authorship of the Declaration of Independence must be awarded. During the struggles of the Revolution he was among the most distinguished, active and uncompromising of the patriot leaders. After the war was over he was sent abroad with Adams and Franklin to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with the nations of Europe. He was then appointed minister plenipotentiary of the new republic to France. From this high trust he was recalled to become Secretary of State under Washington. In 1796 he was elected Vice-President, and in 1800 President of the United States.

Though of aristocratic birth, Jefferson was the most extreme Democrat of his time. He was first of his social class to substitute pantaloons for knee-breeches, and to fasten his shoes by leather strings instead of by silver buckles. When

elected President he set aside the custom of his predecessors, who rode to the place of their inauguration in a magnificent court-like carriage drawn by four horses, and accompanied by liveried servants, but proceeded thither on horseback and unattended. Arriving at the place, he hitched his horse to a rack, and going into the Capitol delivered an address that occupied less than fifteen minutes. So opposed was he to ostentation and the homage paid to greatness, that he abolished Presidential levees, and kept the date of his birth secret in order that it might not be celebrated. The American decimal system of coinage, the statute of religious freedom in Virginia, the Declaration of Independence, the University of Virginia, and the Presidency of the Union are the immutable foundations of his fame.

The tendency towards a party and partisan administration of the government has already been noted as one of the early features in the political history of our republic. At the beginning of his administration Jefferson transferred the chief offices of the government to members of the Democratic party. This policy had in some measure been adopted by his predecessor; but the principle was now made universal. Such action was justified by the President and his adherents on the ground that the affairs of a republic will be best administered when the officers hold the same political opinions. Congress had passed with the elections of 1800 into the hands of a Democratic majority, and one of the first acts of that body was to abolish the system of internal revenue. The Alien law and the Sedition law which had been directed against foreigners and the freedom of the press were also repealed. But the territorial legislation of Jefferson's first term was the most important of all the measures of his administration.

The work of dividing and organizing the great region known as the territory northwest of the River Ohio was

undertaken in the year 1800. In the first place a line was drawn through that territory from the mouth of the Great Miami River to Fort Recovery, and thence to Canada.* Two years afterward the country east of this line was erected into the State of Ohio and admitted into the Union. The portion west of the line, embracing the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota, was organized under the name of the Indiana Territory. Vincennes, on the Wabash River, was made the capital, and General William Henry Harrison received the appointment of territorial governor. About the same time the Mississippi Territory, extending from the western limits of Georgia to the great river, was organized. Thus another grand and fertile district of a hundred thousand square miles was reclaimed, at least potentially, from primitive barbarism.

More important still was the purchase of Louisiana. The reader will recall the romantic and adventurous incidents by which the vast region lying west of the Mississippi had fallen first to France and afterwards to Spain. In the year 1800, very soon after his accession to power, Napoleon Bonaparte compelled Spain to make a secret cession of this vast territory to France. The First Consul then prepared to send an army to New Orleans for the purpose of establishing his authority. All this was done with no ill-will to the United States, but with the ulterior design of overbalancing the interests of Great Britain and North America.

The government of the United States, however, remonstrated against such a proceeding. France at this time was

* When the territorial division was first effected, the dividing line setting off Ohio was run from the mouth of *the Kentucky River* to Fort Recovery, but afterwards, when the territorial boundary of Ohio was determined, the mouth of the Great Miami instead of the mouth of the Kentucky was taken as the point of origin—a change which considerably affected the territorial limits of the two States lying east and west of the line.

threatened with multiplied wars in Europe, and Bonaparte, perceiving the difficulty of maintaining a colonial empire at so great a distance, authorized his minister to dispose of Louisiana by sale. President Jefferson appointed Mr. Livingston and James Monroe to negotiate the purchase. The circumstances were such as greatly to embarrass the President, for his views of the limited powers of the American government under the Constitution were of a kind to forbid the executive purchase of new territory. But the great opportunity brooked no delay, and on the 30th of April, 1803, the terms of transfer were agreed on by the agents of the two nations. The sum of eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was fixed as the price of the cession, and Louisiana was transferred to the United States.* In another agreement, which was signed on the same day, it was stipulated that the United States should assume the payment of certain debts due from France to American citizens; but the sum thus assumed should not, inclusive of interest, exceed three million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Thus did the vast domain west of the Mississippi, embracing an area of more than a million square miles, pass under the dominion of the United States.

In this great territorial transaction four nations—France, the United States, Great Britain and Spain—were concerned. The question of boundaries of the ceded territory was of far-reaching importance. As to the eastern limit, all four of the contracting parties—or rather the parties concerned—agreed that it should be the Mississippi River from its source to the thirty-first parallel of latitude. On the southeast the boundary contended for by the United States, Great Britain and France was the thirty-first parallel

* Bonaparte accepted in payment six per cent. bonds of the United States, payable fifteen years after date. He also agreed not to sell the bonds at such a price as would injure the credit of the American government.

from the Mississippi to the Appalachicola, and down that river to the gulf. From this line, however, Spain dissented, claiming the Iberville and Lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain; but she was obliged to yield to the decision of her rivals. On the south, by the consent of all, the boundary was the Gulf of Mexico as far as the mouth of the River Sabine. The southwestern limit was established along the last named stream as far as the thirty-first parallel; thence due north to the Red River; up that stream to the one-hundredth meridian from Greenwich; thence north again to the Arkansas; thence with that river to the mountains, and thence north with the mountain-chain to the forty-second parallel of latitude.

Thus far all four of the nations were agreed; but the United States, Great Britain and France—again coinciding—claimed the extension of the boundary along the forty-second parallel to the Pacific Ocean; and to this extension Spain for several years refused her assent; but in the treaty of 1819, by which Florida was ceded to the United States, the objections of Spain were formally withdrawn. The claim, therefore, of the United States, to the extension of Louisiana to the Pacific, though disallowed by Spain for sixteen years, was finally conceded by her, and a true map of the cession so represents the purchase. In fixing the northern boundary, only the United States and Great Britain were concerned, and the forty-ninth parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific was established as the international line.

This great territorial acquisition was the most important event of the Jeffersonian administration. Of the southern portion of the new acquisition the Territory of Orleans was soon organized with the same limits as the present State of Louisiana. The remainder of the vast cession continued to be called the Territory of Louisiana, or the Louisiana

Purchase. By the cession the free navigation of the Mississippi was no longer matter of dispute, since that river lay henceforth within the territories of the United States. Very justly did Mr. Livingston remark to the French minister, as they arose from signing the treaty: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives."

In another respect Jefferson's administration may be noted with interest and favor. It was during this time that the jurisprudence of the new republic became regular and well established in its principles. In 1801 John Marshall was confirmed as Chief Justice of the United States. His appointment marked an epoch in the judicial history of the country. In the colonial times the English constitution and common law had prevailed in America, and judicial decisions were based exclusively on precedents established in the English courts. With the establishment of the new republic in 1789, it became necessary to modify to a certain extent the principles of jurisprudence and to adapt them to the altered theory of government. This great work was undertaken in the days of Chief Justice Jay; but it remained for Chief Justice Marshall to establish on a firm and enduring basis the noble structure of American law. For thirty-five years he remained in his high office, bequeathing to after-times a great number of valuable decisions in which the principles of American jurisprudence are set forth with unvarying clearness and invincible logic.

Mention has already been made of the compact which most of the European nations had been constrained to make with the Algerine pirates. The new republic of the United States at first yielded to what seemed to be a shameful necessity and paid tribute to the Dey of Algiers, in order that American commerce might be exempt from capture; but the exemption was not observed. American merchantmen continued to be annoyed and attacked by the

freebooters of the Mediterranean. All of the Barbary States—as the Moorish kingdoms of northern Africa are called—had adopted the common plan of levying tribute on the commerce of the civilized nations.

The leaders of this great maritime conspiracy were the Emperors of Morocco, Algiers and Tripoli. It became necessary that the young American government should do something for self-protection. Accordingly, in 1803, Commodore Preble, of the American navy, was dispatched to the Mediterranean to protect the merchantmen of the United States. His squadron proceeded first against Morocco; but the frigate *Philadelphia*, under Captain Bainbridge, was sent directly to Tripoli. When nearing that city, Bainbridge gave chase to a Tripolitan pirate which fled for safety into the harbor. The *Philadelphia*, attempting to pursue, ran upon a reef of rocks near the shore and was captured by the Tripolitans. The officers were treated with some respect but the crew were sold as slaves. The Emperor Yusef was greatly elated at his unexpected success.

Though the Tripolitans had taken an American man-of-war they were not able to keep their prize. In February of 1804 Captain Decatur, sailing from Sicily in a small vessel called the *Intrepid*, came at nightfall in sight of the harbor of Tripoli, where the *Philadelphia* was moored. The *Intrepid* being a Moorish ship was either unseen or unsuspected by the enemy, so that Decatur in the darkness was able to enter the harbor and come alongside of the *Philadelphia*. He quickly lashed the two ships together, sprang on deck with his daring crew of only seventy-four men and killed or drove overboard every Moor on the vessel. The frigate was immediately fired, and Decatur and his men, returning to the *Intrepid*, sailed out of the harbor by the light of the flames. The Tripolitan batteries opened upon



the American ship, but not a man was lost and only four were wounded.

The exploit of Decatur was only the beginning of a series of movements by which the Algerine pirates were destined to be virtually exterminated. In July of 1804 Commodore Preble arrived at Tripoli with a fleet and began a siege which lasted till the following spring. The town was frequently bombarded and many of the enemy's ships destroyed, but the Emperor Yusef would not come to terms. Meanwhile it was ascertained by the Americans that Hamet, Yusef's brother, who had been deposed from the throne of Tripoli, might be induced to aid in the war against the existing government. Hamet was at this time in command of an army of Mamelukes in Upper Egypt. To him General William Eaton, American consul at Tunis, was sent with proposals of an alliance against the usurping Yusef.

Hamet was not slow to accept the offer. He detached from his army a fine body of Arabian cavalry and seventy Greek soldiers and placed the same at the service of General Eaton. The latter set out from Alexandria on the 5th of March, 1805, and traversed the desert of Barca for a thousand miles. On the 25th of April he reached Derne, one of Yusef's eastern seaports. This place was, with the aid of an American fleet, taken by storm. The attacking forces were made up of Arab cavalry, Greek infantry, Moorish rebels and American sailors serving on land. Perhaps the American flag never at any other time waved above so motley an assemblage! Emperor Yusef now became thoroughly alarmed and made overtures for peace. His offers were accepted by Mr. Lear, the American consul-general for the Barbary States, and a treaty was concluded on the 4th of June, 1805. Yusef agreed that the commerce of the United States should no longer be attacked in the Mediterranean

waters, and this pledge in favor of the American flag was observed for several years.

While these events were taking place in the far East an incident occurred which will forever be memorable in our history. This was the killing of Alexander Hamilton by Aaron Burr, at that time Vice-President of the United States. The deed was done in a duel. As the first administration of Jefferson drew to a close Burr foresaw that the President would be renominated and that he himself would not be selected as the candidate of his party for a second term. Burr was a proud and ambitious man who had long had his eye on the Presidency, and was determined not to be baffled. He, therefore, while still holding the office of Vice-President, became the Democratic candidate for governor of New York. From that position he would pass to the Presidency at the close of Jefferson's second term.

But Hamilton's influence in New York was overwhelming, and Burr was defeated. His presidential ambition received thereby a stunning blow. From that day he determined to kill the man whom he regarded, or pretended to regard, as the destroyer of his hopes. He accordingly sought a quarrel with Hamilton, and though the latter studiously tried to avoid the difficulty, he was drawn into the meshes, and Burr challenged him to mortal combat. Hamilton believed that to refuse to accept the challenge would, in the existing condition of public opinion, destroy his own influence and usefulness in his party and the nation. He accordingly accepted the challenge and met Burr at Weehawken, opposite New York, on the morning of the 11th of July, and was there shot at the first discharge by his antagonist. Hamilton for his part refused to fire, but when Burr's ball entered his breast and he was staggering to the fall he involuntarily clutched his pistol and it was discharged--not, however, in the direction of his murderer. Thus, under the

savage and abominable custom of dueling, the brightest intellect, the most capacious understanding in America was put out in darkness.

As had been foreseen, Jefferson was renominated and re-elected by his party to the Presidency. For Vice-President, in the election of 1804, George Clinton, of New York, was chosen in place of Burr. The government in all its departments continued under the control of the Democratic party. In the year following the election that part of Indiana Territory called Wayne County was organized under a separate territorial government, with the name of Michigan. It was in this year, namely, in the spring of 1805, that Captains Lewis and Clarke, acting under the orders of the President, set out from the falls of the Missouri River with a party of thirty-five soldiers and hunters to cross the Rocky Mountains and explore Oregon.

Many months were consumed in this the first overland expedition performed by white men across the continent. Not until November did the company reach its destination. For two years, through forests of gigantic pines, along the banks of unknown rivers, and down to the shores of the Pacific, did the adventurers continue their explorations. The story of the journey, of its perils and hardships, might well remind the reader of the days of De Soto. After wandering among unknown tribes of barbarians, encountering grizzly bears more ferocious than Bengal tigers, escaping perils by forest and flood, and traversing a route of six thousand miles, the hardy company, with the loss of but one man, returned to civilization, bringing with them authentic geographical reports of the vast domains of the West.

The triumph of Aaron Burr in the death of Hamilton proved to be the end of his political hopes. A great popular indignation arose over the event which, when the circumstances of the duel were once known, was seen to be noth-

ing less than a murder. Burr was constrained to flee for refuge into the remote South. At the opening of the next session of Congress he returned to the capital and was permitted to preside over the Senate until the expiration of his term of office. With that event he delivered a valedictory, went to the West, traveled through several States, and took up a residence with an Irish exile named Harman Blannerhassett, who had laid out an estate and built a mansion on an island in the Ohio just below the mouth of the Muskingum. Here it was that Burr made a wicked and treasonable scheme against the peace and happiness of his country. He conspired to raise a sufficient military force for the invasion of Mexico. His plan was to wrest that country from the Spaniards, detach the Western and Southern States from the Union, make himself dictator of a southwestern empire, and perhaps subvert the government of the United States.

At these plans and conspiracies Burr labored assiduously for two years ; but his purposes were suspected. In accordance with a proclamation of the President the military preparations which were making at Blannerhassett's Island were broken up, and in February of 1807 Burr himself was arrested and taken to Richmond to be tried on a charge of treason. Chief Justice Marshall presided at the trial, and the country was agitated not a little. Burr conducted his own defense, and was finally acquitted. The verdict of the jury was "Not guilty for want of sufficient proof." The escape of the prisoner, however, was narrow, and under an assumed name he fled from the country. Returning a few years afterward, he resumed the practice of law in New York City. There he lived to extreme old age, and died in September of 1836 alone and in abject poverty.

The condition of the nations of Western Europe had now become such as to draw the United States strongly towards

the vortex of war. Great Britain and France had come to death-grips on both land and sea. The British navy had achieved supremacy, while the French were victorious by land. It became the policy of Great Britain to ward off foreign commerce from the coasts of France. That kind of commercial intercourse known as neutral trade suffered greatly; for thus would Great Britain injure her rival. The American merchant marine in common with that of other nations, though engaged in innocent trade, was assailed on the high seas, kept from its destination, injured or destroyed. Great Britain struck blow after blow against the trade which France would fain carry on with foreign neutral nations, and Napoleon began to retaliate with equal energy and vindictiveness against the commercial relations of Great Britain. The measures of the two belligerent governments took the form of blockade—that is, the surrounding of each other's ports with men-of-war—to prevent the ingress and egress of neutral ships. By such means the commerce of the United States which had within the last decade grown to be vast and valuable, while the European nations were fighting, was greatly distressed or swept to destruction.

The measures of the two hostile nations became more and more extreme. In May of 1806 England declared the whole coast of France, from Brest to the Elbe, to be in a state of blockade. Neutral nations had no notice of the impending decree, and many American vessels approaching the French ports were seized and condemned as prizes. All this was done while the harbors of France were not actually, but only declared to be, blockaded. The rule of war is that a blockade in order to be binding upon neutrals must be effective, that is, maintained by an effective force of the navy of the hostile State declaring the blockade.

This was not done by Great Britain, and Napoleon retali-

ated against his foe by issuing a decree blockading the British Isles. By this measure the unsuspecting merchant ships of the United States were subjected to unwarranted seizure by the cruisers of France. In January of 1807 the British government retaliated with a proclamation prohibiting the French coasting-trade. The idea was that France should be hermetically sealed against all intercourse with foreign States. The belligerents had no shadow of right to take such steps towards each other, but they proceeded from one stage of arrogance to a greater, until the rights of neutral nations were not only disregarded, but treated with contempt. Of all such neutrals the nation that suffered most was the United States.

Another grievance, criminal in its character, was meanwhile revived by England, to the great distress of American commerce. This act related to trade with the colonies of France. At the beginning of the French and Indian war George II. had issued an edict forbidding neutral trade with the French colonies or with the provinces of any country with which Great Britain might be at war. This edict was known as the Rule of 1756. Its arbitrary character and injustice were sufficient to condemn it in a moment in the court of any civilized nation; but it has always been the policy of Great Britain to uphold advantageous abuses as long as possible.

During the administration of Washington the Rule of 1756 had been applied by the mother country and complained of by the American government. In June of 1801, in a treaty between England and Russia, the former agreed to modify the rule in favor of common justice. The effect was beneficial to neutral commerce, particularly to that of the United States, which soon increased five-fold, while that of England declined in a nearly corresponding ratio. Great Britain has for centuries been exceedingly sensitive

about her commercial supremacy. Seeing the growth of American commerce and the decline of her own, she chose in the summer of 1805 to revive by edict the Rule of 1756, and to declare it a part of the law of nations. The result, as had been foreseen, was that American commerce was virtually driven from the ocean and shrank suddenly into insignificance.

Next came another measure aggravating the injustice of Great Britain and provoking the anger of America. The English theory of citizenship has been that whoever is born in England remains through life an English subject. The privilege of an Englishman to expatriate himself—that is, to go abroad to throw off his allegiance to the British crown and to assume the necessary obligations of citizenship in another nation—is absolutely denied. The rule is “once an Englishman always an Englishman;” and this principle the government of Great Britain in the first decade of our century undertook to enforce by searching American vessels and taking therefrom all persons suspected of being subjects of the British crown.

One of the chief objects had in view in this iniquitous business was the prevention of Irish emigration to the United States. The Irish people had become enamored by report of the free institutions and boundless prospects of America, and were flocking hither in great numbers. Something must, therefore, be done to stop the movement. George III. and his ministry marshaled forth the British theory of citizenship and set it up like a death's head at every port of emigration. Every Irishman or Scotchman who should venture on board an American vessel would henceforth expose himself to seizure and impressment; it was believed that not many would take so great a risk.

The apprehensions of the emigrants were well founded; for those who had the misfortune to be overtaken at sea

were seized from under the American flag and without further inquiry were impressed as marines in the British navy. To crowd the decks of their men-of-war with unwilling recruits torn from home and friends was the end which the British King and ministry were willing to reach at whatever sacrifice of national honor. One American ship after another was chased, overtaken and searched, until the hope of reaching the United States from Western Europe, that is, the hope of emigration, was almost extinguished. Finally, to these general wrongs was added a specific act of violence which kindled the indignation of the Americans to the highest pitch.

On the 22d of June, 1807, the American frigate *Chesapeake* was hailed near Fortress Monroe by a British man-of-war called the *Leopard*. British officers came on board after their manner and demanded to search the vessel for deserters. The demand was refused and the ship cleared for action; but before the American guns could be charged the *Leopard*, being already in preparation, poured in a destructive fire and compelled a surrender. Four men were taken from the captured ship, three of whom were afterwards proved to be American citizens. Great Britain disavowed the outrage and promised reparation, but the promise was never fulfilled.

It thus became necessary for the American government to adopt the policy of retaliation. The President, in the summer of 1807, issued a proclamation forbidding British ships to enter American harbors. On the 21st of December Congress passed the celebrated Embargo Act, by which as a measure of compulsion to hostile nations all American vessels were detained in the ports of the United States. The object was to cut off commercial intercourse with France and Great Britain. The act fell heavily upon those who were engaged in foreign commerce, and there was great

complaint against the policy of the government. The measure itself was of little avail, and after fourteen months of trial, the Embargo Act was repealed. Meanwhile, in November of 1818, the British government published an "Order in Council," prohibiting all trade with France and her allies. Thereupon Napoleon issued his "Milan Decree," forbidding all trade with England and her colonies. By these gross outrages done to international law the commerce of the United States was well-nigh destroyed.

It is interesting to turn from these distressing foreign complications, involving as they do the ambitions and follies and crimes of governments, to note the progress of the individual mind in its work of ameliorating the condition of the world. While the country was still distracted with the Anglo-French commercial imbroglio, Robert Fulton was engaged in the invention and construction of the first steamboat. This event exercised a vast influence on the future development of the American nation. It was of the greatest importance to the people of the inland States of the Union that their rivers should be enlivened with rapid navigation. This without the application of steam was impossible. The steamboat thus came as one of the harbingers of civilization in the great valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi.

Fulton was an Irishman by descent, a Pennsylvanian by birth. His education in boyhood was imperfect, but was afterwards improved by study at London and Paris. From the latter city he returned to New York, and there began the construction of a steamboat. Already his predecessors had done something in the application of steam to navigation. As early as 1786 a ferryboat at Philadelphia had been propelled back and forth across the Delaware by steam. In 1804 a steam craft capable of action was launched on the lake in what is now Central Park, New York. It

remained for Fulton, however, to bring the enterprise to a practical and successful issue. He invented an ungainly boat with a steam engine for propulsion, and invited his friends to go on board for a trip from New York to Albany. On the 2d of September, 1807, a crowd gathered at the wharf to witness the experiment. The word was given, and the boat did not move. Fulton went below. Again the word was given, and *the boat moved!* She started up stream, and on the next day the company reached Albany in safety. For many years this first rude steamer, called the *Clermont*, continued to ply the Hudson.

The second term of Jefferson in the Presidency drew to a close with the spring of 1809. The great change which had been wrought during his administration was the addition of territory. The area of the United States had been vastly extended. Burr's wicked and dangerous conspiracy had come to naught. Pioneers were pouring into the valley of the Mississippi. The woods by the river shores resounded with the cry of steam. The foreign relations of the United States, however, were troubled and foreboding. Jefferson declined a third election, as Washington had done, and was succeeded in the presidential office by James Madison, of Virginia. For Vice-President, George Clinton, of New York, was honored with re-election.

CHAPTER XXI.

JAMES MADISON, thus raised to the highest office in the gift of the American people, was another of those scholarly Virginia statesmen who constituted in the political jargon of aftertimes what was called the "Virginia Dynasty." The new chief magistrate was born in Fort Conway, Virginia, on the 16th of March, 1751. He was the eldest of twelve children. Like Jefferson, the boy Madison received his first educational training in the school of a Scotch teacher, named Donald Robertson. Afterwards he became a student at Princeton, and was graduated therefrom in 1772. For two or three years he devoted himself to scholastic pursuits, and, for a young man, became profoundly versed in such learning as the age offered to students. He entered public life in 1776 and espoused the popular cause with the breadth and fervor of a true Democrat. Madison was a member of the Continental Congress, and afterwards a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1787. He was one of the makers and defenders of the Constitution of the United States. Under Jefferson he served as Secretary of State. His election to the Presidency he owed to the Democratic Party, whose sympathy with France and hostility to Great Britain were well known.

On the 1st of March the Embargo Act was repealed by Congress,* and another measure adopted instead, by which

*The Embargo Act was the subject of much recrimination and ridicule. The enemies of the measure derisively spelled the word backward, making it the *O Grab me Act!*

CHAPTER II

Etching by Russell.

KILLING OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK.

The acquisition of Hawaii brings to mind the murder of Captain Cook, discoverer of the Sandwich Group, which took place on the shore of one of the islands, 1777. The tragedy is particularly described in the accompanying pages, and also the circumstances under which Captain Cook was consecrated by the natives and the reverence that was afterward paid by them to his bones.

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American ships were permitted to go abroad but were forbidden to trade with Great Britain. Mr. Erskine, the British minister to the United States, now gave notice that by the 10th of June the "Orders in Council" so far as they affected the United States should be repealed. In the following spring Bonaparte issued a decree for the seizure of all American ships that might approach the harbors of France; but this edict was soon annulled, and all restrictions on American commerce removed. The government of Great Britain, however, adhered to its former measures and sent ships of war to enforce the "Orders in Council."

It now became evident that a crisis was at hand in the affairs of the United States and Great Britain. The government of our country had fallen completely under control of the party which sympathized with France. The American people, smarting under the insults of the mother country, adopted the motto of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." They had made up their minds to fight rather than endure any longer the wrongs which they had suffered for fully ten years. The elections held between 1808 and 1811 showed the drift of public opinion. The sentiment of the country ran to the effect that war at every hazard was preferable to national disgrace.

The third census of the United States was taken in the spring of 1810. The population had now increased to seven million two hundred and forty thousand souls. Four new States had been added to the original thirteen, and several of the territories were preparing for admission into the Union.

In domestic affairs everything went well with the new nation except the contact of civilization with the Indian races. The rapid march westward had aroused the jealousy of the red men, and Indiana Territory became the scene of a serious Indian war. The hostile tribes were led by the great Shawnee chief, Tecumtha (or Tecumseh), and his

brother, Elkswatawa the Prophet. These two sent messages to General Harrison, and finally visited him at Vincennes to make known their grievances. The General received the Indians and consented to discuss the questions at issue. The Prophet, however, instead of proceeding at once to set forth his complaints, indulged in many singular antics with the intention, as he expressed it, of conjuring the white man, after which strange exhibition he paused and made an imperious demand that the United States surrender the lands which had been ceded by treaty with the several separate tribes. The alternative being war, General Harrison accepted the challenge and the council broke up with both parties resolved upon hostilities. The Prophet and Tecumtha proceeded immediately to collect their forces on the Tippecanoe, a few miles north of the present city of Lafayette. Thither General Harrison, the territorial governor, in command of the whites, had marched by way of the Wabash stations from Vincennes.

Harrison reached the destined battle-ground and encamped there on the evening of the 6th of November, 1811. Negotiations had been opened with the Indians, but the natives were treacherous, after their manner, and had plotted the destruction of the Americans. In the early morning of the 7th the savages, seven hundred strong, crept through the marshes to the east of Harrison's camp, surrounded his position and made an impetuous attack. The militia, fighting in the darkness, held the Indians in check until daylight, and then routed them in several vigorous charges. On the next day the Americans burned the Prophet's town, not far away, and soon afterwards returned victorious to Vincennes. The campaign was so successful as to bring great reputation to General Harrison, and to lay the foundation for his future preferment to the Presidency of the United States.

While peace was thus established by the sword in the Ohio Valley, war had begun on the ocean. Great Britain and the United States renewed the conflict which it had been hoped was forever ended by the treaty of 1783. On the 16th of May, 1811, Commodore Rodgers, commanding the frigate *President*, hailed a vessel off the coast of Virginia. Instead of a polite answer he received a cannon-ball in the mainmast. Rodgers responded with a broadside and the enemy's guns were silenced. When light came with the morning the hostile ship was found to be the British sloop of war called *Little Belt*. The event produced great excitement throughout the country.

The engagement of the two vessels had been without law or declaration of hostility. In general the country still hoped for peace, but the hope was delusive. On the 4th of November the Twelfth Congress of the United States assembled. Though the Democrats were in the ascendant, many of the members believed that hostilities might be avoided, and thus the winter passed without decisive measures. On the 4th of the following April it was deemed necessary to pass an act laying embargo for ninety days on all British vessels that might be found within the harbors of the United States. This comparatively mild measure was adopted in the hope that war, actual war, might be avoided. But Great Britain, heated in her conflict with France, would not recede from her hostile attitudes and methods. Her anger was so great that she was willing to engage in an irrational and unjust war with the American republic, and the time had come for the beginning of the struggle. Meanwhile, before the actual outbreak of hostilities, Louisiana, the fifth new State, was, on the 8th of April, 1812, admitted into the Union. Her population had at the time of admission reached seventy-seven thousand.

On the 19th of June in this year a declaration of war

was issued by Congress against Great Britain. Vigorous preparations were made for the conflict. It was ordered to raise twenty-five thousand regular troops and fifty thousand volunteers. The several States were requested to call out their militia contingents to the number of a hundred thousand. A national loan of eleven million dollars was authorized, and General Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was chosen commander-in-chief of the American armies.

Though hostilities existed on the sea between the merchantmen and cruisers of the two nations, the actual war was begun in what was then the Northwest of the United States. General William Hull, governor of Michigan Territory, led the first campaign, which proved to be sufficiently disastrous. On the 1st of June, 1812, he set out from Dayton, Ohio, with a force of fifteen hundred men. For a full month the army toiled through the forests to the western extremity of Lake Erie. Arriving at the Maumee, Hull attempted to send his baggage by water to Detroit, but the British at Malden were on the alert and captured Hull's boat with everything on board. Nevertheless the Americans pressed on to Detroit, and on the 12th of July crossed the river to Sandwich.

At this point Hull received information that Mackinaw had fallen into the hands of the British. He, therefore, retraced his course to Detroit, and from this place sent back Major Van Horne to meet a division of reinforcements which had arrived under Major Brush at the River Raisin. Tecumtha, chief of the Shawnees, had after the battle of Tippecanoe, in which he was not a participant, made his way to Canada and associated himself with the British. The chief, learning of the advance of Van Horne's forces, laid an ambush for them near a place called Brownstown and succeeded in destroying or dispersing the detachment. Colonel Miller with another division, however, attacked and

routed the savages with great losses and then made his way to Detroit.

Meanwhile the British and Canadians under Governor Brock rallied at Malden, and from that place advanced on the 16th of August to lay siege to Detroit. The Americans were well prepared to receive the enemy. They lay in their trenches and awaited the battle during the British advance. When the latter were within five hundred yards Hull *hoisted a white flag over the fort!* Then followed a surrender the most shameful in the history of the United States. All the forces under Hull's command became prisoners of war. The whole of Michigan Territory was surrendered to the British. Hull was afterwards court-martialed for cowardice and was sentenced to be shot, but the President pardoned him.

Thus inauspiciously for the United States began the second war with Great Britain. Three days after the surrender of Detroit the American frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, a man of very different mettle from the General, overtook the British *Guerriere* off the coast of Massachusetts. The vessels manœvered for a while, the *Constitution* closing with her antagonist, until at half-pistol-shot she poured in a broadside, sweeping the decks of the *Guerriere* and deciding the contest at a single discharge. On the following morning the British vessel, having become unmanageable, was blown up, but Captain Hull secured his prisoners and spoils and returned in safety to port.

Such was the opening of the contest on the sea. On the 18th of October the American man-of-war *Wasp*, under Captain Jones, fell in with a fleet of merchantmen off the coast of Virginia. The squadron was under convoy of a war vessel called the *Frolic*, commanded by Captain Whin-yates. A terrible engagement ensued, lasting for three-

quarters of an hour. Finally the American ship was brought alongside, and Jones's crew boarding the *Frolic*, struck the British flag and captured the ship outright. Soon afterwards, however, the *Poictiers*, a British seventy-four gun ship, hove in sight and bore down upon the victorious Americans. The *Wasp* was captured and the wreck of the *Frolic* retaken by the superior force of the enemy.

After his work in the Mediterranean Commodore Stephen Decatur had returned to the American waters and was given command of the frigate *United States*. In this vessel he went on a cruise to the Canary Islands, and a short distance from that group fell in with and captured the British war-ship *Macedonian*. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was more than a hundred men. On the 12th of December the ship *Essex*, under command of Captain Porter, captured the *Nocton*, a British packet having on board fifty-five thousand dollars in specie. On the 29th of the month the *Constitution*, now commanded by Commodore Bainbridge, overtook the British *Java* on the coast of Brazil. A furious battle ensued, and after two hours of fighting the *Java* was reduced to a wreck. The British flag was struck, and the crew and passengers numbering upwards of four hundred were transferred to the *Constitution*. What remained of the enemy's vessel was burned at sea. The news of these unvarying successes roused the enthusiasm of the American people to the highest pitch.

As soon as practicable after the capitulation of Hull a new expedition was organized against Canada. On the 13th of October a force of a thousand men under command of General Stephen Van Rensselaer crossed the Niagara River to capture Queenstown. The British had learned of the movement and stationed a force at the water's edge. This, however, was driven away and the batteries of the enemy on the adjacent heights were carried. In a short time the

British rallied, but were a second time repulsed. Here it was that General Brock, governor of Canada, was mortally wounded. The Americans, thus for the time victorious, intrenched themselves and awaited reinforcements; but no recruits came to the rescue; the British returned to battle, and the Americans after losing a hundred and sixty men were obliged to surrender. At this juncture General Van Rensselaer resigned the command of the northern forces and was succeeded by General Alexander Smyth.

The Canadian border became the scene of renewed hostilities. The Americans gathered in force at Black Rock, a few miles north of Buffalo, and on the 28th of November a detachment crossed to the Canada shore. This movement, however, was recalled by General Smyth as premature. A few days later a second crossing was undertaken, but was not effected, and the Americans went into winter quarters. It soon appeared that General Smyth was incompetent for the command. The militia became mutinous, and the General under charge of cowardice was deposed. Thus came the autumn of 1812 and with it the presidential election. Madison was chosen for a second term; but the Vice-Presidency passed from Clinton to Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts.

Thus far the war had been feeble and desultory. With the spring of 1813 the American forces were organized into three divisions, known as the Army of the North, under General Wade Hampton; the Army of the Center, under the commander-in-chief; the Army of the West, under General Winchester, who was soon superseded by General Harrison. The last named division was first to move. In the early part of January Winchester set out in the direction of Lake Erie to regain the ground lost by Hull. On the 10th of the month the advance came to the rapids of Maumee. A detachment then pressed forward to French-

town, on the River Raisin, captured the place, and on the 20th of the month were joined by Winchester with the main division.

On the 22d of January the Americans were assaulted by a British and Indian army, twenty-five hundred strong, under command of General Proctor. The fight went against the Americans. Winchester was taken prisoner and sent word to his army to capitulate. This done, the American wounded were attacked by the Indians and butchered after the manner of savagery. The American prisoners were dragged off through untold sufferings to Detroit, where they were held until their ransom was effected by the government. These two disasters, one in 1812 and the other in the following year, gave to the River Raisin an ominous memory until the survivors, and even their children, finally passed away.

General Harrison, now left in command of the Army of the West, or of what remained of it, built Fort Meigs on the Maumee. Here he was besieged by a British army numbering two thousand, inclusive of the Indian allies under command of Proctor and Tecumtha. Meanwhile General Clay, with a force of twelve hundred Kentuckians, had set out from his own State and was advancing to the relief of the fort. With the rumor of his coming the Indians in large numbers deserted, and Proctor, thus weakened, abandoned the siege and retreated to Malden. At the latter place the British were reinforced to nearly four thousand men, and in July made a second expedition against Fort Meigs.

The garrison of this fort, however, could not be drawn from the fortifications or driven out by battle. Proctor was at length obliged to file off with half his forces for an attack on Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky—a place which seemed to the British General more accessible to

assault. The fort was defended by only a hundred and sixty men under Colonel Croghan, a stripling but twenty-one years of age. The event showed, however, that he had in him the instinct and passion of battle. On the 2d of August the confident British came on to storm the fort. They crowded into the trench, but the sequel showed that Croghan had so planted his guns as to command the approach. When the trench was filled with men, the cannons were discharged and the attacking column was swept away almost to a man. The repulse was complete. Proctor at once raised the siege of Fort Meigs and returned to Malden.

Thus far in the contest on our northwest border the advantage had been with the British, from the fact that they controlled Lake Eric. On that water they had a squadron of six vessels. It was now deemed necessary to gain control of the lake from the enemy, and the work was intrusted to Commodore Oliver H. Perry. His antagonist, the commander of the British fleet, was Commodore Barclay, a veteran from the wars of Europe. Perry equipped his vessels, nine in number, at Put-in-Bay, and was soon able, through the extraordinary energy which he displayed, to get afloat. On the 10th of September the two squadrons met not far from land, and a battle at once ensued.

The engagement was begun by the American squadron, Perry's flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, leading the attack. Barclay's ship was the *Detroit*. The British vessels were fewer in number, but their guns had a longer range and were better served. The contest between the two flag-ships was desperate. The *Lawrence* was ruined, and the *Detroit* was almost wrecked. It became necessary for Perry to transfer his flag to another vessel. He accordingly got overboard into an open boat, and carried his pennant to the *Niagara*. With this powerful vessel he immediately bore down upon the enemy's line, drove through the midst, discharging

deadly broadsides to right and left. In fifteen minutes the British fleet was reduced to a state of helplessness. Perry returned to the floating hull of the *Lawrence* and there received the surrender of the enemy's squadron. He then sent to General Harrison his laconic dispatch: "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

The control of Lake Erie was thus gained by the Americans, and a way opened for the invasion of Canada. On the 27th of September General Harrison's army was carried across to Malden. The British fell back before him as far as the River Thames, but there halted and prepared for battle. A field was chosen having the river on one side of the British position and a swamp on the other. Here, on the 5th of October, Proctor was attacked by Harrison and Shelby.

In the beginning of the battle the British general fled. The regulars were broken by an attack of the Kentuckians under Colonel Richard M. Johnson. The Americans were thus enabled to turn against the Indians, who, to the number of fifteen hundred, had taken one of their favorite positions in the adjacent swamp. There Tecumtha had staked all on the issue of battle. For a while the war-whoop of the great chieftain was heard above the din of the conflict. Presently, however, his voice ceased to call to his warriors; for Tecumtha was no more. The savages, appalled by the death of their leader, fled in despair, and the Americans were left completely victorious. So ended the campaign of 1813 in the West. All that Hull had lost in the previous year was regained, and much more taken.

The Indian races of the Mississippi Valley had now, with good reason, come to dread the aggression and progress of the white race. They saw in the Americans a force before which their own people must recede into oblivion. From north to south the native tribes of the Ohio and Mississippi

Valleys were in a state of vigilant hostility. While Harrison's campaign in the Northwest was under way, the Creek nation of Alabama rose in arms. In the latter part of August, Fort Mims, forty miles north of Mobile, was attacked and taken by the savages, who destroyed about four hundred people in their sudden insurrection.

The governors of Tennessee, Georgia and Mississippi were obliged to make immediate and strenuous preparations for the repulse of the savages. The Tennesseans under General Andrew Jackson were the first to rise to the rescue. The advance force of nine hundred men, led by General Coffee, first struck the enemy at their town of Tallushatchee, burned it, and left not an Indian alive. It was the first blow of a desperate and bloody struggle. On the 8th of November a second battle was fought at Talladega, and the savages were again defeated with heavy losses. A third fight occurred on the Tallapoosa, at the Indian town of Autosse, where the natives were again disastrously routed.

By these movements the daring Jackson had carried his forces far into the Indian country. Nor were his supplies sufficient for such an expedition. His hungry men became mutinous, and were going to march homeward; but a mutiny among Jackson's men was a dangerous thing for the mutineers. The general set his men the example of living on acorns which he roasted and carried in his pockets. After this exhibition of endurance he threatened with death the first man who should stir from the ranks; and no man stirred! By the middle of January Jackson was able to renew hostilities. On the 22d of the month he gave the enemy battle at Mucfau, where the Tennesseans were again victorious. At Horse-shoe Bend, the Creeks gathered in force and made their final stand. On the 27th of March the whites, under General Jackson, stormed the breast-works and drove the Indians into the bend of the river.

There, huddled together, a thousand Creek warriors, with the women and children of the tribe, met their doom. The nation was completely conquered, almost exterminated.

We may now return to the spring of 1813 and trace the movements of the Army of the Center under the commander-in-chief. On the 25th of April, in that year, General Dearborn, embarking his forces at Sackett's Harbor, proceeded against Toronto. This place was the most important depot of supplies in British America. By this time an American fleet under command of Commodore Chauncey had obtained control of Lake Ontario. On the 27th of the month the American advance, seventeen hundred strong, under General Pike, landed near Toronto. The British were driven from the water's edge and their first batteries were carried by the Americans, who then rushed forward to storm the main defenses. At that moment, however, the British magazine blew up with terrific violence. Two hundred men were killed or wounded by the explosion. General Pike himself was fatally injured. But the Americans continued the charge and the British were driven out of Toronto. Property to the value of a half-million dollars was secured to the victors, who were not very careful to use their victory as not abusing it.

Meanwhile a counter movement was made by the British against Sackett's Harbor. The expedition, however, was not successful; for General Brown, rallying the American militia, drove back the assailants. For reasons that do not well appear the American force at Toronto was soon withdrawn from its vantage-ground and recrossed the lake to the mouth of the Niagara. Soon afterwards, on the 27th of May, a force led by Generals Chandler and Winder carried the British position of Fort George by storm. The garrison escaping, retreated to Burlington Bay, at the western extremity of the lake,

Much confusion marks the military history of the year 1813. After the battle of the Thames General Harrison transferred his forces to Buffalo, and then, though seemingly in great favor with the public, resigned his commission. General Dearborn also withdrew from the service, and the command-in-chief was transferred to General James Wilkinson, already aged and incompetent. The next active campaign was planned by General Armstrong and was designed for the conquest of Montreal. The Army of the Center was ordered to join the Army of the North on the St. Lawrence; but the movement was not effected with energy or celerity. On the 5th of November seven thousand Americans, embarking twenty miles north of Sackett's Harbor, sailed against Montreal. Parties of British, Canadians and Indians, gathering on the left bank of the St. Lawrence, impeded the progress of the expedition. General Brown was sent ashore with a considerable detachment to drive the enemy into the interior. On the 11th of November was fought the severe but indecisive battle of Chrysler's Field. The Americans then passed down the river to St. Regis, where the forces of General Hampton were expected to form a junction with Wilkinson's command. But Hampton did not arrive, and the division of Wilkinson went into winter quarters at Fort Covington.

Meanwhile the British on the Niagara frontier rallied and recaptured Fort George. Before abandoning the place, however, General McClure, commandant of the American garrison, burned the town of Newark. This act cost the people of northern New York dearly; for the British and Indians soon effected a crossing of the river, took Fort Niagara and in retaliation burned the villages of Youngstown, Lewiston and Manchester. On the 30th of December Black Rock and Buffalo were laid in ashes by the enemy.

From this indecisive and half-barbarous war on the north-

ern frontier we may turn again to the sea. On the 24th of February, 1813, the American war-sloop *Hornet*, commanded by Captain James Lawrence, overtook the British brig *Peacock* off the coast of Demerara. A terrible battle of fifteen minutes ensued and the *Peacock* surrendered. While the Americans were transferring the conquered crew, the wrecked brig gave a lurch and was swallowed from sight. Nine British sailors and three of Lawrence's men were sucked down in the whirlpool.

Captain Lawrence by his victory gained great reputation. On returning to Boston he was transferred to the command of the *Chesapeake*. With this strong ship he put to sea and was soon challenged by Captain Broke of the British *Shannon*. The two vessels joined battle eastward from Cape Ann on the 1st of June, 1813. The conflict was obstinate, brief and dreadful. The *Chesapeake* was wrecked. In a short time every officer on board was either killed or wounded. Captain Lawrence himself was struck with a ball and fell dying on the deck. As they bore him down the hatchway he gave his last famous order, which became the motto of the American sailors—"Don't give up the ship!" The *Shannon* towed her prize into the harbor of Halifax, where the bodies of Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow were buried with the honors of war by the British.

The capture of the *Chesapeake* seemed to be a turn in the tide by which the fortunes of the American navy were borne down and lost in ever-recurring defeat. On the 14th of August the British *Pelican* overtook the American brig *Argus*, and obliged her to surrender. On the 5th of September the British brig *Boxer* was in turn captured by the American *Enterprise*, off the coast of Maine. Captain Blyth, the British commander, and Captain Burrows, of the *Enterprise*, were both killed in the battle, and were buried side by side at Portland. On the 28th of March, 1814,

while the ship *Essex*, under command of Captain Porter, was lying in the harbor of Valparaiso, she was attacked by two British vessels, the *Phæbe* and the *Cherub*. Captain Porter fought bravely until nearly all his crew were killed or wounded, and then surrendered the remnant to his antagonists.

Next came an era of marauding. Early in 1814 Lewiston was bombarded and taken by a British squadron. Other British men-of-war entered the Chesapeake, and sending detachments ashore here and there, burned the villages on the bay. At the town of Hampton the soldiers and marines perpetrated great outrages. On the coast of New England the war was conducted in a more humane manner. There Commodore Hardy, a regular officer of the British navy, was in command, and the Americans had no cause to complain of other than the necessary hardships of war.

With the spring of 1814 another invasion of Canada was planned by the Americans; but there was much delay in beginning the campaign. Not until the 3d of July did Generals Scott and Ripley, with three thousand men, cross the Niagara River and capture Fort Erie. On the next day the Americans advanced on Chippewa village; but before reaching that place they were met by the British army under command of General Riall. On the next day, towards evening, a severe battle was fought on the plain south of Chippewa River, and the Americans, commanded by Scott and Ripley, won the field. General Riall fell back to Burlington Heights, and the Americans advanced to a position on the high grounds in sight of Niagara Falls.

“The summer campaign opened with the capture by the British of the fort at Oswego, although it was stubbornly and bravely defended by its commander, Colonel Mitchell.

May 5th the town was bombarded and a fruitless attempt made to land. The next day the effort was renewed successfully. Mitchell thereupon abandoned the fort, which mounted only five guns, and after annoying the English as much as he could he retreated to Oswego Falls. Having dismantled the works and burned the barracks, the enemy retired."

Here, on the evening of the 25th of July, was fought the hardest battle of the war. General Scott, commanding the American right, was hard pressed by Riall, but held his ground until reinforced by the other divisions of the army. The British reserves were brought into action, and as twilight faded into darkness both armies were at death-grips in the struggle. A detachment of Americans getting upon the British rear, succeeded in capturing General Riall and his staff; but the main line was still unbroken. The key to the enemy's position was a high ground crowned with a battery. Calling Colonel James Miller to his side, General Brown, according to the tradition of the battle, said, "Colonel, take your regiment and storm that battery." "I will try, sir," was Miller's answer; and the battery was taken and held against three successive assaults of the British. General Drummond was wounded, and the British army, numbering about five thousand, was driven from the field with a loss of more than eight hundred men. The Americans lost an equal number, but were jubilant with their victory.

Soon after this battle of Niagara, or Lundy's Lane, as it was popularly called, the American forces fell back to Fort Erie. General Gaines, at this time in command at Buffalo, crossed over from that place and assumed command of the army. General Drummond, who had succeeded General Riall, was reinforced, and on the 4th of August invested Fort Erie. The siege continued until the 17th of September, when the

Americans made a sortie, and the British siege was raised. On the 5th of November Fort Erie was destroyed by the Americans, who recrossed the Niagara, and took up winter quarters at Black Rock and Buffalo.

Meanwhile General Wilkinson, with the army of the North, had passed the winter of 1813-14 at Fort Covington. With the coming of spring the American commander undertook an invasion of Canada. At a place called La Colle, on the River Sorel, he attacked the British and was defeated. He then fell back to Plattsburg, was relieved of the command and superseded by General Izard.

At this time Lake Champlain was under control of an American fleet, commanded by Commodore McDonough. The British General Prevost advanced into New York with an army of fourteen thousand men, and at the same time ordered Commodore Downie to ascend the Sorel with his fleet. The invading army succeeded in reaching Plattsburg, where Commodore McDonough's squadron lay at anchor in the bay. On the 6th of September General Macomb retired with his forces to the south bank of the Saranac. This stream was made the line of defense, and for four days the British made ineffectual efforts to cross the river. Downie's fleet had now come into position for action, and a general battle was planned for the 11th. Prevost's army was to carry Macomb's position and the British squadron was to attack McDonough at the same time.

The naval battle began first, and was obstinately fought for two and a half hours. Gradually victory inclined to the side of the American vessels. Commodore Downie and many of his officers were killed. The heavier British ships were disabled one by one, and obliged to strike their colors; the smaller escaped. The British army on shore gave battle, but after a severe action that also was defeated, with considerable losses. Prevost retired precipitately to

Canada, and the English ministry began to devise measures of peace.

At the same time the war on the Atlantic coast was prosecuted with more vigor than the enemy had hitherto shown. Late in the summer Admiral Cochran arrived off the Virginia coast with a squadron of twenty-one vessels. He had on board, besides his crews, a veteran army numbering four thousand, under General Ross. The American fleet in the Chesapeake, under command of Commodore Barney, was unable to oppose so powerful an armament. The British entered the bay with the purpose of attacking Washington and Baltimore. The larger division sailed into the Patuxent, and on the 19th of August General Ross debarked with his division at Benedict.

Commodore Barney was now obliged to blow up his vessel and take to the shore. The British advanced against Washington. No adequate preparations had been made for their resistance. At Bladensburg, six miles from the capital, the enemy was met, on the 24th of the month, by the forces of Commodore Barney. Here a battle was fought, but the militia behaved badly, and Barney was defeated and taken prisoner. The way was thus opened to the capital. It only remained for the President, the cabinet and the people to betake themselves to flight. As for Ross and his army, they marched unopposed into Washington. All the public buildings except the Patent Office were burned. The unfinished Capitol and the President's house were left a mass of ruins. In justification of these proceedings, amounting to barbarism, the British alleged the principle of retaliation and the previous bad conduct of the Americans, who at Toronto and other places on the Canadian frontier had behaved but little better.

The other division of the British fleet came presently to Alexandria. The inhabitants finding themselves at the

mercy of the enemy, purchased forbearance by the surrender of twenty-one ships, sixteen thousand barrels of flour and a thousand hogsheads of tobacco. As soon as General Ross had completed his work at Washington he proceeded with his army and fleet to Baltimore. There the American militia to the number of ten thousand gathered for defense under command of General Samuel Smith. On the 12th of September the British came to land at the mouth of the Patapsco, and the fleet began the ascent of the river. The land division was soon confronted by the American advance under General Stricker. A skirmish ensued in which General Ross was killed; but Colonel Brooks assumed command, and the invasion was continued until the British came upon the American lines near the city and were brought to a halt.

By this time the British squadron had ascended the Patapsco and begun a cannonade of Fort McHenry. From sunrise of the 13th of September until after midnight the guns and mortars of the fleet poured a tempest of shells upon the fortress, but no impression could be made upon the works.* It was clear that Fort McHenry was too strong for the assailants. The British became disheartened and ceased to fire. The land forces retired coincidentally with the fleet, and Baltimore was saved from capture.

The coast of New England suffered here and there from the incursions of the enemy. On the 9th and 10th of August the village of Stonington, Connecticut, was bombarded by Commodore Hardy; but the British, attempting to land, were driven back. The New England fisheries, however, were in most places broken up. The salt-works

* It was during the night of the bombardment that Francis M. Key, detained on board of a British ship and watching the American flag over Fort McHenry—seen at intervals by the glare of rockets and the flash of cannon—composed *The Star-Spangled Banner*.

at Cape Cod were about to be destroyed, but escaped by the payment of heavy ransoms. The blockade was severe. All the harbors from Maine to Delaware were sealed to foreign commerce. The trade of the Eastern States, upon which so much of the prosperity of that section of the Union depended, was almost totally destroyed.

For these reasons many of the men of New England were opposed to the prosecution of the war. The Federalists, as a measure of political opposition, cried out against its continuance. The legislature of Massachusetts advised the calling of a convention to consider the condition of the country and the means of reaching a peace. The other Eastern States responded to the call, and on the 14th of December the delegates assembled at Hartford.

As a political movement this meeting drew great odium to its promoters. The leaders of the Democratic party did not hesitate to say that the purposes of the assembly were disloyal and treasonable. On convening the delegates sat with closed doors. What their discussions were has never been fully known. The session lasted for nearly three weeks, and was ended with the publication of an address in which the injustice and impolicy of the war were held up to condemnation. But the convention was of little effect as it related to the course of events, except that the political prospects of those who participated in the proceedings were ruined.

The war of 1812—so-called—was now drawing to a close. A student of general history will remember that the Napoleonic dynasty in France was tottering to its downfall. The continental nations were concentrating their energies around the French empire, and the little Man of Destiny, who for nearly twenty years had made them tremble in their capitals, was already an exile at Elba. The American war was attracting but little attention abroad.

Great Britain herself prosecuted her American campaigns and expeditions languidly and with indifference.

During the progress of the conflict Spain—particularly the Spanish authorities of Florida—had sympathized with the British. In August of 1814 a British fleet was permitted by the commandant of Pensacola to use that port for the purpose of preparing an expedition against Fort Bowyer, on the Bay of Mobile. General Jackson, who commanded in the South, remonstrated with the Spaniards for this breach of neutrality, but received no satisfaction. He thereupon marched a force against Pensacola, took the town by assault, and expelled the British from Florida.

It was in the prosecution of this campaign that Jackson learned of the preparations of the British for the conquest of Louisiana. This information was altogether to his liking, as it gave free scope for his restless and daring nature to strike the enemy at his own discretion. He repaired at once to New Orleans, where he declared martial law, mustered the militia, and adopted measures for repelling the invasion. From La Fitte, the notorious smuggler of the West Indies, he learned the enemy's plans. A British army twelve thousand strong, under command of Sir Edward Pakenham, was coming from Jamaica. On the 10th of December the squadron entered Lake Borgne, sixty miles northeast of New Orleans.

From this point Pakenham began to make his advance towards the city. On the 22d of the month he reached the Mississippi, about nine miles below New Orleans, and on the next night Generals Jackson and Coffee made a bloody assault on the British position. But the Americans were not in sufficient strength to succeed in such manner, and were obliged to fall back to a more favorable position on the canal, about four miles below the city. Pakenham advanced, and on the 28th began a cannonade of the Ameri-

can position. On New Year's Day, 1815, he renewed the attack with some spirit, but was repulsed. After this the British commander made preparations for a general battle.

For this Jackson was ready. He had constructed earth-works and thrown up a long line of cotton-bales and sand-bags for the protection of his forces. The British moved forward, and after some maneuvering came to battle on the 8th of January. The conflict began with the early morning, and was ended before nine o'clock. Column after column of the British regulars was thrown forward against the American intrenchments, only to be smitten with irretrievable ruin. Jackson's men were almost entirely secure from the enemy's fire, while every discharge of the Tennessee and Kentucky rifles told with fearful effect on the British. Pakenham was killed. General Gibbs was mortally wounded. Only General Lambert was left to call the fragments of the army from the field.

The victory of Jackson was perhaps the most decisive and startling in the history of American warfare. Of the British forces seven hundred were killed, fourteen hundred wounded and five hundred taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans amounted to *eight men killed and thirteen wounded!* General Lambert retired with the wreck of his army into Lake Borgne, while Jackson, marching into New Orleans, was received with the greatest enthusiasm.

The battle of New Orleans was the last blow of our second war with the mother country. There were no further engagements on land. On the sea there were a few additional conflicts like those which had characterized the beginning of hostilities. On the 20th of February the American *Constitution*, cruising off Cape St. Vincent, captured two British vessels, the *Cyane* and the *Levant*. On the 22d of March, 1815, the American *Hornet* made an

end by capturing the British *Penguin* off the coast of Brazil.

But these sea-battles, as well as the battle of New Orleans itself, had been fought under flags which were no longer hostile. Already a treaty of peace had been concluded. In the summer of 1814 American commissioners were sent to Ghent, in Belgium, and were there met by the ambassadors of Great Britain. The agents of the United States were John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell and Albert Gallatin. The British commissioners were Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn and William Adams. On the 24th of December the terms of reconciliation and settlement were agreed to and signed. In both countries the news was received with profound satisfaction. The causes of the war had been from the first factitious and without definition. On the 18th of February, 1815, the treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States and peace was publicly proclaimed.

It could not be said that either nation was the victor. Both had fought and suffered to little purpose. These facts of the irrationality of the war came out strongly in the terms of pacification. Indeed, there never was a more absurd treaty than that of Ghent. Its only significance was that Great Britain and the United States, having been at war, agreed to be at peace. Not a single one of the distinctive issues to decide which the war had been undertaken was settled or even mentioned in the compact with which it was ended. Of the impressment of American seamen not a word was said. The wrongs done to the commerce of the United States were not even referred to. The rights of neutral nations were left as undetermined as before. Of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," which had been the battle-cry of the American navy, no mention was made. The whole treaty was circumlocutory and inconsequential.

The principal articles were devoted to the settlement of unimportant boundaries and the possession of some petty islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy !

There is little doubt, however, that at the time of the treaty of Ghent Great Britain gave private assurance to the United States that impressment on the high seas and the other wrongs complained of by the Americans should be practiced against them no more. Thus much at least was gained. For the space of more than seventy-five years vessels bearing the flag of the United States have been exempt from such insults as led to the War of 1812. Another advantage gained by America was the recognition of her naval strength and prowess. It was no longer doubtful that the American sailors were the equals of any in the world. Their valor and patriotism had challenged the admiration of all nations. It was no small triumph for the republic that her flag should henceforth be honored on all seas and oceans.

The troubles of the American navy with the Algerine pirates of the Mediterranean have more than once been mentioned on former pages. The war between the United States and Great Britain gave opportunity to the Moorish sea-robbers to renew their depredations. At the close of the conflict the government of the United States made haste to settle the score with the African pirates. Commodore Decatur was ordered to proceed to the Mediterranean and to chastise them into final submission. He had the good fortune, on the 17th of June, to fall in with the principal frigate of the Algerine squadron, and this ship, after a severe fight, was compelled to surrender. Two days afterwards he captured another frigate. In a short time he sailed boldly into the Bay of Algiers and was able to dictate to the frightened Dey an advantageous and honorable treaty. The Moorish Emperor agreed to release his Ameri-

can prisoners without ransom, to relinquish all claims to tribute and to give a pledge that his ships should trouble American merchantmen no more. Decatur followed up the good work by sailing against Tunis and Tripoli, both of which powers he compelled to give pledges of good conduct and to pay large sums in the way of indemnity for former depredations.

We thus reach the close of the epoch of our second war with the mother country. Before the end of Madison's administration the Territory of Indiana was organized and admitted into the Union. The new commonwealth was received by act of Congress on the 11th of December, 1816. About the same time was founded the Colonization Society of the United States, having for its object the establishment of a refuge for free persons of color. Many distinguished American citizens became members of the association and sought to promote its interests. Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, was selected as the seat of a proposed colony to be founded by the freemen of the African race emigrating from America. A sufficient number of these went abroad to establish a flourishing negro state; but the enterprise has never answered to the expectations and hopes of its promoters. The capital of Liberia was named Monrovia, in honor of James Monroe, who in the fall of 1816 was chosen as Madison's successor in the Presidency. For Vice-President the choice fell on Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York.

The one great benefit of the War of 1812, so far as our country was concerned, was that the conflict conduced greatly to the *independence* of the United States. The American nation became more conscious of its own existence, more self-sufficient than ever before. The reader of general history will have readily perceived that the war was really a side issue of the greater struggle going on in Europe.

On the part of Great Britain the conflict was conducted but feebly—as though she knew herself to be in the wrong. As soon as a fair opportunity was presented she receded from a contest in which she had engaged in only a half-hearted and irresolute way and of which she had good cause to be ashamed. At the close of the conflict the historian comes to what may be called the Middle Ages of the United States—an epoch in which the tides of population rolled through the notches of the Alleghanies into the Mississippi Valley, tending to a powerful physical civilization, in which, however, the institution of African slavery began to throw its black and portentous shadow athwart the historical landscape.

CHAPTER XXII.

AFTER the War of 1812 the United States entered a period of an unheroic character. Tragedy disappeared from our annals. Nor could it be truthfully said that great deeds of peace took the place of the excitement and vicissitudes of the battle-field. Nevertheless, the era upon which we are here to enter will be found replete with interest. A new and more humane spirit may be discovered among the people. The nineteenth century, towards the close of its first quarter and the beginning of the second, yielded itself somewhat to a more benign genius than that which had dominated the eighteenth to its close. In the present chapter we are to follow the annals of our country from the accession of James Monroe to the Presidency to the epoch of the war with Mexico.

The new President was a Virginian by birth and education, being the fourth and last of the so-called "Virginia Dynasty." All the chief magistrates thus far, with the exception of the elder Adams, had been chosen from the Old Dominion. Monroe was born on the 28th of April, 1758. He was educated at William and Mary College, from which institution he went out in 1776 to become a soldier of the Revolution. He was a young man of valor and great abilities. In the battle of Trenton he received a British ball in his shoulder. He served under Lord Stirling in the severe campaigns of 1777-78, being in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. After the Revolution he became a student of law with Thomas Jefferson, at that time

governor of Virginia. He served in the Virginia assembly, and at the age of twenty-six was sent to Congress. He was one of those who first discerned the inutility of the Articles of Confederation and who exerted themselves for the adoption of a better constitution for the United States.

Monroe was a member of the constitutional convention of 1787, and three years afterwards was elected Senator of the United States from Virginia. In 1794 he was sent as Plenipotentiary to France, and was one of those who negotiated the purchase of Louisiana. Afterwards he was appointed American minister to the court of St. James. He was one of the many who, beginning public life as a Federalist, under the leadership of Washington changed gradually to a more democratic type of opinion and policy, until he took his place in the same category of statesmen with Jefferson and Madison. In 1811 Monroe was chosen governor of Virginia, and when Madison came to the Presidency was appointed Secretary of State. His election to the Presidency was reached by an overwhelming vote of a hundred and eighty-three out of a total of two hundred and seventeen. He chose for his cabinet John Quincy Adams as Secretary of State, William H. Crawford as Secretary of the Treasury, John C. Calhoun as Secretary of War, Benjamin W. Crowninshield as Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt as Attorney-General.

The democratic principles which had marked the administrations of Jefferson and Madison were adopted and furthered by Monroe. The stormy times of the second decade of the century, however, now gave place to years of unbroken peace. The animosities and party strifes which had prevailed to so great an extent since the death of Washington seemed for a season to subside. The statesmen who determined the policy of the government devoted themselves earnestly to the payment of the national debt. Wise

measures were adopted for the liquidation and funding of the national burden, and commerce was speedily revived. The government was economically and faithfully administered. Monroe had many of the political characteristics of the Father of his Country, and his official duties were performed in the spirit of patriotism and devotion to the public welfare. The population of the country rapidly increased. Wealth, as the result of production and commerce, began to flow in, and in a few years the war debt was fully and honestly discharged.

The first foreign trouble of the United States was a difficulty between the government and the little kingdom of Hayti in the northern part of San Domingo. Suspicions arose that Louis XVIII., the newly restored Bourbon King of France, would endeavor to obtain the sovereignty of the island and secure its annexation to the French kingdom. Under the Napoleonic ascendancy Hayti had been for a time one of the possessions of France, and there was an attempt to maintain under the restoration what had been won by the sword of Bonaparte.

At this juncture the sovereign of Hayti was a certain Christophe, who became anxious to secure the recognition of his independence by the government of the United States. Nor was this expectation disappointed. The President, altogether unwilling that France should be intermeddling with the political affairs of the American islands, met the overtures of the Haytian king with favor. An agent of the government was sent out in the frigate *Congress* to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce with the insular kingdom. The President, however, took pains that his agent should not rank as a plenipotentiary. On this score the Haytian authorities were offended, and the negotiations were broken off.

Better success attended the work of forming a new treaty

with the Indians of the territory northwest of the River Ohio. The tribes most concerned in the new compact were the Wyandots, the Delawares, the Senecas and the Shawnees. Other native nations interested were the Chippewas, the Ottawas and the Pottawattamies. The question at issue related to the Indian lands in the broad country between the upper Ohio and Lake Erie. It was at this time that the Indian title to the valley of the Maumee was procured. The cession and purchase of about four millions of acres were accomplished as one feature of the treaty, and it may well surprise the reader to know that the sum paid for this vast and fertile tract did not exceed fourteen thousand dollars! In addition to this purchase-money, the Delawares were for their part to receive an annuity of five hundred dollars, while the combined annuities guaranteed to the Wyandots, the Senecas, the Shawnees and the Ottawas amounted to about ten thousand dollars. The Chippewas and Pottawattamies were granted an annuity of three thousand five hundred dollars for fifteen years. Certain tracts were also reserved by the red men for their homes and hunting grounds amounting to an aggregate of about three hundred thousand acres.

The belief of our publicists at this time was that the Indians, surrounded by the vast and progressive settlements of the white race, would soon be assimilated to the civilized life and be gradually absorbed as a part of the nation. This expectation, however, was doomed to disappointment. It was soon discovered that the Indians had little sympathy with American farms and villages and civilized methods of life. The habits of barbarism were too strongly fixed through ages of heredity, and no aptitude for the anticipated change was seen on the part of the sequestered aborigines.

Thirty years had now elapsed since the formation of the Constitution. The new system of government seemed to

be working well and to have lodgment in the hearts of the people. In no respect did the provisions of the fundamental law apply more successfully than in the admission or addition of new States to the Union. The next territory after Indiana to apply for the privileges and rights of Statehood was the Territory of Mississippi, which was organized and admitted in 1817. The new commonwealth contained an area of forty-seven thousand square miles and brought a population of sixty-five thousand. This work completed the extension of the State system on the southwest as far as the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico.

In the planting of new civilizations on our continents vast opportunities were given to the restless and lawless classes to undertake and pursue systems of crime against national and international authority. One of the most favorable scenes for such manner of life was the West Indies and the littoral parts of Florida. Off the northeastern coast of the last-named State a nest of buccaneers was established on Amelia Island. The piratical combination had its origin and opportunity in the Revolutionary movements which had been going on in New Grenada and Venezuela. A certain Gregor McGregor who held a commission from the insurgent authorities of New Grenada gathered a band of freebooters from many parts, particularly from Charleston and Savannah, and with these fortified and held Amelia Island, making it a sort of headquarters for slave-traders and South American privateers.

It was doubtless believed by the audacious rascals that the sympathy of the United States for the republican tendency shown in South America at this time would save them from disturbance. The buccaneers *seemed* to be acting in the cause of South American liberty, and they hoped by this attitude to escape attack from the government of

the United States. They began under this infatuation to carry matters with a high hand, and presently proceeded to blockade the port of St. Augustine. In doing so they demeaned themselves as if there were no civilization or retributive justice which they had cause to fear. The government of the United States, however, soon took action against the pirates and sent a fleet which succeeded in breaking up their establishment on Amelia Island. A similar assemblage of freebooters which had been established on the island of Galveston, off the coast of Texas, was in like manner suppressed.

Now it was that the question of the internal improvement of the United States as a measure of national policy first presented itself as a practical issue. The population of the republic was rapidly moving westward and filling up the Mississippi Valley. The necessity for thoroughfares and other physical means of intercourse and commerce rose upon the people as a condition of their further progress. The territorial vastness of the country made it imperative to devise suitable means of communication between the distant parts. Without thoroughfares and canals it was evident that the rich products of the almost limitless interior of the country could never reach a general emporium or foreign market. It was also evident that private capital and enterprise were not sufficient for the production of the needed improvements; but had Congress, under the Constitution, the right to vote money for the prosecution of such enterprises?

This question became one of political division. The Democratic party had from the first been what is known as the party of strict construction. The Democratic doctrine was that whatever is not positively conceded and expressed in the Constitution has no existence in the American system of government. The Federalists, on the other hand, claimed

that the Constitution of the United States is pregnant with implied powers, and that these may be evoked under the necessities of any given situation and directed to the accomplishment of any desired end. Jefferson and Madison had been the leaders and organizers of the doctrine of strict construction. They and their party had opposed internal improvements under national patronage. Monroe held a similar view—though less strenuously—and the propositions in Congress to make appropriations for the internal improvement of the country were either voted down or vetoed.

To this policy there was only a single exceptional instance. A bill was passed appropriating the necessary means for the construction of a National Road across the Alleghanies from Cumberland to Wheeling. This was an extension of the great thoroughfare which had already been constructed from Peninsular Virginia to Cumberland, and which was afterwards carried, though without completion, from Wheeling westward through Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to St. Louis.

With the passage of the act for the building of the National Road the question of other internal improvements was referred to the several States as a concession to their rights. Under this legislative action, New York took the lead by constructing at the public expense a magnificent canal from Buffalo to Albany, a distance of three hundred and sixty miles. By this means the waters of the Great Lakes were conveniently united with those of the Hudson and the Atlantic. The cost of the canal was more than seven and a half million dollars, and the whole period of Monroe's administration was occupied in completing the work.

In the year 1817 the Seminoles, occupying the frontiers of Georgia and Alabama, broke into hostilities against the

whites. It has frequently been difficult in the history of our country to ascertain the exact causes of Indian hostilities. Perhaps the hereditary instincts of war on the part of the savage races sought expression at intervals in blood and violence. Otherwise the land question may be ascribed as the true cause of the larger part of Indian hostilities in America. In the case of the Seminole outbreak considerable numbers of half-savage Negroes and Creek Indians joined in the depredations.

At the beginning of hostilities the government ordered General Gates, commandant of the post on Flint River, to march into the Seminole country and reduce the savages to submission: but that officer after destroying a few villages found himself unable to proceed. It was alleged that his forces were inadequate for the campaign. General Jackson, of Tennessee, was hereupon ordered to collect from the adjacent States a sufficient army to reduce the Seminoles to submission. The General, however, took his own course in the matter, and mustered about a thousand riflemen out of West Tennessee, with whom in the following spring he marched against the Indians and overran the hostile country. General Jackson had acquired among the natives the sobriquet of the *Big Knife*, and his name spread terror among them.

The expedition of Jackson was followed by a serious episode. The General, while on his march against the Indians, had entered Florida and taken possession of the Spanish post at St. Marks. He gave as a reason for doing so that the place was necessary as a base of operations against the savages. The Spanish garrison which had held St. Marks was removed to Pensacola. At the time of the capture of the place two Englishmen, named Arbuthnot and Ambrister, were found at St. Marks, and charges were preferred against them of having incited the Seminole insurrec-

tion. They were tried, convicted of treacherous acts, condemned and executed.

Jackson then marched against Pensacola, took the town, besieged the fortress and compelled the Spanish authorities to take ship for Havana. These measures excited a bitter animosity against General Jackson, and he was subjected by his enemies to unmeasured condemnation and abuse. The President and Congress, however, upheld him in his reckless proceedings, and his reputation was increased rather than diminished by his arbitrary conduct. The great secret of his popularity and influence was his success and honesty. A resolution of censure upon him introduced into the House of Representatives was defeated by a large vote.

Other important results followed in the train. When the news from Florida was borne to Spain the King entered protests against Jackson, but his remonstrance was little heeded by the American government. The Spanish monarch began to perceive the unprofitableness and difficulty of maintaining such a provincial government as Florida at so great a distance from the home administration of the kingdom. It became evident that the defense of Florida would in all probability cost him more than the country was worth. He accordingly proposed a cession of the province to the United States. For this purpose negotiations were begun at Washington, and on the 22d of February, 1819, a new treaty was concluded, by which East and West Florida and the outlying islands were surrendered forever to the United States. In consideration of the cession, the American government agreed to relinquish all claims to the Territory of Texas, and to pay to citizens of the United States for depredations committed by Spanish vessels a sum not exceeding five millions of dollars. By the same treaty it was agreed that the boundary line between the United States and Mexico should be the River Sabine.

Almost coincidentally with this important treaty came the first great financial crisis to the United States. The American republic had been poor in resources. The people as a rule were small property-holders to whom capital, as that term is understood in more recent times, was a stranger. At length, however, wealth increased and financial institutions grew into such importance as to make possible a crisis in monetary and commercial affairs. We have already seen how, in the year 1817, the Bank of the United States was reorganized. With that event came improved facilities for credit, and with these facilities the spirit and fact of speculation. With the coming of speculation, dishonesty and fraud arose, and the circle of finance ran its usual course, until the strain was broken in a crisis. The control of the Branch Bank of the United States at Baltimore was obtained by a band of speculators who secured the connivance of the public officers in their schemes. About two millions of dollars were withdrawn from the institution over and above its securities. President Cheves, however, who belonged to the Superior Board of Directors, adopted a policy by which the rascality of the management was discovered and exposed. An end was put to the system of unlimited credits, and the business of the country at length swung back into its accustomed channels.

Other new States soon followed Mississippi into the Union. In 1818 Illinois, being the twenty-first in number, or the eighth new State, was organized and admitted. The new commonwealth embraced an area of over fifty-five thousand square miles. The population at the time of admission was about forty-seven thousand. In December of the following year Alabama was added to the Union. The new State in this instance brought a population of a hundred and twenty-five thousand and an area of nearly fifty-one thousand square miles.

About the same time civilization as expressed in civil rule took its stride across the Mississippi. The great Territory of Missouri was divided into two. The southern part was organized into Arkansas Territory, while the northern half continued to bear the name of Missouri. In 1820 the province of Maine, which had remained under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts since 1652, was separated from that commonwealth and admitted into the Union as a State. The population of Maine at this time had reached two hundred and ninety-eight thousand; the territory embraced nearly thirty-two thousand square miles. In August of 1821 the Territory of Missouri, embracing an area of sixty-seven thousand square miles and a population of seventy-four thousand, was admitted as the twenty-fourth member of the Union. But the admission was attended with a political agitation so violent as to threaten the peace of the United States and to foretoken a long series of events the effects of which have not yet disappeared from the history of our country.

The question at issue was that of African slavery in the proposed State of Missouri. The bill for the admission of that commonwealth, or rather for the organization of the Territory for admission, was brought before Congress in February of 1819. Before this time, however, slaveholders in large numbers had gone into Missouri carrying their human chattels with them. The issue was at once raised in Congress whether a new State should be admitted with the system of slave labor prevalent therein, or whether by Congressional action slaveholding should be prohibited. A motion to amend the territorial bill was introduced by James Tallmadge, of New York, to the effect that any further introduction of slaves into Missouri should be forbidden, and that all slave children in the new commonwealth should be granted their freedom on reaching the age of twenty-five.

This amendment was adopted and became for the time a part of the organic law for the Territory. A few days afterwards, when a bill was presented for the territorial organization of Arkansas, a motion was made for the insertion of a clause similar to the Tallmadge amendment in the Missouri bill. In this case there was a heated debate, and the proposed amendment was defeated. The mover of the same, John W. Taylor, of New York, then introduced a resolution that thereafter, in the organization of Territories out of that part of the Louisiana purchase which lay north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, slavery should be prohibited. This resolution was also defeated after a heated debate. Meanwhile Tallmadge's amendment to the Missouri bill was brought up in the Senate, and was defeated in that body. As a consequence of this legislation, real and attempted, the two new Territories of Missouri and Arkansas were organized *without restrictions in the matter of slavery*.

The people of Missouri now proceeded to form their State Constitution according to the provisions of the Enabling Act. In January of 1820 a bill for the admission of the State under the Constitution so formed was brought up in Congress. The resolution of admission was, however, strenuously opposed by the large and growing party of those who favored the exclusion of slavery from the public domain of the United States. At this juncture, however, a proposition was made for the admission into the Union of the new free State of Maine. The situation was advantageous to the pro-slavery party; for that party might oppose the admission of Maine as a free State until the admission of Missouri as a slave State should be conceded.

The debates became angry and were extended until the 16th of February, when a bill coupling the two new States together, one with and the other without slavery, was

passed. Hereupon Senator Thomas, of Illinois, made a motion that henceforth and forever slavery should be excluded from all that part of the Louisiana cession—Missouri excepted—lying north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. This motion prevailed and became known as the Missouri Compromise, one of the most celebrated and important acts of American legislation—a measure chiefly supported and carried through Congress by the genius and persistent efforts of Henry Clay.

A summary of the principal provisions of the Missouri Compromise shows the following results: First, the admission of Missouri as a slaveholding State; second, the division of the rest of the Louisiana purchase by the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes; third, the admission of new States to be formed out of the territory south of that line with or without slavery as the people might determine; fourth, the prohibition of slavery in all the new States to be organized out of the territory north of the dividing line. Thus, by a measure of compromise and concession, the slavery agitation was allayed for twenty-eight years. The event, however, showed that the national disease was too deep-seated to be eradicated with a compromise.

The conditions of prosperity in the country were now so universal that the administration, as is common in such cases, was rewarded with good opinion and good-will. The President came into high favor with the people. In the fall of 1820 he was re-elected with great unanimity, as was also Mr. Tompkins, Vice-President. Perhaps at no other time in the history of our country since the administration of Washington has the bitterness of partisanship so nearly expired as in the year and with the event here mentioned.

Early in Monroe's second term the attention of the government was recalled to the alarming system of piracy

which had sprung up in the West Indies. Commerce became so unsafe in all those parts of the sea into which the piratical craft could make their way that an armament had to be sent out for protection. In the spring of 1822 the frigate *Congress*, with eight smaller vessels, sailed to the West Indies, and before the end of the year more than twenty pirate ships were run down and captured. In the following summer another squadron, under command of Commodore Porter, was sent to cruise about Cuba and the neighboring islands. The piratical retreats were found and the sea-robbers, who had for their leader the famous buccaneer Jean La Fitte, were driven from their lair. Their establishments were broken up and their business ended by suppression. Not a pirate ship was left afloat to trouble further the honorable commerce of the sea.

It was at this epoch that the government of the United States and the American people became deeply interested in the republican revolutions which were taking place in the countries of South America. Since the days of Pizarro the States in question had been dependencies of European monarchies; but the political ties thus stretching across the Atlantic were broken ever and anon with declarations of independence and revolutionary wars. The situation was very similar to that which existed in 1776 between the Old Thirteen Colonies of North America and the mother country. It was but natural that the United States, successful in winning their independence, should sympathize with the revolutionists and patriots of the southern continent. Many leading American statesmen espoused the cause of South American liberty, and their voices were heard in behalf of the struggling republics beyond the isthmus of Darien.

Foremost among the public men of the period who spoke out for the emancipation of the South American States

was Henry Clay. He carried his views into Congress and gained the indorsement of that body to the principles which he advocated. In March of 1822 a bill was passed recognizing the independence of the new States of South America. The President sympathized with these movements, and in the following year took up the question in his annual message. In that document he stated the principle by which his administration should be governed as follows: That for the future the American continents were not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power. The declaration thus made, however vague it may seem in the retrospect, became famous at the time, and has ever since held its place in the politics and diplomacy of the United States, under the name of the Monroe Doctrine—a doctrine by which the United States seemed to be committed to the principle that the Western Hemisphere shall be, at least theoretically, consecrated to free institutions.

The summer of 1824 brought an incident of great rejoicing to the American people. The opportunity was afforded them to revive and express their gratitude to France for the sympathy and aid which she had given to the United States in the War of Independence. The venerable Marquis de Lafayette, now aged and gray, returned once more to visit the land for whose political freedom he had given the energies of his youth and indeed shed his blood. Many of the veteran patriots with whom he had fought side by side came forth to greet him, and the younger heroes, sons of the Revolution, crowded around him. His journey from city to city was a continuous triumph. One of the chief objects of his coming was to visit the tomb of Washington. Over the dust of the Father of his Country the patriot of France paid the homage of his tears. He remained in the country until September of 1825, when he bade final adieu to the American people and sailed for his native land. At

his departure the frigate *Brandywine*—a name significant to him—was prepared to bear him away; and the hour of his going was observed with every mark of affection and gratitude on the part of the great and rising people of the West.

Thus came to a close the second administration of James Monroe. Political excitement had now reappeared in the country, and there was a strong division of sentiment, largely sectional in its origin. Bitter personalities likewise appeared in the contest. For the first time the names of South and East and West were heard, and the patriotic eye might discern the premonitions of danger in the political phraseology of the day.

The marshaling of parties was to a certain extent along sectional lines. John Quincy Adams, son of the second President, was put forward as the candidate of the East; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, as the choice of the South; while Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson appeared as the favorites of the West. The overwhelming preponderance of the Democratic party at this time made it possible for several candidates thus to enter the field; for the rise of the convention system had not yet destroyed individuality in American politics.

In the election of 1824 no one obtained the requisite majority of electoral votes. By this circumstance the election was thrown, for the second time in the history of the country, into the House of Representatives. By that body John Quincy Adams, though not the foremost candidate, was duly elected. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, had already received the requisite majority in the Electoral College, and was thus chosen Vice-President. The old administration expired and the new began with the 4th of March, 1825.

It is probable that in talents and accomplishments the new chief magistrate was the superior of any man who has

ever occupied the presidential chair. It is not meant that in force of character or ability to meet great emergencies he was the equal of Washington or Lincoln or Grant ; but he had genius, scholarship, great attainments. From his boyhood he had been educated to the career of a statesman. When he was but eleven years old he accompanied his father, John Adams, to Europe. At Paris, Amsterdam and St. Petersburg the son continued his studies and thus became acquainted with the manners, languages and politics of the Old World. The vast opportunities of his youth were improved to the fullest extent. He was destined to a public career. While still young he served his country as ambassador to the Netherlands, to Portugal, to Russia and to England. His abilities were such as to draw from Washington the extraordinary praise of being the ablest minister of which America could boast. From 1774 to 1817 his life was devoted almost wholly to diplomatic services at the various European capitals.

It should be remembered that at this period the foreign relations of the United States were critical in the extreme. Indeed the new republic had hardly yet been fully established as an independent power amongst the nations. The genius of Adams secured for his country the adoption of treaty after treaty. Such was his acumen, his patriotism, that in every treaty the rights and dignity of the United States were fully asserted and maintained. In 1806 Adams was chosen Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in Harvard College. Afterwards he was Senator for the United States from Massachusetts. On the accession of Monroe to the Presidency he was appointed Secretary of State. All the antecedents of his life were such as to produce in him the rarest qualifications for the Presidency to which he was now called.

In one respect the new administration was less successful,

less peaceful than its predecessor. The revival of partisanship, the animosity of great party leaders, conspired to distract the country, to keep the public mind from the calm pursuits of peace and to mar the harmony of the nation. Indeed from this epoch we may date the beginning of politics as a despicable trade in which the interests of the people of the United States have been hawked and torn, bartered and sold, at the dictation of unscrupulous ambition and for mere personal ends.

Soon after the accession of Adams the adherents of General Jackson and Mr. Crawford united in opposition to the policy of the President. A want of unanimity appeared among the different departments of the government. It was soon found that the supporters of the administration were in the minority in the Senate, while their majority in the House of Representatives was held only to the close of the first session of the current Congress. The President favored the policy of internal improvements. That system of polity, however, was antagonized by the majority of the Democratic party, and that majority soon came into the ascendant. As a consequence of this break the recommendations of the President were neglected or condemned in Congress, and that system of internal improvements to which Mr. Clay gave the full resources of his genius was checked for a generation.

Difficulties with the Indians now arose on the side of Georgia. During the first quarter of the century considerable portions of territory east of the Mississippi were still held by the natives. In Georgia they possessed a wide domain. Here dwelt the great nation of the Creeks with whom the white men had had relations since the founding of the first colonies. In 1802 Georgia as a State relinquished her claim to the Mississippi Territory, but one of the conditions of the surrender was that the government

of the United States should purchase in the interest of Georgia all the Creek lands lying within her borders. This pledge the government failed to fulfill. Georgia became seriously dissatisfied. The difficulty grew alarming, and the general government was constrained to carry out the compact by forming a new treaty with the Creek chiefs for the purchase of their lands and the removal of their people to new territories beyond the Mississippi.

Here were the elements of the ever-recurring difficulty. The Indians have been, as a rule, unwilling to recognize the validity of pledges made by their ancestors relative to their national lands. Such a thing as ownership in fee-simple was unknown originally among the native races. They recognized the right of quit-claim, by which those occupying lands could alienate their own titles thereto, but not the titles of their descendants. It is for this reason that, since the days of King Philip, the government has found great difficulty in securing the extinction of the Indian titles to their lands—this for the reason that each generation of natives born in a given territory arises to claim the tribal lands, with no recognition of a right on the part of their fathers and grandfathers to alienate those lands by sale or cession.

We may pause to notice an incident of the summer of 1826. On the memorable Fourth of July in that year Thomas Jefferson and John Adams both expired at nearly the same hour. It might well impress the American mind that just fifty years to a day from the adoption of the Declaration of Independence the great author of that famous document and its principal promoter in Congress should have passed away together. They were the two most conspicuous patriots of the Revolutionary epoch. They more, perhaps, than any other two men had agitated the question of independence and supported the measure

as a policy for the United Colonies. Both had lifted their voices for freedom in the earliest and most perilous days of the Revolutionary era. Both had lived to see their country's independence achieved. Both had served that country in its highest official station. Both had reached extreme old age: Adams was ninety, Jefferson eighty-two. Though opposed to each other as it respected many political principles, both were alike in patriotism and loyalty to the republic. It was a significant circumstance that while the cannon were booming for the fiftieth anniversary of the nation the two illustrious patriots should pass from among the living at the hour of reaching the half-centennial of their greatest work.

It was in the autumn of this year that a serious social disturbance in the State of New York led to a temporary deflection in the political history of the times. William Morgan, of that State, a member of the fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, broke with the order and threatened to publish its secrets. He suddenly disappeared and was never authentically heard of afterward. Rumors of his whereabouts gained currency, but none could ever be traced to a trustworthy origin. The belief became common that either his life had been taken or that he had been privately and permanently exiled into the obscurity of some foreign country. The Masons fell under the suspicion of having abducted him, and a great clamor was raised against the fraternity in New York. The animosity against the Masons extended in other parts of the country and their enemies became united as a political party. For many years the anti-Masonic party exercised a considerable influence in local and general elections. De Witt Clinton, one of the most prominent and valuable statesmen of New York, lost his political place and influence on account of his membership in the Masonic order.

More important than these temporary agitations was the debate which now began in Congress with respect to the tariff. The discussions of this vital issue may be dated from the year 1828. By a tariff is understood a customs duty levied on imported goods. The object of the same is two-fold: first, to produce a revenue for the government; secondly, to raise the price of the article on which the duty is laid, in order that the domestic manufacturer of the thing taxed may be able to compete with the foreign producer. In a subsequent part of this work a full discussion of this question will be presented. In the present connection it is sufficient to note that when a customs duty is levied for the purpose of raising the price of the article on which the duty is laid it is called a protective tariff.

The soundness of the policy of such a tariff has been agitated in nearly all the civilized countries. As a rule, in the earlier parts of a nation's history, protective tariffs are adopted, even to the extent of shutting off foreign competition; but with the lapse of time and the accumulation of capital in the given country the tendency is in the opposite direction. The mature people generally incline to the principle of free trade and open competition among the nations.

The Congressional debates of 1828 revealed the fact that the administration and its supporters proper were in favor of a protective tariff. In that year a schedule of customs was prepared by which the duties on fabrics made of wool, cotton, linen and silk, and those on articles manufactured of iron, lead, etc., were much increased. This legislation was had with the primary motive of stimulating the manufacturing interests of the country. The question of a tariff in the United States has always taken a somewhat sectional aspect. At first the people of the Eastern and Middle States, where factories abounded, were favorable to protect-

ive duties, while the people of the agricultural regions of the South and West opposed the protective policy.

Several general facts respecting the period of Adams's administration may well impress themselves upon the attention of the reader. It was at this epoch that the influences of the Revolution, more particularly of the War for Independence, subsided by the death or retiracy of the great actors in that early scene, and the sentiments of a new era began to prevail. It was the beginning of the second epoch in the history of the United States. A new class of statesmen, born after the era of independence, began to direct public opinion and manage the affairs of government. Even the War of 1812, with its bitter antagonisms and absurd ending, faded gradually from the memories of men. New dispositions, new tastes, appeared among the people, and new issues confronted the public. Old party lines could no longer be traced with distinctness. The old party names had become a jargon. Meanwhile the United States as a nation had surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the fathers. The one serious danger of the times was the evidences apparent in Congress that the people of the United States had fallen under the dominion of that very system against which the Father of his Country had uttered his most solemn warnings, namely, the system of partisanship and purely political government, instead of a government of the whole people, for them and by them.

Like his father, the younger Adams was disappointed in securing a second election to the Presidency. The people of the country, especially those of the great and rising West, had never taken kindly to the plan and fact of Adams's election. It was claimed that the result four years previously had been reached by a coalition in which there was a virtual agreement that the supporters of Mr. Clay in the House of Representatives should elect Adams

on condition that the latter would make their favorite Secretary of State. This was done; but there is no evidence that there was any corrupt bargain between the two distinguished statesmen.

Adams received the support of Clay for re-election; but the President was handicapped from the start. A new political division now became distinct, the opposition to the administration taking the Democratic name, while the administration party took the new name of Whigs. Of the former Andrew Jackson became the acknowledged leader and standard-bearer in the presidential contest. He was triumphantly elected, receiving a hundred and seventy-eight electoral votes against eighty-three for his opponent. The election was one of great excitement and passion; but the elements fell to a calm when the decision was reached, and the thoughts of the people were turned to other than political interests.

Andrew Jackson was a native of North Carolina. He was born in the Waxhaw country, March 15th, 1767. Even in his boyhood he showed in his character and conduct the belligerent and stormy nature within him. His mother's plan of devoting him to the ministry was hopelessly defeated. Already at the age of thirteen we have seen him in battle with Sumter at Hanging Rock. Captured by the British, he was maltreated and left to die of small-pox; but his mother secured his release from the Charleston prison and he soon began the study of law.

At twenty-one young Jackson went to Nashville. At twenty-nine he was chosen to the National House of Representatives from his district in Tennessee. Here his turbulent and arbitrary disposition manifested itself in full force. In 1797 he was elected to the Senate of the United States, where he remained for a year without making a speech or casting a vote. He was thoroughly disgusted with the

urbane and lofty life of the Senate and resigned his seat to return to Tennessee. His subsequent career as a warrior and commander of men we have noted in the preceding pages.

It is needless to remark that it was Jackson the military hero who was chosen to the presidential office. He was the first man of his kind to reach the chief magistracy of the Union ; but he was more than a military hero. He possessed great native powers and inflexible honesty. His talents were strong, but unpolished, unadorned. His personal integrity was unassailable and his will like iron. He was a man of ferocity, but of the strictest regard for that kind of honor which was in his age uppermost in the esteem of the multitudes. He was one of those men for whom no toils are too arduous, no responsibilities too great. His personal character became strongly impressed upon the administration. Believing that public affairs would be best conducted by such means, he removed nearly seven hundred office-holders and appointed in their stead his own political friends. In defense of this course he was able to cite the precedent established by Jefferson and promoted to a certain extent under all the subsequent administrations.

The accession of Jackson to the Presidency was in the nature of a revolution, not only political, but social. The tone of the administration was suddenly and greatly changed. Hitherto all the Presidents had been men of accomplishments. They had been gentlemen, educated and experienced in public affairs. They knew something of public policies and were civilians, as well as—in some cases—military leaders. Coarseness and vulgarity during the first five Presidencies had been unknown in the government. With the rise of Jackson, however, the underside of American life came to the surface. The debonair and stylish demeanor which had marked the manners and methods of the

former chief magistrates disappeared from the Presidential mansion and measurably from the other departments of government. Jackson made no pretensions to culture or refinement, and many of the coarse and ferocious elements of his former life obtruded themselves in the high places of power. It would be very erroneous to say that all dignity was wanting in the administration. On the contrary there was much that was dignified, more that was respectable; but the accession of Jackson was on the whole derogatory to the refinement and culture and propriety which had previously prevailed about the presidential mansion.

The question of rechartering the Bank of the United States now came prominently before the country. It was a question with which the government had to deal. The President took strong grounds against issuing a new charter for that institution. He believed the bank to be both inexpedient and unconstitutional. He recommended that the charter should be allowed to expire by limitation in 1836. It could not be expected, however, that a concern so strong and far-reaching in its influence would yield without a struggle. The controversy with respect to the bank was precipitated by the President at an earlier date than was natural to the situation. In 1832 a bill was passed by Congress to recharter the bank; but the President interposed his veto, and since a two-thirds majority could not be commanded for the measure the proposition for a new charter failed and the Bank of the United States ceased to exist.

We have already remarked upon the new political alignment which was at this time effected. The people became divided into the two great factions of Whig and Democrat. The old Federal party had lost control of national affairs with the retiracy of the elder Adams. The party, however, continued in the field until after the War of 1812, when its alleged connection and responsibility for the Hart-

ford Convention gave it a final quietus. Federalists, so-called, still remained in public and private life as late as the times of the great debates on slavery in 1820-21; but after that epoch they disappeared. Meanwhile the Anti-Federalists had been metamorphosed, first into Republicans and afterwards into Democrats. The latter name held fast from the time of Jefferson's administration. With John Quincy Adams the name of Whig was introduced, and under the leadership of Clay and Webster the party bearing that name became organic, powerful and well fortified in the principles and policies which it advocated and sought to establish in the government of the country.

Now it was that the tariff question, inherited from the preceding administration, was revived with great force and excitement. In the Congress of 1831-32 the passage of a bill had been secured laying additional duties on manufactured goods imported from abroad. By this measure the manufacturing districts of the United States were again favored at the expense of the agricultural districts. The act was especially offensive to South Carolina. In that commonwealth the excitement rose to a great height; a convention of the people was called, and it was resolved that the tariff law of Congress was unconstitutional, and therefore null and void. The declaration ended with a threat of resistance should an attempt be made to collect the revenues in the harbor of Charleston. One division of the Democratic statesmen took up the cause of South Carolina, and supported what was called her doctrine of nullification.

This doctrine was advocated even to practical secession. It was boldly proclaimed in the United States Senate. On that issue occurred the most famous debate ever heard in the halls of Congress, namely, that between the eloquent Colonel Robert Young Hayne, Senator from South Caro-

lina, and Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, perhaps the greatest master of American oratory. The former spoke as the champion of the so-called doctrine of State rights, including as its practical application the right of nullification and secession under the Constitution; the latter as the advocate of the Constitutional supremacy of Congress over all the Union.

History, however, had reserved another force than that of Congressional debate for the decision of the question. The President took the matter in hand, and issued a proclamation denying the right of any State to nullify the laws of Congress. It was at this juncture that Mr. Calhoun, the Vice-President, resigned his office, to accept a seat in the Senate, where he might better support the doctrines and purposes of his State. The President solemnly warned the people of South Carolina against the consequences of pushing further the doctrine of nullification. He then ordered General Scott to proceed with a body of troops to Charleston, and also sent thither a man-of-war. Before this display of force the leaders of the nullifying party quailed, and the fatal event of secession was postponed for thirty years. The excitement and discontent of the people of Carolina were presently allayed by a compromise proposed by Henry Clay. A bill was passed, under his strong advocacy, providing for the gradual reduction of the duties complained of, until at the end of ten years they should reach a standard which would be satisfactory to the South.

While the attention of the government was thus occupied with the dangerous and far-reaching question of the right of a State under the Constitution to nullify an act of Congress, an Indian war broke out on the western frontier. The Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagos, of Wisconsin Territory, became hostile and took up arms in defense of what they conceived to be their rights as a nation. They went into

the field under the leadership and instigation of their great chief, Black Hawk. Like Tecumtha and many other sachems who had risen to influence during the last century, Black Hawk dreamed of the possibility of uniting all the Indian nations into a confederacy against the whites. The lands of the Sacs and Foxes lay in what is known as the Rock River country of Illinois. While Jefferson was still President these lands had been purchased by the government from the chiefs of the tribes, but the Indian population had never removed from the ceded territory.

At length immigration carried the white settlements into proximity with the Indian country, and the natives were required to give possession. A new race of warriors had now arisen, however, who did not understand or recognize the force of a co-compact made by their fathers. They said that their fathers might quit-claim the national domain, but could not alienate the rights of their descendants. The government insisted on the fulfillment of the treaty according to the principle of warranty and fee-simple. The Indians would not recede from their position, and war broke out.

At the outset the militia of Illinois was called into the field. General Scott was sent with nine companies of artillery to make his headquarters on the site of Chicago. His forces, however, were overtaken with the cholera, which now for the first time made its appearance in the United States. Scott was unable to co-operate with General Atkinson, and the latter was obliged to make the campaign against the Indians with an army of volunteers; but he succeeded in defeating them in several actions and Black Hawk was taken prisoner. He was conveyed to Washington and other Eastern cities, where his understanding was opened to the power of the great nation against which he had been foolish enough to lift the hatchet. Being set at

liberty, he returned to his own country and advised his people to make no further war. His influence prevailed, and the Indians soon afterwards abandoning the disputed lands removed into Iowa. These events belonged to the years 1832-33.

Difficulties next arose with the Cherokees of Georgia. These people had risen to the civilized life, and were perhaps the most humane of all the Indian races. They had adopted many of the manners and customs of the whites. Farms had been opened, towns built, schools established, printing-presses set up, and a code of laws prepared in the civilized manner. It will be remembered that the government of the United States had given a pledge to Georgia to extinguish the title of the Indian lands within her borders—this in compensation for her cession to the government of the territory of Mississippi. The pledge on the part of the United States was not fulfilled; and the legislature of Georgia, weary of the delay in the removal of the Indians, passed a law abrogating the Indian governments within the limits of the State, and extending the laws of that commonwealth over all the Indian domains.

Vainly did the natives seek to resist this iniquitous legislation. The Cherokees and the Creeks sought the privilege of using the State courts in the attempt to maintain their rights; but such privilege was denied and the petitioners were outlawed. The Supreme Court of the United States, however, refused to ratify the acts of Georgia, declaring the same to be unconstitutional. The Indians appealed to the President, but he refused to interfere. On the contrary, he recommended that the Cherokees be removed to new lands beyond the Mississippi. Such was the contingency which led in the year 1834 to the organization of the Indian Territory as a sort of reservation for the broken tribes. With great reluctance the Cherokees yielded to the necessity

of removal. Though they had been paid more than five million dollars for their homes, they clung to the land of their fathers. Only when General Scott was directed to remove them by force did they yield to the inevitable and take up their march for their new homes in the West. A third conflict now came on with the Seminoles of Florida. The difficulty in this case was much more serious and resulted in a bloody war. The question involved was the right of the government to remove the Seminole nation to a new domain beyond the Mississippi. This measure the Indians resisted. In 1835 hostilities broke out and continued with little interruption for about four years. The chief of the Seminoles was the famous Osceola, a half-breed of great talents, warlike ambitions and audacity. He, together with Micanopy, another chieftain of the nation, declared that the treaty by which the Seminole lands had been ceded to the government was invalid ; that the fathers could only quit-claim their own rights and could not alienate the rights of their descendants.

At first these protests were made openly and peaceably to the agents of the government ; but General Thompson, who represented the United States, offended at the haughty bearing of Osceola, ordered his arrest and put him in irons. While thus confined the chieftain, dissembling his purpose, gave his assent to the old treaty and was set free. As might have been foreseen, however, he immediately in revenge formed a conspiracy against the whites.

In anticipation of difficulties, the government had sent General Clinch to Fort Drane, in the interior of Florida. The Indians gathered in the same vicinity in such numbers as to threaten the post. Major Dade, commandant of a station at the head of Tampa Bay, set out with a hundred and seventeen men to the support of Clinch. For this force the Indians lay in ambush, fell upon them, and slaughtered

them all except one man. On the same day Osceola made a sudden attack upon the quarters of General Thompson, only fifty yards distant from the garrison, and killed and scalped the General and his nine companions. General Clinch issued from Fort Drane, and on the 31st of December fought a hard battle with the Indians and repulsed them on the Withlacootchie. The whites, however, were obliged to fall back again to Fort Drane.

Several divisions of soldiers, one under General Scott and another under General Gaines, now advanced for the relief of Clinch. Gaines met the Indians on the same battle-field where Clinch had fought, and in February of 1835 again repulsed the savages with severe losses. At this time the remnants of the Creeks were obliged to quit the country and repair to their reservation beyond the Mississippi.

The Seminoles, however, held out, occupying the woods and low marsh-lands of Florida until October of 1836, when Governor Call, of that State, marched against them with a force of two thousand men. A battle was fought in the Wahoo Swamp and the Indians were again defeated with heavy losses. They retreated for a while into the Everglades, but later in the season came forth and fought another severe battle on nearly the same ground. In this instance they were again defeated, but not decisively, and the war was transmitted to the next administration.

We may here recount the final struggle of the President with the Bank of the United States. After vetoing the re-charter of that institution he had determined to prosecute his hostility by ordering that the surplus funds which had accumulated in the vaults of the bank should be distributed among the States. He had no warrant of law for such a course, but believing himself to be in the right he acted after his manner and took the responsibility. Accordingly, in October of 1833, he gave orders that the accumulated

surplus funds of the great bank, amounting to fully ten million dollars, should be distributed among certain State banks which he designated. His idea was that the accumulation of so large an amount of capital at the seat of government, and in an institution having a quasi relation therewith, was dangerous to the freedom of Congressional and executive action—a menace to government and a source of corruption.

The high-handed measure of the President evoked the most violent opposition. The Whigs denounced the removal of the funds as unwarranted, arbitrary, dangerous and of incalculable mischief. A coalition was formed in the Senate under the leadership of Calhoun, Clay and Webster, and the President's distributing officers—nominated by him for the removal of the funds—were rejected. A measure of censure was passed in the Senate against him; but the proposition failed in the House of Representatives. Such was the outcry throughout the country that the administration appeared for a season to be almost engulfed.

Such storms as these, however, brought out the strength of the Jacksonian character. The President was as fearless as he was self-willed and stubborn. He held on his course unmoved by the clamor. The resolution of censure stood on the journal of the Senate for four years, and was then not only repealed but *expunged* from the record through the influence of Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri.

The distribution of the surplus funds to the designated State banks was now effected. This work was followed in 1836–37 by a second and most serious financial panic. Whether the removal of the funds and the panic stood to each other in the relation of cause and effect was the great political contention of the day. The Whigs charged that the arbitrary measures of the President, by disturbing the finances of the country, had precipitated the crisis, while

the Democrats answered that the Bank of the United States, with its multiform abuses, was itself the cause of the financial distress. It was urged by the latter party that such an institution was too mercenary, too powerful, too despotic to exist in a free government. The President himself was little concerned with the wrangling over this question; for he had but recently been re-elected for a second term with Martin Van Buren of New York for Vice-President, instead of Mr. Calhoun.

Before the presidential election of 1830, however, the strong will of Jackson was exhibited in full force in a complication with France. During the Napoleonic wars American commerce had suffered much through the recklessness of French sea-captains. Certain claims had thus arisen and were held by the American government against the French kingdom. The question of a settlement had been agitated many times. In 1831 Louis Philippe, the new King of France had agreed to the payment of five millions of dollars indemnity for the injuries done aforetime by French cruisers to American commerce. The authorities of the kingdom, however, were dilatory in making payment. The matter was procrastinated until the wrath of the American President broke out in a message which he sent to Congress recommending that reprisals be made on the commerce of France. He also directed the American Minister at Paris to demand his passports and come home. These measures had the desired effect, and the indemnity was promptly paid. The government of Portugal, which had sinned in like manner against American commerce, was brought to terms with similar measures.

The remaining statesmen and leaders of the Revolutionary epoch now rapidly passed away. On the 4th of July, 1831, ex-President James Monroe died in New York City. He, like Adams and Jefferson, expired amid the rejoicings of

the national anniversary. In the following year Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, passed away at the age of ninety-six. Soon afterwards Philip Freneau, who had gained the distinction and name of the Poet of the Revolution, departed from the land of the living. The bard had reached the good age of eighty. On the 24th of June, 1833, John Randolph, of Roanoke, died in Philadelphia. He was a man who, though eccentric in character, was admired for his talents and respected for his integrity, as well as dreaded for his wit and sarcasm. In 1835 Chief Justice Marshall expired, at the age of fourscore years, and in the next year ex-President Madison, worn with the toils of eighty-five years, passed away. It will be noted by the reader that most of the strong men of the Revolutionary epoch, with the distinguished exception of the Father of his Country, lived to extreme old age.

Disasters to property may be added to the losses of life during this epoch. On the 16th of December, 1835, a fire broke out in the lower part of New York City and the buildings covering thirty acres of ground were laid in ashes. Five hundred and twenty-nine houses and property valued at eighteen million dollars were consumed. Just one year afterward the Patent Office and Post Office at Washington City were destroyed in the same manner. On the ruins of these valuable buildings more noble and imposing structures—which are likely to outlast the century—were soon erected.

Other States were now added to the Union. In June of 1836, Arkansas, with her fifty-two thousand square miles and population of seventy thousand, was admitted. In January of the following year Michigan Territory was organized as a State and added to the Union. The new commonwealth brought a population of a hundred and fifty-

seven thousand and an area of fifty-six thousand square miles.

As Jackson's second administration drew to a close that stern, rough patriot followed the example of Washington in issuing a farewell address. The document was characterized by the severe justice and something of the intolerant spirit which had marked the man in his administration. The danger of discord and sectionalism among the States was set forth with all the masculine energy of the Jacksonian dialect. It should be said of the epoch and in its favor that it was a time in which the President was still President, and when the sleek effusions of private secretaries and chairmen of executive committees were not in vogue. Jackson solemnly warned the people of the United States, as Washington had done, against the baneful influence of demagogues; the horrors of disunion were portrayed in the strongest colors, and the people of every rank and section were exhorted to maintain and defend the American Union as they would the last fortress of human liberty. Such was the last public paper contributed by Andrew Jackson to the political literature of the age. The presidential election of 1836 resulted in the choice of Martin Van Buren, of New York, the candidate of the Democratic party. The opposing standard-bearer was General William H. Harrison, of Ohio, who received the support of the new Whig party. As to the Vice-Presidency no one secured a majority in the Electoral College, and the choice was devolved on the Senate. By that body Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was duly elected.

Martin Van Buren was born at Kinderhook, New York, December 5th, 1782. His education was limited. He studied law and became a politician. In his thirtieth year he was elected to the Senate of his native State, and six year afterwards, taking advantage of the anti-Masonic ex-

citement, he succeeded in supplanting De Witt Clinton as the leader of the Democratic party in New York. In 1821, and again in 1827, he was chosen Senator of the United States; but in the first year of his second term he resigned the office to accept the governorship of his native State. Under Jackson he received the appointment of Secretary of State, but soon resigned that place to become minister plenipotentiary to England. The President appointed him to the latter position, but when the appointment came before the Senate, Vice-President Calhoun, assisted by the Whig leaders Clay and Webster, succeeded in rejecting the nomination. Van Buren, who had been appointed during a recess of the Senate, returned from his unfulfilled mission, became the candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1832 and was elected. Four years later he led the powerful party to which he belonged and succeeded General Jackson in the Presidency.

As already said, the Seminole war was carried over as an unfinished task to the administration of Van Buren. The command of the Southern army was transferred in 1837 from General Scott to General Jessup. Osceola had by this time perceived the final hopelessness of his cause. His revenge had been gratified by the destruction of General Thompson. The chief, taking advantage of the laws of war, came under a flag of truce to the American camp, but being suspected of treachery, was seized by the authorities and sent a prisoner to Fort Moultrie, where he languished for a year and died.

The Seminoles, though disheartened by the loss of their chieftain, continued the war. In December of 1838 Colonel Zachary Taylor, with a force of over a thousand men, penetrated the Everglades of Florida, and routed the savages from their lairs. After unparalleled sufferings he overtook the main body of the Seminoles on Christmas Day, near Lake Okeechobee. Here a hard battle was fought, and

the Indians were defeated, but not until they had inflicted a loss on the whites of a hundred and thirty-nine men. For more than a year Taylor continued his expeditions into the swamps. The spirit of the Indians was finally broken, and in 1839 the chiefs sent in their submission. They signed an additional treaty; but even after this their removal to the West was made with much reluctance.

We have already referred to the financial crisis of 1837. There had been a preceding brief interim of great prosperity. The national debt had been entirely liquidated. A surplus of nearly forty million dollars had accumulated in the treasury of the United States. We have already seen how President Jackson, by arbitrary measures, succeeded in distributing the accumulations in the Bank of the United States among the several States. By this measure money became suddenly abundant and speculations of all sorts grew rife. The credit system sprang up and prevailed more and more in all departments of business. The banks of the country were multiplied to nearly seven hundred, and vast issues of irredeemable paper money were made, as if to increase the opportunities for fraud.

These circumstances and the rapid increase of population in the West produced a great demand for homesteads, and the public lands were rapidly taken up. The paper money of the multiplied local banks was receivable at the various land-offices, and speculators as well as actual settlers made a rush, with a plentiful supply of bills, to secure the best lands. General Jackson, at that time President, perceiving that an unsound currency received in exchange for the national domain was likely to defraud the government out of millions of dollars, issued his so-called Specie Circular, in which he directed the land agents to receive henceforth *nothing but coin* in payment for the public lands.

The effect of this measure fell upon the country at the

beginning of Van Buren's administration. The interests of the government had undoubtedly been secured; but the business of the country was prostrated by the shock. The banks suspended specie payments. Mercantile houses tottered and fell. Disaster spread through every avenue of trade. Within two months after the accession of Van Buren the failures in New York and New Orleans amounted to nearly one hundred and fifty million dollars. A committee of the business men of the former city besought the President to rescind the Specie Circular and to call a special session of Congress. The former request was refused and the latter complied with, but not until the disasters of the country, rather than the clamors of an interested committee, had moved the executive to action.

When Congress convened in September, 1837, many measures of relief were proposed. As a temporary expedient a bill was passed for the issuance of treasury notes, not to exceed an aggregate of ten million dollars. The President's plan of relief was embodied in the measure which is known in Congressional history as the Independent Treasury Bill. The act provided that the public funds of the nation should be kept on deposit in a treasury to be established for that special purpose. It was argued in support of the scheme that the surplus money—the excessive circulation of the country—would in the processes of trade and revenue drift into the independent treasury, and lodge there, and that by this expedient the speculative mania would be effectually checked and prevented. It was believed, not without good grounds in reason and experience, that extensive speculations could not be carried on without a redundant currency. The philosophical basis of the President's plan was the notion of a *separation* between the business of the government and the general business of the country.

The strength of the administration was sufficient to secure the passage of the Independent Treasury Bill by the Senate, but not sufficient to overcome the opposition to the measure in the House of Representatives. At the ensuing regular session of Congress, however, the bill was a second time brought forward and passed. By this time the shock of the commercial panic had subsided; public confidence had been restored, and business measurably revived. During the year 1838 most of the banks were able to resume specie payment. Commerce flowed back into its usual channels. The current, however, was sluggish, and for some time a half-paralysis rested on the trade of the country. Many enterprises of public and private moment were checked or defeated. Merchants and traders adopted a timid and conservative policy; discontent prevailed among the people, and the administration was blamed with everything.

The reader will not have forgotten the policy established by Washington of total non-interference with the affairs of foreign nations. The American theory, which was strictly adhered to during the first half-century of our national existence, was that of no complication or entanglement with any foreign power. The year 1837 was marked by an event which seemed for a season to disturb and render complex the relations between the United States and Canada. Even at that early day a part of the people of the Canadian provinces had become dissatisfied with British rule, and an insurrection broke out having for its ultimate purpose the establishment of independence.

Along the northern frontier of the United States a certain sympathy was excited for the rebels across the border. The insurgents received some encouragement and aid from the people of northern New York. A body of seven hundred men arose in that State, took up arms, seized and fortified

Navy Island, in the Niagara River. The loyalists of Canada—they who remained in allegiance to the British crown and who constituted the great majority—made an attack on the Americans on the island, but failed to capture the place. They succeeded, however, in gaining possession of the *Caroline*, the supply-ship of the adventurers, and setting the vessel on fire, cut her moorings and sent her over Niagara Falls, a spectacle to men!

These events created much excitement in both Canada and the United States. It seemed indeed for a season that the peace of our country and Great Britain was in danger of rupture. The President, however, took the matter up and issued a proclamation of neutrality, in which the action of the American insurgents was disavowed. The people were warned against any further interference with the affairs of Canada. General Wool was sent to the Niagara frontier with a sufficient force to quell the disturbance so far as the Americans were concerned and to punish those who had broken the peace. The New York insurgents on Navy Island were obliged to surrender and order was presently restored.

Perhaps this international pass with Canada was the most exciting event of Van Buren's administration. For the rest the period was regarded as commonplace. In the absence of real questions about which the people might concern themselves the politicians were left to create factitious issues to supply the material of popular agitation. With the coming of 1840 the question as to Van Buren's successor was raised; the candidates were soon in the field and the canvass was undertaken in a spirit of partisan bitterness. The measures of the administration, no less than the condition of the country, had been of a kind to provoke the sharpest political antagonisms. The Whigs were now animated with the hope of capturing the government. Almost a year be-

fore the presidential election they sent General William H. Harrison into the field as their standard-bearer in the contest. On the Democratic side Van Buren was named for re-election. He had at this juncture no formidable competitor for the leadership of his party; but the unanimity of the Democrats could not atone for the blunders and unsuccess, not to say the misfortunes, of the current administration.

It is a strange and lamentable circumstance in the history of our country that in times of peace the animosities which prevail in times of war find vent in the excitements and passions of political battle.

This was true in particular of the election of 1840. The Whigs made the attack with great vehemence. Van Buren was blamed with everything. The financial distresses of the country were laid at his door. Extravagance, bribery and corruption were charged against him. Men of business already associated for the most part with the political opinions of the Whigs advertised to pay six dollars a barrel for flour if Harrison should be elected; three dollars a barrel if Van Buren should be successful. The opposition orators tossed about the luckless administration through all the figures and forms of speech, and the President himself was shot at with every sort of dart that partisan wit and malice could invent. The enthusiasm in the ranks of the Whigs rose higher and higher and Van Buren was overwhelmingly defeated. The result showed two hundred and thirty-four electoral votes for General Harrison and only sixty for his opponent. After controlling the destinies of the government without a break for thirty-six years the Democratic party was temporarily routed. For Vice-President John Tyler, of Virginia, was the successful candidate.

Now was completed the sixth census of the United States.

The results were replete with the evidences of national growth and progress. The revenues of the nation for 1840 amounted to nearly twenty millions of dollars. At this time that important statistical information for which the subsequent reports have been noted began to appear in its full value. The center of population had in the last ten years moved westward along the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude from the south fork of the Potomac to Clarksburg in the present State of West Virginia, a distance of fifty-five miles. The inhabited area of the United States now amounted to eight hundred and seven thousand square miles, being an increase since 1830 of twenty-seven and six-tenths per cent. The frontier line circumscribing the population passed through Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa and the western borders of Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana, a distance of three thousand three hundred miles. The population had reached an aggregate of seventeen million souls, being an increase since 1830 of more than six millions. It was found from the tables that eleven-twelfths of the people lived outside of the larger cities and towns, showing a strong preponderance of the agricultural over the manufacturing and commercial interests. One of the most cheering lessons of the census was found in the fact that the wonderful growth of the United States was in *extent* and *area* and not in accumulation—in the *spread* of civilization rather than in an increase in *intensity*; for during the last decade the average of the population of the country had not increased by so much as one person to the square mile.

The common judgment has been that the administration of Van Buren was weak and inglorious. It appears to have been characterized by few important episodes and to have been controlled by principles some of which were bad. But the President and his times together were unfortunate rather

than vicious. He was the victim of the evils which followed hard upon the relaxation of the Jacksonian methods of government. That kind of government could not long be maintained in the United States. The four years of Van Buren's administration were the ebb tide between the beligerent excitements of 1832 and the war with Mexico. The financial panic added opprobrium to the popular estimate of the imbecility of the government. "The administration of Van Buren," said a bitter satirist, "is like a parenthesis; it may be read in a low tone of voice, or altogether omitted without injuring the sense." But the sarcasm was not true—or true only in part.

The new President was by birth a Virginian. He was a son of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence; the adopted son of Robert Morris. He was a graduate of Hampden and Sydney College, and afterwards a student of medicine; but the military life drew him from his study and he entered the army of St. Clair. He rose by rapid promotion to be governor of Indiana Territory. His military career in the Northwest has been already narrated. He was inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1841, and began his duties by issuing a call for a special session of Congress, to consider "sundry important matters connected with the finances of the country." An able cabinet was organized, with Daniel Webster at the head as Secretary of State.

At the outset everything seemed to promise well for the new Whig administration; but before Congress could convene the venerable President, already sixty-eight years of age, sickened and died just one month after his inauguration. It was the first time that such an event had occurred in American history. Profound and universal grief was manifested over the death of the chief magistrate.

On the 6th of April, 1841, John Tyler took the oath of office and became President of the United States. He was a statesman of considerable distinction, a native of Virginia, a graduate of William and Mary. At first a lawyer, he soon left his profession to become a politician. He was chosen a member of Congress and in 1825 was elected governor of Virginia. From that position he was sent to the Senate of the United States, and now at the age of fifty-one was called to the Presidency. He had been put upon the ticket with General Harrison through motives of expediency; for although a Whig in most of his political principles, he was known to be *hostile to the Bank of the United States*. This hostility was soon to be manifested in a remarkable manner.

The Whig Congress convened in the highest spirits. One of the first measures proposed at the session, which lasted from May to September, was the repeal of the Independent Treasury Bill. A general Bankrupt law was passed by which a great number of insolvent business men were released from the disabilities under which they had fallen in the financial panic. The next measure was the proposition to recharter the Bank of the United States. The old charter had expired five years previously; but the bank had continued in operation under a charter granted by the State of Pennsylvania. A bill to rehabilitate the institution in its national character was now brought forward and passed; but the President interposed his veto. A second time the bill was presented in a modified form and received the sanction of both Houses, only to be rejected by the executive. This action produced a fatal rupture between the President and his party. The indignant Whigs, unable to command a two-thirds majority in Congress, turned upon him with storms of invective. All the members of the Cabinet except Mr. Webster resigned their seats; and that statesman

retained his place only because of a pending difficulty with Great Britain.

A contention had arisen with that country relative to the northeastern boundary of the United States. Our territorial limit in that direction had not been clearly defined by the treaty of 1783. The commissioners at Ghent in 1814 had contributed little to the solution of the difficulty. That polite and easily satisfied convention had postponed the question rather than settled it. It was agreed, however, to refer the establishment of the entire line between the United States and Canada to the decision of three commissions which were to be appointed by the respective governments. The first of these three bodies awarded to the United States the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy. The third commission performed its duty by fixing the international line from the intersection of the forty-fifth parallel of latitude with the River St. Lawrence to the western point of Lake Huron. To the second commission was assigned the more difficult task of settling the boundary from the Atlantic to the St. Lawrence. This work they failed to accomplish.

For nearly a quarter of a century the boundary of the United States on the northeast remained in uncertainty. At times the difficulty assumed a serious aspect. At last the whole question was referred to Lord Ashburton, acting on the part of Great Britain, and Daniel Webster, the American Secretary of State. The discussion of the question was as able as the matter involved was intricate. Finally, however, a satisfactory solution was reached; and the international boundary was established as follows: From the mouth of the River St. Croix, ascending that stream to its westernmost fountain; from that fountain due north to the St. John's; thence with that river to its source on the watershed between the Atlantic and the St. Law.

rence ; thence in a southwesternly direction along the crest of the highlands to the northwestern source of the River Connecticut ; thence down that stream to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, and thence with that parallel to the St. Lawrence.

By a second agreement of the commissioners the boundary was established from the western point of Lake Huron through Lake Superior to the northwestern extremity of the Lake of the Woods ; thence—confirming the treaty of October, 1818—southward to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, and thence with that parallel to the Rocky Mountains. This important settlement, known as the Webster-Ashburton treaty, was completed on the 9th of August, 1842, and was ratified by the Senate on the 20th of the same month.

The following year was marked by a peculiar domestic trouble in Rhode Island. For nearly two centuries the government of that commonwealth had rested upon the old charter granted by Charles II. There had always been in Rhode Island a certain residue of loyalism unfavorable to republican institutions. The ancient charter contained a clause restricting the right of suffrage to property-holders of a certain grade. The spirit of modern democracy fretted against this restriction, and an attempt was made to remove it from the Constitution of the State.

On this question the people were almost unanimous, but the *manner* of effecting the change was violently debated. One faction calling itself the Law and Order party, and proceeding under the old Constitution, chose Samuel W. King as governor. The other faction, known as the Suffrage party, acting in an irregular way, elected Thomas W. Dorr. In May of 1842 both parties proceeded to organize their rival governments. The Law and Order party undertook to suppress the Suffragists and the latter attempted to capture the

State arsenal. Defeated in this purpose, they took arms a second time, until they were dispersed by a detachment of soldiers sent to Rhode Island by the general government. Dorr fled from the State, but returning soon afterwards, was caught, tried for treason, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He was offered pardon on condition of taking the oath of allegiance, but he stubbornly refused and was confined until June of 1845, when he was liberated without conditions.

In 1842 was completed the Bunker Hill monument. The event called forth great enthusiasm, not only in Boston, but throughout the country. The foundation of the great shaft had been laid on the 17th of June, 1825, the corner-stone being put into place by the venerable Lafayette. Daniel Webster, then young in years and fame, delivered the oration, while two hundred Revolutionary veterans—forty of them survivors of the battle fought on that hill-crest just fifty years before—gathered with the throng to hear him. The work of erection went on slowly. Seventeen years elapsed before the shaft was finished. The column was of Quincy granite, thirty-one feet square at the base and two hundred and twenty-one feet in height. The dedication was postponed until the next succeeding anniversary of the battle. On the 17th of June, 1843, an immense multitude, including most of the survivors of the Revolution, gathered from all parts of the country to participate in the ceremonies. Webster, now full of years and honors, delivered the dedicatory oration, one of the most able and eloquent ever pronounced in ancient or modern times. The exercises were concluded with a public dinner in Faneuil Hall, the cradle of American liberty.

During the last years of Tyler's administration the State of New York was seriously disturbed by a dispute concerning the land titles in that part of the country once held by

the Dutch patrons. Until the year 1840 the descendants of Van Rensselaer had held claims on certain lands in the counties of Rensselaer, Columbia and Delaware. In consideration of these claims they had continued to receive from the farmers owning the lands certain trifling rents, but the payment of these rents at length became annoying to the farmers and they rebelled against the Van Rensselaer claims. The question was in the legislature of New York from 1840 to 1844. By the latter date the anti-rent party had become so strong as to prevent the payment of the quit-rents, even by those who were willing to make them. The paying renters were coated with tar and feathers and driven from the settlements. Officers were sent to apprehend the rioters and them they killed. Time and again the authorities of the State were invoked to quell the disturbances, and it was a long time before the excitement subsided. To the present day, indeed, there never has been any formal adjustment of the difficulty.

To this period in our country's history belongs the rise of the Mormons. This sect, under the leadership of their prophet, Joseph Smith, made their first important settlements in Jackson County, Missouri. Here their numbers increased to fifteen hundred. They were a peaceable people, and others flocked to the community. Elated with their success, the Mormons began to say that the Great West was destined to be their inheritance. The anti-Mormon population round about became excited, and determined to rid themselves of their prosperous neighbors. The militia was called out and the Mormons were driven from the State. In the spring of 1839 they crossed the Mississippi into Illinois, and on a high plateau overlooking the river laid out a new city, to which they gave the name of Nauvoo, meaning *The Beautiful*. Here they proceeded to build a splendid temple, for the ideas of the community were those

of antiquity and the Orient. There was to be a governing priesthood, and the Mormon people, like ancient Israel, were to have their life-center in the temple.

The Latter-Day Saints—for by that name the Mormons would be called—rapidly increased. Immigrants and converts came from many parts of the United States and from Europe. The settlement soon reached a population of ten thousand. This extraordinary growth and the peculiar manners and doctrines of the Saints roused the hatred of the people round about, who in abilities, refinement and culture were by no means the equals of the Mormons. There were soon two parties. Some of the laws enacted by Smith's followers were contrary to the statute of Illinois. The Mormons were charged with certain thefts and murders, and it was said that the courts about Nauvoo were powerless to administer justice in the case of these criminals.

As the excitement rose, Smith and his brother Hiram were arrested, taken to Carthage and put in jail. On the 27th of June, 1844, a mob gathered, broke open the jail doors and killed the prisoners. Other hostilities followed during the summer. In 1845 the State legislature annulled the charter of Nauvoo, and the Mormons were left at the mercy of their enemies. At length they despaired of keeping their place in Illinois, and a great majority determined to exile themselves beyond the limits of civilization. They made their preparations for an exodus, and in 1846 began their march to the far-off, unknown West. In September Nauvoo was cannonaded for three days, and the remnant of the Saints were driven forth to join their companions in exile. The second band came up with the main company at Council Bluffs, Iowa. Thence the great march was begun across the illimitable prairies and the Rocky Mountains. The Mormons reached the basin of the Great Salt Lake by way of Marshall's Pass and the Gunnison. There they

founded Utah Territory, believing themselves, as indeed they were, beyond the pale of their enemies. Such were the beginnings of that complication which after the lapse of nearly half a century has not yielded either to the force of logic or the logic of force.

END OF VOLUME I.



